Inventing the past, remember the future: presentation of CIPLA, case of Mexico

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IX Coloquio Internacional de Cultura Mexicana
Uppsala University, Sweden
September, 2017
An overview

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I. Quick facts about the indigenous peoples in Latin America

• Total indigenous population in the region: between 45 – 48 million people.
• 400 indigenous groups estimated to live within the region.
• The five countries with the largest indigenous population: Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru.
• The largest country with indigenous population: Mexico (12, 025 947 - 10.01% of total pop. - 68 groups - 364 language variants)

11 language families in Mexico are: Algica, Uto-Aztecan, Yuman-Cochimi, Seri, Oto-mangue, Mayan, Totonac-tepehua, Tarascan, Mixe-Zoque, Chontal of Oaxaca, Huave.
PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS EN MÉXICO
Ubicación en el país
México cuenta con más de 11 millones de habitantes indígenas. Conoce los diferentes pueblos que existen y su localización en el país.

Source: Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas
II. About CIPLA

A Database on Comparative Indigenous Politics in Latin America, CIPLA

Dates: February, 2017 – February, 2019

Leader of Project: Marcus Buck (UiT)

Professor: Per Selle (Bergen University)

Sample: 33 Latin American countries

First 6 months (february-august): explorative approach, the case of Mexico

Five lines of research: (each line of research has its own objectives)

1.- An overview over indigenous peoples in the states of Latin America.

2.- Historical mobilization related to Rokkan’s thresholds, legitimation, incorporation, representation and executive power.

3.- Description of indigenous peoples in the constitutions, possibly implementation of ILO 169.

4.- Various institutional arrangements/rights along the principles of jus soli/jus sanguine and territoriality/asymmetry.

5.- Literature review of indigenous studies/indigenous rights in Latin America, in particular related to the concept of separate ontologies.
II. About CIPLA

**CIPLA's lines of research:**

a) An overview over indigenous peoples in the 33 states in Latin America.

b) Historical mobilization related to Rokkan's thresholds: legitimation, incorporation, representation and executive power.

c) Description of indigenous peoples in the constitutions, possibly implementation of ILO 169.

d) Various institutional arrangements/rights along the principles of jus soli/jus sanguine and territoriality/asymmetry.

e) Literature review of indigenous studies/indigenous rights in Latin America, in particular related to the concept of separate ontologies.

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**The Rokkan Model, Latin America:**

- Background Factor (s) Colonial Heritage
  - Legitimation (Constitution)
  - Incorporation (Suffrage: Male-Female)
  - Representation (Political Parties and Indigenous Candidates)
  - Executive Power (President /Cabinet Members)

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**The Rokkan Model, Mexico**

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**About the sources, Mexico**

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The questions...
III. About Stein Rokkan

Stein Rokkan (1921-1979) was one of the most important social scientists of the second part of the twentieth century. He is considered one of the founders of modern political science (Sartori, Linz, Dogan among others).

A political scientist, sociologist and historian. His most important contribution lies in the originality of his theoretical proposal for the study of European political development, based on his research program, considered as a historical-comparative macrosociology. Perhaps one of his most widespread and quoted analytical concepts is "Cleavages", which appeared for the first time in a published paper together with Seymour Martin Lipset (1967) and translated into Spanish in just a compilation of some essential texts for the study of political science (Almond et al., 2000).

Rokkan built model theories of which we serve to understand reality, even a reality different from which it derived and to which it applied, and with the years they became true mental categories. Rokkan considered himself "a man from the periphery, who loved cultural pluralism but at the same time defined himself as a cosmopolitan who did not want any local culture to be imposed" (Allardt and Valen, 1981: 11-38).
IV. About the Rokkan Model

Objectives:
• To map the political mobilization of the indigenous peoples in the region.
• To map the implementation of national/local legislation concerning indigenous affairs in the region.

Legitimation (Recognition of political rights and civil liberties)
• The breakthrough in time of economic liberalism → free trade legislations during the 19th century and a degree of protectionism (measured as custom tariffs) employed in the period ending with the First World War.
• The establishment in time of civil liberties. → press freedom and freedom of associations
• The time for the formation of socialist parties. → the system’s acceptance of an oppositional political force.

Incorporation (Rights of universal participation in elections)
• The introduction of male of female (i.e. universal) suffrage as well as estimates of the proportion of the population franchised.

