

**Politics of Ethnic classification: A comparative analysis
of censuses in Bolivia and Peru**

by

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This thesis presents the dynamics of the persistence and transformation of ethnic classifications in the census by analysing the factors that foster the inclusion of ethnic questions in the census and the political conditions necessary for change. Ethnic classifications in censuses have been rarely studied from a comparative perspective, particularly by establishing causal mechanisms and typologies. However, census classification provides an understanding of how state ideologies and beliefs of society are reflected in official enumerations. This study addresses two cases of ethnic classification which were conducted during the 21st century. I argue that the combination of three independent variables -political opportunity structure, a new discourse, and the influence of international actors and trends- determines the outcome of an ethnic classification whether it is inclusive or exclusive. In the case of Bolivia, the openness in the political opportunity system, an adaptation of a new indigenous discourse of political actors together with the supportive influence of international actors and trends resulted in inclusion of an inclusionary ethnic classification question in the census. In Peru, closure in the political system for long years and repression by the state, combined with persistence in class/peasant discourse and partial influence of international organizations resulted in exclusionary ethnic classification until 2017. For each case, a brief history of ethnic classification in the census and general information about the ethnic groups are presented, and then the factors of ethnic classification change are analysed within each case. After an extended comparative study of Bolivia and Peru, I conclude that the factors presented above are all necessary but the existence of international influence without the first two factors is not sufficient to create a change in the ethnic classification system of the country. After open political opportunity structure and inclusive indigenous discourse maintained in the country, international actors determine how to incorporate ethnic questions into the census.

Key words: Ethnic classification, Latin America, Census, Indigenous, Discourse, Political Opportunity Structure

ÖZETÇE

Etnik sınıflandırma politikaları: Bolivya ve Peru'daki nüfus sayımlarının karşılaştırmalı analizi

Nihal Kocabaş

Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Bilimi Yüksek Lisans

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Bu tez, nüfus sayımına etnik soruların dahil edilmesini teşvik eden faktörleri ve değişim için gerekli siyasi koşulları analiz ederek nüfus sayımındaki etnik sınıflandırmaların, devamlılık ve değişim dinamiklerini sunmaktadır. Nüfus sayımlarındaki etnik sınıflandırmalar literatürde özellikle nedensel mekanizmalar ve tipolojiler oluşturularak, nadiren karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla incelenmiştir; ancak nüfus sayımındaki sınıflandırmalar, devlet ideolojilerinin ve toplumun inançlarının resmi sayımlarda nasıl yansıtıldığının anlaşılmasını sağlar. Bu çalışma, 21. yüzyılda gerçekleştirilen iki etnik sınıflandırma vakasını ele almaktadır. Üç bağımsız değişkenin – politik fırsat yapısı, yeni bir söylem, uluslararası aktörlerin ve eğilimlerin etkisi- bir etnik sınıflandırmanın sonucunu, -kapsayıcı ya da dışlayıcı olarak- belirlediğini iddia etmektedir. Bolivya örneğinde, siyasi fırsat sistemindeki açıklık, yeni bir yerli söyleminin siyasal aktörler tarafından kabul edilmesi, uluslararası aktörlerin ve eğilimlerin destekleyici etkisiyle birlikte kapsayıcı bir etnik sınıflandırma ile sonuçlanmıştır. Peru'da, siyasi sistemde uzun yıllar süren kısıtlamalar ve devlet tarafından uygulanan baskılar, sınıf / köylü söyleminde süreklilik gösteren tutum ve uluslararası örgütlerin kısmi etkisi ile birleştiğinde 2017'ye kadar dışlayıcı bir etnik sınıflandırmaya sebep olmuştur. Her vaka için, etnik sınıflandırmanın kısa tarihi ile etnik gruplar hakkında genel bilgiler sunulmuş ve sonrasında etnik sınıflandırmada değişikliğe sebep olan faktörler ışığında bu iki ülkenin analizi yapılmıştır. Bolivya ve Peru'yla ilgili yapılan kapsamlı bir karşılaştırmalı çalışmadan sonra, yukarıda sunulan faktörlerin etnik sınıflandırmanın nüfus sayımlarında kendine yer bulabilmesi için gerekli olduğu saptanmaktadır. Söz konusu sınıflandırmanın kendine yer bulabilmesi için siyasi fırsat sistemindeki açıklık ve yeni bir söylemin varlığı kesinlikle gerekliyken ilk iki faktör olmadan uluslararası etkinin varlığı, ülkenin etnik sınıflandırma sisteminde bir değişiklik yaratmak için yeterli değildir. Uygun bir siyasi fırsat yapısı ve ülkede sürdürülen kapsayıcı yerli söyleminin elde edilmesinin ardından, uluslararası aktörler etnik soruların nüfus sayımına nasıl dahil edileceğini belirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etnik sınıflandırma, Latin Amerika, Nüfus Sayımı, Yerli Söylemi, Siyasi Fırsat Yapısı

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDSEP	Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana
CONAPA	National Commission on Andean, Amazon, and Afro- Peruvian Communities
ENDES	Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar
ENAHO	Encuesta Nacional de Hogares
ILO	International Labor Organization
INDEPA	National Institute for the Development of Indigenous, Amazonian Peoples and Afro-Peruvians
MAS	Movement for Socialism
MNR	Nationalist Revolutionary Movement
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
UN	United Nation

MAP 1: BOLIVIA



Source: University of Texas Libraries
https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/bolivia_admin-2006.pdf

MAP 2: PERU



Source: University of Texas Libraries

https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/peru_pol_06.pdf

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

I. 1. The Puzzle

This thesis seeks to answer why some states include the category of ethnic questions in their censuses, while others not, with a specific focus on the era of the so-called identity-based awakening, the late 20th century and 21st century of Latin America. How can we explain different tendencies toward ethnic classifications in the state level and approaches to define these ethnic groups? What purposes do they serve? How did the historical definitions and classifications of ethnicity create and influence modern struggles?

On October 22, 2017, Peru conducted a new census. For the first time, respondents self-identified via ethnicity. The national census of Peru had not included such a question since 1940, previously there was a category of language. The head of the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) Víctor Sánchez explained that self-identification was raised, because it was necessary to obtain useful knowledge about the areas where indigenous and Afro-Peruvian populations were settled, what were their living conditions, housing, education, health, and employment. He added that the inclusion of these kinds of questions would help to identify the needs for implementing new public policies in order to achieve social inclusion. (INEI Justificó así la pregunta sobre origen étnico, 2017)

On the other hand, from its establishment as a Republic, Bolivia conducted twelve censuses and it was 2001, the eleventh census, when it included ethnic classification for the first time. Additionally, Bolivia elaborated its census and added Afro-Bolivians (Afro-Boliviano) and indigenous originary peasant (Originario Campesino) categories along its

indigenous categories in 2012. These serve as illustrations of the different developments of ethnic and racial classification in Bolivia and Peru. Hence, the puzzling question is why Bolivia specifically included ethnic classification category in its censuses in early 2000s while Peru did not until 2017?

Latin America is undoubtedly characterized by the diversity of ethnic and racial identities such as indigenous groups and African descendants that coexist in their extensive lands. Hence, Latin American countries are also interested in presenting their population at aggregate level by including questions in their census regarding ethnicity and language. The language category demonstrates ethnic diversity within the state, but it does not refer to an ethnic classification directly. Rather, it presents supplementary ethnic elements. (Ferrandez & Kradolfer, 2012:285). The countries in Latin America that include the category of ethnicity and language together are Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Venezuela (Telles, 2017:2340). On the other hand, while Argentina, Guyana, Honduras, Panama, Uruguay, and Cuba are countries that only include the category of ethnicity, Peruvian censuses used solely the category of the language until 2017. Hence, Latin American countries include a wide variety of approaches to ethnic classification in censuses to draw distinctions within the national population.

Censuses are the most visible and the most politically important instrument that gathers detailed information to implement a variety of economic, political, and social objectives. This is congenitally a political instrument because the choice of certain categories stems from political choices. Each census has to determine an official way to count and classify residents of the state. Thus, states concern in representing their population along with different classifications at the aggregate level. The categories and criteria for ethnic classification differ over time and among cultures. These changes may

occur because of the shifts in the ethnic structure of the population, political concerns, and social attitudes. Governments may also need a different type of data. However, including or excluding such questions is still a political decision.

However, it is an oxymoron to create a neutral classification by using subjective assessments of collective identities. Ultimately, although censuses are often seen as the requirement of the modern age, a bureaucratic procedure, and issue of national enumeration, census authentically portrays social reality. These different classifications in censuses do not give only statistical information, rather they explain a different story, the hidden ideologies, and different approaches toward these groups. Ideologies that penetrate in a census can become visible in two different ways. Firstly, they affect whether the ethnic and racial classification will be included in the census or not or which one to include. Secondly, once the decision is given to include these classifications, they affect the process through the technical operationalization of the question and answer format whether self -identification or other.

In Latin America, ethnicity has re-emerged as a crucial social category. Within the continent, growing influence of civil society, social movements, and political parties also reintroduced the categories of ethnicity in terms of claims to right, recognition, and mobilization. Correspondingly, some governments in Latin America are working on ethnicity narratives especially regarding indigeneity in order to form new legitimacies within the post-liberal political systems. Hence, it is a composition of the two-way process; “from above” and “from below” that affects Latin American politics in terms of census planning (Ferrandez & Kradolfer, 2012:2) and the census is not a simplistic enumeration of individuals.

Therefore, in this thesis, I examine the causal factors leading to different outcomes about the ethnic classification in the census of Bolivia and Peru. I will explain this difference and questions asked above by describing the internal and external dynamics that affect the behavior of political and ethnic actors. In this thesis, I synthesize the nationalism and politicization of ethnicity to provide a better conceptualization of ethnic classifications. I will theorize why ethnic classification exists in the censuses of some states while it does not in others.

I. 2. Research Design and Methodology

I.2.1. Research Design

Latin American countries have rarely been studied in political science literature through the lens of ethnic classification in the censuses. There is an impressive amount of studies produced regarding indigenous social movements, indigenous parties, and indigenous rights (Madrid, 2005; Van Cott, 2005; Lucero, 2008). However, particularly in the field of comparative politics, there is a lack of study on the transformation of state policies on ethnic classification in censuses of Latin America. Nevertheless, in recent years, several indigenous movements and ethnic based political parties emerged and have strongly affected the political dynamics in some Latin American countries (Yashar, 2005; Van and Lee, 2005). However, the question is where does the ethnic classification position in the new dynamics of indigenous politics in Latin America?

In Latin America, ethnic politics exhibit a number of specific characteristics that differentiate from other parts of the world. It is mainly associated with secessionism and armed conflict in the rest of the world, as in Sri Lanka (South Asia) and Rwanda (Africa) (Madrid, 2012; Huszka, 2013). However, in Latin America, the main argument of many ethnic movements is to transform the actual state institutions to assure greater autonomy for indigenous communities at both local and regional levels rather than the formation of

their independent states; secessionism (Rousseau, S., & Dargent, E., 2019). In the 1990s, Latin American countries entered a phase of adopting constitutional reforms recognizing the multicultural nature of their communities and protecting the rights of indigenous people. Few cases like Bolivia have gone further to recognize the plurality of nations and became an official pluri-national state. Bolivia, as a case, constitutes an example of bottom-up ethnic mobilization which creates political power that ultimately reforms the state institutions. What is more theoretically compelling is how ethnic classification in the census can emerge even when there are no clear indigenous based political parties and strong ethnic mobilization. Why did some countries in Latin America decided to include ethnic classification in the censuses among others? What are the factors leading Peru to include ethnic question?

Therefore, in this thesis, I will address this puzzle by studying the case of Bolivia and Peru where in the latter, the indigenous movements and progress have been notoriously weak despite the significant indigenous population (Rousseau and Morales, Hudon, 2017). In 2017, Peru's national census included ethnic self-identification question. What are the factors explain this specific outcome best?

In the next section, I will present the theoretical framework based on the literature on ethnic classification and census and discuss the cases of Bolivia and Peru in this regard. I will analyze the dynamics of ethnic classification change in both censuses of Bolivia and Peru by emphasizing the historical origins of state recognition of ethnic diversity and the ensuing development of indigenous rights as emerged in legislative and constitutional norms and in-depth recognition through national censuses.

1.2.1.1. Dependent Variable

Classifying people by racial traits has never been far from classifying them by ethnic traits (Kertzer & Arel, 2002:11). Indeed, the two concepts of race and ethnicity are often indistinct and cause confusion in the determination of identity. Weber's (1978) definition of ethnic groups is "human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for group formation; furthermore, it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists" (Weber, 1978:139) and he defines race as "common inherited and inheritable traits that actually derive from common descent" (Weber, 1978:385). Blumer (1980) defines the concept of ethnicity as the way how the members of society identify themselves (Blumer 1980: 5).

In this study, the dependent variable is a categorical variable; "Ethnic classification in the census". There are multiple categories that count as ethnic classification. Based on the common definitions, the three main categories of ethnic classification are self-identification¹, phenotype, and common origin. In this study, I operationalize ethnic classification as a different combination of these three categories embodied in the individual. Therefore, the presence of any question regarding one of these traits in the census is sufficient to speak about ethnic classification in the census. On the other hand, asking about spoken language in the census is an additional and indirect method. It is not solely sufficient to speak about ethnic classification. The

¹ I argue that self-identification compared to other categories is a solution to problems of classification in the censuses. Ethnic identity is a socially constructed thus, self-identification is the most appropriate means to classify the population.

following section presents the reasons why the language category is not sufficient alone to determine the type of ethnic classification.

I.2.1.2. The problem of language category

In Peru, during the Republican period (1895- 1914), the two languages spoken by the main indigenous groups; Aymara and Quechua were adopted as official languages. Previously, Quechua was already lingua franca under the Inca Empire. Thus, Quechua again became the language of majority because of the continuity in using despite the colonial use of Spanish (Mannheim, 1984:293) However, the Tupac Amaru rebellion between 1780-1782 years caused Quechua language to be forbidden by colonial officials to extinguish indigenous highland elites. The new Republic did not deem Quechua and Aymara officially recognized, but the majority of the population continued to speak them as their mother tongue.

In 1821, Peru approved the colonial language, Spanish as the official language of the country during the independence period. In the independence period, Spanish has become the mother tongue of the significant part of the population (Larson, 2004). Although indigenous languages are spoken in the country, the percentage of Spanish monolingualism and bilingualism has steadily increased in recent years. The main indigenous languages in Peru are rapidly switched to Spanish, particularly among the new generations.

The main reason behind the persistent use of language category in the Peruvian census dates back to the 1970s. The Agrarian Reform between 1969 and 1978 separated the indigenous population into two groups. For the resident indigenous farmers in the Andes, the term “peasant” is adopted while the Amazonian indigenous peoples are called as native (World Bank, 2015:19). Therefore, although “indigenous communities” is much

more internationally accepted term, most of the Aymara and Quechua speaking groups preferred to use the term “comunidades campesinas” (peasant communities). This lexical difference appeared as a twofold problem in Peru. Firstly, these groups have systematically been disappeared from the demographic data and followingly, it has had negative effects on the recognition and rights of the indigenous people (Loveman, 2004).

The census results also demonstrate the discrepancies between the percentage of people who speak an indigenous language and the percentage of people who self-identify as indigenous in the countries that provided both language and self-identification. For instance, according to the 2012 census of Bolivia, 41% of the people identified as indigenous while 29% of the people stated that they speak indigenous language. The use of language as a single category in ethnic classification is quite problematic both in theory and practice. In 2010 census of Mexico shows that the percentage of indigenous people is 15% according to the self-identification category while only 7% states they speak indigenous language (World Bank, 2015). Mexico demonstrates an example of this problem, how language as a category causes exclusion. The vast majority of Cucapa people live in El Mayor, Mexico. These people are confronting restrictions regarding fishing rights since they have failed to meet the official criteria used to recognize the indigenous people. (World Bank, 2015:22) Most of the Cucapas people use Spanish as their primary language and therefore they face the hazard of discrimination because of not being properly “indigenous”. Based on this argument, authorities have delegitimized the Cucapas demands for land and fishing rights. Although Cucapa people were not excluded for not speaking Spanish in the past years and integrated into the society, now they face opposite risk since they do not speak a native language today. Hence, when the official censuses only include the language category in ethnic classification and the

indigenous people who have a lack of fluency in native languages identify Spanish as their primary language, it increasingly reduces their current legal demands.

Additionally, according to the 2017 census of Peru, while 24.7 percent of the population who are aged 12 and above self-identify as indigenous, approximately 16 percent of the population who are aged five and above speak an indigenous language as a mother tongue (Rousseau & Dargent, 2019). Although language gives a hint about the ethnic origin and culture of the household, it does not bring concrete implications in terms of recognition and claims to right. Hall and Patrinos (2004) describe two definitional problems in language questions; firstly asking about the native tongue “may exclude indigenous descendants that declare Spanish as a native tongue,” and secondly asking about “the ability to speak the indigenous language may exclude indigenous people who do not speak an indigenous language or deny knowledge of it”. It is less likely to determine the ethnicity of a person whose current operating language is Spanish.

Since the language category in the demographic data collection of indigenous people can create an unrealistic divergence in terms of classifying who is indigenous, the use of the language category in the censuses has decreased. Peru is the only country that provides solely language category to identify indigenous people, even the fact that the main indigenous languages have been rapidly replaced by Spanish. Therefore, the use of a language category may underestimate the true size of the native population in a country. In substance, self-identification compared to language not only allows indigenous people to decide their forms of ascription but also takes into account the changing character of indigeneity and different ways that indigenous people deal with state politics, market, and society. Thus, language is not evaluated as a separate category under ethnic classification in this study. Based on these criteria, I create a typology of ethnic classification: inclusion and exclusion of ethnic classification.

Table 1.1: The typology of ethnic classification in the censuses in Latin America ²

		Language Question	
		Yes	No
Ethnic Question	Yes	Inclusion Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Venezuela	Inclusion Argentina, Cuba, Guyana, Honduras, Panama, Suriname, Uruguay
	No	Exclusion Peru	Exclusion Dominican Republic, Haiti

As the Table 1 illustrates, a few of the Latin American countries excluded matter of ethnic classification throughout their censuses. In others, ethnic information was included in the censuses, and in some cases, it was included along with the language category. Throughout the census history, it was inconsistent. While countries were dropping one of the categories, they were including the other. For example, previously Mexico abandoned ethnic classification in favor of a linguistic classification (Vandiver, 1949). Based on the typology, I selected two cases: Bolivia and Peru. The two countries exhibit two different types of ethnic classification: inclusion or exclusion. Although both countries have experienced several censuses, I select the ones associated with the 21st centuries awakening regarding indigenous and afro-descendant groups.

Hence, this thesis includes national censuses carried out by Bolivia and Peru in 2000 rounds. I examined the censuses of Peru and Bolivia and particularly the questions under the section of “Characteristics of person/Population” (Características de la persona/población) are identified in terms of ethnic and linguistic classifications. This

² The data is collected from the World Population and Housing Census program of United Nations. <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/censusquest.html>

The Appendix 1 demonstrates the collected data for the typology.

selection of cases provides an insight into the contemporary notion of official ethnic classification in Latin America. The question is again: what explains the inclusion or exclusion of ethnic classification in the censuses? What are the circumstances that lead to two countries which are quite similar to follow different paths?



Table 1.2: Characteristics and Circumstances of The Selected Ethnic Classifications in Bolivia And Peru.

BOLIVIA				
CENSUS YEAR	Question	Options	Classification	Status
2001	¿Cuáles el idioma o lengua en el que aprendió a hablar en su niñez?	Quechua, Aymara, Castaellano Guarari, Otro Nativo, Extranjero No habla	Linguistic	Inclusion
	¿Se considera perteneciente a alguno de los siguientes pueblos originarios o indígenas?	Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, Chiquitano, Mojeno, Otro native	Ethnic	
2012	¿Cuál es el primer idioma que aprendió a hablar en su niñez?	No options specified. ³	Linguistic	Inclusion
	¿Como boliviana o boliviano ¿pertenece a alguna nación o pueblo indígena originario campesino o afro boliviano?	Afro boliviano, Araona, Aymara, Ayoreo, Baure, Canichana, Cavineño, Cayubaba, Chácobo, Chipaya, Chiquitano, Esse Ejja, Guarani, Guarasugwe, Guarayo, Itonama, Joaquiniano, Kallawayaya, Leco, Machinerí, Maropa, Mojeño, Moré, Mosetén, Movima, Murato, Pacahuara, Quechua, Sirionó, Tacana, Tapiete, Tsimane/Chiman,Urus, Weenayek, Yaminagua, Yampara, Yuki, Yuracaré, Yuracaré Mojeño	Ethnic	
PERU				
CENSUS YEAR	Question	Options	Classification	Status
2007	El idioma o lengua con el que aprendió a hablar fue:	Quechua, Aymara, Ashaninka, Otra lengu a nativa,	Linguistic	Exclusion
	-	-	Ethnic	
2017	¿Cuál es el idioma o lengua materna con el que aprendió a hablar en su niñez: ¿Por sus costumbres y sus antepasados? Usted se siente o considera:	Quechua, Aymara, Ashaninka, Awajun/Aguaruna Shipibo-Konibo Shawi/Chayahuita, Matsigenka/Machiguenga Achuar, Otra lengua nativa u originaria Quechua, Aimara, Ashaninka, Nativo o indigen de la Amazonia, Perteneciente o parte de otro pueblo indigena u originario, Negro,moreno, zambo,mulato pueblo afroperuano o afrodescendiente, Blanco, Mestizo.	Linguistic Ethnic	Inclusion

³ The question regarding language is formed as a “fill in the blank” format in 2012 Bolivian census.

