“Stand For” and Deliver? Reserved Seats, Ethnic Constituencies, and Minority Representation in Colombia

by

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ABSTRACT

This project is a comparative exploration of the connection between descriptive representation and the substantive and symbolic representation of ethnic minorities: do Afro and indigenous representatives effectively "stand for" group members by introducing identity and empowering descriptive constituents? Featuring reserved seats for both minority groups, Colombia is an ideal case. In combination, the institutional design of reserved seats and the tradition of *mestizaje* and racial democracy add complexity to analyzing these populations. Consequently, in order to assess minority representation this work adds to extant representational theory by taking into account the crystallization of minority constituencies across elections.

I use quantitative and qualitative data to comparatively assess the use of reserved seats for integrating minority identity to the deliberative process and measuring empowerment impacts for minority-majority municipalities. This data includes an original dataset of electoral outcomes across seven cycles (1990-2010) and transcripts of congressional plenaries spanning three legislative periods (2002-2014). I take into account constituency dynamics identifying the concentration and geographical sources of votes in minority districts. These outcomes translate to expectations of representative behavior, hinging on the theoretical belief that constituency dynamics act as signals of legislator accountability to minority constituents.

This dissertation is located at the intersection of the comparative politics literature on minority quotas and representation, on one hand, and ethno-racial minority politics in Latin America, on the other. I find that ongoing electoral reforms have impacted constituency outcomes in post-reform cycles. More importantly, I observe that reserved

representatives from both groups have integrated identity into deliberative processes often, but that only in the case of indigenous representation has the use of identity in plenaries been responsive to constituency variables. In addition, empowerment effects are identified in indigenous-majority communities that have strong linkages to minority districts, while the same empowerment cannot be conclusively identified in Afro-majority communities.

Para mi querida mamá, quién desde mi infancia siempre me ha hecho la compañía.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMMs: Afro-Majority Municipalities

AT55: *Artículo Transitorio 55* (Transitory Article 55)

AICO: *Autoridades Indígenas de Colombia* (Indigenous Authorities of Colombia)

ANC: *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* (National Constituent Assembly)

BCD: Black Communities District

DANE: *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadisticas* (National Administrative Department of Statistics)

DW: Durbin Watson Statistic

EIS: Ethnic Invocation Score

HHI: Hirschman-Hirfandahl Index

ICD: Indigenous Chamber District

IMMs: Indigenous-Majority Municipalities

ISD: Indigenous Senate District

ILO: International Labor Organization

LA01: Legislative Act 01 of 2003

MIDs: Minority-Influenced Departments

MMMs: Minority-Majority Municipalities

ONIC: *Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia* (National Indigenous Organization of Colombia

TSCS: Time Series Cross Sectional

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Ignoro aún si es negra o blanca,
Si ha de cantar en ella
el índio adormecido que llora en mis entrañas
o el pendenciero ancestro del abuelo que me dejó su ardiente
y sensual sangre mulata. / Si ha de llevar sabor de agua salada
o tambores al fondo
o claridades de sol de la mañana
o nebulosos fríos de montaña

[I still do not know if it is black or white,
whether singing in it will be
the dormant Indian who weeps in my heart
or the passionate ancestor of the grandfather who left me his fiery
and sensual mulatto blood. / Whether it will have the taste of saltwater
or drums in the back ground / or brilliances of sun in the morning
or misty mountain chills.]

-Jorge Artel (text and translation from Prescott 1999)

In 1989, the International Labor Organization (ILO) adopted Convention 169, a document which sought to address the rights of ethnic minorities. A broad revision of ILO Convention 107, the text of Convention 169 recognized indigenous land and property rights, autonomy, and *political equality* (ILO 1989, my emphasis).[1] In particular, it called for special measures to ensure the protection of the persons, institutions, property, cultures, and environment of indigenous peoples (Article 4) and to their *guaranteed consultation* in matters of importance (Article 6, my emphasis). Convention 169 signaled the importance of ethnic minority issues in various parts of the globe. More importantly, states who have taken the additional step of ratifying the measure are professing a concern—whether genuine or feigned—for the problems that continue to

[1] ILO Convention 107 was previously adopted in 1957 and called primarily for the protection and integration of tribal and semi-tribal people into their respective societies (ILO 1957).

affect their minority populations. Included among these is their exclusion from institutional politics and low rates of participation (Cabrero et al 2013).

Rectification for the ills of marginalization—or the attempt thereto—has come in various forms. Perhaps most common are pursuits of social justice by institutional means, which seek to alter the nature of republicanism's selective exclusion by introducing selective *in*clusion to democratic institutions. Electoral quotas, in their various forms, have taken center stage in this chapter of democracy's ongoing global saga. At the heart of these measures is the desire to create space for constituents whose voices are markedly absent from the deliberative process, primarily as a cause of institutions which are ill-fitted to provide valuable representation. In some instances, these constituencies escape the geographical norm, eschewing the common understanding of local interests for a broader set of group interests, all driven by a shared identity. The focus of this dissertation project is an analysis of two such constituencies—Afro and indigenous Colombians—as well as the inclusive measures that endeavor to provide them a voice in governmental processes. How successful have such measures been in bringing Afro and indigenous identity to the policy arena? How has the inchoate nature of non-geographic ethno-racial constituencies crystallized over time? Most importantly, what symbolic and substantive representational outcomes can we comparatively observe for these minority groups? These are the foundational questions that guide this work.

I investigate the impact of reserved seat policies to build responses to these questions. Afro and indigenous Colombians were the first ethno-racial minorities in Latin America to receive preferential treatment during electoral processes, thereby ensuring their representation in the national congress. This is achieved through nationally scoped

(non-geographical) "virtual districts" that are connected to reserved seats. Capturing the crystallization of Black and indigenous constituencies in Colombia and measuring for representational impacts does not only address claims about the effects of inclusive measures; it also considers how group representatives advocate for constituents once in office, how this is conditioned by electoral support patterns, and whether the target groups *feel* more represented post-implementation. An analysis of this ilk is particularly urgent in a democratically complex region such as Latin America, where a recent wave of constitutional reform movements sprouted in response to flailing democratic institutions (Van Cott 2000). Such movements created political opportunities for minority groups across the region, allowing both women and ethnic minorities to wedge themselves into the political arena, often through affirmative action measures. Thus the continued analysis of these measures is part and parcel of a thorough understanding of democracy in Ibero-America.

The Colombian case, along with the two minority groups considered here, provides fertile ground for exploring the intricacies of minority representation and the impact of minority constituencies manufactured through electoral engineering. The broad constitutional reforms passed in 1990 by the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* (National Constituent Assembly; ANC) include either a constitutional requirement for representation, in the indigenous case, or an article demanding that inclusion be implemented in the future, as was the case for Afro-Colombians. Consequently, both social groups have secured reserved seats, first implemented in 1991 and 1994, respectively. In addition, both are elected from non-discriminatory minority districts that invite the participation of all voters in Colombia, should they feel connected with

minority representation as an alternative to traditional parties. In effect, these reserved seats establish a minimal quota for minority representation, while also leaving wide interpretation as to what is—and what might be—an ethnic minority constituency. This presents an ideal testing ground for the impacts of electoral support and constituency dynamics on representational outcomes and minority empowerment, all with potential to reveal how responsive minority district representation has been for the target groups.

Sharp exclusion in Latin America, and the ethno-racial resistance it has prompted, may explain the region's exemplary performance in regard to the ratification of Convention 169.[2] More importantly, these actions were a clear break from the historical metanarratives of *mestizaje* and racial democracy. States not only awoke from the sophistic reverie that ethnic minorities did not exist, but also accepted that they must actively integrate them while respecting rights to cultural difference. Also implicit in the ratification of 169 is the recognition of group rights to previous consultation on matters of importance and that achieving this requires better representation in institutions.[3] Contemporarily, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela feature some type of ethnic quota, with the national congress being the most common level of implementation (see

[2] Per the ILO, at the time of this writing 20 states had ratified the Convention. Fourteen of these are Latin American governments. Indigenous representation statistics speak to the depth of this problem. México's indigenous population comprises roughly 10% of the national total, yet currently only 14 of 500 *diputados* are indigenous; indigenous people are almost half of Guatemala's population and descriptively represented by 19 out of 158 national representatives; almost half of Peru's population is descriptively represented by nine out of 130; Bolivia's indigenous majority of roughly 60% has 41 out of 130 in the lower house, despite the success of Evo Morales's *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) (Ibid).

[3] Attempts to strengthen Latin American democracy have motivated a wave of broad political reforms, many of which have included some type of representational quota (Van Cott 2000). Beneficiaries of such arrangements have primarily been women, with over 12 Latin American countries implementing a gender quota either through party initiative or broader electoral reform (Krook and O'Brien 2010).

Table 1).[4] Notably, regional figures are reflective of global trends. Over 100 countries currently implement some type of gender measure and almost 40 have an ethnic quota (Krook and O'Brien 2010). The impact of quotas on minority representation has received a great deal of academic attention. Gender scholars have exposed the fact that gender quotas can heighten perceptions of institutional access (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001), alter attitudes towards government (Mansbridge 1999), can result in positive "empowerment" reactions (Nanivadekar 2006), and impact female political engagement (Krook 2006). This literature buttresses normative arguments that assert the importance of descriptive representation beyond the policy arena (Pitkin 1967). A weakness,

Table 1.1. Reservations and Quotas for Ethnic Minorities in Latin America

Country	Year Adopted	National	Sub-national	Details
Bolivia	2009	Yes	No	7 lower house seats reserved for indigenous populations
Colombia	1991/2002	Yes	No	2 senate seats and 1 lower chamber seat reserved for indigenous populations; 2 lower house seats for Black communities
Peru	2002	No	Yes	15% of electoral lists must be indigenous candidates in 11 of 25 regions
Venezuela	1999	Yes	No	3 congressional seats reserved for indigenous populations

Source: Ethnic quota information adopted from Htun (2012).

however, lies in the fact that the bulk of the quota literature has focused on gender, a minority group that Htun (2004) refers to as "crosscutting" due to their non-exclusivity to a single social class, thus crossing partisan divisions. Ethnic minorities, on the other

[4] For an exhaustive list of minority quotas across the globe see Krook and O'Brien (2010), pp. 256-258. Peru is the only case listed here that implements a sub-national ethnic quota in which 15% of candidates on electoral lists (in 11 of 25 regions) must be from native communities.

hand, tend to coincide with partisan and class divisions and therefore merit different modes of inclusion, most likely producing distinct representational dynamics.