Representation (Possibility of new movements to be represented in national parliaments)
• Proportional representation
• National level: # of seats reflects the # of votes

Executive Power (Possibility of translation of parliamentary strength into executive power)

The five countries with the largest indigenous population: Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru.

Bolivia: 9 departments; 112 provinces; 337 municipalities; 1,374 cantons.
Ecuador: 4 provinces.
Guatemala: 22 departments; 334 municipalities.
Peru: Regionalization law which was passed on November 18, 2002. 25 regions and Lima Province; 196 provinces; 1,869 districts.

The case of Mexico:
• 32 states (federal system)
• 2, 457 municipalities (2,438; 2,456)
V. About the Rokkan Model, the case of Mexico

In the case of Mexico - a federal system. Is difficult to track and/or identify the indigenous representation in Mexico with a precise number of legislators that have occupied seats in the last 20 years in the Congress. Why? According to Willibald Sonnleitner a professor from COLMEX (Colegio de Mexico) First, there are some inconsistencies on the revised literature but also in the official documents which is more a technical problem of scientific measurement that has to do with identity issues that can be flexible, dynamic and intersubjective. This identity is not static and/or objective.

According to CDI/INEGI during 2015 there were 494 indigenous municipalities in Mexico. How weak and/or well represented are these indigenous communities within the country? According to Claire Wright (Professor from Universidad de Monterrey working on Indigenous Political Participation) 4 in total.
V. About the Rokkan Model, the case of Mexico

Has proved to be a challenge for the following reason(s): no statistics of participation; lack of harmonization in the information (Rodolfo Stavenhagen) presented by the same institution(s) such as: INEGI, INE. Two quick examples: there are inconsistencies about the total population of indigenous peoples in and the total number of municipalities in Mexico.

The political indigenous’ concepts such as: The Mesoamerican altepetl (Navarrete Linares, Federico. 2011. *Los orígenes de los pueblos indígenas del valle de México: los altépetl y sus historias*) is a pre-Hispanic political-territorial unit on which the colonial organization was based and later the municipality, is historically very relevant because it defines a historical-cultural perspective that is sometimes ignored.

Distinctive political cases (26 in total) within Mexican territory:


The State of Oaxaca: Zapoteca woman, Eufrosina Cruz – 1 case.

Indigenous candidate for the presidency in the 2018 National elections. More than 1000 representatives from about 58 indigenous communities chose a Nahua woman from Tuxpan, Jalisco called María de Jesús Patricio Martínez as an independent candidate for running for the Presidency of Mexico in the coming elections in 2018. – 1 case.

The State of Chiapas -two women from EZLN:- Comandante Ramona (RIP. January, 2006) and Mayor Ana María. – 2 cases.

The State of Sonora: 19 Regidores’ case – 19 cases in total. Sonora (regidor étnico – ethnic councilor) which has no political representation – Conversation with Dr. Lasse Hölck from the Institute for Latin American Studies at Free University in Berlin.
V. About the Rokkan Model, the case of Mexico

Internal Normative Systems - Uses and Customs. Indigenous Electoral Law, the different tensions and proceedings.

Critical about it. Eufrosina Cruz, an indigenous woman from Oaxaca State is critical about it. ‘In the uses and customs, the word justice does not exist. The uses and customs, one can see the dominance of the men over women. With rare exceptions, the uses and customs and the community assemblies are not democratic, with very traditional settings. Many uses and customs in agrarian communities and particularly in indigenous communities were imposed by the Catholic Church by forcing the first Mexicans to assume, though with a certain hybridization, religion as their own.’

Perceived as a challenge. In Oaxaca there is a mix-model: 418 municipalities are governed by Internal Normative Systems of the 570 municipalities. - Conversation with Ismerai Betanzos from the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, CDI. (The topic of the Redistritación electoral is very relevant here...)

Indigenous women cannot participate. Document: Rokkan Model, the case of Mexico – 12 communities. Different local sources (readings and interviews) confirm this.