I.2.2. Methodology

In this thesis, the research on ethnic classification in censuses of Bolivia and Peru will be conducted through a comparative historical analysis based on the sources of the different survey, declarations, conventions, original census questionnaires, and other types of data will be used. The comparative basis of this research employs Mill's method of difference which is also known as the "Most Similar Systems Design" (George & Bennett, 2005). This method identifies independent variables related to different outcomes. In order to achieve the objective of this thesis, this method will help the identification of the variables that led to ethnic classification changes in the census of Bolivian case, but not in Peru until 2017. In other words, Most Similar Systems Design will be employed to define different ethnic classification approaches present in Bolivia and Peru as a dependent variable. The independent variables that explain this variance in the outcome will be identified as briefly discussed above.

Paul Pierson (2003) identifies four different categories with reference to natural disasters to classify causal arguments based on the temporal dimension of the independent and dependent variables. He metaphorically explains the 'earthquake' where the causes appear over the long period of time, whereas the outcomes develop in a relatively shorter-term (Pierson, 2013) Thus, according to Pierson's categorization of temporality, the selected cases Peru and Bolivia illustrate the earthquake type of cases. The outcome (DV) of this thesis is an instance of a historic change; the inclusion of ethnic classification in the census in Bolivia (2001) and Peru (2017). This change is the result of political and historical changes that have appeared over the decades.

I.3. Case Selection

After analyzing twenty-four Latin American countries, this thesis will mainly explore and evaluate the argument within the subset of two countries: Bolivia and Peru. The applied methodological design will be the most similar systems design since both Bolivia and Peru are in Latin America and they share similar socio-economic, political, and cultural components. In Latin America, ethnically indigenous population is around 40 million and the majority of them inhabits in Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru (Brysk 2000:6) However, it is difficult to estimate the actual size and the percentages of indigenous populations since there are disparities in the way census have been collected and the groups are defined and identified across the region.

Table 1.3: Countries with higher than 10% Indigenous Population in Latin America⁴

Country	Proportion of Indigenous Population	Estimated Indigenous Population (in millions)⁵	Year of Census
Mexico	15.0%	16.83	2010
Peru	26.0%	7.60	2007
Guatemala	41.0%	5.88	2002
Bolivia	41.0%	4.12	2012

⁴ World Bank. (2015). *Indigenous Latin America in the Twenty-first Century: The First Decade*. World Bank.

⁵ Estimation of the indigenous population was made using the “self-definition” category in all censuses, except Peru. Census of Peru provides only language category as a mean of classification.

The case studies of this thesis, Bolivia and Peru have a relative and large indigenous population within the continent. With respect to the visibility of indigenous and Afro-descendant populations in the censuses, Peru stays unique in its avoidance to include ethnic classification in the censuses. Countries with the highest indigenous population have already included such classification. Although Peru has a relatively smaller percentage of the indigenous population than Bolivia and higher than Mexico, the censuses are surprisingly unlike those which already have official ethnic classification.

Peru is located in Andean region and forms some part of Amazonian area like Bolivia. Similarity between Peru and Bolivia is not limited to demography and geography. They have experienced parallel political trajectories beginning from the colonial era. Colonial Peru originally extended across the borders of today's Bolivia. Therefore, Bolivia and Peru are two interesting cases to compare because of their colonial histories. The indigenous people were systematically excluded in both countries because of the earlier colonial rule and continuance of the exclusionary position of the state even after the independence from those colonial powers. Since independence, "they continuously struggled with the incorporation of the indigenous masses into the nation-state, the so-called 'Indian Question'" (Yashar 2005:239).

The colonial Peruvian State implemented indigenous policies affecting the formation of indigenous communities in most of the Amazon and Andean regions and created political and institutional parallels between Peru and Bolivia. Yashar (2005) argues that there are colonial policies that enforced an early version of "corporatism" by creating a distinctive and legal category of indigenous people and institutionalizing indigenous communities as separate areas. In the next postcolonial period, Peru along with Bolivia reversed the previous policies and developed new liberal policies to assimilate, dominate and incorporate indigenous people by extinguishing their local

privileges and autonomy (Yashar, 2005:227). Consequently, Peru and Bolivia have a common historical background in the transition between corporatist and liberal state policies.

Latin American countries have experienced a wave of constitutional reform in the late 20th century. Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru are those seven countries that adopted or modified constitutions to recognize the multiethnic, multicultural nature of their societies (Aguilar Rivera, 2013). According to new amendments, the 1994 Bolivian constitution declares that “Bolivia is constituted as a Unitary Social State of Pluri-National Communitarian that is free, independent, sovereign, democratic, inter-cultural, decentralized and with autonomies. Bolivia is founded on plurality and on political, economic, juridical, cultural, and linguistic pluralism in the integration process of the country.”⁶ Additionally, Article 2 with the amendments in 2009 states that “the pre-colonial existence of nations and rural native indigenous peoples and their ancestral control of their territories, their free determination, consisting of the right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, recognition of their institutions, and the consolidation of their territorial entities, is guaranteed within the framework of the unity of the State, in accordance with this Constitution and the law.”

Similarly, Article 2 in the 1993 Peruvian constitution “recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nation” as well as ethnic and cultural identities⁷. Therefore, both Bolivia and Peru became legally bounded and constitutionally pledged to protect the right of these groups. Furthermore, both countries signed International Labor

⁶ “Bolivia, libre, independiente, soberana, multiétnica y pluricultural, constituida en Republica unitaria, adopta para su gobierno la forma democrática representativa, fundada en la unidad y la solidaridad de todos los bolivianos” (Bolivia Constitution, 1994)

⁷ “El derecho de toda persona a su identidad étnica y cultural, a usar su propio idioma ante cualquier autoridad a través de un intérprete, delegando al Estado, la tarea de reconocimiento y protección de la pluralidad étnica y cultural de la Nación” (Peru Constitution, 1993)

Organization (ILO) Convention 169, also called as “Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention” which was ratified by Bolivia in 1991 and two years later by Peru. The convention assures the right of indigenous groups and delineates how to protect their territory, language, customs, and culture.

In conclusion, these two cases were chosen not because they share the most similar political, historical, and demographic characteristics but also because they exhibit a variation in the outcomes of ethnic and racial classification in their censuses. While Bolivia included ethnic and racial classification much earlier, Peru only included the category of ethnicity after 2017.

1.4. The Argument

Why do some states include ethnic classifications in their censuses, while others not? What are the circumstances that determine the inclusion and exclusion of ethnic classification? I answer these questions through a comparative qualitative analysis that includes the official censuses of Bolivia and Peru from the given eras. The ethnic classification has been rarely studied from a comparative perspective, particularly by establishing a causal mechanism and typologies. However, ethnic mobilizations and official ethnic classification have great significance in the politicization of ethnicity. This thesis addresses two cases of ethnic classification conducted during the period identity/ethnic-based awakening of the late 20th century and 21st century. I argue that the combination of the three independent variables: political opportunity structures, a new discourse, the influence of international trend, and actors determines the outcome of ethnic classification whether it is inclusive or exclusive. Although they are defined as a separate variable to create systematic analysis within the scope of this thesis, there is no

definite distinction between these three variables. They are temporally linked and co-constitutive at points in time particularly in critical junctures.

In the case of Bolivia, greater opening in the political system thus, increased opportunities for indigenous groups to bring their interest to agenda, ascendant indigenous discourse together with the international trend regarding the awakening of indigenous and afro-descendant people resulted in an inclusion of an ethnic question in the census. It even advanced the scope of the census question in 2012 by adding Afro-Bolivians into the category.

In the case of Peru, the political opportunity structures were constrained by civil war and military regimes. The longtime absence of indigenous discourse resulted in exclusive ethnic classification in the country until 2017. By 2009, the transformation has begun and the pressure on the political system and indigenous groups has disappeared. The international trend regarding indigenous and Afro-descendant awakening became salient and finally resulted in inclusion of ethnic question regarding both indigenous and afro-descendant people in Peru.

Table 1.4. Presence or absence of the selected independent variables in the selected two cases.

	Political Opportunity Structure (IV ₁)	A new indigenous discourse (IV ₂)	International Influence (IV ₃)	Ethnic Classification (DV ₁)
Bolivia	+	+	+	+
Peru	—	-	+/-	-
Peru After 2017	+	+	+	+

Absence: -

Presence: +

Partial Presence: +/-

I.4.1 Dynamics of ethnic classification

This section includes a systematic presentation of the Ethnic Classification dynamics that will be analyzed for each case. The first pillar of the path toward the change in ethnic classification policies is the political opportunity structure of the country. This thesis argues that the openness of the political system, having an indigenous discourse, and the influence of international trends and actors are mutually necessary to create change in ethnic classification. The followings are the main arguments to be explored regarding the evolution of ethnic classification in Bolivia and Peru and these arguments are presented in order to make preliminary assumptions about the possible models that involve different factors and influence the evolution of classification together.

The dynamics of ethnic classification are separated into three main categories to analyze systematically. The first category is the political opportunity structure. The factors related with the political opportunity structure function as the means for possible politicization of indigenous issues in the given environment because for the politicization of ethnicity there must be certain conditions. I discuss different arguments about the openness and closure of political systems based on the political opportunity structures in the following part. Then, in the second part, a new discourse of state or political actors is argued to explain the condition through which political actor's discourse shaped the tendency toward indigenous people. And then, I discuss the influence of international actors and trends over ethnic classification systems.

The main purpose of this three-pillared approach is to propose a political process that includes political actors within the state, indigenous communities, and international actors. The openness of the institutionalized political system is not enough to create change in the ethnic classification systems without active and inclusive indigenous discourse and support from the international actors. However, the influence and

involvement of international actors do not solely create an incentive for such change without open political opportunity structure and indigenous discourse. Based on this argumentative framework, the dynamic of ethnic classification will be argued in this chapter. A detailed discussion of each argument will be included in the empirical sections allocated to each case.

I.4.1.1. Political opportunity structure

Political opportunity refers to the essential premise where external factors enhance or hinder the probability of mobilization. (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). Sidney Tarrow (1994) defines political opportunity structure as “consistent but not necessarily formal or permanent dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectation for success or failure (Tarrow, 1994:18) Scholars use the theory of political opportunity to explain various outcomes. Despite, the theory of political opportunity hypothesizes that mobilization can influence the policy and institutional change, any comprehensive work has developed that examining the effect of mobilization on policies and institutional changes. (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004: 1462) However, this study demonstrates that factors leading to social or political mobilization lead to policy and institutional change. Political opportunity structure also attaches critical importance to the institutional environment (Mc Adam, 1996) and basically refers to the complex formal and informal political situations within the country. The established conflicts within the country may impose significant constraints (Guigni & Kriesi, 1995). Basically, the features of the institutional environment such as the state’s tendency to openness or oppression of the political system can take different forms. In this case, the official recognition of indigenous people and the presence of special channels for their representation constitutes the examples.

The historical institutionalism approach focuses on the historical processes in order to comprehend institutional changes and continuities in the political system. Institutions are the outcomes of those temporal historical processes and they arise from the political and social context and are maintained by this context. Despite the assumption that institutions contemplate the identities and express indigenous people's claims, it is undeniable fact that they also fundamentally influence the existence of identities and status of indigenous people.

States and political actors can be decisive in the ethnic classification system in the context of certain political institutions that open or limit the political sphere and proclaim various national projects. Thus, the concept of state tradition appears to be important to understand persistence in ethnic classification systems. Cardinal and Sonntag (2015) argue that difficulties often arise in the context of weakening state traditions, in critical junctures. The concept of "state tradition" is based on political science (Loughlin, 2005). In this study, I refer state tradition concept from the historical institutionalism and draw on the analytical instrument of comparative politics such as "critical junctures". The political actors are under the impact of institutions (Béland & Lecours 2012; McEwen 2006). These political actors follow the normative and institutional traditions in making policy choices that is to say they depend on the path. Even though policy pathways are extremely dependent on the tradition of state, policy choices are decided at the critical junctures that emerge in the path. The literature of state traditions addresses the importance of critical junctures where political or social actors can withdraw from the mold of social structures and escape from the path dependency (Thelen, 1999; Collier & Collier, 2001). Critical junctures broaden the range of choices for political actors. Critical juncture is crucial for this study since it unveils the focal points of interaction between

policy and tradition. A critical juncture may be presented by social, political, economic, or environmental crises or dramatic change (Cardinal & Sonntag, 2015:5).

The occurrence of critical juncture may lead to changes in state tradition. Since policy choices are guided by state traditions, policy choices may differ in this case policy choices regarding ethnic classification. Previously established pathways might be transformed occasionally. State traditions play a role in framing how choices of ethnic classification policy are designed without preconcerting the specific content of the choices. This approach allows to reveal the causal relationship across case studies and contextualize the state actions historically. In the study of cultural and ethnic identity policies, the role of political institutions in shaping political and social outcomes is very important. Therefore, critical junctures and political opportunity structures within the country should be evaluated together.

McAdam (1996) identifies four different dimensions of political opportunity structure; openness or closure of the political system, the stability of elite alignments, the existence of elite allies, the state's capacity, and the tendency for repression. For the selected cases for this thesis, Bolivia and Peru, I rely upon the first and fourth dimension of political opportunity structure to analyze. I employ two variables under the political opportunity structure: the state repression and openness or closure of the political system that it points out the degree which ethnic groups in Bolivia and Peru benefited from the freedom of expression and association without repression from the state. I hypothesize that the general openness in the political system increases opportunities for politicization of ethnicity and ultimately leads to a greater probability of change in the census questions. In this thesis, in addition to political opportunity structure variable, I also employ critical juncture variable from the theory of historical institutionalism. When critical junctures appear, states can break with their traditions and adopt new patterns. Decentralization is

one of these critical junctures in the history of given case studies which opens up space for indigenous communities to demand rights and recognition. The analysis includes the period starting from the transitions to democracy in the 1980s, respectively until 2017, the latest census in Peru. I point out different evolutions in the political institutions and changing opportunities for a number of actors in the process of adopting a new ethnic classification system. In what follows, I present the observations regarding both Bolivian and Peruvian cases around the changes I identify as qualitatively decisive to explain the core outcome.

I.1.4.2. A New Discourse

In Andean region, the identities sometimes overlap and sometimes diverge from each other. The conceptual clarification of these identities or their use is not always sufficiently taken into account. Albo & Quispe (2004) illuminate these identities as following; “The most common thing in the rural areas of Bolivia, especially in its Andean region, is that people are both peasant and indigenous. In terms of their historical and sociocultural identity they are indigenous; Quechua, Aymara, Mojenos, etc. But, in terms of socioeconomic status, because of the way they are living, they are peasants.”⁸

In the political context of the 1950s, during the Agrarian Revolution, the common belief that there were no Indians but instead there were peasants who were internalized by political community and these group of people. But in reality, these conceptions correspond to two different dimensions that may or may not overlap. (Albó and Quispe 2004:18). “Ethnic identities are not singular, nor are they fixed” (Chandra, 2012:2). Chandra claims that ethnic identities are most of the time product of economic and

⁸ “Lo más común en las áreas rurales de Bolivia, sobre todo de su región andina, es que la gente sea a la vez indígena y campesina. En términos de su identidad histórica y sociocultural son indígenas quechuas, aymaras, mojeños, etc. Pero en términos socioeconómicos es decir por la forma en que se ganan la vida, son campesinos.” (Albo & Quispe, 2004:18)

political occurrence, thus, change over time. Her work builds the theories of the relationship between politics, economics, and ethnicity on a strengthened constructivist basis. This approach puts forth that people may be identified by others or self-identify themselves in various way depending on the context. Moreover, indigenous groups may also endeavor to form a collective identity and discourse to captivate both supporters and authorities.

Within the given context, in this thesis, a new discourse refers to a new perspective, introduced by the political actors, against the present ethnic classification system. More importantly, the new discourse demonstrates that political actors recognize the multi-ethnic nature and indigenous identities of the country. A new discourse operates as an agent to transform the requests of indigenous groups into the concrete policies and implications such as ethnic classification in the census.

The discourse is also concerned with the improvement of the collective identity that enables people to mobilize when an appropriate opportunity arises and emblematic facets of the collective action. The concept of discourse in some cases have used interchangeably with a frame which has been used to indicate in its most general meaning a “schema of interpretation” and it essentially refers to a process in which meaning is reproduced in society (Vermeersch, 2006). The term of discourse/frame creates an opportunity to analyze the construction of ethnic identity. Essentially, all social movements or ethnic communities are required to have a particular identity or at least a political consciousness to mobilize its individuals. Accordingly, indigenous collective actions emerge not only to advocate their identities but also to improve them. Therefore, I argue that in the national level the inclusive or exclusive outcomes of politicization of ethnicity are determined by two factors: political opportunity structures and a new discourse of political actors. A new discourse precisely helps to examine those framings

that have been reconstructed and facilitated the process of ethnic classification in Bolivia and Peru. The independent variable “a new discourse” is operationalized into two different indicators: decline of class discourse against ethnic discourse and inclusive discourse toward indigenous people. I hypothesize that these indicators of the framing process positively affect the ethnic classification in the census. When the political actors follow a new discourse by praising indigenous identity over class identity, they assist the politicization of ethnicity thus shifting to an inclusive ethnic classification.

I.1.4.3. Influence of International Trends and Actors

The influence of international actors and trends appears in two dimensions. The first one refers to international regulations and pressures produced by relevant international organizations, international actors, and bodies with jurisdiction to start and execute the process. The latter refers to international trends and awakening about indigenous rights and recognition. When these issues are discussed globally, their impact diffuses into the different regions within the continent and increase the pressure. The binding nature of international regulations in Bolivia and Peru have comparable relationships to international human rights law. For example, both Bolivia and Peru have ratified the subsequent three regional instruments on the international level: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Rice, 2014). They also ratified ILO Convention 169⁹ on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, which stipulates the right to prior consultation – however, the process of prior consultation developed differently in both country -. Nevertheless,

⁹ Bolivia ratified ILO 169 on 11 December 1991 and Peru ratified on 2 February 1994.

since the ratification, they have been the subject of several observations and repression issued by the ILO's Committee. Because when a state approves an international agreement, they pledge to comply with its provisions and jurisdiction.

From the beginning of the 1990s, an international trend has been consolidated accordingly with the reinforcing of indigenous organizations and social movements in the world. This trend has culminated in a series of agreements, conventions, and policy work on the recognition of the rights of indigenous and Afro-descendant people. Many states in the Latin American region have ratified those international agreements that derived from the consensus among the different states. The convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), prepared in 1989, is one of the main international legal instruments that aims to advance the protection and recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. Similarly, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, Cairo, 1994), highlights the necessity of recognizing the specific needs of indigenous groups and advocates the idea that data should be collected based on indigenous people's demographic characteristics and integrated into national data gathering systems". And especially the second half of the 20th century has witnessed the resurgence of ethnic conflicts and new presence of indigenous people on the world stage in the context of globalization (Albó 1991, Robin & Salazar-Soler 2009). These new tendencies and trends have affected the current conceptions of development especially in terms of recognition of indigenous people's economic, social, cultural, and political rights and guiding public policies that meet the needs of these groups. The collection of statistics aimed to serve for the design and development of social inclusion policies in some countries that concern the problems of historically excluded groups (Schkolnik and Del Popolo, 2005: 249).

Developing the conditions of this part of the population has been considered as a priority issue in the agendas of international and multilateral organizations. The

organizations like the United Nations, World Bank, International Labor Organization, and various non-governmental organizations have focused on the design and implementation of the policies and projects that address the needs of these groups. Keck and Sikkink (2000) argue that these transnational actors provide necessary material and information resources that enable these groups to act effectively for change (cited in Brigham, 2009). In this regard, official statistics generated in several countries implemented initiatives that included ethnic classification/identification. Official ethnic classification provides an understanding of the relations between ethnicity and state in the contemporary world. Although classifications presenting basic demographics of the population were more prevalent in many modern states, the inclusion of social characteristics such as ethnic classification in the census was historically unsteady. Some states have refused to classify people by ethnicity for years while others have preferred to include such categories by changing its structure over the years. These initiatives demonstrate a prominent historical change. In the past, states measured or recorded information about ethnicity in order to classify social groups for political control and tax purposes. Furthermore, as a part of the formation of modern nation-states in Latin America, it served to promote the inclusion of these groups under the patterns of acculturation and validity of mestizaje discourse.

The pressure from regional and international organizations led many of the Latin American countries to go into a change and introduce new questions regarding ethnic origins in national censuses. International organizations took a role in the official ethnic classification of Bolivia and Peru by pressuring national statistics institutions to adopt reforms. The pressures can take several forms such as discursive, material, or coercive according to responses from countries. The first action of international organizations for census reform was to support local activists to influence domestic agendas. During the 1980s, international organizations provided institutional and discursive support for

domestic actors to increase awareness and draw the attention of the state. The second and more significant step was direct organizational support and public advocacy for the presentation of new census questions in Latin America.

The international trends and approaches have changed by the end of the twentieth century. The idea of that national development closely related with the decline of the ethnic minority population has begun to disappear (Loveman, 2004:250). The modern nation-state models have been criticized by both in national and international level. The previous models have been replaced by an increasing recognition that states should accept diversity and address ethnic disparities. International forums gave rise to official recognition of internal diversities. Especially, since the early 2000s, countries that rarely included ethnic questions on national censuses have started to add an explicit question about these identities.