This doctoral dissertation seeks to contribute to the growing literature on minority quotas by examining the impact of reserved seats on the representation of indigenous and Afro-Colombians. Consequently, *representation* is the central concept at work. I build upon the seminal text of Hannah Pitkin (1967), in which she theorizes the importance of three sub-concepts; descriptive representation, substantive representation, and symbolic representation. To adjust to the Colombian reserved seat context, I modify Pitkin's representative-centric foundation by also taking into consideration the concept of *constituency*. This modification is particularly important due to two traits of the cases studied here: first, the fluid nature of ethno-racial identity in Latin America, which produces considerable ambiguity regarding a potential minority constituency; second, the fact that minority representation is elected from nationally-scoped, non-exclusive minority districts, in which any participating citizen can cast votes for minority candidates. As such, the nature of a minority voter base—and which voters will identify with minority candidates—is unclear. I expect that the crystallization of these constituencies will be impacted by the electoral format *and* will exert influence on the behavior of elected representatives.

To contextualize the study, this introduction touches on the dynamics of ethnicity and race in Latin America (including the history of ethnic and racial exclusion particular to the region), conducts a review of the academic literature on quotas and minority representation, and situates minority politics in Colombia within the broader context of

constitutional/electoral reform. Prior to concluding, I also make some key methodological notes regarding the data presented here and any limitations that this presents.

NORMATIVE AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE ON MINORITY QUOTAS

Claims of underrepresentation extend from the presupposition that citizens are best represented by a social peer—someone who shares their gender, ethnicity, class, or other marker. According to this logic, minority presence in institutions is congruent with democratic values and that deficits below the level of social diversity are undesirable (see, e.g., Pitkin 1967; Kymlicka 1995). Despite empirical studies that demonstrate a trade-off between descriptive and substantive representation (Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran 1996; Overby and Cosgrove 1996), the idea that personal characteristics of representatives are important continues to acquire greater force in contemporary democracy (Bullock 1995). Some have noted that descriptive representation carries greater importance in cases of historical and systemic marginalization. Mansbridge (1999) suggests that there are particular contexts in which marginalized groups might seek descriptive representatives in order to perform key functions. Young (1989) makes the case that "oppressed" groups should be ensured descriptive representation as they suffer from systemic disadvantages in governmental processes. Therefore, instances of historical domination lead to contexts in which descriptive representation is normatively desirable and pragmatically necessary, as effective participation is hindered without it. This focus on historical and systemic inequalities is linked with calls for affirmative action measures that ensure minority inclusion. Multiple theories of group representation have pointed out that procedural democracy has had difficulty coping with issues of

group representation, particularly majoritarian systems (Williams 1998; Kymlicka 1995). These assertions are also linked to the importance of minority empowerment, a non-material outcome that is a by-product of descriptive representation (Bobo and Gilliam 1990). In sum, affirmative action policies are perceived as a starting point for overcoming historical disadvantage and exclusion, two conditions that characterize the Afro and indigenous experience in Latin America.

In recent years, the list of countries that have established quotas to increase minority representation has grown significantly. These policies are created in response to the demands of minority social movements and the pressures brought by minority legislators, non-minority allies, political parties with vested interests, or executives who are often under international pressure.[5] More importantly, the normative arguments made in favor of political quotas stress the importance of minority inclusion for remedying historical asymmetries of power and the putative illegitimacy of representatives who do not reflect minority interests and experiences (Mansbridge 1999; Htun 2004; Krook 2009). These arguments shed light upon the key theoretical linkages between inclusion and quality governance, particularly in multi-cultural states. Empirical observers have taken up the task of measuring the extent to which these measures have translated into the desired institutional results (e.g. changes to institutional discourse or the passage of minority-friendly policy).

Empirical studies have primarily assessed the impact of quotas on minority presence in institutions, policy responsiveness, and the distribution of public goods. Some have focused on the effectiveness of different types of quotas on rates of minority

[5] For a more detailed review of electoral reform determinants see Celis, Krook, and Meier (2011).

inclusion (Htun and Jones 2002; Schwindt-Bayer 2009). Others have remarked that female-friendly policy is more likely to be passed in legislatures where women hold a higher proportion of seats (Childs and Withey 2004; Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Kittilson 2008). Pande (2003) noted that ethnic reservations in India led to an increase in state spending devoted to target group welfare programs, while Besley et al. (2004) identified a linkage between ethnic reservations and increases in basic necessities for minorities (water, electricity, etc.). Finally, Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) demonstrated that localities situated in an ethnic minority reserved district received a greater share of public funds designated for repair or construction of public goods. As Duflo notes, this demonstrates that any tradeoffs that might be made for reserved representation (i.e. narrowing candidate choices, less experienced representatives, etc.) appear to be offset by the gains made on behalf of marginalized populations.

It is rarely questioned that descriptive lawmakers serve as role models for their constituents (Phillips 1995), but the extent of symbolic effects on mass political attitudes remains contentious. Some suggest that descriptive female representatives result in positive "empowerment" reactions (Nanivadekar 2006) and female political engagement (Krook 2006). Others have pointed out a greater confidence in more inclusive legislatures (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). Race and ethnicity scholars have also shown that descriptive representation increases minority participation (Bobo and Gilliam 1990) as well as trust in government and group pride (Banducci, Donovan, and Karp 2004; Tate and Harsh 2005). These observations buttress the normative arguments that descriptive representation has democratic value. But other examples have downplayed such positive effects. Zetterberg's (2009) 17 country Latin America study showed little to no

correlation between the implementation of gender quotas and female political attitudes and beliefs. This study calls into question the idea that descriptive representation greatly affects elite-mass interactions, at least in terms of the putative "role model" effects that representatives have for descriptive constituents.

ETHNICITY, RACE, AND EXCLUSION IN LATIN AMERICA

Perceptions of European racial superiority during the colonial era received convenient support from biological ideologies. The natural inferiority of darker races, it was asserted, justified the social stratification scheme of the time (Graham 1990). Beliefs of Anglo superiority were so sharp that many Europeans became convinced that race mixture resulted in the "mongrelisation of whiteness" (Wade 1993). It was these pseudo-scientific racial underpinnings that justified the continuation of Black slavery and the selective assimilation, marginalization, and destruction of the Indigenous inhabitants of the new world. It also established a long-standing racial order that placed white Europeans at the apex of a top-down hierarchy. The ultimate result was a colonial system in which an individual's ethnic identity determined her legal status and social position (Morner 1965), a system which thrived into the restless era of independence.

Independence in the Americas arrived with an intellectual dilemma. On one hand, most Latin American societies were typified by ethnic and racial heterogeneity. On the other, they sought continued integration and commerce with Europe and a continuation of colonial social structures (Graham 1990). Latin American elites were in a difficult position, seeking to balance nation-building enterprises in pluri-ethnic societies with the continuation of *criollo* hegemony. This post-colonial reality was complex and, not

surprisingly, exhibited signs of both continuity and change; post-regal society was notably different, but European models of social stratification were not abandoned (Graham 1999). This led to a particularly curious response to the slave and Indian questions as minority populations were saddled to models of modernization through the ideologies of *mestizaje* (race mixture) and *blanqueamiento* (whitening of all races) (Wade 1993), both of which feed the more contemporary "racial democracy" metanarrative. The result was a distinctly Latin American response to the aforementioned dilemma, one in which seemingly contradictory forces find a place to coexist; discrimination alongside integration and racial *ex*clusion with racial *in*clusion. As Wade (1993) aptly suggests, "Blacks and especially Indians were romanticized as part of a more or less glorious past, but the future held for them paternalistic guidance towards integration, which also *ideally* meant more race mixture and perhaps the *eventual erasure of blackness and indigeneity* from the nation" (p. 11, emphasis added).

While notions of racial egalitarianism are not exclusively Luso-tropical, the racial democracy thesis has its origins in Brazil. Gilberto Freyre, much like José Vasconcelos of Mexico and José Marti of Cuba, used racial democracy as an ideological weapon against biologically rooted racial hierarchies. Vulgarly simplified, his argument responded to Anglo-Saxon claims of superiority "by emphasizing the culturally—rather than biologically—based origins of 'racial' differences and celebrating those differences as a positive feature of national development" (Hanchard 1999, p. 4). Freyre observed the "benign" nature of the Portuguese slaveholder and thought that this led to closer relationships with slaves, both spatially and emotionally. This proximity resulted in a greater tendency for miscegenation and the assimilation of African and Indian culture

into the mainstream. Freyre also insisted, again echoing Vasconcelos's *Raza Cosmica*, that the fusion of European, indigenous, and African people culminated in a tan-skinned race of people that was superior to the mono-racial Anglos. So strong were theories of racial democracy that they took root throughout and beyond Brazil.

The historical impact of racial democracy for the ethnic and racial minorities of Latin America is difficult to capture briefly. While expounding on race in Brazil, leading race scholar Michael Hanchard noted that

> In both popular and scholarly works inside and outside of Brazil, Freyrean Luso-tropicalism became the ideological cornerstone for a common belief in Brazilian racial exceptionalism: the idea that Brazil, unlike other multiracial polities, was not a land of racial inequalities. The scholarly and political consequences of Freyre's exceptionalist beliefs are encapsulated in the following questions: Why bother to study or presume racial inequality in a place where it is nonexistent? Why should nonwhites struggle for civil rights in a society based in miscegenation and racial egalitarianism? (Hanchard 1999, p. 5)

What Hanchard unequivocally points out is that Latin American society, in a stroke of self-serving amnesia, failed to recall its racist history to the point of perceiving an egalitarian present. The result was a common misunderstanding of past and ongoing systems of social stratification. The societal *coup de gras* was the firmly held belief that one's phenotype was rarely, if ever, the source of social discrimination and never to blame for a lack of upward mobility. It is this (mis)perception of a civically egalitarian melting pot that has defined race and ethnic relations in Brazil and throughout Latin America.[6]

Peter Wade's (1993) seminal work on racial dynamics in Colombia clearly demonstrates that the Brazilian racial democracy trope, while perhaps slightly adapted, indeed diffused to Colombia. Writing in 1993, Wade commented that "[t]he idea of a

[6] For a thorough review of racial democracy and negritude in Brazil see Hanchard (1994), particularly the introductory chapter and chapter 1.

'racial democracy' in Colombia is still pervasive, and despite refutation of this myth from academic and popular circles alike, some people of all colors and classes can still be heard to avow the insignificance of race as an issue…" (p. 3). Thus, the interplay of *mestizaje, blanqueamiento,* exclusion, and selective inclusion reflect the Brazilian case.

It is remarked by Wade that ethno-racial minorities in Colombia have participated in two overall processes; on one hand, they have culturally and physically intermingled with the white/mestizo world while on the other they have congregated away from the white/mestizo world to create their own cultural forms. Degrees of *mestizaje* (mixture/integration) are often a function of the geographic context. A Black Colombian in Medellin was more likely to be assimilated into a predominantly lighter world than one in the mostly Afro-descendent Choco department, for example. But what is common across contexts is that assimilation of black people was only legitimately accomplished through *blanqueamiento*. In other words, it was the adoption of white and mestizo cultural behaviors and lighter skin that allowed one to "move up" the stratification ladder. Harking back to the language of Florestan Fernandes, Wade explains that the nature of minority "accomodation" into the mainstream is only possible on an individual level. Stated plainly, while the individual was assimilable, *negritud* and *indegenismo* remained inferior—despite any perceptions of egalitarianism that ran counter. The result is a "double dynamic of…adaptation and autonomy [that] works in tandem with a double dynamic of…conditional acceptance and racism" (Wade 1993, p. 7).