Ambiguous. Sonora State: 19 Regidores’ case. The position of an 'ethnic councilor' is, after all, another improvisation to facilitate indigenous governance for the state, but not for the better of the Comcáac indigenous community. And in the literature that was suggested/sent by Dr. Hölck there was no clear definition of what a regidor étnico must be. – Conversation with Dr. Lasse Hölck from the Institute for Latin American Studies at Free University in Berlin.
VI. About CIPLA’s corpus of the sources

- The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, (IWGIA) Year books 2006-08-10-16.
- Comparative Constitutions Project at the University of Texas at Austin.
- Political Database of the Americas (a non-governmental project of the Center for the Latin American Studies (CLAS) at Georgetown University.
- International Labour Organization, ILO.
- For the case of Mexico: Historical sources about the Altépetl in Mexico (Codex Mexicanus, Mendocino, etc.) Mexican constitution, INE, CIESAS, INEGI, TEPJF, CDI, INAH and UNAM.
Article 2
This article states the nature of the Mexican nation. The Mexican nation is unique and indivisible. The nation is pluricultural based originally on its indigenous tribes which are those that are descendants of the people that lived in the current territory of the country at the beginning of the colonization and that preserve their own social, economic, cultural, political institutions. The awareness of their indigenous identity should be fundamental criteria to determine to whom the dispositions over indigenous tribes are applied. They are integral communities of an indigenous tribe that form a social, economic and cultural organization.
Different international instruments:

**In 1989,** Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries and the September 5, 1990 is approved, ratified by the Mexican State.

**Mexico officially recognized as culturally diverse since 1992.** This diversity is based on the coexistence of many indigenous peoples, distinguished by their different ways of thinking, acting and representing the world.

**In 1992,** Article 4 of the Constitution was amended and recognized the multiethnic and multicultural existence of the Mexican nation, in order to comply with the international agreement quoted above.

**In April 2001** Article 2 therein including constitutional recognition of the autonomy and self-determination of indigenous peoples to decide reformed community affairs.

**While this is the definition established by the Constitution, the term Indigenous People is a concept that is still subject to discussion, both in terms of legal, political and social. (January, 2014)**
VII. Preliminary observations

• The recognition from the Mexican state has been delayed sometimes postponed; legal, economic, technical, institutional and political implementation is almost non-existent and in many cases discriminatory.

• The indigenous communities have not reached ‘globalization’ yet: access to technical resources such as having micro credits in order to create small businesses, full access to formal university and/or technical education.

• There are still, an ambiguity, contradictions and gaps: the way we see us and the way we see them and this is due the fact the governments (local and national) as well as society in general have not engaged in a constructive way (long term vision).

• Is the Mexican state promoting and supporting the cultural diversity in a coherent and responsible/institutional way? This appears to be a challenge.
VII. Preliminary observations

About the INE. In Mexico there are 32 Electoral Institutes (Institutos Estatales Electorales) in which they are responsible to coordinate/organize local and federal elections every 3/6 years. These local institutes have different titles (ie, iepco, iep) These entities have information about the electoral processes in their own municipalities - except the States of Tlaxcala and Veracruz (June, 2017). In each of these institutes one will find information regarding the following:

• Gender and Civic Education
• Promoting the vote among young people and civic virtues in a modern society
• Democracy and Pedagogy among other topics

But these institutes have no information regarding indigenous peoples in their municipalities. Except the case, of Oaxaca (a state of 570 municipalities)

One would expect that in the states with more indigenous population would find visible information about them. In the site-menus, they do not have a direct link about indigenous peoples in the region. How to understand this lack of information? A voluntary omission? As an involuntary error that perhaps the authorities do not realize?

States with more indigenous population: Yucatán (50.18%); Oaxaca (43.72%); Chiapas (32.70%); Quintana Roo (32.52%); Campeche (22.15%); Hidalgo (21.20%); Guerrero (19.29%); Puebla (17.75%); San Luis Potosí (13.63%); Veracruz (13.58%). Source: Estrategia Nacional de Cultura Cívica 2017-2023. Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) http://portalanterior.ine.mx/archivos2/portal/DECEYEC/EducacionCivica/estrategiaNacional


In addition, 23 entities have regulatory laws on indigenous issues: Baja California, Campeche, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Colima, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Mexico, Morelos, Nayarit, Puebla, Oaxaca, Querétaro, Quintana Roo, San Luis Potosí, Sonora, Tlaxcala, Tabasco, Veracruz and Yucatan.
Gracias, in Spanish
Wokola'wal, in Tzeltal (spoken in Chiapas region)

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