In Bolivia and in some other countries like Colombia and Brazil, local constituencies and representatives established relatively robust initiatives to sustain and expand data collection. On the other hand, the sustainability and expansion of data collection in the absence of international agencies' pressure and resources are provisional in many other countries. It is important to note that the international influence alone is not sufficient criteria, for a change in ethnic classification system, other independent variables is required. Once the other independent variables exist, then international influence determines the direction of classification.

By using this variable: influence of international trends and actors, I trace the presentation of new census questions in Bolivia and Peru and show that national institutions of statistics included new questions to capture ethnic groups in response to demands and pressure of international actors. The influence of international trends and actors is two facets independent variable. The second facet is the international trends that

spread all over the world. Additional to indigenous people, the visibility of Afro-descendant populations has increased and became even more salient in the 2010s. The reflection of this international trend and promotion of indigenous and afro-descendants people's rights will also be discussed for each case in the following chapters.

In conclusion, the combination of these three independent variables and their absence or presence determines the type of ethnic classification in census. According to argument, the absence of political opportunity structure, a new discourse, and international influence result in exclusive ethnic classification in the census. In Peru, until beginning of 21st century political opportunity structures were constrained, transition to decentralization was not stable.

Table 1.5: Operationalization of independent and dependent variables

	Political Opportunity Structure (IV₁)	A new discourse (IV₂)	Influence of international trend and actors (IV₃)	Ethnic Classification (DV)
Bolivia	Yes, significant political opportunity structure Initial political opening between 1970 and 1971. Political opening between 1978 and 1982 Decentralization	Yes, strong ethnic discourse Previous class discourse has been abandoned . Ethnic discourse has increased by the end of the 1970s. Particularly salient from 2000.	Yes, Durban Conference 2001 Prior consultation Afro-descendant awakening in 2010s	Yes, inclusive ethnic classification via self-identification in 2002 and additional afro-boliviano category in 2012
Peru	No, constrained political opportunity structures Constraints in 1980–1992 due to the civil war between state and Shining Path Fujimori’s autogolpe in 1992 Violent actions against indigenous communities Decentralization and recentralization	No, prevailing class discourse Validity of a class discourse from the 1970s General Velasco adopted peasant identity for indigenous people.	Yes, Durban Conference 2001 Prior consultation Afro-descendant awakening in 2010s	No, exclusive ethnic classification in 2007 – only language category Yes, inclusive ethnic classification in 2017 via self-identification question.

A new discourse was obtained much later than Bolivia. On the other hand, Bolivia completed process in late 1990s and early 2000s. A new indigenous discourse, greater

political opportunity structures and influence of international actors resulted in inclusive ethnic classification in Bolivia. In this chapter, the selected independent variables are presented and the variance in these variables provide explanation regarding ethnic classification. Their absence or presences fosters or hinders ethnic classification.

I. 5. Why Study Census?

Census is a tool to classify the populations on a regular basis. Anderson (1991) in his pioneer book “Imagined Communities” considers census as one of the three institutions of power that shaped how colonial states imagine their dominion. The concurrent use of census and sample survey also appears to be conflicting for readers. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe UNECE (2006) defines population census as “the operation that produces at regular intervals the official counting (or benchmark) of the population in the territory of a country and in its smallest geographical sub-territories together with information on a selected number of demographic and social characteristics of the total population” (Pfeffermann & Rao, 2009:529). However, the sample survey enounces enumeration of the subgroup of the population and by the subgroup estimates the general characteristics of the whole population. Since the scope of the survey is misleading and present oversimplified frame of the country, the main focus of this study is official censuses, not the sample surveys.

Census enables to draw borders, make distinctions, and distinguish people, languages, religion, and regions. Thus, enumerating the objects of the state makes it easier to incorporate them into the state organization. The use of ethnic categories in censuses creates a distinct perspective of social reality. All people are identified through a single category and therefore they share a common identity with a certain number of other people. Brubaker (2004) also argues that the use of ethnic classifications/categories

by official institutions have a profound effect on the way individuals and society perceive themselves. The state and its institutions have always been a robust identifier that can implement an ethnic classification system by official statistics, censuses, administrative procedures, and education curriculum (Sulmont, 2011). These ethnic classification systems do not automatically form identities or ethnic groups. Instead, they create certain categories that legally present for the framing of political claims and mobilization of political action. (Brubaker, 2004:54)

Nowadays like in the past, censuses give detailed information about the distribution of a population in terms of sex, age, ethnicity and many any other criteria including civil status, physical disability, parenthood, employment status, and place/conditions of residence (Loveman, 2014:3). The collection of social characteristics of populations helps to determine the responsibilities of citizens and to redistribute the rights and obligations evenly between different groups. It basically serves the purpose of distributing public funds equally such as healthcare and educational programs. Another function of a census is that it assures each group or community to receive the legitimate number of representatives in the government. The information gathered by a census is principal since the representation is rested upon the population. Ethnic classification facilitates to enforce affirmative action programs and policies of social integration and protection of indigenous and afro-descendent people. For instance, in the contemporary Brazil, South Africa and United States, official ethnic classification enables states to manage affirmative action programs and scrutinize accordance with civil and collective rights law (Skrentny, 1996). It also enables states to encounter inequality and discrimination and to protect vulnerable minority groups. These are examples of more inclusionary practices. Rallu (2004) exemplifies exclusionary practices of governments

in ethnic classification; the purpose of political control, not classifying those people in the name of national integration.

Given these specific uses of official censuses are considered, their accuracy and inclusiveness become particularly more important. Inadequate coverage of ethnic groups adversely affects their situation in society, where significant socio-economic inequalities are experienced. However, Latin America presents various cultural problems to statisticians who have difficulty in determining conceptual equivalents due to the cultural diversity in the region. Both historical and comparative analysis of why and how states decide to classify their population under the ethnic category is crucial to explain the outcomes and meanings of ethnicity in Latin America. Therefore, this study is concerned with a certain practice of state classification, ethnic classification in the national census.

Chapter II: **Theoretical Framework and Empirical Overview**

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis. There have been various studies on the politicization of ethnicity with political and sociological perspectives. However, little has been written about changes in state traditions regarding ethnic classification. The main objective is here to define “Ethnic Classification” as the central theoretical concept. I use it to explain variance in the census of Bolivia and Peru. By discussing the main arguments regarding the politicization of ethnicity and classification issues in the literature, this chapter will provide the necessary basis on the dynamic of ethnic classification changes. With the theoretical background given in this chapter, inclusive ethnic classification of Bolivia and persistence of exclusive ethnic classification in Peru’s census until 2017 will be analyzed in the following chapters.

II. 1. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Ethnic movements and ethnic awakening have reappeared with the last sequence of democratization in the world. Although these movements in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia differ considerably, they have opposed to prevalent thoughts about nation-state and citizenship. They have questioned nation-state as the way it is currently planned and established. Particularly, they have questioned the idea that it serves as the legitimate basis for defining and brooding/narrowing democratic citizenship rights and responsibilities.

In addition to older demands such as equal access and inclusion for all ethnic groups, demands of self-determination and recognition of group rights gradually increased. Movements with ethnic concerns have a long history of mobilizing and protesting in Europe, Asia, and Africa, but it is quite remarkable that until recently, there has been no comparable such ethnic-based model in Latin America. Undoubtedly, indigenous people in Latin America have organized and protested in the past, but it was rarely about progressing ethnic claims and promoting explicitly agendas about indigenous. In fact, Latin America was identified as an outlier where ethnic mobilization, conflicts, and political controversies did not occur (Huntington and Domínguez, 1975; Horowitz, 1985; and Gurr and Harff et, 1994).

The contemporary emergence of indigenous movements in Latin America is an embodiment of demanding for equal rights, recognition of special rights as indigenous people, land rights, and autonomous juridical regions. Most importantly, they demand for maintaining ethnic identities which is distinct from pluri-national state. States include and exclude certain political identities, particularly through different forms of the census. Yashar (2005) argues that “political identities are historically contingent, institutionally bounded, and open to change”. To explain the changes in identity politics and

classification systems in contemporary Latin America, this study benefits from this approach that significant institutional changes, opening in political opportunity structures and changes in discourses may have politicized identities in a new way.

Any study of ethnic classification must address the question of what differentiates the concepts of race and ethnicity. Max Weber, a pioneer in sociology, was one of the first sociologists to distinguish between ethnicity and race. He defines ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent,” and “it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists” (Weber, 1978: 389-385). The New Oxford American Dictionary also defines ethnicity as “the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition” and race as “each of the major divisions of humankind, having distinct physical characteristics ...” (Jewell and Abate 2001).. However, in recent decades, the concept of race has been discredited and its scientific validity and usefulness have been questioned (Ballard, 1996). The academic and scientific works that question race provided further evidence that skin color as a phenotypic characteristic is not a good predictor and such racial categorization does not adequately explain human genetic diversity (Lewontin, 2006). Therefore, ethnicity has frequently been used instead of race term since the use of the race is thought to spread racism by denoting that biological races actually exist (Wade, 2010). One of the main counterarguments that challenge the reliability and validity of the category of race claims that race has inherently inexplicit and unstable.

In sum, there is various distinction between two concepts, and they do not have fixed references. They are also embedded in popular, academic, and political discourses, which are themselves a constituent part of these practices and relationships (Wade, 2010). Since most of the people have multiple identities, depending on who they interact with and in what context, ethnic identities are intertwined. The links between the ethnic

categories and political framings endorsing them can be observed in every society. National statistics of population do not only seek to generate information about demographic dynamics, but also offer a point of reference for policies and contribute to the production and reproduction of national ethnic identities (Anderson, 1991; Desrosières, 1993). The categories used in official enumeration impact and reflect the divisions in society. The creation of these categories stems from the historical, political, and social processes of concessions between social forces and political authorities. In this sense, censuses perform more than reflecting social realities; they also take part in the construction of these realities (Kertzer and Arel, 2002).

Ethnicity has been basically conceptualized by two major theoretical approaches. The first one is primordialism. Essentially, it argues that ethnic groups are defined by their own characteristics and inheritance to their culture, values, customs languages, and ancestry. As Shils (1957) argues, the ethnic affiliations are the products of primordial feelings and adherence. From this perspective, ethnic identity exists as “a priori” and is something given. There are a number of characteristics that predetermine the ethnic affiliations of individuals and groups. The second approach does not include a single base, rather a several standpoints that are in opposition to primordialism. Basically, these approaches argue that there are no predetermined and constant ethnic identities. Ethnic identities are subject to changes thus, they are dynamic. The social, political, and cultural environment highly influences the identities where these groups involved (Comaroff, 1992). Ethnic identity as a process of social construction does not have essential and necessarily lasting traits, rather it can be rediscovered and reinvented (Roosens, 1989). This is because ethnic groups tend to define themselves in a relational way; that is, according to other groups and their bond with them.

Another view is the instrumental approach which basically argues that ethnic identity is a resource for political mobilization, hence it is manipulated to acquire certain ends. From this point of view, an ethnic group functions as an interest group in practice and performs organizational strategic activity (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). In general, traditional definitions of ethnicity incorporates elements of both approaches; primordialist and constructivists. Therefore, the ethnic group basically refers to a community that shares a common history, tradition, culture. Ethnicity is conceived as a combination of identity ascribed from the bonds of common descents and other characteristics such as religion, culture, and language (Bayar, 2009).

There are two dimensions of ethnicity/ ethnic identity; identification and categorization (Valdivia, 2011:34) One of the ways that ethnic identity can be inferred is the categorization of subjects based on certain features such as cultural, racial, and social that would describe them as members of a certain ethnic group. (Valdivia, 2011:35) The second way that ethnic identity defined is related to an internal conceptualization and vision of the subjects about themselves. Hence, in short, this distinction is related to the variation between the identity as assigned externally by others and identity as an affiliation of the subjects themselves. The distinction made by Jenkins (2004) is very relevant for this study; (self)identification is oriented from within while categorization externally oriented.

In Latin America, a significant consensus has been achieved regarding proposals on how to advance an ethnic approach in the statistics systems of the countries of the region. In the census of 2000 rounds, most of the Latin American countries included at least one question regarding ethnic identification. For instance, Bolivia and Guatemala incorporated three questions would enable ethnic identification such as mother tongue, the language person speaks and self-identification. On the other hand, Paraguay,

Venezuela, Ecuador, and Mexico included two questions - the language person speaks and self-identification (Schkolnik and Del Popolo, 2005). In the last decades, the most common indicators were language, race, and ethnic self-identification. Each of them corresponds to different dimensions: adherence to culture, common ancestry, and advancement of consciousness, (Schkolnik and Del Popolo 2005). The analysis of 2000 census rounds demonstrate that ethnic self-identification was incorporated in five countries. And countries with a high proportion of Afro-descendant people such as Brazil and Cuba preferred to use the question about physical traits as they have already done historically. Yet, in general terms, there is a trend to use self-identification questions - be it ethnic or racial.

As discussed in the literature, nationalism is nothing more than the past, and even the newest claims of nationalism stem from a discourse of pre-existing ethnicity (Calhoun, 1993). Moreover, several other researchers have shown that ethnic identities appear to be dependent on ethnic classifications which are promoted by the state and the political elites (Vermeersch, 2012) and ethnic self-identification of indigenous people is one of the crucial demands associated with ethnic mobilization. The literature provides different theoretical explanations regarding the adaptation of ethnic classification in the census. Ethnic classifications can be associated with the ethnic regimes of the country. Aktürk (2011) defines ethnicity regime as the “the dynamics of persistence and change in state policies regulating the relationship between ethnicity and nationality”. He identifies three categories of ethnicity regimes: “monoethnic”, “antiethnic”, and “multiethnic” regimes and defines two different dimensions of it; “membership” and “expression”. One of the important policies regarding the expression axis of ethnicity regime that associated with this thesis is “recognition of more than one ethnicity in the constitution, census, and key official documents (Aktürk, 2011:121) Recognition of more

than one ethnic group is one of the facets of the multiethnic regime. State traditions frame and make these regulations and ethnic classifications.

While approaching the cases of Latin America, it is crucial to emphasize the authoritarian state traditions closely related with the postcolonial legacy of Spanish ethnic classification where indigenous people have long been excluded and marginalized (Maenhout, K., & Rundell, E., 2012:53). In order to study the change of the Bolivian and Peruvian ethnic classification dynamics from an exclusive one to inclusive one, I propose a historical institutionalist analysis that remarks the critical junctures and state traditions. I employ the subsequent definition of critical juncture; “In the analysis of path-dependent institutions, the concept of critical juncture refers to situations of uncertainty in which decisions of important actors are causally decisive for the selection of one path of institutional development over other possible paths” (Capoccia, 2016: 89). The origin of the concept fundamentally comes from historical institutionalism. This concept is significant because it provides a framework for studying exceptional moments of political openness in the transformation of an institution where new order can be established. Furthermore, one has to distinguish between the crises that are followed by a policy persistence or gradual change and critical junctures. Mahoney (2001) argues that “not all choice points represent critical junctures; only those choice points that close off important future outcomes should be treated as critical junctures”. Therefore, I point the transformations in the political institutions create new opportunities for a number of actors to try to persuade the adaptation of an inclusive ethnic classification.

Within the literature of comparative politics in Latin America, Peru has always been seen as an “exception” and some scholars have tried to explain Peru’s outlandish situation (Burdick, Oxhorn, & Roberts, 2009; Rahier 2012). They questioned why Peru has not created nationally indigenous social and political movements or why Peru stands

apart from its counterparts like Ecuador or Bolivia. There were several answers for the exception of Peru like the urban growth which caused unpredicted “demographic shift and lead to the de-Indianization” process (De la Cadena, 2000). And some other scholars addressed the dominance of class-based discourses rather than ethnic one within the members of social movements that occurred in the 1950s (Degregori 1999, Albó 2002, Pajuelo, 2003, Bengoa 2007). Scholars like Albo (1991) and Yashar (1998) brought another explanation for the absence of ethnic mobilization and it was lack of capability in the organization. Besides, Peru continued to stand apart with its ethnic classification approach until 2017. The beginning of the 2000s was the era of a globally new trend.

The various theoretical discussions presented in this chapter form the basis for the empirical research of Bolivia and Peru to explain ethnic classification changes in both cases. Ethnic classification literature has established different perspectives about ethnic classification systems. Ethnicity politics of Bolivia and Peru have been studied in various ways, however, there has not been a systematic study on causal explanation of different ethnic classification systems. Therefore, with the theoretical basis presented in this section, this thesis explores the causes and motives of ethnic classification change in Bolivia and the persistence of exclusive classification system in Peru until 2017.

In this chapter, “Ethnic Classification” in the census is presented as the core concept to examine the way states institutionalize their approach on ethnic diversity within the country. As a concept, “Ethnic Classification” is very useful to comprehend the political systems that produce ethnic discourses and political opportunity structures that regulate the ethnic status of the population. Furthermore, to explain the dynamics of Ethnic classifications, I presented a set of variables that influence the type of ethnic classification.

In order to observe a change in ethnic classification in the official census, the theoretical framework proposes an extension of political opportunity structure, a new indigenous discourse, the influence of international trends, and actors is necessary to politicize and create inclusion of ethnic groups in the first place. When these three factors are present together in a country, states transform their censuses from exclusive to an inclusive one. This analysis reveals the causes behind the variance between Bolivia and Peru through a comparative historical analysis. The following chapters include the political opportunity structures, various discourses, international influence, and dynamics of censuses in Bolivia and Peru are presented. For each case, the historical and present status of indigenous people is discussed, the official discourses are analyzed, and selected cases are examined according to the theoretical framework and the arguments. Thus, the following chapters will present the causes behind the ethnic classification changes in Bolivia and Peru.

II.1.1 The Gap in the Studies of Latin American Ethnic Classification Systems

Only a few studies have shown a systematic approach to ethnic classification in censuses. However, these studies could not be gathered on common ground in order to determine different types of classification. While some scholars consider including a language question in the census as a sufficient criterion of ethnic classification and categorize these countries as “officially includes ethnic groups”, others expect to observe different questions such as self-identification for sufficient categorization. However, current claims of both indigenous and afro-descendant groups demonstrate that language criteria do not completely meet the demand of these groups and do not represent their existence within the total population.

Historically, there was a trend of identifying indigenous and Afro-descendant people via direct question regarding ethnicity or phenotype/race. Some countries in Mesoamerica and Andean complemented ethnic classification questions with other approaches such as maternal language. As it is discussed previously, it is quite misleading. Various research about the censuses and ethnic classification consider questions regarding language as an absolute example of ethnic classification (Loveman, 2004). However, there are controversies about such classification. In Peru as well as Bolivia, many activists and non-governmental organizations struggle for further recognition and inclusion in the censuses with apparent subcategories. The questions about language exclude many of the Afro-descendant and indigenous people. Hence, in this research, I focus on more specific and clearer criteria of self-identification in the census questions: direct question on self-identification.

Chapter III:

Politicization of Ethnicity and Ethnic Classification in Census: The Comparative Analysis of Bolivia and Peru

Ethnicity has often been associated with the emergence of civil conflicts in the literature (Kandeh, 1992; Fearon, 2006; Adediji, 2016). Only a few scholars have focused particularly on the factors leading to the politicization of ethnicity – particularly ethnic classification in the census- and they bring limited explanations, generally focusing only on a single factor. The politicization of ethnicity refers to “specific types of ethnic actions are carried out in the context of institutions that are linked to the state/political arena” and it can take various forms; discursive and nondiscursive forms (Weber, Hiers, and Flesken, 2016) Discursive form can occur as a claim making of actors and bringing their interest and grievances into the political arena or official’s invoking ethnicity in their arguments, proposals, policies, laws, and campaigns (Rothschild, 1981:8). Similarly,

Cornell and Hartmann (1998) claim that ethnic-based governmental policies and passage of new laws favoring ethnic groups are also another discursive forms of politicization of ethnicity. In brief, institutions create the conditions in which political actors can politicize ethnicity and any change in the capacity of ethnic politicization therefore stems from changing institutions, resource allocation or actors (Weber, Hiers, and Flesken, 2016:14)

Throughout history, nation-states always have embarked upon forming public systems for gathering statistical information and they were particularly national censuses. The content of questions and questions included in these systems externalizes a process that is also influenced by the linkage between the actors of a society in a specific moment in history (Loveman, 2014). Therefore, distinctive configurations of relations within each society lead to each state to establish a unique relation between information systems and ethnicity. Some states incorporate the identification of ethnic groups in their censuses as part of tracing their conditions in terms of social, civil, and political rights. Since these groups are historically discriminated, this brings an opportunity to repair.

This chapter presents the background of the ethnic classification in the census of Bolivia and Peru. Furthermore, the political, discursive, and international context within which politicization of ethnicity in the countries is discussed to present the historical evolution of ethnic classification systems. By arguing both state and ethnic groups sides of the issue, this chapter will present the empirical analysis of change in the ethnic classification argument provided earlier in this thesis. Bolivian case demonstrates the early transformation of ethnic classification system. Until 2001, Bolivia was in the category of excluding the “ethnic question” in the census and by 2001 census, Bolivia included ethnic question in its census.. Therefore, the Bolivian case provides a good example of when and what conditions causes inclusion of self-identification question.

In this chapter, firstly the brief census history of Bolivia is provided and in the following parts, indigenous groups and Afro-Bolivians are discussed in line with the political opportunity structure, critical juncture within the framework of the theoretical context. In the last two sections, the political context in Bolivia is evaluated to see how a new discourse and international influence shape ethnic classification in census and move toward inclusion of ethnic classification. .