This humanistic overview of Latin American ethno-raciality establishes the setting within which the guiding theory of representation must be situated. That is to say, this history is, in part, the justification for non-geographic districts that seek to capture

minority groups with diasporic qualities and unclear attachments to identity. It is not always precisely clear who is Indian or Afro-descendant in Colombia. As such, extant theories of political representation do not comfortably capture these complexities. Thus, there is a need to adjust to the curious history of ethno-racial exclusion/inclusion and the still prevalent notion of racial democracy, which led numerous anthropologists to label some minority populations, particularly Afro-descendants, as historically and legally "invisible" (Friedemann 1984; Wade 1993; Whitten 1998).[7]

However, the tag of "invisibility" pointed out by the likes of Nina de Friedemann (1984), as she herself would suggest, is not applicable beyond the realm of legality. The aforementioned historical revisionism strongly debunked the idea that ethnic and racial identity is non-existent. Political scientists also started picking up on this fact in the 1970s. Michael Mitchell's (1977) seminal work on racial consciousness and political behavior in Brazil demonstrated that racial identity—even within the context of "racial democracy"—is a key tool that Latin American minorities can use to galvanize resistance to push group concerns. While exposing the weaknesses inherent in both primordial and structural explanations of the politicization of race, Mitchell emphasizes that consciousness must be attached to political activity. Studies of this ilk are precursors to the social scientific awakening in regard to ethno-racial politics in the region. By the 1980s, political scientists were noting the increase in ethno-racial mobilization and politicization.[8] While heavily influenced by structural and international accounts (see,

[7] Nina de Friedemann (1984) ascribes a quality of "invisibility" to black populations in Colombia. She asserts that a lack of discoverability has historically typified the black experience due to both the juridical and social exclusion that was the product of a racial monologue that largely ignored their existence.
[8] Despite the importance of the recent surge in ethnic mobilization, historical revisionists have noted that marginalized populations have long been actors on the political landscape rather than mere subjects who are devoid of agency. See, for example, George Reid Andrews (2004).

e.g., Keck and Sikkink 1998), the explanations for this period of galvanization are varied. It has also been attributed to a variety of institutional and cultural phenomena. Most notably among these are broad constitutional reforms and the stress and decomposition of traditional party structures. These changes created a political opportunity structure amenable to the successful politicization of ethnicity for various purposes; cultural preservation, resource control, communal rights to land, and territorial autonomy, to name a few (Asher 2009; Van Cott 2000, 2005). Equally important was the strategic reinvention of identity by minority groups, who challenged the mental image of the *mestizo* nation. Colombian scholars have argued that these movements have turned national politics from a purely class-based struggle to an ethnic and cultural battleground, with ethnic rights and demands taking center stage (Castillo and Carou 2003). In short, what was once viewed as an issue of structure or primordial identity attachments is now vastly more complex.

The reimagining of ethnicity and race has made ethnic demands palatable in the political arena, and thus amenable to institutionalization. Coming on the heels of this shift was a new set of political scientific research in the region focusing on ethnicity in institutions and elections.[9] Included among these are cross-national studies on the formation of ethnic parties and their mixed performance (Madrid 2012; Rice and Van Cott 2006; Van Cott 2005), ethnic party consolidation (Rice 2011), and the positive and negative effects of ethnic parties on party systems (Madrid 2005a). Others have confirmed that strong identity linkages tie indigenous people to indigenous organizations

[9] The precursors to these studies focused largely on ethnic social movements, struggles for inclusion, and the acquisition of collective rights. For this brand of scholarship see Asher 2009; Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Jackson and Warren 2002; Ng'weno 2007; Postero and Zamosc 2004; Van Cott 2000; Yashar 2005.

and parties (Laurent 2002), electoral successes for indigenous populations (Madrid 2005b; Laurent 2010), and the waning electoral performance for Black representation in Colombia (Agudelo 2002; Agudelo, Hoffmann and Rivas 1999).

These studies are indicative of the great progress in Latin American ethno-racial studies, an area of knowledge that prior to the 1970s was almost exclusively the domain of humanistic inquiry. But even as the political scientific literature matures, key voids remain. First, despite the coexistence of both Indian and Afro-Latin politicization, scholars have not energetically pursued broad comparisons between Indian and Black politics in the region.[10] In fact, most research is focused on indigenous politics with Afro-descendants receiving far less attention. Second, and of greater importance here, it remains foggy at best what the ongoing linkages are between elected ethno-racial minorities and their constituents. That is to say, it is unclear precisely *why* minorities in the region *should* express support for descriptive representatives and seek social benefits through institutional representation. What do Afro and Indian Latinos stand to gain, both materially and non-materially, out of political quotas? Does one minority group exhibit observably greater benefits than another? These are critical questions that receive scant attention in institutional studies.

[10] There are a few notable exceptions. Taking a regional approach, Hooker's (2005) piece that highlights the disparity in a collective rights gained by indigenous groups versus Afro-Latinos in multi-cultural reforms. Chapter 3 of Van Cott's (2000) earlier book also sheds light on some of the comparative development of Afro-Colombian social movements versus Indian Colombians while highlighting each group's involvement in the National Constituent Assembly. Finally, Sanchez et al. (1993) perform another single-state comparison of the involvement and outcomes for each group coming of the constitutional reform period in Colombia.

INSTITUTIONAL ENGINEERING IN REFORMATORY COLOMBIA

The Colombian state has a long and sinuous history in regard to suffrage and electoral laws.[11] In recent decades, electoral processes and referendums have been strong catalysts for socio-political change. The vaunted constitutional reform of 1991 itself was not politically feasible until the *septima papeleta* (seventh ballot)—an "unofficial" referendum regarding the formation of a constitutional assembly—received broad support in the March 1990 congressional elections.[12] Although legally inconsequential, this popular expression led to an official referendum on reform when the Colombian Congress passed Decree 927, which submitted the issue to the public during the presidential elections that year in May. On this occasion, public demand for reform was expressed with yet greater clarity, with the referendum garnering an overwhelming eighty-six percent support rate (National Electoral Council). By June, a call for elections was put in motion, this time to select members of the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* (National Constituent Assembly; ANC). Elections for the ANC took place on December

[11] Since 1821, each new Colombian constitution has introduced electoral rules and suffrage. Universal suffrage was intermittent, depending on the traditional party in power. Conservative actors, often aligned with the clergy, held a skeptical view of mass opinion and federalism while their Liberal counterparts strived for more dispersed power and broader participation (Jaramillo and Franco Cuervo 2005). The liberal constitution of 1853 introduced universal, direct, and secret suffrage for all posts, including former slaves (now free men). Limited suffrage returned in during the conservative *Regeneración* (Regeneration). Fully centralist and mostly authoritarian, the constitution of the *Regeneración* reestablished the indirect election of both presidents and senators. Chamber deputies were directly elected, but with restrictions on suffrage. This arrangement extended into the 20th century until the *Republica Liberal* (Liberal Republic; 1932-1946) which introduced lasting measures that universalized suffrage for all men 21 years of age or older without regard to literacy. This measure was first applied to the election of presidents and deputies in 1936, with direct election to the senate being introduced in 1945. Suffrage for women was granted by executive mandate in 1954 during the government of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, a right which they first exercised during a plebiscite in 1957.

[12] The "seventh ballot" was labeled as such because this referendum became the seventh mandate that Colombian voters were considering during the elections that took place on March 11, 1990. The other six were for municipal councils, mayors, departmental assemblies, internal nomination of the Liberal Party presidential candidate, and national congress (senate and chamber). Over two million votes were cast in favor of the seventh ballot referendum, a tally that was interpreted as strong support for reform, particularly given the measures "unofficial" status and hasty inclusion (Santos Perez and Ibeas Miguel 1995).

9, 1990, producing atypical outcomes that reaffirmed voters' desire for aperture in the political and party systems. Among these was the formidable showing by parties of the left, who emerged with almost one third of the available seats (21 out of 70), a particularly extraordinary result in a nation without an effective left-leaning party.[13] Most importantly here, ANC voting was the first election in which an ethnic minority voice projected strongly at the national level. Indigenous movements separately fielded two candidates, together attracting 54,226 votes (1.5%) and the right to two seats on the Assembly. Those seats would be occupied by Francisco Rojas Birry of the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) and Lorenzo Muelas from the Indigenous Authorities of Colombia (AICO). Leaders from the Afro-Colombian movement also placed their names in the ANC hat, ultimately falling short due the short appeal of the Afro message, the lack of a unifying Black candidate or organization, and scant funds for their campaigns (Wade 1993, pp. 5-6; Agudelo, Hoffman, and Rivas 1999).[14] It was for this reason that an Indigenous-Afro alliance played a crucial role in the reform process, with Rojas Birry—himself from Chocó and quite familiar with the activities of the Black organizations of the region—positioning himself as a voice for both the indigenous and Afro communities, particularly those of the Pacific. In fact, a big part of his support base

[13] According to the National Electoral Council, the Democratic Alliance M-19 (AD M-19) received 26.7% of the votes, resulting in 19 ANC seats. The Patriotic Union (UP) received 2.5% of the vote, delivering two seats to what was at that point a decimated party.