III.1 Ethnic Classification in Bolivia

III.1.1. Census History of Bolivia

In the continent of Latin America, countries appear to have different approaches to the matter of ethnic classification throughout their census histories. There was no absolute state tradition regarding these ethnic categories. Although countries have previously added ethnic categories to the censuses, they may drop this tradition and readopt again in the future. Bolivia illustrates this kind of example. The first available census of Bolivia is in 1900. The ethnic classification of the time was: whites (blancos), mestizos, Indians, Negros, and others (Joseph & Rosenberg, 2008). Ethnic classification by explicit ethnic categories continued in 1950. However, direct ethnic questions have disappeared as a mean to enumerate indigenous people. The incipient census round classified indigenous people by culture, language, customs, dress, and household characteristics (Loveman, 2014:236). The last census classified indigenous people in this way was in 1992. Census of 1992 gathered ethnic information via language category. However, the national census round between 2001 and 2012 was the time of far-reaching transformation for Bolivia. The round of 2001 census was the first time in Bolivian history that ethnic self-identification question was included. The direct ethnic question as translated was

“Do you consider yourself as belonging to any of the following native or indigenous peoples? - Quechua; Aymara; Guaraní; Chiquitano; Mojeño; Other native (open to specify]; None”.

Addition to direct ethnic question, there was a complementary question asked in language category. It was stated as follows:

“What languages do you speak? Quechua; Aymara; Castellano; Guaraní; Foreign language; Does not speak; Other native language (open to specify), What was the language in which you learned to speak as a child? Quechua; Aymara; Castellano; Guaraní; Other native language; Foreign language; Doesn’t speak” (Bolivia Census, 2001).

According to results of 2001 Bolivian Census, the mother tongue of majority of Bolivian people is Spanish with 50.6 percent (INE 2003: 143) Bolivians had also the opportunity to self-identify themselves. Self-identification is an important category in determining the exact number of Bolivians who are indigenous. The language and self-identification categories are complementary in this regard. By this census, it became obvious that Bolivia is the only country in Latin America that its population is predominantly indigenous.

In 2012, the Bolivian national census included a direct ethnic question for the second time in its history. The question was exactly as follows:

“As Bolivian, do you belong to one of the native-indigenous-peasant or Afro- Bolivian nations or peoples of Bolivia? Yes – No – I am not Bolivian. If the answer is yes, which one”

The new wording of the question is significant since it includes Afro-Bolivians in ethnic classification. The detailed analysis and importance of such inclusion will be discussed

in the following chapters. From the information presented above, it can be concluded that Bolivia excluded direct ethnic categories from its census. However, the nature of ethnic classification has changed with a new census round in the 2000s. While maintaining the language category, self-identification was also added. The next section focuses on the processes leading to this transformation: exclusion to inclusion.

III.1.2. Political Opportunity Structures in Bolivia

The political opportunity structure is closely linked to the process of openness and closure in the political system and repression applied by the country. The opportunity structure helps to identify what factors have been present for political actors and indigenous groups to pressure for inclusive ethnic classification. In this chapter, the possibilities and constraints that occurred in the Bolivian political system will be analyzed with two variables from the political opportunity structure approach: openness and closure of the political system and state repression. Additionally, the critical junctures will be identified to examine the breakdowns in state traditions.

The 1952 Revolution was considered as one of the democratic turning points in the history of Bolivia as proceeding the recognition of indigenous people as citizens as peasants (*campesinos*) and advocating their right to education and land, as well as other political and social rights. However, all these advancements were not for the indigenous identity. Since the 1952 Revolution, the Bolivian national project aimed to eliminate the indigenous identity. The process of the revolution was followed by the “integrationist mestizo nationalism” which brings different classes, ethnic, and regions together to consolidate the identity of Bolivia (Albro, 2010:74). Although the 1952 revolution was closely associated with the advancement of citizenship, it failed to fulfill its promises due to the years of dictatorship. The cultural and political distinctions continued to be a problem in everyday life. As a result, citizenship rights can only be exercised in

accordance with homogeneous mestizo standards (Hale, 2004). The political opportunity structure was closed for indigenous people unless they abandon their indigenous identity. The exclusionary society created by mestizos left no space for indigenous participation in social, political, and economic life. The pressure from indigenous communities and working-class provided education, healthcare systems and voting rights (Kohl and Farthing, 2006). The 1952 revolution also replaced indigenous/Indian identity to campesino which reflect the agricultural lifestyle (Taylor, 2004). The usage of indigenous languages deterred in schools and public areas, and the percentage of people speaking indigenous languages decreased (Raul, 2012:39). This transformation will be discussed in detail in the new discourse section.

The contemporary indigenous movement of Bolivia has its origins in the late 1960s and early 1970. Indigenous activists from the universities and Andean-based peasant organization started to claim autonomy. This movement was called as “Kataristas” to memorialize Tupak Katari. Tupak Katari was an Aymara heroic figure in the eighteenth-century. Kataristas took over the control of the peasant organization which was military-dominated and renamed it “Confederacion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB)”. They rejected the military peasant pact and claimed greater independence from the national labor federation (Yashar, 2005:24).

The pressure for the transition to democracy started at the end of the 1970s. The military regime came under pressure from Europe and the United States to renovate and liberalize democratic rule. Under that great pressure, General Banzer proclaimed a presidential election. However, unsuccessful elections and two subsequent coups delayed the transition to democracy. Eventually, in 1982 Hernán Silas Zuazo established a new democratic government. The following years characterized by the rise of indigenous movements and neo-liberal adjustments similar to developments in Latin America

(Regalsky and Laurie, 2007). The Bolivian state launched a process of structural adjustment in 1985. These adjustments included the closure of state mining centers and around thirty-five thousand workers were dismissed from the mines.

In the first half of the 1980s, Bolivia struggled with economic problems and neoliberal programs. As a result of Military-Peasant Pact (the 1960s) and Banzer dictatorship (the 1970s), corporatist citizenship regime has been weakened and culminated in the neoliberal citizenship regime in Bolivia between the 1980s–1990s (Yashar, 2005). For lowlands (Amazon), state development programs beginning in 1960, particularly in the 1990s was motive behind the changing citizenship regimes that challenged local autonomy. Bolivia had a greater capacity of trans-community of networks such as Peasant unions church networks and NGOs. The main political associational space emerged during the political opening in 1970–1971 and in 1978–1982. The outcome of all these processes was an indigenous movement that created strong Regional Confederations such as Kataristas in the highland organization CSUTCB (emerged in the 1970s); and the lowland organization CIDOB (first founded in 1982). In addition, the Bolivian Amazon was also a prominent site where indigenous organizing occurred. The 1990's march the regional confederation, CIDOB (Confederacion Indigena del Oriente Chaco y Amazonia de Bolivia – Indigenous Confederation of the East, Chaco, and Amazon was formed and expanded. In the 1990's, these regional organizations were important in terms of challenging for territorial autonomy by taking national role and proposing land reforms and candidates for both local and national elections.

Starting from the 1952 revolution until the 1990s, Bolivia experienced closure in the political opportunity structure. The military regimes, the persistence of assimilationist policies regarding indigenous people, the economic recession and crises, and closure of mining centers where indigenous people mostly work, obstruct the conditions for

indigenous people for any kind of ethnic demand. There was no direct ethnic question or reference to ethnic identity between these years. The analysis of censuses between these years corresponds to the particular situation of the political system in Bolivia. No reference was made directly to ethnic identity or ethnic question between these years.

III.1.2.1. Decentralization and Opportunities

The two Andean countries; Bolivia and Peru present a wide variety of experiences in terms of power-sharing in the intergovernmental level. Despite their shared history, roughly similar economic development, and geographic location, they have quite different experiences in terms of decentralization. Analyzing these countries over time demonstrates crucial details. For instance, Peru was decentralized in 1980 but then recentralized in 1992. On the other hand, Bolivia waited until 1994 to become decentralized. Decentralization is defined as “a process of sharing central state power to sub-national units of governance at different levels to increase the capacity of political and administrative decision-making in order to localize the provisions of delivering public goods and services and strengthen development initiatives while accommodating the interests of diverse groups in these affairs” (Yusoff, Sarjoon & Hassan, 2016). Especially since the 1950s, decentralization has become a popular concept in terms of local and regional development, political independence, ethnic reconciliation and so on (Linder, 2009; Brancati, 2006).

By the twentieth century, decentralization and political re-institutionalization created a space for indigenous communities. Thus, these groups were able to emphasize their territorial and identity claims. Kohl and Farthing (2006) argue that although neoliberal policies weaken indigenous movements, simultaneously stimulated these movements. The mid-1990s in Bolivia was the era of neoliberal democracy and brought

new transformations in terms of citizenship rights. These transformations also included constitutional reforms, policies of decentralization, and a “new citizenship regime” (Kohl & Farthing, 2006). In 1994, Bolivia launched a decentralization process as a part of global trend (Kohl, 2003). Bolivia was essentially centralized and had a unitary system until 1994, when decentralization reform was announced. The process of decentralization launched in 1994 with Law No. 1551 for Citizen Participation. The territorial and administrative structures divided into departments, provinces, municipalities, and the cantons. The highly centralized political structure of Bolivia was built to control both economic and political resources from above to below (O'Neill 2005:124) In 1995, Bolivia passed the Decentralization Law 1.26, and provinces were replaced with 311 municipalities that later on increased to 327. It is important to note that approximately 72 % of municipalities in the country identifies themselves as indigenous (Albó 2008:8). Thus, decentralization reforms could cause radical changes within the political outlook of the country. This law provided political autonomy to municipalities, however, could not do the same with the prefectures. Rather, prefectures were continued to be controlled by the central government that could not truly attempt to ensure fiscal and administrative decentralization (Botero and Galeano, 2017). Therefore, local governments were immensely dependent and overseen by the national government.

The political opportunity structures were unsteady but the decade of the 1990s was characterized by the rise of the indigenous movement in Latin America, in most parts of the region. Although the movements appeared in the 1960s, only after 1992 they were noticed internationally. At the international level, indigenous rights and public participation were addressed through the ILO 169 Convention. By the ratification of the International Labor Organization Convention 169, Bolivia withdrew from the mestizo assimilationist pledges and declared the state as “multicultural and pluri-ethnic”. Article

171 is important since the constitution recognized the social, cultural, and economic rights of the indigenous people and traditional authorities of their communities officially for the first time. These reforms basically laid the groundwork for the constitution of 2009. By the new constitution of 2009, Bolivia became the first country to incorporate the UN declaration of human rights for the indigenous groups into their national legislation (Ericson & Widmark, 2015). The constitution recognized the individual and collective rights of thirty-six indigenous groups.

The constitution of Bolivia was already in progress all the time. The first constitution was approved in 1826 and since then, seventeen new constitutions were enacted. Like constitutional history, the citizenship history of Bolivia was also dynamic. Citizenship rights were expanded consecutively as a key feature of national projects over the years. In the 1990s, indigenous communities in Bolivia experienced major developments in legal recognition, local autonomy, and political representation and began to oppose globalization projects such as internationally sponsored embankment and roads (Brysk, 2012). President Sánchez de Lozada (1993-1997) adopted reforms such as the 1993 Constitutional Reform Law to recognize Indigenous rights within Bolivian society. However, most of these reforms were inadequate as the government persists to imply destructive environmental and anti-indigenous regulations. Environmental exploitation resulted in protests by indigenous communities against government-sponsored privatization and the extinction of natural resources. For example, the production of coca leaves is an essential sector for both the culture and economy of Bolivia, particularly for Indigenous people. In 1988, a new anti-coca law (the Ley de Regimen de la Coca y Sustancias Controladas) approved by the Bolivian Congress and the law aims to eradicate the production of coca leaf in Chapare, Bolivia over a period of 10 years (Healy, 1991). This issue deepened the conflict between state and indigenous communities. In addition,

President Hugo Banzer (1997–2001) introduced “Plan Dignidad” in 1997, which implies the biggest challenge to coca producers in Bolivian history, aiming to reduce coca production to zero (Albro, 2005).

In 2000, the protests intensified in Bolivia with the new privatization regulations in the resource of water and gas. The Water War of Cochabamba in 2000 targeted the economic development model of the government and its exclusionary practices (Arce & Rice, 2009). Previously, in 1999, the government of Banzer sold the water system in the city of Cochabamba to multinational association led by Aguas del Tunari, a London based company. The main significance of the Water War (December 1999 – April 2000) and the protests is that the government of Banzer terminated the contract with the company in April 2000 (Lobina, 2000) By the end of the presidency of Banzer in 2001, Bolivian politics has experienced a gradual turn to the political left (Brysk & Bennett, 2012). The union of coca-growers directed by Evo Morales also emphasized the significance of the coca leaf in the Bolivian culture and employment related to coca growing in response to the US efforts to eradicate coca. Yashar (2005:187) argues that the cocalero movements where Evo Morales received his organizational and political experience, was primarily advocating the rights of the coca growers and they adopted classist discourse. However, they began to perceive ethnicity as a key element of their political mobilization. Thus, during the 1990s, the entrance of new actors in the political system and the rural social movements strengthened a coalition on the left. Evo Morales played an important role in the rise of the new left. His experiences on abroad, in Mexico, motivated him to use indigenous discourse strategically (Canessa, 2006). He preferred to use inclusive

discourse, placed many mestizos¹⁰ into his party, and incorporated Aymara and Quechua culture.

Evo Morales (2006-2019), a descendant of Aymara, became the first indigenous leader in Bolivia and was considered the first in Latin America, after Mexico's President Benito Juárez, between 1858-1872 (Webber, 2011). He established an indigenous party: The Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) in 1998 in Bolivia. This new party has dominated Bolivian politics in recent years, yet MAS has won a landslide victory in Bolivia since 2004. For instance, Evo Morales achieved 64 percent of valid votes in the general election held in 2009 (Madrid, 2012:35). Meanwhile, traditional parties have collapsed, and political opposition is in turmoil such as MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), MIR (the Movement of the Revolutionary Left), ADN (Democratic and Nationalist Action), and UCS (Civic Solidarity Union).

The rise of MAS is remarkable given that indigenous parties have traditionally performed poorly in Bolivia. In the early 1980s a number of indigenous parties emerged; Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari in 1980 (MITKA), Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari de Liberación Nacional in 1985 (MRTKL) however, none of them won more than a small portion of the vote (Assies, 2006; Madrid, 2012). The triumph of the MAS is associated with its inclusive populist and ethnic appeals (Domínguez, Levitsky, Loxton, & Van Dyck, 2014). Unlike the traditional parties, MAS managed to gain the support of indigenous people due to its close relations with indigenous organizations, responding to a wide range of their demands.

The close ties between MAS and indigenous communities have enabled indigenous people to gain important political positions at the national level such as policy-

¹⁰ The term Mestizo refers mixture of both Spanish and Indigenous descent in Bolivia.

making position in the executive body. For instance, under Morales, three indigenous leaders served as minister of foreign relations. Aymara descendant David Choquehuanca worked as the Foreign Minister from 2006 to 2017 and was succeeded by Aymara descendant Fernando Huanacuni Mamani between 2017 to 2018 (Vidal, 2011). Until the fall of Evo Morales in 2019, Diego Pary Rodríguez who has Quechua origin served for the same position. The Morales government also launched many programs and introduced policies promoting indigenous culture, developing socio-economic status of these people, and reducing discrimination. Therewith, indigenous communities in Bolivia received greater representation both at the national and local level and have greater protection against discrimination.

The transition to democracy in Bolivia was relatively peaceful. The respect for political and civil rights increased, the repression declined by the successful mobilization of indigenous people, restrictions over organizations and expression were fewer (Yashar, 1998). There were of course highly militarized regions such as Chapare¹¹ where coca growers (Cocaleros¹²) live. However, Cocaleros managed to mobilize by organizing marches and strikes (Komadina and Geffroy, 2007). The main difference between Bolivia and Peru is that the level of repression was at a very low level in Bolivia compared to extensive violence during the civil war in Peru and indigenous people managed to create their political opportunities within the existing political system.

The decentralization of Bolivia where most of the regions self-identify themselves as indigenous along with the process increased the visibility of previously neglected indigenous groups. Recognizing the multicultural nature of the country by a constitutional reform and election of the first indigenous leader has created a more open political

¹¹ Chapare is a rural territory in the northern region of Cochabamba in central Bolivia (Grisaffi, 2010).

¹² Cocaleros refers to peasant producers of coca.

opportunity structure. By 2001, for the first time, self-identification question included in the official census almost after fifty years.

III. 1.3. Indigenous Discourse

Discourse affects the way people see and the way they interpret the world. Political actors are decisive in the adaptation of new discourses. Through their use of language, they can bolster or distribute the power of a particular frame. A new discourse in this study operationalized as having ascendant ethnic discourse over class discourse. Bolivia and Peru differ in terms of approaching new discourse and framing processes. In this section, a historical analysis of Bolivia's discourse regarding indigenous people will be presented. The discourse has been constructed or reconstructed by the political actors and open new channels for ethnic classification. A new discourse variable operationalized as having an ascendant ethnic discourse instead of class discourse and approaching indigenous communities with inclusive discourse. The main assumption is that a new indigenous discourse over class discourse is positively associated with the emergences of inclusive ethnic classification.

The 1952 Revolution is one of the critical junctures in Bolivian history (Dunkerley, 1984). The state-society relations shifted from a neocolonial era of extreme exclusion of indigenous people to the incipient extension of citizenship and indigenous rights (Latta & Wittman, 2012). A new class associated with Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) has raised. The MNR has enforced a series of populist policies such as re-organizing the society in class-based communities, implementing land reforms (Yashar, 2005). The state officials of the time and MNR minimized any reference to the multi-ethnic indigenous population of Bolivia. Correspondingly, they implied the term peasant for the indigenous people and the public discourse highlighted the class identity.

“Peasant” refers to class identity while indigenous (Indian) refers to ethnic identity. The nationalist movement: Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) that led to the revolution followed a different discourse; “mestizo” – mixed ancestry with a white European and an indigenous background (Pew Research Center, 2015). Mestizo formed the basic ideological support for the understanding of being a nation-state. (Strobele-Gregor, Hoffman, & Holmes, 1994:107). The “Indian” people were officially denominated as “campesino”, that is as peasant. (Strobele-Gregor, Hoffman, & Holmes, 1994:108) The ideology included the idea of blaming indigenous culture for the underdevelopment thus, the state began to control these groups through assimilation.

MNR took a role in the organization of indigenous peasant communities into agrarian unions; peasant unions by forging a national confederation that included indigenous people into the regime. National Federation of Bolivian Peasant Workers (CNTCB) officially recognized indigenous people as a peasant and served as a mechanism of state control over indigenous people through “military-peasant pact” which is established at the beginning of military rule in 1964.(Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009:26). By a land reform, peasants who were emancipated from working for a landlord formed a new type of autonomy. Although in this new autonomy the “indigenous” term vanished from an official language, indigenous identity did not completely disappear. Instead, it was always there but it did not have robust discourse to mobilize people (Molina and Albó 2006). The rule of MNR was displaced by the military government of General Rene Barrientos in 1964. Barrientos exerted direct military control over a rural organization that institutionalized by the Military Peasant Pact (Pacto Militar-Campesino) (Patroni, 2011:280). Previously, the organizational structure during the MNR regime included political parties between the union and the state (Rice, 2012:75). The discourse

of peasantry and class similarly articulated in this period (Dandler, 1984; Durkenler, 1984).

On the other hand, the basis of ethnic discourse in Bolivia was established in the late 1960s due to the ethno-nationalist discourse created by Kataristas. The Katarista movement gained a salience between the 1970s and 1980s. The group of Aymara origin people promulgated the significance of indigenous culture and identity. In different institutions, universities, and political communities, they emphasized and commended the Aymara identity (Yashar, 2005:155). The Kataristas as a part of the Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia (CSTUCB) demanded for the formation of pluri-national state in 1983. Plurinational state recognizes different languages, ethnic groups, and their representation within the state. The mobilization thus articulated restructuring of Bolivia and the assembly finally approved the proposal in 2009. Feldman (2014) considers this new naming as a “rebaptism” of Bolivia since this new baptism recognizes different indigenous groups living on its territory and grants their historical and cultural rights. In this way, Bolivia broke its legacy from the former Republic of Bolivia, founded as a nation in 1825, and ignoring indigenous people previously as citizens of the modern nation.

In conclusion, indigenous discourse has been salient since 2000. Censuses are embodiments of an indigenous discourse by governments. In turn, indigenous discourse figures to develop and explain policy outcomes. The peasant discourse has been dropped in Bolivia earlier than Peru. Bolivian political actors and indigenous groups particularly strengthened the indigenous identity.

III.1.4. International Actors and Trends

The pressure from international organizations and new trends caused most of the Latin American countries to introduce new ethnic questions on national censuses. Loveman (2004) claims that initially, international pressure was diffuse and indirect such as through research and domestic activism. However, the insufficient responses of some Latin American countries caused international organizations to adopt more direct approaches to changes in the census.

The last two decades witnessed an affirmative shift in the political and legal system of Latin America regarding the rights of indigenous people. Assimilationist models replaced with the multiculturalist agenda alleged to safeguard the rights, cultural differences, lands, and natural resources of indigenous people. These changes were fostered by a global trend toward legal regulations and took international appearance with the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ILO 169, 1989) and by UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007) it reached its peak (World Bank, 2015). The ILO has adopted two international legal documents, in particular concerning indigenous and tribal peoples: The Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107) ¹³and The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)¹⁴. Convention No. 169 is internationally recognized as the most prominent instrument on the issue. The convention includes a wide range of topics such as land rights, access to natural resources, health, education, vocational training, employment conditions, and cross-border contacts (Tomei & Swepston, 1996).

Bolivia became one of the first countries that ratified ILO 169 in 1991. Article 1 of the convention defines indigenous people as: "Peoples in independent countries who

¹³ Convention 107 is no longer open for approval, but in force for 18 countries.

¹⁴ Convention 169 has been ratified by 18 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Fiji, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, and Venezuela

are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization. " (Canessa, 2007). Thus, Bolivian law recognized indigenous rights for the first time.

The recent events already brought the issue of indigeneity to the center of national politics. People who simply defined themselves as peasants, campesinos or urban mestizos began to identify themselves with an indigenous identity (Canessa, 2007). International actors such as ILO, World Bank, and the UN addressed the significance of self-identification, and Bolivia included ethnic question in its national census for the first time.

The involvement of international actors such as the UN and ILO in terms of indigenous rights in Bolivia did not gain explicit change during the earlier phase of the process. The Bolivian state experienced a double pressure both from the indigenous communities and international actors. The increasing pressure from indigenous groups and increasing awareness of indigenous rights by the national political actors made it possible to adopt new regulations. The changes in the political opportunity structure facilitated the transformation process. Therefore, Bolivia adopted an ethnic question in the census much earlier than Peru.

As it is discussed in the theoretical section, the variable influence of international actors and trends is a complementary variable. Without available political opportunity structure and a new indigenous discourse adopted by political actors, it is insufficient to change the direction of ethnic classification. Once the first two variables are maintained within the country, the influence of international trend and actors determines in which direction ethnic classification will evolve.

III.1.4.1 The Global Trend: Afro Awakening

International trends have an influence on ethnic classification systems. The ethnic question that will be included in the census can be shaped by the prevailing trends in a global scale. This section presents the process of involving Afro-Bolivians in the national census.

Afro-descendant people had never been visible in Bolivia, including the national census (until 2012). The previous censuses enumerated Afro-Bolivians as indigenous and as “other”. There was no specific category to identify them. The history of Afro-descendants’ attempts to get involved in today’s politics dates back to the late 1990s. The initiatives have launched by international organizations and multilateral development banks. However, these initiatives emerged after the first wave of indigenous policies when the indigenous movements gaining power in the region, and indigenous issues overshadowed the development of Afro-Bolivian politics (Walsh, 2012). The indigenous hegemony in the inclusion and recognition politics closed the opportunities for Afro-Bolivian people.

The turning point for Afro-descendant communities became “The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance” organized in 2001, in Durban, South Africa. The Durban conference created the opportunity for a common ground of struggle that transcends local and national contexts (Rahier, 2012). Although the scope of the conference included indigenous and other people, the central focus on race provided priority to Afro-descendant people. Furthermore, The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the year 2011 as the International Year for People of African Descent. The struggles and claims of Afro-Descendant people became visible international with this declaration and initiatives.

Compared to the status of indigenous people in Bolivia, Afro-Bolivians have later reached their demands and identities. The reflection of this discrepancy between the two groups embodied in the national census. The first national census of Bolivia that included ethnic questions and indigenous people was in 2001. As discussed earlier, Afro-descendant people had to choose the “other” category. However, the international trend and afro-awakening resulted in the inclusion of Afro-Bolivians in the national census in 2012. The new census question adjusted as follows: “As a Bolivian, do you belong to any nation or native peasant indigenous people (pueblo indigena originario campesino) or (are you) Afro-Bolivian?”¹⁵

In sum, international organizations and trends may create pressure in the relevant countries but in order to change and penetrate the ethnic classification system, firstly countries have to maintain the openness of the political system and follow a new inclusive discourse toward indigenous people. When political opportunity structures and a new discourse is present, then the influence of international actors and trends determine the dynamics of the ethnic classification. Although Bolivia included a direct ethnic question in 2001 census, the influence of international actors and trends resulted in advancement in the ethnic question. In 2012 census, Afro-Bolivians were incorporated into the official census question for the first time.

III.2. Ethnic classification in Peru

By the end of the 20th century, the view that national development can be achieved by the reduction of ethnic and racial diversity has started to corrode. Despite countries

¹⁵ See Appendix 2.

that did not prefer to include questions about these differences earlier, they began to incorporate specific questions about ethnic identity. Latin America witnessed major changes in terms of ethnic enumeration and classification in the final decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Guatemala, Brazil, and Cuba were the only three countries that included a direct ethnic question in ethnic classification in the 1980 census round (Morning, 2008). The rest of the countries included indirect questions about ethnic classification such as language. It is an undeniable fact that Peru is one of the countries that lags in terms of institutionalization of indigenous rights and development mechanisms in order to include ethnic classification category in official censuses and surveys (Albo, 2008).

When the situation of Peru is compared with the national censuses of other countries like Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Venezuela, Peru stands apart by including only language category in its census. Other countries included both ethnicity and language category (Schkolnik and Del Popolo, 2006). This is really puzzling particularly if it is considered that Peru is the third nation on the continent with the largest indigenous population after Bolivia and Guatemala (Sulmont 2010). Since Peru lag not only public policies that follow the intercultural approach but also the initiatives that promote the inclusion of ethnic classification category in the national censuses. I present three independent variables to explain variance in the outcome: lack of political opportunity structure for both indigenous and Afro-Peruvians, new indigenous discourse, and influence of international actors and trend.

The complex nature of political opportunity structure in Peru restrained the activities of ethnic pressure groups that could advocate the inclusion of ethnic

classification in the official censuses. Thus, in the case of Peru, I trace the introduction of a new census question regarding ethnic classification in the 2017 census.

Within the context and scope of this study, two questions should be directed. The first one is why and how the ethnic/indigenous identity evolved into a politicized subject and became salient in the ethnic classification systems in Peru. And secondly, how we can explain such changes became possible considering the long-time persistence of exclusion of ethnic question in Peru's ethnic classification system. Compared to Bolivia, such tremendous changes have not emerged in Peru until 2017. In this respect, the Peruvian case illustrates an important example to understand the dynamics of ethnic classification change.

The discussion in this chapter will first include the census history of Peru. In the second part, the evolution of political opportunity structure, new discourse, and international influence in Peru will be discussed in line with the framework of the theoretical context. I will discuss how this long-term persistence in the exclusion of the ethnic question in the Peruvian census changed in 2017.

III.2.1. Census History of Peru

Peru's history of official censuses consists of four different stages of ethnic statistics. These four different stages are determined according to categories that the state has used to classify its population. The first stage is starting from Independence year 1821 to the end of the 1940s. The first modern census of Peruvian state was conducted by French expert, Georges Marchand in 1876 and included ethnic question (Gootenberg, 1991:117). According to records of census, the total population was 2,699,106 and 1,554,678 of 2,699,106 Peruvians were counted as Indians. During the colonial and the early Peruvian republic period, censuses identified indigenous people and afro-descendant people based on external features such as skin color, cultural items (Sulmont and Valdivia 2012). For

instance, the 1876 census and subsequent censuses included the category ethnicity to address the problems of diversity in the country. Classifications were also conducted by the personal view of the census takers thus it was quite subjective. There was a thirty-two-year time lag until the next census, 1908. War of the Pacific between Chile and Peru left the Peruvian state in a complete bankruptcy and disorder (Parro, 1942). The censuses during this period used ethnic categories to classify the population. In the following years, there was a dramatic change in the census classification and this stage was closed after the 1940 census. The last census in Peru that classified people in terms of ethnic and racial categories was in 1940. The census of 1940 used similar categories and classified the population by using ethnic categories such as White, Indian, Mestizo, Black, and Yellow. After 1940 Peruvian official censuses stopped measuring ethnicity and replaced it with more objective and less controversial indicators language. The change was motivated by a series of state projects to modernize and reform the Peruvian population, particularly to bolster unity in order to cope with social unrest. Official discourses began using peasant term instead of indigenous to move away from the traditional way of classifying people (Figuerola & Barro'n, 2005:17). Therefore, Indigenous people and afro-descendant people systematically disappeared and became invisible (Valdivia, Benavides, and Torero 2007). Afterward, the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics abandoned such classification and focused on less polemical and more objective ethnic and cultural indicators like language. In 1961, new methodologies such as question of identifying regional customs and uses were used to complete the gap left by the question of ethnicity (Laio, 2004:6). The years between 1940 and 1960s were under the influence of anthropology which brings the modern scientific approach to ethnicity. This approach benefited from the "ethnic markers" of indigenous people in Peru such as native language

and daily customs, " walk barefoot", "use flip flops ", " wear poncho, lliclla ", " chew coca" (Valvidia, 2011:72).

In the second stage until the 1970s, a more anthropological approach was exposed that it gave a place to cultural traits of indigenous populations such as languages, clothing, and customs in the population. (Ferrandez & Kradolfer, 2012:188). In the third stage, between the 1970s and 1990s, official censuses neglected the ethnic differences and implied language categories such as maternal language question. Language categories served for determining the limitations of the education systems and improving education levels. The last and current stage includes the years after 2000s. The increasing awareness toward ethnic inequalities and discrimination has pressured the public officials and government. In 2001, for the first-time self-identification was included in national survey questions of National Household Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Hogares–ENAH) and in 2003, in the Demographic and Health Survey (Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud Familiar–ENDES). Essentially, ENAH is a national monthly conducted household survey in both urban and rural areas and it was first implemented in 1995. It gathers information on the living conditions and poverty level of the populations. On the other hand, ENDES is a more specialized survey on demographic and health variables. Its target population includes children under five years old and women from 15 to 49 years old (ENDES, 2019) Although preliminary steps of these surveys are noteworthy, they failed to demonstrate the real dynamics of the population. Despite the developments, the official census of 2007 did not include self-identification questions and it stood by until the next round of national censuses in 2017.

In sight, censuses incorporated a question that enables one to know the proportion of indigenous people by identifying whose mother language is indigenous or vernacular. However, the main motivation behind the inclusion of the mother language question is to

identify problems of access to formal education and literacy, rather than identifying the ethnic conditions of indigenous people. Indeed, from the 1940s to the 2000s, there was an absence of an official statistical endeavor to record ethnicity in Peru. It was based solely on questions regarding language (maternal and spoken language) to identify indigenous and non-indigenous people. For example, the question in 2007 was “*The tongue or language which you learned to speak was*” (*El idioma o lengua con el que aprendió a hablar fue*). However, as it is discussed previously language is an indirect allocation of information about ethnicity since it excludes dimension of self-identification and make groups like mestizos and afro-descendants invisible (Ferrandez & Kradolfer, 2012:186). Because they speak Spanish; the language of the country, they live in. These groups have a significant place in social imagination and nation-building process of Peru and classifying only language disregard them. Although the beginning of the 2000s was the era of a new trend in global scale, Peru continued to stand apart until 2017 in terms of ethnic classification approach. Despite the regional trend between 2000 and 2007 (Schkolnik, 2009: 77-9), Peru did not include any question regarding ethnicity in the census until 2017 and instead reiterated the similar indicators used in censuses since 1940.

On the other hand, the Peruvian census in 2017 was highly anticipated. The new census incorporated the ethnic self-identification question during the government of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (2016-2018). The government of Kuczynski also promoted the use of indigenous languages in the state-operated TV station. In 2016, it started broadcasting daily news in Quechua language and in the Aymara language in 2017 (Williams, 2020).

Despite the trial attempt to represent ethnicity by self-identification took place in the national survey of the household during 2001, the census of 2017 included the question of ethnic self-identification officially. This census is important since for the first

time, people who consider themselves as indigenous people are determined by an almost absolute number and without any external label. The right for the self-identification includes all the inhabitants who are older than 12 of age (INEI 2017). The self-identification question incorporated in the 2017 census was as following; “Concerning your customs and ancestors, do you feel like or do you consider yourself as...?: *Quechua, Aymara, Nativo o Indígena de la Amazonía (with specification), Belonging to other Indigenous or Original pueblo (with specification) Black, Zambo, Mulatto, Brown or Afroperuvian pueblo, White, Mestizo Other (with specification)*. There is no option for campesino or agrarian. Native people living in the sierra have to decide between other options like Quechua, Aymara, Mestizo, or Other.

The history of official censuses demonstrates us that the record of the population’s ethnicity has followed trends that reflect the prevailing conceptions of each era. However, ethnic classification systems have been behind the trends in Peru. Valvidia (2011) identifies two milestones in Peru that mark key ontological breaks in approaches to ethnicity; the decades of 60s and 70s that ethnic classification no longer included in the censuses and the 2000s which brings the ethnic classification issue to state agenda and begins to include such variables into the censuses. The lack of well-defined ethnic group categories in Peru creates difficulties in measuring ethnicity. The categories are poorly defined and fluid not only in official measurements, but also in the daily life of indigenous people. There are two fundamental approaches in the measurement of ethnicity; using objective indicators and subjective indicators (Sulmont,2011:53). Objective indicators include ethnic and cultural markers such as skin color, place of origin, and mother tongue. On the other hand, subjective indicator classifies individuals via self-identification. The objective indicators are inherited from the Spanish colonial era, and the use of these categories still endures in some countries like Peru. However, in official censuses of Latin

American countries in general, there is a tendency to move from objective indicators to subjective ones to measure ethnicity (Drzewieniecki, 2004).

Within the social and political context described above, the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) experienced several advances regarding the registration of statistics on the ethnic groups of the country. The official initiatives occurred under the influence of an international and multilateral organizations that facilitated the process to be on the agenda of the INEI. Statistical institutes and ethnic organizations participated together to discuss the process of inclusion of ethnic classification question in the national census. There are two crucial events influenced the statistical institute officials are international Seminar "We all count: Ethnic groups in the censuses" in 2000, in Colombia and II International Meeting "All We count: Censuses and Social Inclusion" in 2002, in Lima (Valvidia, 2011:105). The methodological strategies were argued in order to assist the determination of the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Latin American countries. As consequence of these events, INEI committed to adopting new approaches regarding inclusion of ethnic variable and release of traditional indicators based on the phenotype and other cultural and ethnic markers. These forms of measurements imply a high degree of subjectivity especially on the part of the interviewer therefore, they are not recommended. Furthermore, the phenotype is not also an adequate way of classification since the process of miscegenation complicates such measurements. However, since the 2000s, although INEI has adopted a new approach that prioritizes ethnic self-identification. It was limited to household surveys and other surveys related to living conditions and health until 2017.

This section presented the historical changes in the Peruvian census history. Peru persisted in an exclusionary ethnic classification system until 2017. However, in the latest census, Peru introduced the self-identification question. The next section will present the

political processes leading to this transformation by focusing on political opportunity structures, new discourses, and international influence.

III.2.2. Political Opportunity Structure

The aim of the political opportunity structure is to analyze the degree to which factors in Peru fostered or hindered the openness and closure of the political system. The analysis includes the period 1980-2000 and 2000 to 2017. The transformation of Peruvian ethnic classification after a long time in recent decades is associated with changing political opportunity structures and critical junctures. The change provided possibilities for both political actors and indigenous groups to build an alternative to exclusionary ethnic classification.

Peru was under of military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado between 1968 and 1975. This left-wing, reformist regime was supported by middle and low classes as well as intellectuals and terminated the oligarchy through a series of political and economic reforms. These reformist politics and rhetoric aimed to strengthen rural and urban classes, especially peasants, and achieved it in some extent. However, the main theme of the reforms was not related with ethnic groups, rather it was class-based groups, peasants (Caumartin, Molina,Thorp, 2008). The only policy adopted regarding indigenous groups was recognizing the status of the most spoken indigenous language Quechua as an official language together with Spanish in 1975. The Quechua language also became mandatory at all educational levels. Moreover, all legal procedures involving monolingual Quechua speakers are carried out in Quechua (Garcia, 2005:75) As a result, Quechua extended to the area of education and law where Spanish previously used as a domination mechanism over indigenous people. However, these institutional reforms that

promote indigenous languages did not proceed for a long time. By the end of 1975, General Francisco Morales Bermudez overthrew the Velasco regime, and instantly left the neo-indigenist approach of the Velasco regime. Bermudez adopted a new constitution that withdrew previous law in 1979. Thus, Quechua was degraded to the “official use zones” where Quechua speakers concentrated such as central and southern highland, and some parts in the Amazonian region of Peru (Fishman & García, 2011:131) Thus, they were not equal to Spanish anymore.

Overall, the populist government policies of General Juan Velasco Alvarado classified the indigenous population with class-based status rather than an ethnic one. Even more, Velasco banned the use of the Indian term and promoted the use of campesino or peasant instead. That strategy caused ethnic identity to be invisible. Meanwhile, the diffusion of Spanish language education into rural areas caused a decline in indigenous languages in many regions. Within the literature of comparative politics, there are several approaches considering this argument unconvincing. They argue that the usage of class rhetoric was a strategy to empower indigenous people implicitly, rather than eliminating indigenous culture and identity (Parades, 2010)

The regime of Velasco tried to promote social inclusion by integrating lower classes into the associational groups of the new state (Cotler, 1978). He extended citizenship in terms of economic and social rights rather than political and civil rights. Within this context, they demonstrated a two-way effort to build the nation by uniting the sectors of societies that were partially excluded from modern politics and developing a greater sense of “Peruvianness” (Burt, 2007).

In 1975, the overthrow of the Velasco regime by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez inverts the corporatist citizenship regime and resulted in neoliberal citizenship

between the 1980s and 1990s. In Peru, the capacity of trans-community of the network was weaker compared to Bolivia. There were only fragmented peasant Unions and church networks in this period. After a decade of military rule, Fernando Belaunde won the elections and became the president. The government of Belaunde between 1980 -1985 aimed for greater flexibility in the land markets. Thus, peasant communities were guaranteed the right to sell their land and they became free to decide on what to do with their land (Yashar 2005). On the other hand, the economic policies implied by the subsequent government of Alan Garcia in 1985- 1990 disregarded indigenous collective rights, although he initially followed a populist discourse (Crabtree, 1987) Garcia introduced a new land distribution program and large credit programs (McClintock, 1989). He also attempted to sell indigenous lands to mining, oil, and forest interests to multi-national firms in order to expand the Peruvian economy (Marti, 2012). Starting in 1982, the Latin American debt crisis and the international economic recession have caused a long-term economic crisis in Peru, which has been aggravated by weak domestic policy choices (Stokes, 1996). The economic crisis and unsuccessful attempts resulted in conflicts and protests and mostly affected poor indigenous communities.

In Peru, there was a lack of strong indigenous organization to take part in the national political stage (Parades, 2010). There was also no indigenous movement that caught the attention of the state. Furthermore, the regime of Alberto Fujimori between 1990 and 2000 was also a period of breakdown and suppression of indigenous social movements. Peru experienced a civil war between 1980 and 2000, immediately after it transitioned to democracy. The civil war inflicted extreme violence on the indigenous people. The guerilla movement Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) launched a rebellion in 1980, in the Peruvian Highland region of Ayacucho and jungle areas that turned into a civil war. Peasant communities of these areas experienced high pressure from the Shining

Path and thus became very vulnerable and weak (Thoumi 2003: 131). In the beginning, the movement was interpreted as an Indigenous rebellion aiming to regenerate the Inca Empire, however it was later figured out that the movement deliberately destructs the indigenous culture (Martí i Puig, 2008). Since the initial appearance of the rebellion was seen as an indigenous basis, the military imposed high repression toward indigenous people in the highlands (Remy, 1994:124).

During this civil war, indigenous people suffered from both the guerrilla movement and the military. This period witnessed a heavily militarized Peru and sixteen regions were in a state of emergency by 1991 (Roberts and Peceny 1997:198). The political opportunity structures of the country were penetrated by the state and the guerrilla movement. The elected local officials were displaced from these emergency areas and basic human and civil rights were violated by the military. Yashar (2005) argues that opportunities for communities to organize were restricted, and available networks that could have enabled indigenous mobilization were demolished (Yashar, 2005:262). The leader of Shining Path, Abimael Guzman and other group leaders were arrested in 1992. In addition, Fujimori staged an institutional coup against his own government in 1992, which resulted in the closing of Congress and civil courts and threatening constitutional rights (González-Ocantos, 2016). Until he fled the country due to allegations of corruption and electoral fraud, the country was largely restricted, the press release was closed, civil liberties were violated, and political parties were weakened (Conaghan, 2005). In sum, the military regimes, economic repression, and civil war intensified the tension between indigenous groups and state. Indigenous groups were impacted by the political, social, and economic restrictions and could not find a space to mobilize around the indigenous identity and claim for recognition. In the censuses conducted in those years, there were no ethnic questions related to the indigenous people.

Most of the Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Guatemala, and Cuba began to include an ethnic question during these years. However, Peru only asked which language you learn to speak.

However, the end of Fujimori's competitive authoritarian regime in 2000 launched a new era in the politics of Peru. The newly emerging indigenous movements that triggered in the last years of Fujimori government, became stronger, especially in the Amazon (Rousseau & Dargent, 2019:169). The transitional government of Valentín Demetrio Paniagua Corazao between 2000 and 2001 established a close dialogue with those indigenous organizations, hence for the first time recognized their political legitimacy. Under the Paniagua rule, indigenous leaders re-entered the national politics. In 2001, indigenous delegates from different origins visited Lima and requested from the government to pay attention to the war on their territory, problems with mining companies and other urgent issues (García, 2005). The following two governments of Toledo (2001-2006) and García (2006-2011) did not fulfill the demands of indigenous people and conversely implied policies that were explicitly against the indigenous people.