[14] The various candidates running for the ANC for Afro organizations reflected some of the rifts in that movement. Otilia Dueñas had her roots in the Cauca department and worked in the Colombian Institute of Family Welfare. She also aligned with traditional Liberal party leaders of the region and took a universalist position on difference, appealing to a universalist view of difference and marginalized populations. Justiniano Quiñones, doctor from Nariño, and Jorge Tadeo Lozano, a senator from Chocó, both also ran on a Liberal party platform. Carlos Rosero, a leading member of the Proceso de Comunidades Negras (Black Communities Process; PCN), insisted on a purely ethnic platform which emphasized the cultural differences of Black Colombians and the African roots of negritude. Juan de Dios Mosquera was the president of the Cimarrón organization at the time and, although he did not run his own campaign, backed the candidates of the left. He insisted in the importance of aligning the Black movement with leftist organizations, a sign that the ethnic message was not of paramount importance (Wade 1993).

for the ANC elections came from the Afro-Colombian community (Wade 1993). The lack of proper delegates was also assuaged by the presence of Afro-Colombian actors involved as assistants to elected delegates, in a sense forming an Afro-Colombian lobby for the ANC.[15]

The two seats acquired by ONIC and AICO, along with the Birry connection to Black communities and the Afro-Colombian lobby, gave an ethnic tinge to the constitutional reform process. In effect, their involvement in the ANC stood as the most prominent instance of national-level ethnic representation in the nation's history. With this representation—and in response to centuries of cultural, social, and political discrimination—a key premise of reform developed during the ANC. Pushed largely by minority actors, the argument suggested that exclusive electoral districts and reserved seats were a promising avenue for electing responsive national-level representation and ensuring ethnic minority access to government. Such a proposition is consistent with theoretical arguments that extol the efficacy of minority representation quotas. Perhaps more importantly, it sought to conform to international legal frameworks that called for "agreement and consent" in regard to native peoples, including their consultation in matters that affect their governance and integrity (ILO Convention 169). In practice, however, Latin America had yet to see the implementation of an ethnic or racial quota. Indeed, in the early 1990s the region had yet to articulate a broad conversation regarding the value of ethnic minority representation, a fact that lends quite a nod to the region's collective ability to deny its cultural and racial plurality (Wade 1997). The Colombian

[15] Mercedes Moya of the Cimarrón organization was an adviser for Rojas Birry, while Otelia Dueñas was present with the Jaime Benítez camp. In addition, Lorenzo Muelas kept close contact with Luis Guillermo Ramos, an Afro-Colombian leader from Cauca who later became an adviser for Floro Tunabalá, one of the first two senators to hold a reserved seat for Indigenous communities (Wade 1993).

case would become surprisingly exemplary on this matter, being the first to implement some type of ethnic quota despite having a smaller Indigenous population than regional peers.

Minority leaders capitalized on the reform process by successfully including two key minority demands; first, two reserved Senate seats for Indigenous communities; second, the inclusion of Transitory Article 55 (AT55), which effectively became a promise for future legislation regarding the collective territories and institutional representation of Afro-Colombians. AT55 resulted in Law 70, commonly known as the *Ley de Comunidades Negras* (Law of Black Communities), which dictated that two seats would be reserved for these communities in the Chamber of Deputies. The creation of these districts occurred alongside broader electoral reforms, particularly those of the Colombian Senate. The reform of the Senate entailed eschewing geographical (departmental) constituencies in the Colombian upper house in favor of a high-magnitude, national-level scheme. Simply put, a multitude of lists would compete nationally for the 100 seats available.

By the 1994 election cycle, Law 70 was put into motion and the now-labeled *comunidades negras* (Black communities) saw the implementation of their electoral district. The (at the time) 161-member Chamber of Deputies was otherwise mostly untouched by the ANC, retaining its geographical constituencies with varying district magnitudes. Like the renovated senate, however, both sets of minority candidates were to be listed in a national candidate list, without regard to geography or demographics.[16] On

[16]In 1994, the electoral format for representatives of Black Communities did not have geographical stipulations of any kind, thus truly being elected by plurality in a simple count of national votes. This format was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in 1996, with the decision citing that

the surface, it would appear that this national scope of representation was intended to give voice to as many minority citizens as possible, although this is an admittedly sanguine perspective. What remained unclear was how this format would mold the strategies of the diverse segments of the Indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations, which both exhibited regional and fragmented tendencies.

These sweeping electoral reforms were intended to make good on the vague promises of the new social contract, which vowed to usher in system that was more "democratic, participatory, and pluralist" than its predecessor (Constitution of Colombia, Article 1). Less ambiguously, Botero (1998) suggests that reformers had three paramount ends in mind. First, they sought to construct a legislative body highly motivated to deliver national-level policy solutions, particularly those critical to the survival of the system. Second, they hoped to extract the clientelistic tendencies permeating Colombian institutions. Finally, they endeavored to increase the political representation of regional, political, and ethnic minorities. In essence, the goal was to induce a permanent shift in the nature of national-level representation and administer a jolt to the quasi-oligarchical two-party system, one that had been excessively exclusionary, corrupt, and parochial (Archer and Shugart 1997).

Continuing the path of reform, the Colombian legislature passed Legislative Act 01 in 2003, commonly known as the Political Reform of 2003. First implemented in 2006, this legislation introduced the most significant changes to the electoral system since the original constitutional reforms. Among the additions were a minimum threshold

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representation in the Chamber, whether territorial or otherwise, had to have some type of geographical limitation (Constitutional Court of Colombia Sentence C-484 of 1996). For this reason, the 2001 reform that included the reinstatement of the Black Communities district dictated that a candidate must the two

of 3% of the district total and single party lists. This round of electoral engineering was intended to address fragmentation in the party system and induce more cohesive parties. It was also designed to alter the stubborn tradition of personal style politics and undermine local patron-client networks (Rodriguez Raga and Botero 2008). These innovations altered the nature of competition in legislative elections, making it increasingly difficult for smaller parties to win seats and forcing some to form electoral alliances for survival. While the Political Reform of 2003 did little to alter the nature of competition in minority districts, these systemic changes are expected to impact minority district electoral dynamics. Introducing single party lists and a minimum threshold reduced the number of competing parties in larger districts and heightened electoral challenges for smaller organizations (Shugart and Pachon 2010), leaving them to seek alternative options for competition. In doing so, subsequent rounds of electoral engineering had "ethnicized" effects. This is not to be confused with the gendered effects of women's quotas, which are argued to affect gender gaps in political knowledge, political interests, and political involvement (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer 2012). Rather than attitudes, the implementation of Legislative Act 01 has ethnicized effects without directly impacting the representation of the minority groups. It *indirectly* does so by changing the competitive environment surrounding minority districts.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The data used in the empirical analyses of this project come from two main sources, one used for quantitative analyses and the other for a qualitative analysis of congressional behavior. Electoral data was acquired during fieldwork from the *Concejo Nacional*

Electoral in Bogotá. For most years, this data was available at the municipal level.[17] The qualitative data consists of congressional plenary transcripts acquired from the *Gaceta del Congreso de Colombia*.

Where prudent and useful, the majority of methodological details are included in the chapters that follow. However, there are some key points that merit elaboration here. One of the conceptual complications present throughout this project extends from the unique and specific dynamics of Black and indigenous populations in Latin America. Some observers will quickly note the contrasting histories and treatments of *afrolatinos* and *indigenas.*[18] This contrast holds true in the Colombian case. Afro-Colombians and indigenous Colombians have different patterns of economic and geographic location within the country. Further aggravating this comparison are incongruent forms of historical exclusion and discrimination (Wade 1993, Introduction). In terms of putting the current model to work, this creates various obstacles. Stemming from the different forms of exclusion and discrimination, some ethnic demands may be legitimate in the eyes of the mainstream public, elites, and the state while the "racialization" or "ethnicization" of others may be viewed as illegitimate (read: non-ethnic or non-racial). This circumstance might produce a natural advantage for some ethno-racial representatives to substantively represent their constituents by invoking minority identity in congress. This may also be an extension of another basic issue, the matter of divergent political opportunities and constraints across groups. Otherwise stated, there may be both *micro* and *macro-level*

[17] Electoral data for the 1998 cycle was only available at the level of the department.
[18] For a thorough review of race and ethnicity in Latin America see Graham (1990) or Wade (1997). For a review of racial dynamics in Colombia see Wade (1993).

opportunities and constraints that affect minority groups and representatives differently, and for which there are no clear controls.

The history of racial democracy has been accompanied by a lack of racial classification in governmental statistics.[19] The lack of reliable data sets across the last twenty years makes tracking ethnic concentrations at the departmental and municipal level over long spans of time extremely difficult at best, if not impossible. The result will be some generalizations about what the ethno-racial make-up of municipalities and departments might be in earlier years based upon data from a later census. Historical stigmas against indigeneity and negritude also continue to effect self-identification of ethnic and racial minorities. This further exacerbates existing problems with assessing counts of minority people in Colombia, a circumstance that has culminated in a range of disparate population figures. During fieldwork in Cali, Colombia, I interviewed leading race scholar Claudia Mosquera Rosero-Labbé of the *Universidad del Valle*, who spoke directly to the censual exclusion of racial categories:

> It was not until recent censuses that race was a category offered for response. This is why many of us use the term "statistical invisibility" or "statistical genocide" to describe the collection of racial information. And our work on self-identification has been truly complicated. In large part, the problem is the categories….Black people in the Caribbean do not self-identity as much, they might say they are *costeños*, but not Black. But this does not signify that they really are not Black! We are almost trying to convince people of what they are so that they can be counted. But this has not been easy.

Mosquera's position on the matter clearly illustrates the *problematique* of racial identity in the Colombian census. In essence, self-identification according to a defined set

[19]On the topic of statistics, ethnicity and race were not included as census categories until 1993 and some have argued that this was done problematically and was thus unreliable (Barbary and Urrea 2004). The next census was performed in 2005.

of categories is what drives the amassing of ethnicity and race data. For Afro-Colombians these categories include *negro* (Black), *afrocolombiano, afrodescendiente* (Afro-descendant), and *mulato* and for indigenous populations it includes an *indígena* category with an array of tribal affiliations (Interior Ministry of Colombia 2014). However, on top of cultural differences across regions that produce tendencies to self-identify with these categories, there is also the issue of stigma avoidance that makes many ethnic and racial minorities—particularly Afro-descendants—reluctant to identify as such. This is also, in part, a function of the desire to be included in *mestizo* society (Wade 1993).

Moving beyond broad population figures, this circumstance would also prove problematic for identifying descriptive representatives in institutions, as some may not self-identify as ethno-racial minorities. A focus on reserved seats and representatives provides a way out of this methodological impediment. Unfortunately, a strict focus on reserved seats as only source of descriptive representation means that there is little variation in the number of minority representatives present in congress. Thus I cannot measure whether an increase in self-identifying Black or indigenous congresspersons is an explanatory factor for substantive or symbolic representation. This point notwithstanding, the data acquired surrounding reserved seats and the electoral patterns that authorize minority representation are ideal for testing the key relationships examined here: 1) the impact of institutional rules on electoral outcomes in minority districts; 2) the extent to which constituency formation in nationally-scoped minority districts impacts representative behavior; 3) whether or not minorities are empowered by the presence of minority district candidates in elections.

The five chapters that follow attempt to work through the challenges identified above while producing plausible conclusions to the questions at hand. First, I attempt to build a theoretical framework that is applicable to Latin American ethno-racial minorities and the dynamics of the Colombian case. To this end, Chapter 2 builds upon the seminal work of Hannah Pitkin (1967) on the concept of representation. I note that Pitkin's framework is crucial for its disaggregation of the concept into the sub-concepts of *descriptive, substantive,* and *symbolic* representation. However, I make the case that her framework must be adjusted prior to being applied to non-exclusive, nationally-scoped minority districts and the Latin American context of racial democracy. This is due to her theory's assumption on the static nature of constituency, which leaves little space for the fluidity of Latin American ethnic identity. In brief, Pitkin's theory is excessively representative-centric, which, per my argument, leaves the theory wanting for the dynamics of the case. Consequently, I adjust to this by building a framework can capture the intricacies of minority constituencies in Colombia. These constituency variables are mobilized later to test their impact on representational outcomes.