Between 2001 and 2006, the government of Toledo followed a relative opening of the political system. Toledo's initial step was to fix the deteriorations caused by the previous neoliberal reforms. In order to do that, he worked on decentralization reform and demonstrated a willingness to fulfill social and regional demands. The government of Alejandro Toledo initiated the institutionalization process of recognition of indigenous and Afro-descendant populations. Thus, the National Commission of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples (CONAPA), which became the National Institute for the Development of Indigenous, Amazonian Peoples and Afro-Peruvians (INDEPA) later is established in 2001. This establishment has made a progress towards the presentation of indigenous groups as legitimate collocutors for the Peruvian state. It is

noteworthy that the term “indigenous” was once again part of the official state discourse for the first time after more than forty years (Valvidia, 2011). However, in practice, Toledo government employed pressure toward any kind of social protest by legitimizing its action through blaming social protestors for being penetrated by Shining Path. Therefore, political opportunity structure was not fully open.

In 2006, Ollanta Humala was the new arrival in Peruvian politics. He founded the Peruvian Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Peruano) in 2005. In the following election in 2006, Peruvian Nationalist Party aligned with Union for Peru, and Humala was endorsed as a candidate for the presidency. He employed the ethnic cleavages of Peru successfully. His ethnic appeals were mostly symbolic for instance, he used indigenous sayings and cultural items. He also employed indigenous candidates in his campaigns. Although he presented himself as ethnically close to the indigenous population compared to his main competitors, he did not self-identify as indigenous (Madrid, 2011:268) and Humala did not include ethnic demands of indigenous people at the center of his campaign, he used in his discourse. In his governing plan, he addressed the recognition of the multiculturalism of Peru and the usage of indigenous languages in government offices. (Madrid,2012). However, Humala lost against Garcia in the 2006 election, despite having a higher vote share in the indigenous provinces. In the presidential election held in 2011, Humala continued to dominate the indigenous regions. As a result, he got the highest proportion of the votes: in the first round 31.7% and in the second round 51.4% (Lupu, 2012) and eventually, he won the presidential elections after defeating Fujimori.

Since Garcia's second administration in 2006, pressure on Indigenous communities in the Amazons has increased by the precipitous upsurge in parceling of indigenous territories to the mining companies. These land compromises to international companies involve approximately 49 million hectares and impact the 72% of the

Amazonian territory where most indigenous people locate (Fritz, 2010). These compromises approved without any announcement or prior consultation with indigenous people by violating the ILO Convention 169 and the Declaration of the United Nations on Indigenous Peoples' Rights, and the Inter-American Human Rights. Indigenous people declared opposition for the new policy and advocacy to change it, finally organized a civil protest. The Garcia government rejected to meet with the AIDSEP¹⁶, indigenous association, and responded to the protest in May 2009 by declaring a state of emergency, restricting civil liberties, and sending the military to areas where protests were intense. The military intervention resulted in two-day bloody clashes, resulting in a total of 33 deaths and more than 150 indigenous people injured in Bagua (FIDH,2009). The political violence and violation of collective rights resulted in great tension between indigenous communities and the state.

Ollanta Humala during his candidacy used indigenous discourse effectively to appeal to rural voters and pledged to end environmental destructions caused by the neoliberal extractivist model and social inequalities (Wong, 2018). Shortly after, President Humala took the office in 2011, he endorsed the "Prior Consultation Law" which grants the right to prior discussion for indigenous communities that could be impacted by the projects on or near their territory (Costanza, 2015). The new law complies with the obligations introduced in ILO Convention 169 which is the only international law to defend indigenous people's rights. Although Peru ratified the convention in 1993, the governments failed to maintain it and caused conflicts among indigenous people and state.

¹⁶ "Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest" is a national indigenous rights organization in Peru.

In conclusion, the case study demonstrates how the conditions of political opportunity structures can set a ground for the change in ethnic classification systems. Although between 1968 and 1975 Peru's military reform government launched land reforms and promoted peasant organizing, following the anti-reform government of Peru in 1975 paralyzed the process (Yashar, 2005:74). The hostility toward peasant demands by the Peruvian state consequently caused Peru to fail in organizing strong mobilization and sustaining networks. In the absence of political opportunity structures, it has been difficult to mobilize peasants and establish a national movement. Furthermore, within the absence of these opportunities, building an indigenous identity was unfeasible. During the periods of militarization and political closure, states constrained networks and freedom in these regions and hence, restricted opportunities for mobilization between indigenous communities. While Bolivia experienced such closure in the 1970s, Peru experienced from the mid-1970s until the 2000s (Yashar, 2005). The extension in civil society space in Bolivia became salient in the late 1970s and early 1980s which led to strong indigenous organizing. On the other hand, the ongoing civil war in the 1980s and 1990s, in Peru hindered the indigenous organizing and freedom of association and expression. The importance of civil society space is that it provides the necessary opportunity to act. Therefore, compared to Bolivia, Peruvian indigenous mobilization and identity claims did not occur or simply dissolved since Peru's political opportunity structures were always unsteady.

In the Post-Fujimori period, presidential candidates mostly adopt leftist discourse and occasionally indigenous discourse however once they elected, they immediately drop such discourse for conservative political agendas (Levitsky, 2014). The government of Toledo between 2001 and 2006 extended Fujimori's economic reforms, the subsequent government of Garcia intensified the state repression toward indigenous communities.

Humala also abandoned his leftist agenda during his office term and Humala, as well as Kuczynski government, implemented numerous legal programs to promote private investment by decreasing environmental and social standards (Dargent, Orihuela, and Parades, 2017). The 2010s period in Peru, as discussed above witnessed an opening in the political opportunity structure and a move toward more inclusive indigenous discourse. The legal changes and policy reforms have opened up new opportunities for indigenous people. A new era of recognition politics, in which administrative and discursive changes occurred consequently resulted in an inclusive ethnic classification in 2017.

III.2.2.1 Critical Juncture: Decentralization Process in Peru

Decentralized political systems are more conducive to increase the visibility of less visible groups. Hence, the assumption is that decentralization at the regional levels is conducive to imply changes regarding indigenous rights. During the democratic transitions, both Bolivia and Peru were unitary and centralized countries. I seek to find out the effects of decentralization or centralization reforms whether they create opportunities or constraints that promoted or obstructed the demands and rights of indigenous people. In this section, I will present the characteristics of both in Bolivia and Peru's decentralization. I will then focus on the decentralization reforms that have created opportunities for the rights of indigenous people, ultimately for their ethnic self-identification in the census.

Another factor related to the adaptation of inclusive ethnic classification is an institutional change: decentralization. The decentralization reform formed newly elected regional governments. Despite municipal officials such as provincial mayors elected since the 1960s, Peru traditionally had a highly centralized unitary political system, but

the decentralization path of Peru was quite different compared to Bolivia. Municipal status was given to provinces and districts and first regional elections were held in 1990 (O'Neill, 2003). In 1992, the government of Alberto Fujimori ended the attempts of regionalization initiated at the end of the 1980s. However, Peru did not experience a clear shift to decentralization. During the government of Fujimori, elected regional assemblies were dissolved in 1992. Thus, Peru has remained one of the exceptional examples of the re-centralization of power. After the collapse of Fujimori government in 2000 because of the corruption scandal, decentralization reforms were proceeded by opposition political parties. Decentralization appeared on the stage again as an election campaign. After the collapse of the Fujimori government, Alejandro Toledo promoted decentralization as the main subject of the government policies. The decentralization process was launched in 2002 with Law No. 27783, the Law for the Bases of Decentralization. The political party Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) supported these reforms and in 2002, a new decentralization law was approved by Congress (Alcalde, 2004).

The country has initiated a hastened process to direct its resources to regional entities since then. However, there was uncertainty about the allocation of responsibilities and decentralization is still an incomplete process. The central government is the main actor to make decisions about the usage of resources, hence fiscal autonomy is not entirely implemented.

This review demonstrates two different evolution in Bolivia and Peru. While Bolivia has made relatively continuous progress at the municipal level since 1995, Peru has experienced a very short-term decentralization that was followed by re-centralization. The next attempt has appeared in 2002. Between 1992 and 1993, the municipal level was only impeded formally. It is significant to note that some indigenous regions, such as the

Ayacucho region, which was shattered by civil war, had difficulties in holding elections. Decentralization that started formerly in Bolivia “ruralized” the politics that ultimately caused the inclusion of new indigenous elites in the municipalities (Faguet, 2001). For instance, in the socialist government of Bolivia under Morales, the local governments have a higher share of resources produced by non-renewable resources and have a certain autonomy in deciding how these resources are used while in neo-liberal Peru large decentralized resources are concentrated in several regions and devoted to very specific purposes (Botero and Galeano, 2017:287). In sum, the main difference between Bolivia and Peru is that political processes leading to decentralization in Bolivia. While Peru stands more centralized in terms of political systems, Bolivia stands more decentralized.

III.2.3. Indigenous Discourse

The class discourse was prevailing in both Bolivia and Peru. As two of them are compared, it is clear to see that class-based mobilization always overshadowed the ethnic groups and they failed to demand adequately for their ethnic recognition and self-determination rights. However, the transition from class discourse to indigenous discourses occurred later in Peru than Bolivia.

Prevailing class discourse over ethnic discourse was present in the late 1960s. The government under General Velasco (1968-1975) went radicalization and adopted peasant term for indigenous people. The indigenous discourse was limited to the Peruvian Amazons and gave rise to several indigenous organizations, but they were ineffective due to the closure of the political system. “The 1969 Agrarian Reform law abrogated large properties that concentrated land ownership, eliminated semi-feudal relations in rural society, and adopted a new method of agriculture production” (Zavala, 2015). Another important approach of Agrarian Reform law is that it referred indigenous communities as

peasants by devaluing their indigenous identity. (Zavala, 2015). Peasant farmers although they are small-scale producers, produce the majority of the country's food. However, because of insufficient government incentives, productivity level remains low.

Historically, Peru has not experienced a steady national and prevalent indigenous movement. The movement has failed to organize around indigenous identity. (Yashar, 2005:26) Within the Peruvian history, of course, there are several instances of mobilization however they are principally organized along different lines. For example, Sendero Luminoso is mostly known as "Shining Path" and Rondas Campesinas (Peasants Round) is the most prevalent mobilizations in the country, but not organized around indigenous identity. Instead, Rondas Campesinas (Peasant Rounds)¹⁷ appeared in the 1980s. These kinds of peasant organizations concerned in the enforcement of justice and surveillance of public works. The main problem of Rondas Campesinas was being localized in nature and not concentrating on the concerns of indigenous.

Shining Path was founded by Abimael Guzmán in 1969 and aimed to change the foreign-driven political system in Peru and create more nationalistic democracy (Mainwaring, 1995). Guzman and his supporters addressed the long history of exploitation of indigenous population and negligence of inequalities by the government. Although this revolutionary movement essentially organized indigenous peasants and benefited initial peasant support, it denied the indigenous identity and its demands (DeWitt, 1992). Thus, Rondas Campesinas in the Andes of Ayacucho chiefly emerged as a reaction to compulsion and violence exercised by the Shining Path against the same peasants. the Rondas Campesinas are officially recognized as an organization by Law N. 27908; "as an autonomous and democratic community organization that can establish a

¹⁷ Self-defence committees in the Andean highlands of Ayacucho was principally a response against coercion and violence exerted by Shining Path (Fumerton, 2001).

dialogue with the State, support the military in the judicial functions of the rural and indigenous communities, assist in conflict resolution and perform functions of extrajudicial conciliation under the Constitution and the Law”(Ley de Rondas Campesinas, Ley No. 27908). These peasant organizations took a role in the management of public relations and enforcement of justice, but they were quite localized. Furthermore, indigenous concerns were not on their prior agenda. Both Shining Path and Rondas Campesinas demonstrate the inadequate capacity of indigenous identity in mobilization and claiming the right. In sum, Yashar (2005) argues that ethnic division in Peru has been politically overshadowed by class-based protests and mobilization, more importantly, indigenous groups were marginalized from political debates.

According to the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report, the internal armed conflicts in Peru between 1980 and 2000s are not qualified as an ethnic conflict although about 75% of the deaths occurred among the indigenous speaking people (Sulmont,2011:48). The preference of “internal conflict” discourse rather than “ethnic conflict” is hidden in the political discourse of the rebellious organizations such as Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru and Sendero Luminoso. These organizations preferred the discourse of working-class and peasantry. Self-defense groups of indigenous communities have also framed their involvement in the conflict by using the identities of the peasant. In sum, Peruvian political elites used ethnic discourse only to incorporate indigenous identity into the nation-building process. While the national building process incorporated indigenous people without taking their cultural heritage into consideration – despite it was symbolically claimed otherwise- it focused, especially on the white ethnic group. Therefore, the main motivation behind the political mobilization was mostly class identities and peasants. Within the Andean countries, Bolivia is the only country that has experienced a national revolution and apart from its

counterparts, has the greatest integration of indigenous identity and legitimization of indigenous culture. However, in Peru intellectuals and political elites and even indigenous leaders preferred the discourse based on the class rather than ethnicity. This culminated in the absence of significant indigenous organizations (Burt & Mauceri, 2004).

Only recently, ethnic identities have been politicized in Peru. The early signals of politicization of ethnic were seen in the two presidential campaigns. In 2001 Alejandro Toledo and in 2006 Ollanta Humala¹⁸ who are both Quechua descendant have noticed the electoral potential of indigenous people. By the victory of Toledo, Peru became the first Andean country to elect a president with Indian roots. During his presidential campaigns, Toledo constantly used indigenous symbols and brought the indigenous voters' interests and concerns into the discussion. However, as Greene (2006) claims that despite Toledo's campaign discourse, his government did not address the situation of indigenous groups especially in terms of environmental issues. The economic liberalization program of Fujimori made the mining industry very appealing for the investments (Raymond & Arce, 2013). Mining industry concentrated in the Peruvian highland where many indigenous people live, so the penetration of this industry had a significant effect on the rural population (Loker, 1999; Korzeniewicz, 2000)

Peru's recognition politics has been lagged behind its neighboring countries, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia. However, the end of the first decade of the 21st century witnessed the preliminary changes regarding indigenous people's rights. Due to the Free Trade Agreement (2006) between Peru and the USA, the government of Alan Garcia (2006-2011) exposed Amazonian rainforests for further private investments (Wright & Tomaselli, 2019). The indigenous communities mobilized against the policy that

¹⁸ Both Toledo and Humala are indigenous (Quechua) (Back & Zavala, 2018).

approved without prior consultation in Bagua. The Bagua conflict, which was highly visible in 2009, created a great political pressure and previous prior consultation procedures also have catalyzed intercultural policies came out from the conflict (Wright, C., & Tomaselli, A. 2019). Interestingly, debates about the administrative and legal enforcement of the prior consultation did not spark new political conflicts or protests, but instead sparked discussions that led to changes in national discourse and policy making (Flemmer, R., 2019). The rights of indigenous people, which were not taken into account before, were brought to the agenda and the national discourse through prior consultation. Hence, these discussions have led to change in both indigenous people's approach to their indigenous heritage which was based on Incan past and national discourse. The new way to approach these groups has become more critical and reflective and led to important developments such as the introduction of ethnic classification for the first time in the Peruvian census in 2017 (Redaccision gestion, 2016).

President Alan Garcia and its government promoted polarized ideas regarding indigenous groups and the peasant communities after the Bagua conflict (El comercio, 2009; Hughes, 2010). The applicability of prior consultation is questioned by the government and other conservative political groups since Peru is a country of mestizos. However, now prior consultation is recognized unquestionably even by the groups that initially objected to the enforcement.

The prior consultation process also caused the establishment of new institutions within the government. In 2010, the Vice ministry of intercultural affairs was created as part of the Ministry of culture. The main objective of this vice ministry is to provide technical assistance to proceed the consultation process and to represent the indigenous concerns of the Executive branch at the national level. After prolonged omission of indigenous people, the prior consultation has generated a turning point for a new approach

to indigenous people at the level of national politics. This manifested itself in a different national discourse and institutional reforms such as the foundation of the Vice ministry of intercultural affairs, extended state services available to indigenous people, the official appointment of local translators.

The government of Toledo established the Comisión Nacional de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (CONAPA). This institution was responsible for the recognition of indigenous and Afro-descendant populations. Later, it was renamed as the Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (INDEPA) in 2001 where indigenous people could engage with the Peruvian state as political actors. Although the achievements of those institutions were deficient, it was a sign that Peru was also involved in transformation emerging in the international system. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the term “indigenous” was once again part of the official state discourse for the first time after more than forty years (Valvidia, 2011).

The Ministry of Cultures was founded in 2010 during the government of Alan Garcia (2006-2011). Until 2010, the National Institute of Culture (1971) under the Ministry of Education had the primary responsibility for the cultural heritage in Peru. The new Ministry of Cultures has become the merger of different pre-existing bodies to culture in the broadest sense (Grove & Thomas, 2014). Thus, in 2010, The Ministry of Cultures took the responsibilities of the institutions and Vice Ministry of Intercultural Affairs. Its main purpose is to “formulate policies, programs and projects that promote interculturality, as a principle rector, to promote and guarantee the rights and comprehensive development of the culturally diverse groups in the country, and build citizenship that recognizes, respect and benefits Peru’s diverse cultural wealth” (Viceministerio de Interculturalidad, 2010). The state policies regarding indigenous and

Afroperuvian people were under the responsibility of Vice Ministry of Intercultural Affairs.

Vice Ministry of Intercultural Affairs elaborated the database of “indigenous and native peoples” (Pueblos indígenas u originarios) and worked on increasing the visibility of those people by granting the rights specified in the ILO convention 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. It also created a criterion of self-identification being a member of an indigenous group. According to the definition of Vice Ministry of Intercultural Affairs, indigenous people are “those that have their origin in times before the State, which takes place in this country and region; they retain all or part of their distinctive institutions; and that, in addition, they present the collective conscience of possessing an indigenous or original identity.” (Base de datos de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios)¹⁹. In September 2011, Ollanta Humala announced the prior consultation law, and this act was celebrated by indigenous communities (Schilling-Vacaflor and Flemmer, 2013). With this movement, the government Humala showed its break with the neoliberal state tradition that disregarded indigenous rights for a long time and started to use and emphasize indigenous discourse.

These examples addressed above demonstrate the new era beginning in recognition politics and indigenous discourse of Peru. The destructive environmental policies of the Garcia government, bloody protests, military interventions, and rejection of consultations excluded indigenous communities from the active political arena. Although some political leaders preferred to adopt inclusive indigenous discourse, the

¹⁹ “Los pueblos indígenas u originarios son aquellos que tienen su origen en tiempos anteriores al Estado, que tienen lugar en este país y región; conservan todas o parte de sus instituciones distintivas; y que, además, presentan la conciencia colectiva de poseer una identidad indígena u originaria.”

Retrieved on 12 February 2020 from <https://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/glosario>

real-life practices of this discourse were very poor. Closure and pressure in the political system caused the same questions along with a weak inclusive domestic discourse to continue in the official census of 2007. The global trend in Latin American countries could not be efficient due to current restrictions in Peru.

III.2.4. The influence of International Actors and Trend

“In general terms, the legislation stipulates that: the objective of the consultation is to reach an agreement or consent between the state and the indigenous or original peoples with respect to the legislative or administrative measure that affects them directly through an intercultural dialogue that guarantees their inclusion in processes of state-decision making and the adoption of measures respectful of their collective rights.”
(Article 3, Peruvian Consultation Law; my translation and emphasis)

The first international agreement that named indigenous people as a population with certain rights was the International Labor Organization’s Convention 107 on Indigenous and Tribal Populations which ratified in 1957. It was the beginning of international policies to play key role in the recognition of indigenous peoples as the subject of rights and almost 30 years it remained as an only binding international treaty to guide state policies legally.

By the late 1980s, indigenous organizations began to request the revision of the 1957 agreement. Essentially, they opposed to the gradual integration of indigenous communities in the national sphere and argued for a reconsideration of self-determination and collective and territorial rights. (Barsh 1994). As a response to these concerns, ILO Convention 169 is approved in 1994, in Peru and the ancestral status of indigenous people is recognized. In addition, it provides provisions for their right to use and control their

traditional lands and support their indigenous institutions and identity. It also implies that states should consult with indigenous people firstly regarding any measures that may impact them.

In the beginning of the 2000s, International organizations provided sponsorship for regional conferences and workshops that related to the ethnic classification in the process of data gathering by Latin American governments. For instance, in 2000, Colombia hosted the first international conference regarding this issue with the support of Colombian census agency (DANE). The conference series are named as “Todos Contamos” (We All Count) and co-supported by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The next conference “Todos Contamos II” was organized in Peru, in 2002 and the Peruvian statistics agency (INEI) hosted the conference. The World Bank and IDB were again co-sponsors. Representatives from the national statistics agencies, indigenous organizations, and afro-descendant organizations participated in the conference for the process of census reform. ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) associated with the World Bank from 2003 – 2005 in order to arrange workshops that focused on including ethnic self-identification questions on household surveys in countries such as Colombia, Argentina, Ecuador, and Peru. However, these conferences and agreements could not find ground in practice. The political environment of Peru challenged international regulations in practice.

Since the approval of ILO 169 in 1994, Peru has been criticized repeatedly by international human rights organizations. Peru failed to provide adequate legislation and enforce prior consultation with indigenous communities. Peru experienced violent conflicts particularly those related to land and resource rights. As it is discussed previously, the Bagua conflict was one of the tragic incidents but brought changes in

exclusionary discourse. After the conflict, the significance of prior consultation came back to the agenda.

In this context, Peruvian President Ollanta Humala published the Law on Prior Consultation in 2011. The legislation on prior consultation was based on Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO C 169). This law was the only legislation on consultation offered in Latin America to date (Schilling-Vacaflor, & Flemmer, 2013). Previously, both ILO and indigenous people voiced and repeated their claims more than 10 years. Similar to global indigenous trends and movements, Peruvian indigenous people demanded greater recognition and informed consent. As the legislation mainly offers:

“The objective of the consultation is to reach an agreement or consent between the state and the indigenous or original peoples in respect to the legislative or administrative measure that affects them directly through an intercultural dialogue that guarantees their inclusion in processes of state-decision making and the adoption of measures respectful of their collective rights.” (Article 3, Peruvian Consultation Law, Flemmer, 2016).

Despite the denial of international pressure within the country for a long time, eventually, Peru started to respond to these pressures. By the decline of state repression and openness in the political system, the influence of international actors found ground in Peru. The next section presents the developments based on international trends.

III.2.4.1 The international Trend and Their Reflection in Peru

Peru, as a country is an exception to its counterparts when co-optation of black movements through the adoption of multicultural reforms is taken into consideration (Greene, 2012). In the 1990s, Afro-Peruvian movements were relatively weak specially to establish a national movement and increase political consciousness. Indigeneity

dimensions of multicultural policies in Peru historically lead indigenous issues to overshadow politics of the Afro-Peruvians. These policies clarify why the relations Peruvian state with Afro-descendant people have been limited to enact symbolic and marginal laws. Implicitly, the recognition process has been reinforced by the progress brought by anti-discrimination arrangements promoted by civil society groups and Afro-descendant organizations - over the last decades (Defensoría del Pueblo 2007) The global trend in the world regarding Afro-descendant people has awakened and open way for demanding more rights and to be self-determined. Although in the context of many other Latin American states entered in a so-called multicultural turn which facilitated the process to recognize indigenous and Afro descendants, in Peru such political reforms have stayed noticeably behind. However, in the 2010s this change and new trend within the country brought an opportunity for both groups that they finally became visible in the census 2017.

The roots of contemporary black activism in Peru have a complex nature both culturally and politically. The most prominent period of Afro-Peruvian culture can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s (Feldman,2006). Despite initial roots of black activism were essentially cultural not ethnic, they always enclosed political dimensions. Above all, they are partially affected by civil rights awareness that spreading from the United States. The last census that measured the Afro-Peruvian population was held in 1940 (Mori Julca, 2005). However, it was quite hard to count the population because of several historical factors. In Peru, there is no specific region that is territorially considered as the black community unlike in other countries in Latin America such as Brazil and Ecuador. Moreover, Afro-descendant Peruvians self-identify with the categories that have no explicit relation to blackness such as creole, costeño, piurano, Limeño, Chiclayano, and mestizo (Rahier, 2012:155). Other countries achieved concrete

political and material stakes, while the implementation of multicultural policies was mainly symbolic in Peru. There was no legislation that impacts political representation and the material conditions of Afro-Peruvians. The way multiculturalism worked in Peru was including indigenous populations and by doing so excluding Afro-Peruvians in practice. The latest reform was the Peruvian Constitution in 1993. The revised 1993 Constitution includes a concise mention of the cultural diversity of the Peruvian nation by the recognition of indigenous populations. There is no explicit mention of whether Afro-Peruvians are included in this diversity.

There are changes in the current situations of Afro-descendant people's political activism. At the regional level, it is claimed that especially in the last two decades there have been remarkable transformations of political spheres where black Latin American social movements engage and operate. Between the years of 1970 and 1980, many scholars and activists heavily focused on the invisibility of afro-descendant people in their writing and in Latin American national contexts. During these years, new Afro-descendant organizations have emerged and developed with the support of regional, national, and international organizations. They challenged the negligence and misapplications of state in terms of recognition and sought full recognition of Afro-descendant people. Afro-descendant people experienced a clear exclusion from the ideologies related to national identity in their daily life. One of the important organizations was the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. It was held in 2001 in Durban, South Africa. It provided a good ground for Afro-descendants in order to collaborate and organize at the regional level thus, had a great influence on the black social movements. Furthermore, in the late 2000s and early 2010s, the participation of Afro-descendant people in higher levels of state institutions have emerged. Newly designed constitutions approve the

existence of Afro-descendants and proclaim the nation state as multicultural. Newly adopted laws along with the new constitutions granted some protection against racist crimes and collective rights for Afro-descendants. Progress in the national regulatory framework has continued over the past decades.

The international trend of empowering Afro-descendant people in 2010s finally embodied in the latest census of Peru. The 2017 census was significant since it brought together indigenous communities and Afro-Peruvians at the same time. In Bolivia, the process happened gradually. In the early 2000s, Bolivia first included indigenous people in the census and in 2012 added Afro-Bolivians as a result of international trend regarding Afro-descendant people.

“Ahora la palabra indio me parece que ya tiene un sustento más justo, un contenido más justo; indio ya quiere decir hombre, económica y socialmente explotado y, en ese sentido, no solamente todos somos indigenistas en el Perú, todos somos indios de un pequeño grupo de explotadores.”

“ Now the word Indian seems to me that it already has fairer support, a fairer content; Indian already means man, economically and socially exploited and, in that sense, not only are we all indigenous in Peru, we are all Indians of a small group of exploiters. ”.²⁰

José María Arguedas, (1968)

The case studies of Peru and Bolivia explicitly show that inclusive ethnic classification in the census is dependent on the openness in the political system, a new inclusive discourse, and support from international actors. And it addresses the significance of studying how the state’s institutional changes at the critical junctures can provide a basis for the inclusive ethnic classification and how the inclusion of ethnic questions is the consequence of new political spheres used by the actors formerly unrecognized and excluded from politics. Within the given context, it is obvious that ethnic discourse has been robust in Bolivia and there was enough political openness to

²⁰ José María Arguedas (1911- 1969) was a Peruvian poet, anthropologist, and novelist.

bring ethnic concerns into the agenda. On the other hand, the political opportunity structure in Peru was highly constrained due to the civil war and military regime of Fujimori. It is important to point out that Peru is no longer considered as an exception with regard to indigenous mobilization and ethnic classification. By 2009, Indigenous discourse has increasingly been prominent in Peru. More importantly, the successful combination of indigenous discourse and available political opportunities in recent years, lead to inclusive ethnic classification in the census.

In the subsequent chapter, I conclude this thesis with an outline of the dynamics of ethnic classification change from a comparative perspective. Since the Bolivian and Peruvian cases are discussed separately in the empirical chapters, in the conclusion, I attempt to reassess the findings of the thesis by addressing each factor that led to a change in ethnic classification.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

The main objective of this thesis is to study the dynamics of ethnic classification in a comparative historical analysis of the recognition and ethnicity politics in Bolivia and Peru. I formed a typology that captures the differences between cases. The typology of ethnic classification provides an insight on the basis of the ethnic identities. The main argument in the thesis is that ethnic classification in Bolivia experienced a transformation from an exclusive nature to an inclusive one in the early 2000s as a result of the combination of different factors discussed previously. On the other hand, the absence of sufficient conditions in the Peruvian case impeded a change in the exclusive ethnic classification. This variation in the outcome between these cases has been the main

motivation for case selection. The persistence of the exclusive ethnic classification in Peru for a long time illustrates an interesting case for an analysis of ethnicity politics.

The study includes the analysis of ethnic politics in both countries within a certain temporal scope: from the post-1970 era to the present. Although the main focus is the 2000 census round in Bolivia and Peru, previous political opportunity structures that prepared ground for change is also analyzed. Similarly, for each case, the census history and developments are presented in detail. I used primary census questionnaires and legal documents of the laws. I analyzed the political opportunity structures, the adaptation of a new discourse, and the influence of international actors and trends.

The main conclusion driven from this comprehensive study is that the reason for the exclusive ethnic classification in Peru is the closure and pressure in the political system that could promote the mobilization of indigenous groups for identity claims. Persistence in the class discourse rather than indigenous discourse hardened the process for indigenous people in Peru. Although the international actors impose pressure upon the Peruvian state towards more inclusive ethnic classification in the census, the political opportunity structures, and exclusionary indigenous discourse constrained developments. In the 2010s, the opening in the political opportunity structure and adaptation of more inclusive discourse with the support of international actors and trends resulted in an inclusive ethnic classification in 2017.

In the Bolivian case, the political openness and adaptation of indigenous discourse emerged much earlier than Peru. Bolivia went through a political opening in the 1980s and 1990s while Peru struggling with civil war and repression of military regimes. Ethnic discourse increased by the end of the 1970s and has become particularly salient since 2000. The combination of the three independent variables is necessary for the change in

ethnic classification, together they determine the outcome of the ethnic classification. Bolivia illustrates the successful transition to inclusion of ethnic classification in the census. In Peruvian case was reverse until 2017.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a systematic approach to the dynamics of ethnic classification in Bolivia and Peru. As the politicization of ethnicity has become a very delicate issue in many countries today, this study requires further investigation in order to capture the daily reflections of ethnicity politics. I hope this study will contribute to the current state of knowledge on this issue, with conclusions driven from each case throughout this thesis.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Ethnic enumeration question format in Latin America

Ethnic enumeration question format in Latin America			
Country	Ethnicity	Phenotype /Color	Language
Argentina	1	0	0
Belize	1	0	1
Bolivia	1	0	1
Brazil	1	0	1
Chile	1	0	1
Colombia	1	0	1
Costa Rica	1	1	1
Cuba	0	1	0
Dominican Republic	0	0	0
Ecuador	1	0	1
El Salvador	1	1	1
Guatemala	1	0	1
Guyana	1	0	0
Haiti	0	0	0
Honduras	1	0	0
Jamaica	0	0	0
Mexico	1	0	1
Nicaragua	1	0	1
Panama	1	0	0
Paraguay	1	0	1
Peru	0	0	1
Suriname	1	0	0
Uruguay	1	0	0
Venezuela	1	0	1

APPENDIX 2

Bolivian 2001 Census Questionnaire

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S U V W X Y Z

1 2753544

REPÚBLICA DE BOLIVIA
Instituto Nacional de Estadística
Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda

CAPÍTULO A. IDENTIFICACIÓN DE LA BOLETA

1.1 - COPIE LOS DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA QUE FIGURAN EN LA CARÁTULA

CÓDIGO NACIONAL	CIUDAD/ ORG. COMUNITARIA	SECTOR	SEGMENTO	MANZANA

1.2 - DIRECCIÓN DE LA VIVIENDA

Cantón

Ciudad/ Organización comunitaria

Zona/ Localidad

Calle/ Camino/ Carretera

Nº de puerta

Piso

Nº de departamento

2.1 - Nº DE ORDEN 2.2 - Nº DE BOLETA 3 - ¿CUÁNTAS PERSONAS DURMIERON EN ESTA VIVIENDA LA NOCHE ANTERIOR

Si hay más de 9 personas, utilice una o más boletas adicionales en las que:

- Sólo copie los datos de 1.1 y 2.1 de la primer boleta.
- En 2.2 (Nº DE BOLETA DE LA VIVIENDA) anote 2 o 3 ó..., según el caso.
- Continúe con el CAPÍTULO D.

CAPÍTULO B. TIPO DE VIVIENDA Y OCUPACIÓN

4 - TIPO DE VIVIENDA (rellene por observación)

VIVIENDA PARTICULAR

Casa/ Chozal/ Pahuichi

Departamento

Cuarto(s) o habitación(es) suelta(s)

Vivienda improvisada o vivienda móvil

Local no destinado para habitación

VIVIENDA COLECTIVA

Hotel/ Residencial/ Alojamiento

Hospital/ Clínico

Asilo/ Orfanato

Convento o residencia religiosa

Internado o residencia educativa

Establecimiento militar o policial

Cárcel/ Establecimiento correccional

Otra

TRANSEÚNTES Y PERSONAS QUE VIVEN EN LA CALLE

Pase al CAPÍTULO D

5 - VIVIENDA (rellene por observación)

OCUPADAS

Con habitantes presentes

Con habitantes ausentes

DESOCUPADAS

Para alquilar y/o vender

En construcción o reparación

Usada por temporada

Abandonada

Confirme con los vecinos que en la vivienda no existen ocupantes. Pase a la siguiente vivienda.

CAPÍTULO C. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA CON HABITANTES PRESENTES

6 - ¿CUÁL ES EL MATERIAL DE CONSTRUCCIÓN MÁS UTILIZADO EN LAS PAREDES DE ESTA VIVIENDA?

Ladrillo/ Bloque de cemento/ Hormigón

Adobe/ Tapial

Tabique/ Quinche

Piedra

Madera

Caña/ Palma/ Tronco

Otro

7 - ¿LAS PAREDES INTERIORES DE ESTA VIVIENDA TIENEN REVOQUE?

Si

No

8 - ¿CUÁL ES EL MATERIAL MÁS UTILIZADO EN LOS TECHOS DE ESTA VIVIENDA?

Celamina o plancha

Teja (cemento/ arcilla/ fibrocemento)

Losa de hormigón armado

Paja/ Caña/ Palma/ Barro

Otro

9 - ¿CUÁL ES EL MATERIAL MÁS UTILIZADO EN LOS PISOS DE ESTA VIVIENDA?

Tierra

Tablón de madera

Machihembré/ Parquet

Alfombra/ Tapizón

Cemento

Mosaico/ Baldosa/ Cerámica

Ladrillo

Otro

10 - PRINCIPALMENTE, ¿DE DÓNDE OBTIENE EL AGUA PARA BEBER Y COCINAR?

Cañería de red

Pileta pública

Carro repartidor (agüatero)

Pozo o noria con bomba

Pozo o noria sin bomba

Rio/ Vertiente/ Acequia

Lago/ Laguna/ Curiche

Otra

11 - ¿EL AGUA PARA BEBER Y COCINAR SE DISTRIBUYE...

por cañería dentro de la vivienda?

por cañería fuera de la vivienda, pero dentro del lote o terreno?

no se distribuye por cañería?

12 - ¿TIENE BAÑO, WATER O LETRINA?

Si

No

Pase a la pregunta 15

13 - ¿EL BAÑO, WATER O LETRINA ES...

usado sólo por su hogar?

compartido con otros hogares?

14 - ¿EL BAÑO, WATER O LETRINA TIENE DESAGÜE...

al alcantarillado?

a una cámara séptica?

a un pozo ciego?

a la superficie (calle/ quebrada/ río)?

15 - ¿USA ENERGÍA ELÉCTRICA PARA ALUMBRAR ESTA VIVIENDA?

Si

No

16 - PRINCIPALMENTE, ¿QUÉ TIPO DE COMBUSTIBLE O ENERGÍA UTILIZA PARA COCINAR?

Leña

Güano/ Bosta o taquia

Kerosén

Gas (garrafa o por cañería)

Electricidad

Otro

No utiliza

17 - ¿TIENE UN CUARTO SÓLO PARA COCINAR?

Si

No

18 - ¿CUÁNTOS CUARTOS O HABITACIONES OCUPA SU HOGAR, SIN CONTAR CUARTOS DE BAÑO Y COCINA?

Uno

Dos

Tres

Cuatro

Cinco

Seis

Siete

Ocho o más

19 - DE ESTOS CUARTOS O HABITACIONES, ¿CUÁNTOS SE UTILIZAN PARA DORMIR?

Uno

Dos

Tres

Cuatro

Cinco

Seis

Siete

Ocho o más

20 - ¿USTEDES TIENEN...

radio o equipo de sonido?

televisor?

bicicleta?

motocicleta?

vehículo automotor?

refrigerador?

teléfono o celular?

bomba eléctrica de agua?

21 - ¿LA VIVIENDA QUE OCUPAN ES...

propia?

alquilada?

en contrato anticrético?

en contrato mixto?

cedida por servicios?

prestada por parientes o amigos?

otra?

22 - EN ESTE HOGAR, ¿CUÁNTAS PERSONAS SON...

niños?

niñas?

sordomudos?

paralíticos y/o tienen amputado algún brazo o pierna?

23 - DURANTE EL AÑO 2000, ¿MURIÓ ALGUNA PERSONA QUE VIVÍA CON USTEDES?

Si

No

24 - ESTA PERSONA, ¿ERA MUJER DE 15 O MÁS AÑOS DE EDAD?

Si

No

25 - ¿BU FALLECIMIENTO SE PRODUJO...

estando embarazada?

dando a luz?

hasta los dos meses después de haber dado a luz?

otras?

26 - ¿QUÉ EDAD TENÍA CUANDO FALLECIÓ?

AÑOS

RELLENE ASÍ NO RELLENE ASÍ

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 A B C D E F G H I J K L M N Ñ O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

CAPÍTULO D. PARA TODAS LAS PERSONAS (Solicite la presencia de las personas que durmieron en esta vivienda, incluyendo niños/as)

NOMBRE Y APELLIDO _____

27 - NÚMERO DE PERSONA _____

28 - HOMBRE O MUJER
 Hombre ☐ 1
 Mujer ☐ 2

29 - ¿CUÁNTOS AÑOS CUMPLIDOS TIENE?
 Por ejemplo, María tiene 3 años, anote así: **3** AÑOS
 Para menores de 1 año, anote «0».
 Para personas de 99 años o más, anote «99».

30 - ¿ESTÁ INSCRITO SU NACIMIENTO EN EL REGISTRO CIVIL?
 Sí ☐ 3
 No ☐ 4

31 - ¿QUÉ RELACIÓN O PARENTESCO TIENE CON EL JEFE O JEFA DEL HOGAR?
 (Para viviendas colectivas refiera «MIEMBRO DE VIVIENDA COLECTIVA»)
 Jefe o jefa del hogar ☐ 1
 Esposo/a o conviviente ☐ 2
 Hijo/a o nieto/a ☐ 3
 Yerno o nuera ☐ 4
 Hermano/a o cuñado/a ☐ 5
 Padres o suegros ☐ 6
 Otro pariente ☐ 7
 Empleado/a del hogar ☐ 8
 Pariente de la empleado/a del hogar ☐ 9
 Otro que no es pariente ☐ 10
 MIEMBRO DE VIVIENDA COLECTIVA ☐ 11

32 - ¿QUÉ IDIOMAS O LENGUAS HABLA?
 (Si corresponde, refiera más de una alternativa)
 Quechua ☐ 1 Guarani ☐ 4
 Aymara ☐ 2 Extranjero ☐ 5
 Castellano ☐ 3 No habla ☐ 6
 Otro nativo ☐ 7

33 - ¿DÓNDE VIVE HABITUALMENTE?
 1 ☐ Aquí ☐ 2 En otro lugar del país ☐ 3 En el exterior (nombre del país) _____
 Pase a la pregunta 34

34 - ¿DÓNDE NACIÓ?
 1 ☐ Aquí ☐ 2 En otro lugar del país ☐ 3 En el exterior (nombre del país) _____ Año de llegada a Bolivia _____
 Pase al CAPÍTULO E

35 - ¿CUAL ES EL IDIOMA O LENGUA EN EL QUE APRENDIÓ A HABLAR EN SU NIÑEZ?
 Quechua ☐ 1
 Aymara ☐ 2
 Castellano ☐ 3
 Guarani ☐ 4
 Otro nativo ☐ 5
 Extranjero ☐ 6
 No habla ☐ 7

36 - ¿SABE LEER Y ESCRIBIR?
 Sí ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

37 - ACTUALMENTE, ¿ASISTE A UNA ESCUELA O COLEGIO?
 No asiste ☐ 1
 Si, a una pública ☐ 2
 Si, a una privada ☐ 3

38 - ¿A QUÉ NIVEL ASISTE ACTUALMENTE?
 Educación Pre-escolar (Pre-kindergarten - Kinder) ☐ 12
 Primaria (Básico e Intermedio) ☐ 16
 Secundaria (Medio) ☐ 17

39 - ¿CUAL FUE EL NIVEL Y CURSO MÁS ALTO DE INSTRUCCIÓN QUE APROBÓ?
 GRADO/CURSO
 NIVEL/CICLO 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 Ninguno ☐ 11
 Sistema Pre-escolar (Pre-kindergarten - Kinder) ☐ 12
 Sistema Anterior
 Básico ☐ 13
 Intermedio ☐ 14
 Medio ☐ 15
 Sistema Actual
 Primaria ☐ 16
 Secundaria ☐ 17
 Universidad ☐ 18
 Licenciatura ☐ 19
 Técnico ☐ 19
 Normal ☐ 20
 Militar o Policial ☐ 21
 Técnico de Instituto ☐ 22
 Otro ☐ 23

40 - PARA INGRESAR A ESE NIVEL, ¿CUAL FUE EL NIVEL Y CURSO DE EDUCACIÓN ESCOLAR QUE APROBÓ?
 GRADO/CURSO
 NIVEL/CICLO 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 Ninguno ☐ 11
 Sistema Anterior
 Básico ☐ 13
 Intermedio ☐ 14
 Medio ☐ 15
 Sistema Actual
 Primaria ☐ 16
 Secundaria ☐ 17

41 - ¿DÓNDE VIVÍA HACE 5 AÑOS (1996)?
 1 ☐ Aquí ☐ 2 En otro lugar del país ☐ 3 En el exterior (nombre del país) _____
 Pase al CAPÍTULO F

42 - DURANTE LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿TRABAJÓ?
 Sí ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

43 - DURANTE LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿TENÍA TRABAJO, PERO NO TRABAJÓ PORQUE ESTUVO CON LICENCIA, VACACIÓN O POR FALTA DE MATERIALES?
 Sí ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

44 - DURANTE LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿BUSCÓ TRABAJO POR PRIMERA VEZ?
 Sí ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

45 - DURANTE LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿CUAL FUE SU OCUPACIÓN PRINCIPAL?
 1 ☐ obrero o empleado? ☐ 3 cooperativista de producción? ☐ 6
 2 ☐ trabajador por cuenta propia? ☐ 4 trabajador familiar o aprendiz sin remuneración? ☐ 7
 3 ☐ patrón, socio o empleador? ☐ 5

46 - ¿EN ESA OCUPACIÓN USTED TRABAJÓ COMO...
 1 ☐ obrero o empleado? ☐ 3 cooperativista de producción? ☐ 6
 2 ☐ trabajador por cuenta propia? ☐ 4 trabajador familiar o aprendiz sin remuneración? ☐ 7
 3 ☐ patrón, socio o empleador? ☐ 5

47 - ¿QUÉ PRODUCE, VENDE O A QUÉ ACTIVIDAD SE DEDICA EL ESTABLECIMIENTO DONDE TRABAJÓ?