Chapter 3 assesses the crystallization of ethnic minority constituencies as a function of electoral results, in effect creating an empirical extension of the framework created in Chapter 2. An empirical analysis of longitudinal electoral data is driven toward making the argument that electoral and constituency outcomes are conditioned by both internal rules and broader systemic changes, the latter factor brought to life by the implementation of Legislative Act 01 in 2006. Backed by a broad overview of district-year level data, I expose the fact that internal and external rules have influenced minority constituency formation by altering the nature of electoral competition. In short, I make

sense of the electoral patterns of support for minority district candidates while testing for the influence of institutional factors, all culminating in the identification of constituency outcomes that I theorize should have an impact on congressional representation.

Chapters 4 and 5 each address representational outcomes for Afro and indigenous Colombians. In applying the theoretical framework constructed in Chapter 2 and building upon the empirical foundations of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 takes up the issue of substantive representation in congress, here understood as the invoking of ethno-racial identity by minority representatives and linking it with issues and geography. Described succinctly, this chapter utilizes qualitative congressional data (plenary transcripts) to assess the tendency of minority representatives to "stand for" minority constituents during the deliberative process. Accordingly, the primary goal is to determine whether constituency outcomes exert influence on the behavior of representatives, as my theory dictates they should. Chapter 5 shifts to the topic of symbolic (non-material) representational outcomes by examining the linkage between minority districts and minority empowerment. American identity scholars have noted that the presence of visible descriptive leaders has an empowerment effect on the minority citizens with whom they share an identity (see, e.g., Bobo and Gilliam 1990). Using the measures of minority district support and turnout in minority-majority municipalities, I test to see if linkages to minority district candidates induce heightened rates of minority participation, the latter here understood as a marker of empowerment. Both Chapters 4 and 5 are comparative in nature, juxtaposing the outcomes for Afro versus Indian communities to see if ethno-racial identity has held greater traction for one group versus the other. Where helpful, outcomes are also aggregated—or disaggregated, depending on the analysis—at the regional level. This is

done to determine how much, if at all, geographic context influences the salience of ethnic minority politics.

CHAPTER 2: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Latin American economic and legitimacy crises came to a crescendo in the 1980s, widening political opportunities for minorities to force government concessions and broad constitutional reforms (Van Cott 2005). States began openly recognizing the heterogeneity of their citizenries, while academic authors began to note the importance of race and ethnicity to social status and divisions of labor (Fernandes 1969; Hanchard 1994; Wade 1993; Wade 1997). Thus it was under dire circumstances that the racial democracy thesis was recanted by Latin American elites. State response to domestic and international pressures has been swift and visible, including measures to ensure cultural preservation and the institutional integration of excluded populations. The most observable institutional response at the national level is the creation of reserved seats and party quota mandates for minorities. This prescription for greater institutional representation recognizes both the theoretical and practical value of quality representation in modern democratic settings (Dahl 1967; Tilly 2007).

Reserved seats and other quotas are undoubtedly a positive step forward, even if interpreted solely as a sign of good faith from traditional power structures to minority groups and the international community. Discovering the representational impacts of quotas, however, is far more complex, particularly for ethnic groups traditionally dismissed as "invisible" (de Friedemann 1984). That is to say, it remains foggy how Latin American ethno-racial minorities—groups with little historical and political visibility—have benefited from descriptive representation via quotas. This situation is distinct from women and many other ethnic minorities, whose rights and legitimacy were historically denied but whose existence was always assumed, if not apparent.

Adding to the framework of Hannah Pitkin (1967), which has a predominant focus on the characteristics and behaviors of representatives, this chapter builds a theoretical framework of minority representation that is appropriate for the ethnic minorities of Latin America—and that might also be applied to other global populations struggling for external—and even internal—recognition.[1] My approach keeps two particular case dynamics in mind: 1) the crystallization of newly forming minority constituencies and identities; 2) the connections between these constituents and reserved representatives elected out of non-geographical, nation-level districts. The theory developed in this chapter will be tested in the chapters that follow, using the measures described here.

REPRESENTING NEWLY RECOGNIZED MINORITY GROUPS

Pitkin's framework seeks to fill gaps in the extant theories of representation at the time of authorship (1967), adding a procedural dimension to more static conceptions of representation. It does not, however, deliver a theory that fully captures the complexities of ethnic representation in Latin America. Specifically, her approach largely concentrates on the actions and nature of the representative. While logically consistent, this focus is ill suited for an analysis that must give attention to the process of minority constituency formation in "post-racially democratic" societies. Or, more broadly, it is limited to analyzing legislators whose constituencies are fixed and whose interests are apparent. In

[1] By "internal recognition" I mean that one of the issues vexing the Afro movement lies in the lack of group members to self-identify as such. The work of Mosquera Rosero-Labbe, Lao-Montes, and Rodriguez Garavito (2010) on census processes has shed light on this issue. There is a general resistance to the embracing of black identity which has, per the authors, been exacerbated by the identity categories made available to census respondents.

other words, the representative is dynamic while the constituency is static. In Colombia, it is unclear who (actors/citizens) and what (issues/demands) are legitimately ethnic. In addition, and particularly the case for black Colombians, there is an observed reluctance of minorities to self-identify as such (Mosquera Rosero-Labbe, Lao-Montes, and Rodriguez Garavito 2010). Thus the process of creating an ethnic constituency and locating minority constituents who self-identify as such are all critical to a complete analysis. This context, along with the implementation of reserved seats via non-geographical, non-exclusive constituencies, necessitates a key empirical undertaking; an *assessment of electoral outcomes* for understanding the crystallization of ethnic constituencies. This procedure must be conducted in order to determine, to some degree, the geographical and social makeup of the constituency to which the representative is to be held accountable.

In theory, minority representatives elected via quotas acquire their authority like other elected officials; outperformance of rivals in elections. However, prior to elections they benefit from affirmative action measures that ensure the authorization of minority group representation. Furthermore, as representatives whose authority is partially acquired by a quota, minority representatives are also largely accountable to those populations, although the extent to which this "mandate effect" has an impact may hinge on the political forces pushing the quotas passage (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008). In the Colombian case the open nature of participation in minority rolls, which allows all voters the freedom to cast votes in whichever district they choose (indigenous, Afro-descendent, or non-minority), means that electoral accountability is not exclusive to the target groups.

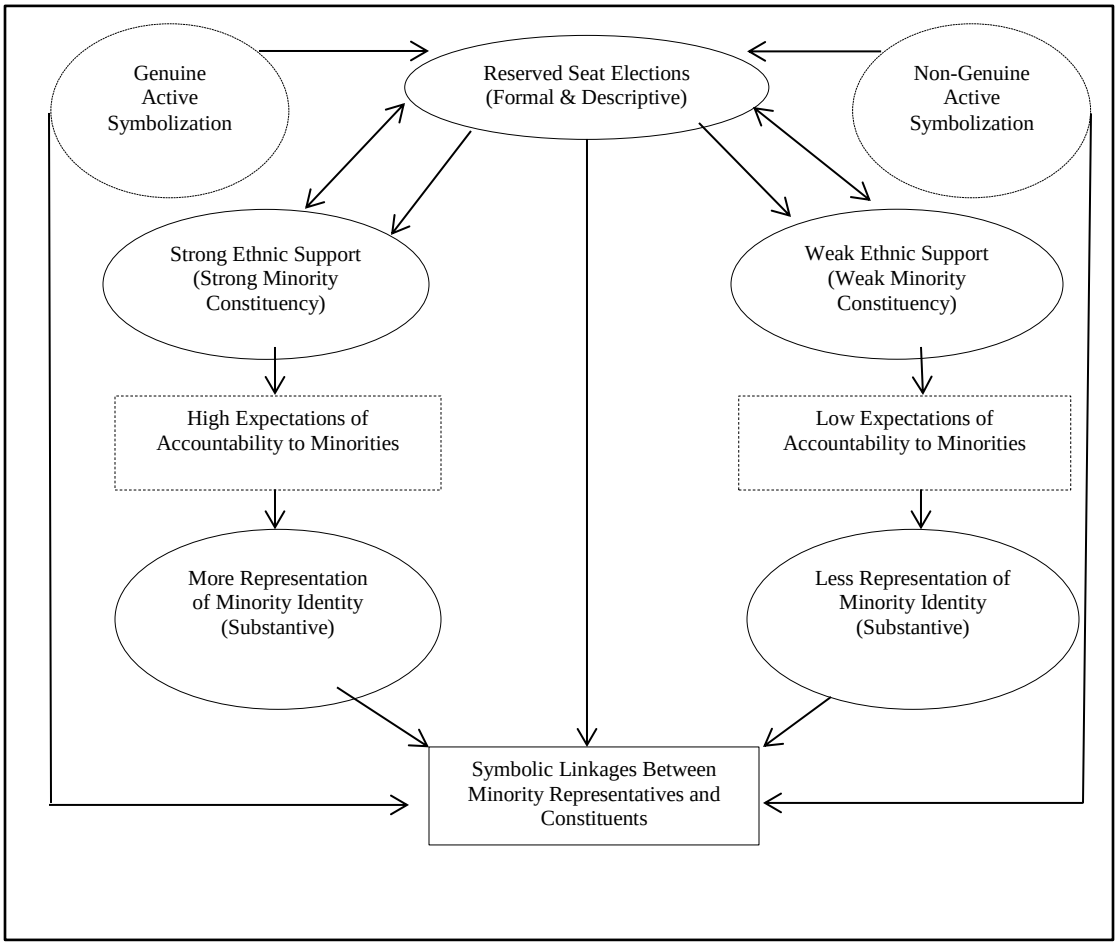
Consequently, ethnic constituencies are both ambiguous and subject to external influence, and thus cannot be left assumed or static.

Theories of institutional representation to larger minorities (e.g. women) also fall short due to the small proportion of seats reserved for minority groups, a proportion that is invariably fixed across legislative cycles. Indigenous communities have acquired 2 seats in a 102 member senate and 1 in a 166 member chamber of representatives. Black communities, somewhat less fortuitously, have attained 2 reserved seats in the 166 member lower chamber alone. These figures plainly show that neither set of seats provide either group with anything greater than a skewed minority status (Kanter 1977; Dahlerup 1988). Consequently, it is hardly reasonable to expect the presence of reserved seats to drastically alter the agenda or policy outcomes, as has been observed for groups who acquire higher rates of institutional inclusion (Thomas 1991; Grey 2002). Notwithstanding these limitations, an expansion of the concept of substantive representation allows for considering *critical acts* as a valid form of communicating group concerns (Dahlerup 1988).[2] Even the most skewed minority groups can introduce minority identity to the deliberative processes by invoking group identity in connection with issues. This is best observed through the inclusion of ethnic identity by minority representatives in plenary speeches. Representative behavior, of course, is presumably impacted by the belief that utilizing this discourse will be politically advantageous. Or,

[2] Arguing that politics cannot be reduced to physics, Dahlerup utilizes the "critical act" as a supplementary concept to critical mass. She defines a critical act as "one which will change the position of the minority considerably and lead to further changes." She suggests three main examples; 1) recruitment of other minorities into politics; 2) the introduction of minority quotas; and 3) the introduction of minority-friendly legislation and institutions.

conversely, it is influenced by the belief that they will be *held accountable* for not doing so.

Figure 2.1. Adjusted Model of Minority Representation



AN ADJUSTED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATION

The complexities of ethno-raciality in contemporary Latin America require an adjusted framework for analyzing symbolic and substantive outcomes of descriptive representation. Equally important, we must consider the precursors that impact processes of authorization (election) and accountability. To this end, I integrate two dimensions of constituency formation that might compensate for this context by identifying the *strength*

or weakness of ethnic support. These are 1) *high rates of support from minority communities* versus *low rates of support from minority communities*; second, *highly concentrated support patterns* versus *lower concentrated support patterns*. Both factors identify patterns of constituency formation through electoral outcomes and must be assessed across electoral cycles. Highly concentrated/strong ethnic support versus low concentrated/weak ethnic support are expected to impact elite behavior by signaling minority representatives the extent to which they are accountable to minority constituents. This model captures the importance of constituency variables and situates their explanatory value for representational outcomes.

In Colombian legislative elections, all voters are free to forego supporting mainstream candidates to vote for minority candidates, making it impossible to discern who is voting for indigenous and Afro district candidates. In simple terms, neither self-identification as a minority nor alternate registration is necessary. This being the case, it is not prudent to directly interpret district voting patterns as a purely ethnic expression, as an unknown portion of that support is presumably from non-ethnic voters. We can, however, maximize assumptions about the strength or weakness of ethnic mandates by focusing on the share of votes that are cast in minority-influenced departments (MIDs) and the geographic concentration of support.[3] These two measures can be calculated at the district, district-year, and individual (candidate/representative) levels and construct the blueprint for categorizing minority constituency formation. Spotlighting support from

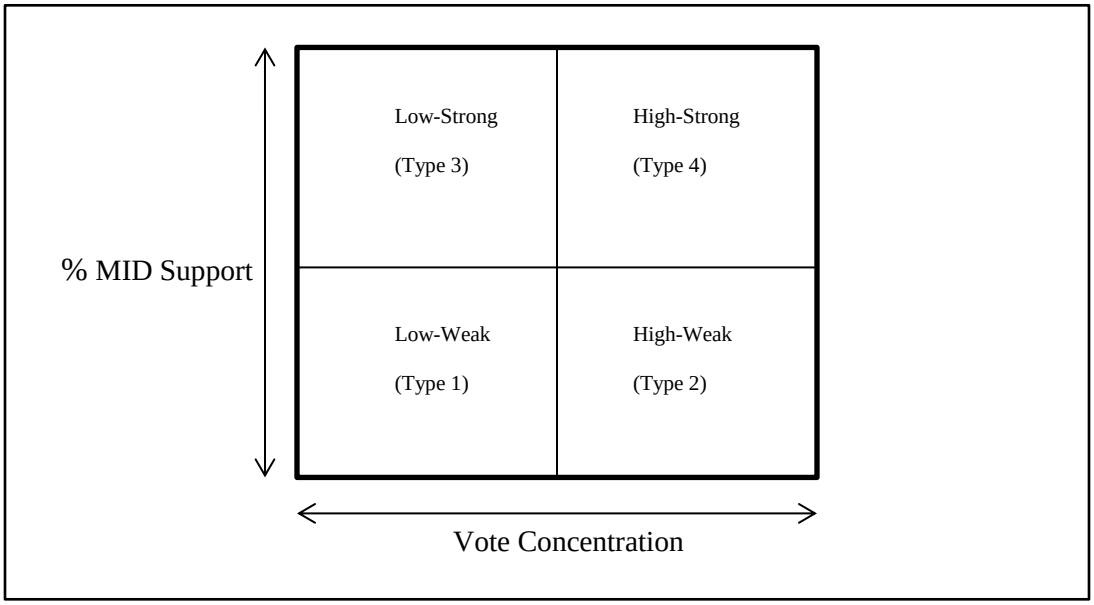
[3] By the phrase "strength or weakness of ethnic mandates" I mean the extent to which minority votes dominate the authorization of group representation. That is to say, a "strong" minority mandate would feature a large proportion of votes from geographic locales with a high percentage of minority residents. A "weak" ethnic mandate would include a larger percentage of votes from areas with a smaller segment of minority residents.

MIDs allows for an approximation of minority voter support, as we can be confident that most minority district votes cast in MIDs come from minority voters. Thus high rates of MID support and a strong concentration in those districts is the best possible outcome, as it signals representatives that they are highly accountable to minority populations.

A two-dimensional visual of constituency outcomes from MID support and Hirschman-Hirfandahl Index (HHI) concentration is given in Figure 2.2. When placed on this axis, four constituency types are produced by the measures, each corresponding to the combination of low to high concentration and weak to strong MID support. In order of weakest to strongest ethnic mandates, they are 1) low-weak, 2) high-weak, 3) low-strong, and 4) high-strong. It is important to note that these measures are temporally dynamic. In other words, they are capable of capturing both the crystallization and *re*-crystallization of minority constituencies across election cycles. Constituency outcomes may be strongly ethnic and highly concentrated in one cycle and low and dispersed (not concentrated) in the subsequent cycle, thus shifting from a high-strong (Type 4) to a low-weak (Type 1) constituency across elections. For the purposes of assessing individual candidates/representatives, participation and concentration are also used at the candidate and representative level. This means that we may see one candidate elected out of the formation of one type of constituency and another representative concomitantly elected out of another type. The result is a typology that is mobilized primarily at the minority district level in order to assess the broad linkages between minority voters and seat reservations and also at the candidate/representative level to capture patterns that are electorally successful. Both figures are important for gauging expectations of individual representatives, the former for acquiring an idea of who the representative might be

accountable to in the future and the latter for understanding to whom she is currently accountable. In the following section, I provide a detailed explanation of the representational consequences for minority constituents that we can expect from each constituency type.

Figure 2.2. Four Category Typology of Minority Constituency Formation



High-Strong Constituencies (Type 4)

The formation of a high-strong constituency is the product of high concentration scores and a high rate of MID support. The robust support from MIDs in this category suggests that elected representatives received their authorization from minority communities and are accountable to those constituents.[4] Moreover, these strong minority support rates are

[4] I use the word "suggests" in this instance as well as all of the category descriptions. This is due to the fact that in most cases it will be impossible to be certain what proportion of minority district votes actually

concentrated in a smaller number of districts, a circumstance that, theoretically, facilitates the linkage of identity to regional and local interests. Stated otherwise, it avoids the representational complications that arise from a more dispersed support base, such as the need to balance between rural and urban interests. A representative elected from a high-strong constituency from Pacific region districts can focus her attention on issues such as collective mining rights and rural poverty alleviation, as these are clear regional issues.

Officials elected out of strong-high constituencies are likely to possess certain characteristics. First, it is likely that they will have political experience in at least one of the MIDs that exhibit high concentration scores (e.g. visible social movement leaders, mayors in prominent cities, or departmental governors). Thus it is likely that they will be highly visible, a profile validated by their high and concentrated appeal. This should translate to a familiarity with the key issues and local patronage networks. The presence of a public figure of this ilk might ease any doubts that the representative is legitimately linked to ethnic citizens and has a shared understanding with minority constituents (Williams 1998; Young 2000).

The rich ethnic support that produces a high-strong constituency acts as a signal to elected officials and future aspirants that accountability to ethnic populations is high. Due to high expectations of accountability, this constituency type is most likely to produce high rates of substantive representation and observable empowerment outcomes. In substantive terms, we can expect representatives to introduce minority identity in

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came from minority voters. This is a function of the open ability of all voters to vote for minority district candidates should they choose to forego selecting a mainstream candidate or list. In cases of particularly high minority population figures we can safely assume that the vast majority of minority district votes came from ethno-racial minority citizens. It merits mentioning, however, that as minority population figures decline this assumption will become more precarious.

plenary speeches at higher rates (invocations of ethnicity or race). Empowerment outcomes, here measured as higher rates of turnout in minority-majority municipalities, can also be expected.[5]

Low-Strong Constituencies (Type 3)

A low-strong constituency is formed when MID support rates are high while the overall district vote is not concentrated in a small number of departments. The most likely scenario involves a split in the minority vote, most likely divided along regional lines. This brings a complication; a lack of geographical focus which may pit one set of regional issues versus others. The second scenario is particularly problematic due to the contrasting interests of rural versus urban minority voters, a reality which undermines the likelihood of these sectors to come together on electoral issues. It is most likely that this context would be the result of sharp fragmentation in minority electoral organizations, with some championing urban minority issues and others stressing rural demands. Whatever the case, the lack of concentration at best vexes the linkage of identity to issues and geography in plenaries and, at worse, makes the introduction of identity more difficult. This may slightly curb the ability of representatives to effectively "stand for" their constituents.

Officials elected out of low-strong formations are likely to be figures that have broad appeal *or* are minority citizens with a non-political source of fame.[6] In the

[5] I follow others in interpreting higher rates of minority turnout as a sign of minority empowerment (Bobo and Gilliam 1990).

indigenous case where we see the presence of institutionalized parties, the former situation is more likely. In fact, it is conceivable that such a diverse voter base may be a function of party appeal rather than a reflection of the candidate's history. Thus the diverse appeal would be due to a lasting party apparatus with a loyal voter base. Afro-Colombian parties have much less longevity, usually only lasting for one cycle. Consequently, they are more likely to fit the description of fragmented organizations, splintered support bases, or figures with non-political fame. This being the case, we can expect low-strong constituencies to bring contrasting representational expectations across groups.