CAPÍTULO E. SÓLO PARA PERSONAS DE 4 AÑOS O MÁS DE EDAD

48 - ¿CUAL ES SU ESTADO CIVIL O CONYUGAL ACTUAL?
 Soltero/a ☐ 1 Separado/a ☐ 4
 Casado/a ☐ 2 Divorciado/a ☐ 5
 Conviviente o concubino/a ☐ 3 Viudo/a ☐ 6

49 - ¿SE CONSIDERA PERTENECIENTE A ALGUNO DE LOS SIGUIENTES PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS O INDÍGENAS?
 quechua? ☐ 1 chiquitano? ☐ 4
 aymara? ☐ 2 moseño? ☐ 5
 guaraní? ☐ 3 otro nativo? ☐ 6
 Ninguno ☐ 7

CAPÍTULO F. SÓLO PARA PERSONAS DE 7 AÑOS O MÁS DE EDAD

CAPÍTULO G. SÓLO PARA PERSONAS DE 15 AÑOS O MÁS DE EDAD

CAPÍTULO H. SÓLO PARA MUJERES DE 15 AÑOS O MÁS DE EDAD

50 - EN TOTAL, ¿CUÁNTAS HIJAS E HIJOS NACIDOS VIVOS HA TENIDO, INCLUYENDO FALLECIDOS O AUSENTES?
 Si no tuvo, anote «0» y pase a la siguiente persona.

51 - DE SUS HIJAS E HIJOS NACIDOS VIVOS, ¿CUÁNTOS VIVEN ACTUALMENTE?
 Si la respuesta es ninguno anote «0».

52 - DE SUS HIJAS E HIJOS NACIDOS VIVOS, ¿CUÁNTOS FALLECIERON?
 Si la respuesta es ninguno anote «0».

53 - ¿EN QUÉ MES Y AÑO NACIÓ SU ÚLTIMA HIJA O HIJO NACIDO VIVO?
 MES _____ AÑO _____

54 - ¿DÓNDE TUVO LUGAR ESE SU ÚLTIMO PARTO?
 En un establecimiento de salud ☐ 1
 En un domicilio ☐ 2
 En otro lugar ☐ 3

55 - ¿QUIÉN ATENDIÓ SU PARTO?
 Médico ☐ 1
 Enfermera/ Auxiliar de enfermería ☐ 2
 Partera ☐ 3
 Usted misma ☐ 4
 Otra persona ☐ 5

RELLENE ASÍ NO RELLENE ASÍ 2

Bolivian 2012 Census Questionnaire

[illegible]

APPENDIX 4

Peru 2007 Census Questionnaire

QUINTA SECCIÓN: CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA POBLACIÓN			
PERSONA N°		NOMBRE	
PARA TODAS LAS PERSONAS			
1. ¿CUÁL ES LA RELACIÓN DE PARENTESCO CON EL JEFE O JEFA DEL HOGAR? (Circule sólo un número) Jefe o Jefa..... 1 Esposa(o) / compañera(o)..... 2 Hijo(a) / hijastro(a)..... 3 Yerno / nuera..... 4 Nieto(a)..... 5 Padres / suegros..... 6 Otro(a) pariente..... 7 Trabajador(a) del hogar..... 8 Pensionista..... 9 Otro(a) no pariente..... 0			
2. SEXO Hombre..... 1 Mujer..... 2			
3. ¿CUÁNTOS AÑOS CUMPLIDOS TIENE? Si tiene uno o más años cumplidos: Anote sólo años [][] (Si tiene más de 98 años anote 98) Si tiene menos de un año: Anote sólo meses [][] (Si tiene menos de un mes anote 0)			
4. ¿TIENE PARTIDA DE NACIMIENTO DEL REGISTRO CIVIL? Sí..... 1 No..... 2			
5. ¿VIVE PERMANENTEMENTE EN ESTE DISTRITO? Sí..... 1 → Pase a Pgta. 6 No..... 2 →			
5A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y DEPARTAMENTO VIVE PERMANENTEMENTE? Distrito: _____ Departamento / País: _____ Si vive en el extranjero, anote sólo el nombre del País.			
6. HACE 5 AÑOS, ¿VIVÍA EN ESTE DISTRITO? Aún no había nacido..... 1 → Pase a Pgta. 7 Sí..... 2 No..... 3 →			
6A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y DEPARTAMENTO VIVÍA HACE 5 AÑOS? Distrito: _____ Departamento / País: _____ Si vivía en el extranjero, anote sólo el nombre del País.			
7. CUANDO USTED NACIÓ, ¿VIVÍA SU MADRE EN ESTE DISTRITO? Sí..... 1 → Pase a Pgta. 8 No..... 2 →			
7A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y DEPARTAMENTO VIVÍA SU MADRE? Distrito: _____ Departamento / País: _____ Si vivía en el extranjero, anote sólo el nombre del País.			
8. ¿SE ENCUENTRA AFILIADO AL: (Lea cada alternativa y circule uno o más números) SIS (Seguro Integral de Salud)?..... 1 ESSALUD?..... 2 Otro seguro de salud?..... 3 NINGUNO..... 4			
PARA PERSONAS DE 3 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD		9. ¿EL IDIOMA O LENGUA CON EL QUE APRENDIÓ A HABLAR FUE: (Lea cada alternativa y circule sólo un número) Quechua?..... 1 Aymara?..... 2 Asháninka?..... 3 Otra lengua nativa?..... 4 (Especifique) _____ Castellano?..... 5 Idioma extranjero?..... 6 ES SORDOMUDO(A)..... 7	
10. ¿SABE LEER Y ESCRIBIR? Sí..... 1 No..... 2		11. ¿CUÁL FUE EL ÚLTIMO NIVEL Y GRADO O AÑO DE ESTUDIOS QUE APROBÓ? (Circule sólo un número. Para primaria anote el grado o año y para secundaria, sólo el año) Sin nivel..... 1 Educación inicial..... 2 Primaria..... 3 → [][] GRADO AÑO Secundaria..... 4 → [][] Superior no universitaria incompleta..... 5 Superior no universitaria completa..... 6 Superior universitaria incompleta..... 7 Superior universitaria completa..... 8	
12. ACTUALMENTE, ¿ASISTE A ALGÚN COLEGIO, ESCUELA, INSTITUTO SUPERIOR O UNIVERSIDAD? Sí..... 1 No..... 2		13. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿TRABAJÓ AL MENOS UNA HORA POR ALGÚN PAGO EN DINERO O ESPECIE? Sí..... 1 → Pase a Pgta. 16 No..... 2	
PARA PERSONAS DE 6 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD		14. LA SEMANA PASADA: (Lea cada alternativa y circule sólo un número) ¿No trabajó pero tenía trabajo?..... 1 ¿Aunque no trabajó, tiene algún negocio propio?..... 2 ¿Realizó algún cachuelo por un pago en dinero o especie?..... 3 ¿Estuvo ayudando en la chacra, tienda o negocio de un familiar sin pago alguno?..... 4 NO TRABAJÓ..... 5	
15. LA SEMANA PASADA ESTUVO: (Lea cada alternativa y circule sólo un número) ¿Buscando trabajo habiendo trabajado antes?..... 1 ¿Buscando trabajo por primera vez?..... 2 ¿Estudiando y no trabajó?..... 3 ¿Viviendo de su pensión o jubilación y no trabajó?..... 4 ¿Viviendo de sus rentas y no trabajó?..... 5 ¿Al cuidado de su hogar y no trabajó?..... 6 ¿Otra?..... 7 (Especifique) _____		16. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿CUÁL ES LA OCUPACIÓN PRINCIPAL QUE DESEMPEÑÓ? (Ejemplos: PROFESOR DE EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA, ABOGADO, PEÓN AGRÍCOLA, AGRICULTOR, VENDEDOR AMBULANTE DE COMIDA, ETC.) _____ (Especifique) _____	
17. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿A QUÉ ACTIVIDAD SE DEDICÓ EL NEGOCIO, ORGANISMO O EMPRESA EN LA QUE TRABAJÓ? (Ejemplos: CONFECCIÓN DE VESTIDOS, CULTIVO DE ARROZ, CRIANZA DE GANADO VACUNO, VENTA DE ABARROTES AL POR MAYOR, RESTAURANTE, ETC.) _____ (Especifique) _____		18. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿EN SU CENTRO DE TRABAJO SE DESEMPEÑÓ COMO: (Lea cada alternativa y circule sólo un número) Empleado?..... 1 Obrero?..... 2 Trabajador independiente o por cuenta propia?..... 3 Empleador o patrono?..... 4 Trabajador familiar no remunerado?..... 5 Trabajador(a) del hogar?..... 6	
19. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿EN SU CENTRO DE TRABAJO LABORARON: (Lea cada alternativa y circule sólo un número) De 1 a 5 personas?..... 1 De 6 a 10 personas?..... 2 De 11 a 50 personas?..... 3 De 51 a más personas?..... 4		PARA PERSONAS DE 12 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD	
20. ¿CUÁL ES SU RELIGIÓN? (Circule sólo un número) Católica..... 1 Otra..... 3 Cristiana / Evangélica..... 2 NINGUNA..... 4		21. ACTUALMENTE, ¿CUÁL ES SU ESTADO CIVIL O CONYUGAL? (Circule sólo un número) Conviviente..... 1 Viudo(a)..... 4 Separado(a)..... 2 Divorciado(a)..... 5 Casado(a)..... 3 Soltero(a)..... 6	
PARA MUJERES DE 12 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD		22. ¿CUÁNTOS HIJOS E HIJAS NACIDOS VIVOS EN TOTAL HA TENIDO? Total [][] Si no ha tenido hijos e hijas, anote 0 y Pase a Pgta. 26.	
23. ¿CUÁNTOS DE SUS HIJOS E HIJAS ESTÁN ACTUALMENTE VIVOS? Total [][] Si no tiene hijos e hijas actualmente vivos, anote 0.		24. ¿EN QUÉ MES Y AÑO NACIÓ SU ÚLTIMO HIJO O HIJA NACIDO VIVO? Mes [][] Año [][][][]	
25. ¿CUÁNTOS AÑOS TENÍA USTED, CUANDO NACIÓ SU PRIMER HIJO O HIJA NACIDO VIVO? Edad en años [][]		PARA PERSONAS DE 18 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD	
26. ¿TIENE DNI (DOCUMENTO NACIONAL DE IDENTIDAD)? Sí..... 1 No..... 2			

APPENDIX 5

Peru 2017 Census Questionnaire

SECCIÓN V. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA POBLACIÓN									
PERSONA N°		NOMBRE							
PARA TODAS LAS PERSONAS									
1. ¿CUÁL ES LA RELACIÓN DE PARENTESCO CON EL JEFE O JEFA DEL HOGAR? (Rellene solo un óvalo ●)									
1 ☐ Jefe o Jefa del hogar 2 ☐ Esposo/a o compañero/a 3 ☐ Hijo(a) / hijastro(a) 4 ☐ Yerno / nuera 5 ☐ Nieto/a 6 ☐ Padre / madre / suegro/a 7 ☐ Hermano/a 8 ☐ Otro/a pariente 9 ☐ Trabajador/a del hogar 10 ☐ Pensionista 11 ☐ Otro/a no pariente									
2. SEXO 1 ☐ Hombre 2 ☐ Mujer									
3. ¿CUÁL ES SU FECHA DE NACIMIENTO? Día Mes Año									
4. ¿CUÁNTOS AÑOS CUMPLIDOS TIENE? Años cumplidos: (Si tiene menos de 1 año anote 0)									
5. ¿VIVE PERMANENTEMENTE EN ESTE DISTRITO? 1 ☐ Sí → Pase a Pgta. 6 2 ☐ No →									
5A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y PROVINCIA VIVE PERMANENTEMENTE? Distrito: Provincia / País: <i>Si vive en el extranjero, anote solo el nombre del país.</i>									
6. HACE 5 AÑOS, DESDE OCTUBRE DEL AÑO 2012, ¿VIVÍA EN ESTE DISTRITO? 1 ☐ Aún no había nacido → Pase a Pgta. 7 2 ☐ Sí 3 ☐ No →									
6A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y PROVINCIA VIVÍA HACE 5 AÑOS? Distrito: Provincia / País: <i>Si vivía en el extranjero, anote solo el nombre del país.</i>									
7. CUANDO USTED NACIÓ, ¿VIVÍA SU MADRE EN ESTE DISTRITO? 1 ☐ Sí → Pase a Pgta. 8 2 ☐ No →									
7A. ¿EN QUÉ DISTRITO Y PROVINCIA VIVÍA SU MADRE? Distrito: Provincia / País: <i>Si vivía en el extranjero, anote solo el nombre del país.</i>									
8. ¿SE ENCUENTRA AFILIADO AL: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene uno o más óvalos ●)									
1 ☐ Seguro integral de salud (SIS)? 2 ☐ ESSALUD? 3 ☐ Seguro de fuerzas armadas o policiales? 4 ☐ Seguro privado de salud? 5 ☐ Otro seguro? 6 ☐ NINGUNO									
9. A continuación le haré algunas preguntas para saber si usted presenta alguna dificultad o limitación permanente que le impida desarrollarse normalmente en sus actividades diarias, ¿TIENE ALGUNA DIFICULTAD O LIMITACIÓN PERMANENTE PARA: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene uno o más óvalos ●)									
1 ☐ Ver, aún usando anteojos? 2 ☐ Oír, aún usando audífonos? 3 ☐ Hablar o comunicarse, aún usando la lengua de señas u otro? 4 ☐ Moverse o caminar para usar brazos y/o piernas? 5 ☐ Entender o aprender (concentrarse y recordar)? 6 ☐ Relacionarse con los demás por sus pensamientos, sentimientos, emociones o conductas? 7 ☐ NINGUNA									
10. ¿CUÁL ES EL NÚMERO DE SU DNI (Documento nacional de identidad)? DNI: 1 ☐ Solo tiene partida de nacimiento 2 ☐ Solo tiene carné de extranjería 3 ☐ No tiene documento alguno 4 ☐ No recuerda									
PARA PERSONAS DE 3 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD									
11. ¿CUÁL ES EL IDIOMA O LENGUA MATERNA CON EL QUE APRENDIÓ A HABLAR EN SU NIÑEZ? (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●)									
1 ☐ Quechua? 2 ☐ Aimara? 3 ☐ Ashaninka? 4 ☐ Awajún / Aguaruna? 5 ☐ Shipibo - Konibo? 6 ☐ Shawi / Chayahuita? 7 ☐ Matsigenka / Machiguenga? 8 ☐ Achuar? 9 ☐ Otra lengua nativa u originaria? →									
10 ☐ Castellano? 11 ☐ Portugués? 12 ☐ Otra lengua extranjera? 13 ☐ LENGUA DE SEÑAS PERUANAS 14 ☐ NO ESCUCHA / NI HABLA									
12. ¿SABE LEER Y ESCRIBIR? 1 ☐ Sí 2 ☐ No									
13. ¿CUÁL FUE EL ÚLTIMO NIVEL Y GRADO O AÑO DE ESTUDIOS QUE APROBÓ? (Rellene solo un óvalo ●. Para primaria anote el grado o año)									
1 ☐ Sin nivel 2 ☐ Inicial 3 ☐ Primaria → GRADO o AÑO 4 ☐ Secundaria → AÑO 5 ☐ Básica especial → AÑO 6 ☐ Superior no universitaria incompleta 7 ☐ Superior no universitaria completa 8 ☐ Superior universitaria incompleta 9 ☐ Superior universitaria completa 10 ☐ Maestría / Doctorado									
14. ACTUALMENTE, ¿ASISTE A UNA INSTITUCIÓN EDUCATIVA, COLEGIO, INSTITUTO SUPERIOR O UNIVERSIDAD? 1 ☐ Sí 2 ☐ No → Pase a Pgta. 16									
15. LA INSTITUCIÓN EDUCATIVA O COLEGIO, INSTITUTO SUPERIOR O UNIVERSIDAD A LA QUE ASISTE, ¿ESTÁ UBICADA: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●)									
1 ☐ Aquí, en este distrito? 2 ☐ En otro distrito? (Especifique) → Distrito: Provincia / País:									

SECCIÓN V. CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA POBLACIÓN (Continuación)

PARA PERSONAS DE 5 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
16. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿TRABAJÓ PARA OBTENER UN INGRESO O PARA COLABORAR CON LA PRODUCCIÓN EN EL HOGAR? (No considerar los quehaceres del hogar) 1 ☐ Sí → Pase a Pgta. 19 2 ☐ No																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
17. LA SEMANA PASADA: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ ¿No trabajó pero tenía trabajo? (por vacaciones, huelga, paro en el centro de trabajo, etc.) 2 ☐ ¿Aunque no trabajó, tiene algún negocio propio al que volverá? 3 ☐ ¿Realizó algún trabajo ocasional (cachuelo) por un pago en dinero o especie? → Pase a Pgta. 19 4 ☐ ¿Realizó labores en la chacra o en la crianza de animales? 5 ☐ ¿Estuvo ayudando en la tienda o negocio de un familiar? 6 ☐ ¿Estuvo al cuidado del hogar y no trabajó? 7 ☐ NO TRABAJÓ																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
18. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿ESTUVO BUSCANDO TRABAJO ACTIVAMENTE? (Rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Sí → Pase a Pgta. 24 2 ☐ No																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
19. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿CUÁL ES LA OCUPACIÓN PRINCIPAL QUE DESEMPEÑÓ? (Ejemplos: PROFESOR DE EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA, ABOGADO, PEÓN AGRÍCOLA, AGRICULTOR, VENDEDOR AMBULANTE DE COMIDA, ETC.) (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
20. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿A QUÉ ACTIVIDAD SE DEDICÓ EL NEGOCIO, ORGANISMO O EMPRESA EN LA QUE TRABAJÓ? (Ejemplos: CONFECCIÓN DE VESTIDOS, CULTIVO DE ARROZ, CRIANZA DE GANADO VACUNO, VENTA DE ABARROTES AL POR MAYOR, RESTAURANTE, ETC.) (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
21. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿EN SU CENTRO DE TRABAJO SE DESEMPEÑÓ COMO: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Empleador/a o patrono/a? 2 ☐ Trabajador/a independiente o por cuenta propia? 3 ☐ Empleado/a? 4 ☐ Obrero/a? 5 ☐ Trabajador/a en negocio de un familiar? 6 ☐ Trabajador/a del hogar? 7 ☐ Otro (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
22. LA SEMANA PASADA, ¿EN SU CENTRO DE TRABAJO, LABORARON: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ De 1 a 5 personas? 2 ☐ De 6 a 10 personas? 3 ☐ De 11 a 50 personas? 4 ☐ De 51 a más personas?																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
23. EL LUGAR DONDE DESEMPEÑA SU TRABAJO, ¿ESTÁ UBICADO: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Aquí, en este distrito? 2 ☐ En otro distrito? (Especifique) → (Si trabajó en varios distritos anote el último distrito en el que trabajó) Distrito: <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table> Provincia / País: <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
24. ACTUALMENTE, ¿CUÁL ES SU ESTADO CIVIL O CONYUGAL? (Rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Conviviente 2 ☐ Separado/a 3 ☐ Casado/a 4 ☐ Viudo/a 5 ☐ Divorciado/a 6 ☐ Soltero/a																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
25. POR SUS COSTUMBRES Y SUS ANTEPASADOS, ¿USTED SE SIENTE O CONSIDERA: (Lea cada alternativa y rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Quechua? 2 ☐ Aimara? 3 ☐ Nativo o indígena de la amazonía? (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table> 4 ☐ Perteneciente o parte de otro pueblo indígena u originario? (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table> 5 ☐ Negro, moreno, zambo, mulato / pueblo afroperuano o afrodescendiente? 6 ☐ Blanco? 7 ☐ Mestizo? 8 ☐ Otro (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
26. ¿CUÁL ES SU RELIGIÓN? (Rellene solo un óvalo ●) 1 ☐ Católica 2 ☐ Evangélica 3 ☐ Otra (Especifique) → <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100px;"> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table> 4 ☐ NINGUNA																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
PARA MUJERES DE 12 AÑOS Y MÁS DE EDAD 27. ¿CUÁNTOS HIJOS E HIJAS NACIDOS VIVOS EN TOTAL HA TENIDO? Total de hijos/as: 1 ☐ NINGUNO → CONCLUYA LA ENTREVISTA																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
28. ¿CUÁNTOS DE SUS HIJOS E HIJAS ESTÁN ACTUALMENTE VIVOS? Hijos/as vivos/as: 1 ☐ NINGUNO																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
29. ¿EN QUÉ MES Y AÑO NACIÓ SU ÚLTIMO HIJO O HIJA NACIDO VIVO? Mes Año																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													

ESCRIBA CON LETRA MAYÚSCULA IMPRINTA. NO AGENTUE LAS PALABRAS. CORRUA CON CUIDADO. RELLENE ASI

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