High participation in MIDs makes it likely that low-strong constituencies will be positively correlated with minority empowerment (turnout). Substantive outcomes are more complicated, however. The strong minority support intermingled with lacking concentration in MIDs acts as a cue to elected officials, effectively communicating that minority interests in MIDs are salient but not necessarily paramount for successful performance. Afro-Colombian representatives who arise out of a fragmented movement are at an apparent disadvantage, needing to stand and act for non-harmonious sets of interests. Indigenous representatives might feel the same pressure, but the backing of an institutionalized party provides them a greater margin of ethnic error, so to speak, and an entirely different set of motivations (i.e. coalitions, party politics, etc.). Black representatives are therefore likely to be more circumspect about their use of ethno-racial

[6] A possible example of a public figure with a non-political source of fame is Maria Isabel Urrutia, who held one of the seats reserved for Afro-Colombian communities from 2002 to 2006. She is widely known in Colombia as one of the country's few Olympic gold medalists, a factor that made her election possible via name recognition. The fame-by-athletics path to power is also applicable to Willington Ortiz, a former player for the Colombian national soccer team.

language, as the different factions within the movement will disagree on how negritude should be politically mobilized (cite Arocha 1998 re: disagreements on this). This might inhibit their ability to engage in discursive representation. In contrast, indigenous representatives from parties that already have a long-standing indigenous platform will find it easier to invoke indigeneity as its content is not as much in question. This contrast should also impact substantive outcomes. Black representatives will find it more difficult to navigate the complications of presenting policy that serves their splintered constituency. Indigenous representatives will find it easier to introduce legislation. They benefit from a party affiliation that would facilitate the representative's capacity to build useful alliances and navigate institutions. But the fact that a great deal of party support might be from non-minority voters presents a bit of a quandary. The party, and by extension the representative, is highly accountable to a non-ethnic (likely left-leaning) population of voters. This segment is unlikely to see value in ethnically (read culturally) focused legislation, but rather broader structural issues. Thus the complication of diverse interests plays a key role in processes of substantive representation for both minority populations, albeit for different reasons. It is perhaps ironic that these instances of high minority district participation, which signal the salience of minority issues, might be representationally counter-productive.

High-Weak Constituencies (Type 2)

The formation of a high-weak constituency is characterized by a low percentage of overall support from MIDs that is highly concentrated. Low minority district participation

in MIDs suggests that elected representatives were authorized with weak ethnic support, seeing the integration of non-MID votes at a higher rate. This support base is considered weak due to the infiltration of votes from departments that have low minority population figures. Thus, accountability to minority populations is diminished. The low rate of MID support suggests one of two outcomes: 1) minority support for reserved representation is waning; 2) non-minority support is increasing. Like strong-high constituencies, high-weak patterns will also be geographically identifiable due to a high vote concentration. However, in these instances that concentration may be due to a high amount of votes from non-minority urban centers (e.g. Bogotá). Highly concentrated support patterns make it possible that localized ethnic issues of importance will still be apparent to the representative. The low rate of participation, on the other hand, indicates that issues of minority importance may not take precedence, as they are not salient to a large swatch of the minority district electorate. That is to say, the linkages between minority populations and minority district candidates are most likely weak, thereby complicating exclusive attention to minority demands. It may also signal weak performance by sitting representatives and, consequently, a loss of minority voter trust.

Officials elected out of high-weak patterns, like those from high-strong constituencies, will likely have political experience in at least one of the departments of highly concentrated support *or* will be nationally-recognizable figures. In contrast, they will most likely be perceived by minority voters to have weak ties to the group, affiliations with non-minority parties, or may be incumbents who have failed to perform effectively. A representative producing a high-weak constituency will have knowledge of key local issues *only in situations where they also have legitimate ties to the target group.*

In other words, nationally-recognizable figures that have ties to non-minority organizations (e.g. linkages to paramilitaries and the right) will have either little knowledge of group demands or short motivation to represent those demands. In addition, they will likely have less influence in regional patronage networks. If the opposite were true in terms of influence, their support numbers in MIDs would likely be more robust.

The weak minority support that produces a high-weak constituency is a signal to elected representatives and future aspirants that accountability to ethnic populations is low. Moreover, lower MID support is indicative of larger ethno-representational problems, including the inability of minority organizations and parties to overcome traditional party strongholds (e.g. the Liberal Party in the Pacific region) or the rise of nefarious sectors of Colombian politics in minority-influenced areas. This instantly places their institutional efficacy in question in regard to strong minority representation. However, due to the concentrated nature of support, this constituency type is still likely to be produce substantive outcomes by linking minority identity with issues and geography. In other words, they are likely to invoke ethnicity and race due to a geographically identifiable minority constituency. The question becomes, how will they balance this with the influx of votes from non-minority areas? My theory suggests that they will do this at a lesser rate than those with constituency outcomes that have high MID support, but more than the low-weak constituencies that reflect both weak MID support and low concentration scores.

Low-Weak Constituencies (Type 1)

A low-weak constituency is formed when both MID support and HHI concentration is low. This combination suggests two main characteristics; first, that elected representatives were authorized with a questionable (hence illegitimate) amount of ethnic support (many votes are from districts with low minority population figures); second, that this mostly non-MID support was dispersed across the national territory. Both issues signal to elected representatives that accountability to geographically-specific minority communities is very low. Unlike the previous two constituency types, low-weak formations are unlikely to have an identifiable geographical pattern, or at least not one that has a geographic focal point. Consequently, issues that are salient for ethnic populations in MIDs are not likely to be apparent (or important) to the representative. The low rate of participation also indicates, as in the high-weak type, that ethnic issues are not salient to the "minority" electorate. In addition, the linkages between minority populations and reserved representatives are weak.

The formation of a low-weak constituency is likely to be a function of a sharp disconnect between reserved representatives and the populations who *should* benefit from reserved seat policies. Even if these representatives have political experience in minority-majority areas, their electoral support tips us off to the fact that their presence on the minority roll was motivated by political opportunism rather than a true connection with minority struggles. In fact, it is probable that these outcomes are signs of the complete usurpation of reserved seats by other electoral vehicles. In these cases the candidates put forth on the minority roll are most likely allies of non-minority parties and organizations.

It is, however, possible that the candidacies are genuine and that the low MID voting rates and concentrations are due to a lack of appeal to minorities—for various possible reasons—combined with the desire of mainstream Colombians to seek electoral alternatives to traditional parties. In instances where reserved seats are hijacked, the representative would be indifferent to minority issues, even if rhetorically cognizant. In situations of poor minority appeal, the representative would struggle to represent the minority communities from which there is a clear disconnect.

Because of the weak minority mandate, reserved representative elected out of low-weak constituencies are accountable to other sectors of the electorate. Their alliances with non-minority organizations shed serious doubt on their desire to be responsive to Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities. As mentioned previously, lower rates of MID support at the district-year level are a sign of broader mistrust between minority voters and reserved seat candidates. Accountability to non-minorities means little to no invocations of minority identity and linkages between identity and issues.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has introduced a method for studying the impact of constituency formation on representational outcomes in a Latin American context. The nature of race and ethnicity in Colombia—delivered by a history of racial democracy, *mestizaje,* and exclusionary-inclusion—produces various complexities. First, we must view both Afro-Latin and indigenous populations as ethnic groups with significant intra-group diversity whose issues, demands, and platforms are still nascent. This is particularly the case for

Afro-Colombians, whose status as an identifiable ethnic group is most often questioned while also being internally conflicted (Arocha 1998). Second, the historical lack of ethnic visibility—particularly in the political sense—is a potential impediment for responsive representation. Issues brought forth by minority representatives may be viewed as illegitimate by mainstream elites, not to mention society at large. Moreover, and because of the pervasiveness of racial democracy, the putative linkages between minority citizens and mandated representation are obscure. Hazy minority population statistics are consequences of both historical census procedures (lack of racial/ethnic categorization) and minority aversions to self-identification (Mosquera Rosero-Labbe, Lao-Montes, and Rodriguez Garavito 2010). These intricacies require an approach that goes beyond representative-centered approaches to representation, while still preserving their utility. The response here has been the creation of a framework that captures constituency formation so that we can harness the ongoing crystallization of developing constituencies. This being the case, I have argued here that representational outcomes are destined for misinterpretation if we do not first consider the continuously altering constituency formation patterns arise from non-geographic reserved seat districts.

CHAPTER 3: MINORITY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS IN PRACTICE (1991-2010)

One of the guiding premises of this project is that the Pitkinian conception of representation has an excessive focus on representatives versus constituents. Pitkin's traditional framework emphasizes the identity and actions of representatives and the impact that these factors have on symbolic and substantive representation (Pitkin 1967). While this framework may be an appropriate starting place for developed identity groups, I argue in Chapter 2 that newly politicized identities require a more balanced approach between representative and constituency variables. Particular to the Afro and Indigenous Colombian cases, I see a critical role played by the *crystallization* of indigeneity and negritude as political markers. In the electoral sense, this translates to constituencies that are in flux, particularly in the context of open, non-geographic minority districts. I have argued that the jelling of identity and constituency should have a considerable impact on minority representative behavior and, by extension, symbolic and substantive outcomes. In short, this theoretical shift presents a dynamic, multi-directional framework.

Through an analysis of electoral dynamics in minority districts, this chapter assesses the crystallization of ethno-racial constituencies. My central claim is that electoral outcomes in minority districts—and the subsequent constituencies that are produced—are doubly conditioned by internal rules and broader systemic factors.[1] I demonstrate that the electoral reforms included in *Acto Legislativo 01 de 2003* (Legislative Act 01 of 2003; henceforth LA01) have influenced the nature of constituency formation by altering the state of electoral competition both in and outside of minority

[1] The juxtaposition between "internal" and "systemic" is intended to draw a distinction between rules that are specific to minority districts versus those that are applied in all Colombian elections (Chamber, Senate, and local). Rules that oversee minority electoral districts are understood here to be internal, while all others are considered systemic. Most prominently, minority districts have alternative guidelines for registering candidate lists. These alternate rules are not constant across minority districts, however, as is discussed in greater detail below.

districts. This impact is most discernible at the district level, but impacts at the party-list level are also observed. Thus, the main goal is to identify geographic patterns of support for minority candidates while taking institutional factors into account. Most importantly, this exercise will concretize Afro and Indigenous constituencies that are otherwise "virtual" in nature.[2]

In an attempt to weaken the influence of local patronage networks, constitutional reform (1991) brought changes to the electoral format for the Senate. This entailed foregoing geographic representation in favor of a single (nation-level) electoral district (Crisp and Ingall 2002). Politicians from both traditional parties, along with newcomers, increasingly used new party labels—commonly referred to as *movimientos*—to gain election in this nation-wide district with a magnitude of 100 (Pizarro Leongómez 2006).[3] The number of effective parties in Colombia burgeoned as a result, an overcorrection which in effect brought the end of the institutionalized two-party system. LA01 sought to "rationalize" party competition (i.e. curb fragmentation and minimize personally-driven *movimientos*). It has been noted elsewhere that the reforms—which implemented single-party lists, a minimum threshold, and D'Hondt formula—successfully altered party competition enough in order to achieve the main intent (Rodriguez Raga and Botero 2006). I suggest here that party adaptations to new rules also impacted the nature of competition in minority districts. That is to say, more cohesive

[2] By "virtual", I mean that minority districts—and, consequently, constituencies—do not have a subnational geographic boundary or pertain to a department or region. Thus, despite a focus on target minority groups, the electoral constituencies of minority districts are determined *ex post facto* by electoral outcomes rather than the reverse.

[3] *Movimientos* are basically candidate-oriented "mini-parties", which were small electoral organizations whose sole purpose was to elect a single candidate for public office. Colombians also use the terms "*micro-empresas*" (micro-enterprises) and, more informally, "*partidos taxis"* (taxi parties) to describe these organizations (Pizarro 2006).

parties altered voter preferences to a great enough extent as to affect outcomes in the BCD, ICD, and ISD, thereby also influencing the crystallization of minority constituencies and, by extension, minority representation.

To frame the analysis, I begin by discussing the design of minority districts (internal structures) and nature of introduced reforms (external structures). I then observe two key district dynamics—list formation and fragmentation—across six cycles, making the case that variation across districts is directly impacted by internal rules and—like constituency outcomes—conditioned by systemic reform. I then move forward by analyzing electoral support and constituency outcomes. The task of classifying virtual constituencies involves measuring the geographic concentration of votes cast in minority districts, as well as the proportion of this concentration (the percent share of overall votes) that comes from minority-influenced areas. In effect, this procedure captures a spatial snapshot of electoral outcomes in minority districts, which allow the classification of support patterns into constituency types. Ergo, the data tendered here represents the implementation of the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 and will mobilize the constituency variables that are to be used in subsequent chapters.

DISTRICT DESIGN AND SYSTEMIC REFORM

The implementation of reserved seats was, in theory, a focal point for ameliorating minority exclusion, putatively strengthening a delicate Colombian democracy. In practice, institutional inclusion has been a complex process, mostly due to the mode of implementation. First, minority districts are marked by the absence of participatory restrictions. Thus, all voters are free to cast votes in the minority roll if they so choose,

without any additional registration requirement or documented affiliation with the target group. This design introduces the potential for the dilution of the minority vote, even within the districts created specifically for selecting responsive minority representation. Such interference may potentially lead to the election of representatives that do not have strong *mutual* relationships with the *dispossessed* subgroup, a criteria that Dovi (2002) suggests is crucial for selecting preferable descriptive representatives. Put simply, non-minority influence in minority elections may dilute minority representation, although this is not a foregone conclusion.[4]

Indigenous and Afro seats saw first implementation in 1991 and 1994, respectively. Senate representation was secured by Indigenous communities during the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* (National Constituent Assembly; ANC) and was included in the text of the National Constitution.[5] Specifically, Article 171 of the Colombian Constitution states that

> The special district for the election of senators for Indigenous communities will be determined by the electoral quotient system, defined in Article 263 of the Political Constitution. Representatives of Indigenous communities who aspire to integrate into the Senate of the Republic must have held a traditional position of authority in their respective community, or have been the leader of an Indigenous organization, a quality accredited by certificate from the respective organization and endorsed by the Interior Ministry.[6]

[4] I do not assume that broad support from non-minority sectors will produce representation that is entirely indifferent to minority issues, be they local, regional, or national in scope. Pitkin suggests that the representation of national interests does not have to come at the cost of provincial needs and that representatives of a geographic constituency should strike a balance (Pitkin 1967, pp. 215-217). It follows that representatives elected via quota do not have to be excessively narrow in their activities, regardless of the nature of their mandate. However, any factor that alters the nature of targeted representation (i.e. non-minority electoral influence) must be given close consideration, as impacts on minority constituents are potentially vast.

[5] For a thorough review of constitutionally protected Indigenous rights and an analysis of the history of adjudication by the Constitutional Court see Semper (2006).

[6] All translations of constitutional articles in this chapter are my own.

The subsequent system applied a quotient (Hare) to determine which candidates were elected.[7] More importantly, it stipulated that tribal councils and Indigenous organizations would exercise a great deal of oversight in regard to ballot access. Such a design is consistent with the spirit of quotas, giving a great deal of ownership over candidate selection to the target group. Much of the organizational power over candidate qualifications is given to extant organizations, which in the early years meant the *Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia* (ONIC), *Alianza Social Indígena* (ASI), and the *Autoridades Indígenas de Colombia* (AICO). If an aspirant was not linked to one of these organizations, the only avenue through which they could become a candidate was with the support of a tribal council, in which they had to have held a position of leadership. The latter option is less likely, given that Indigenous organizations gain legal recognition only when formed from of a group of tribal councils (Decree 1088 of 1993, Article 12). Thus, a candidate sanctioned by a council is likely to be sanctioned by an organization as a matter of consequence. Moreover, the support of these organizations was crucial to building a successful campaign and voter base. Finally, the inability to circumnavigate tribal influence was completed when ballot access for citizens groups via signatures was excluded. In fact, signature requirements were entirely dismissed for minority districts. All of this is a testament to Indigenous stakeholders' desire to control the process. It was tribal power that took up the gatekeeper role, in a sense and—somewhat ironically—making inclusion quite *ex*clusive. As I discuss in greater detail below, there are certainly positive outcomes that extend from tribal/council control; it ensures that candidates who aspire to Indigenous seats must be vetted by traditional

[7] The electoral quotient (Hare) is computed by dividing the total number of valid votes by the district magnitude (two).

institutions of Indigenous authority. This does not, however, produce an inherently harmonious candidate selection procedure. Organizations have regional and local differences that produce a contentious environment and the presence of myriad councils means that candidates can be vetted through a variety of avenues (Laurent 2005, pp. 361-366). In fact, the growth in the number of candidacies in the ISD in later elections is indicative of the heightened competition as more regional organizations have mobilized candidates.

The Colombian Constitution also included an article assuring a district for Black Colombians. To this end, Article 176 of the Constitution prescribed additional minority districts to be created in the Chamber of Representatives. This statute stated that "[t]he law may establish a special district to assure the participation of ethnic groups and political minorities and Colombians living abroad in the Chamber of Representatives. Up to five representatives may be elected through this district." Throughout the two years following reform and ratification, the Afro-Colombian movement engaged with the Gaviria administration regarding the development of *Artículo Transitorio 55* (Transitory Article 55; AT55), part of which entailed the creation of the electoral district for Black communities for electing two Afro representatives. Slated to be developed into permanent law since 1991, AT55 finally sealed a number of collective rights for Afro-Colombians in 1993. The resulting legal code was Law 70 of 1993, a watershed structure that included, among other entitlements, the rights of Black communities to institutional representation. In regard to spaces of representation, Law 70 dictated that "In accordance with Article 176 of the National Constitution, the special district to elect two members of the Black communities is hereby established, thereby assuring their representation in the Chamber

of Representatives. The National Electoral Council shall regulate all that is related to this election." As the 1994 congressional elections approached, the CNE developed the following stipulations:

1) Those who aspire to be candidates of the Afro community for this special district must be members of the respective community and endorsed by organization registered with the Interior Ministry.
2) Representatives of the Chamber for the special district will be elected by the selection system currently in place for congresspersons.

In some sense, these guidelines parallel the text of Article 171 (Indigenous district guidelines). First, the Afro district also employed the Hare quotient. More noteworthy, though, are the requisites for the personal traits of candidates, who should be a member of the quota target group and affiliated with an Afro organization registered with the Interior Ministry.

Beneath the surface of candidate identity and organization affiliations, though, were stark contrasts between Indigenous and Afro-Colombian organizational oversight. First, and quite unsurprisingly, there was no standard of previous council leadership for aspirants to the seats for Black communities in 1994. Initially, this was simply an issue of chronology, as Afro-Colombian community councils did not become a legally defined entity until 1995 (Decree 1745 of 1995, Chapter 2). But even after their creation, the sanction of an Afro community council was never included as a requisite for candidacy.[8] Compounding the issue of organizational attachments is the ease with which a group of citizens can register as an Afro-Colombian organization. The procedure is as simple as

[8] This is most likely a function of being comparatively far less powerful than Indigenous councils, which have longer histories, a certain amount of autonomy, and greater organizational capacity, not to mention larger swaths of physical territory under their domain.

creating an organizational mission statement and internal structure, filling out a form, physically presenting this form to the *Dirección de Asuntos para Comunidades Negras* (Directorate of Affairs for Black Communities) in the Interior Ministry, and paying a filing fee. Frankly put, it entails labeling oneself Black, taking the time to fill out a government form, and the capacity to acquire a moderate sum of funds. The process is far more complex for Indigenous organizations. In these cases one must also present:

1. One copy of the minutes of formation of the organization, signed by the Councils or Traditional Indigenous Authorities which compose the entity.
2. One copy of the minutes of possession of the Councils or Traditional Indigenous Authorities who are part of the association.
3. One original copy of the statutes and their respective approval.
4. Minutes of the meetings of the respective Indigenous community, demonstrating the approval of the Council or Traditional Indigenous Authority to enter the association.
5. Petitioners must also acquire a certificate issued by the General Directorate of Indigenous Affairs that certifies their status as a Traditional Indigenous Authority and the territory within which they exercise jurisdiction.

These guidelines are unequivocal in their intent, which is to make the approval and verification of tribal authority paramount. In short, there simply is not a way to entirely—perhaps even remotely—circumnavigate an aspiring candidate's need for tribal council approval. Prospects for Black communities, on the other hand, have far less red tape to manage and no *true need* to negotiate with local Afro-Colombian power structures—although many candidates surely have the desire to do so and virtually all run under the pretense of helping Black communities (Agudelo 2002). This lack of effective group control over candidates is particularly problematic for Afro-Colombians, who—like Indigenous Colombians—are a minority group whose boundaries coincide with,

rather than cut across, socio-political cleavages *and* who share a history of marginalization (Htun 2004; Mansbridge 1999).

In 2003, the Colombian legislature passed Legislative Act 01 (LA01), commonly known as the Political Reform of 2003. First implemented in 2006, this legislation introduced the most significant changes to the electoral system since constitutional reform in 1991. These included a minimum threshold, single party lists within districts, an option for open lists, and a switch to a D'Hondt system from the traditional Hare. This round of electoral engineering was intended to reduce the number of electoral organizations, which had expanded since 1991, and induce more cohesive parties. It was also designed to alter the intransigent tradition of personal politics and undermine local patron-client networks (Pachón and Shugart 2010; Pizarro Leongómez 2006). Naturally, this substantially altered the nature of competition in legislative elections, making it increasingly difficult for smaller parties to win seats and forcing some to form electoral alliances for survival.

Other analyses have examined reformatory impacts on the Colombian party system and elections.[9] Shugart and Pachón (2010) present strong evidence showing that inter and intra-party competition is conditioned by the introduction of open single-party lists, a minimum threshold, and the switch to a D'Hondt allocation sytem. In assessing the first post-reform election (2006) they suggest that these tweaks have contrasting effects on high and low magnitude districts, reducing the number of competing parties in high magnitude districts while increasing them in low magnitude districts. Keeping with

[9] Rodriguez Raga and Botero (2008) confirm that electoral reforms have contributed to a reduction in party system fragmentation in the Colombian Senate as measured by the effective number of parties (see also Pachón and Hoskin 2011).

the scope of this project, my intent here is to examine constituency formation in minority districts while assessing the repercussions of the 2003 reforms on these electoral outcomes. The changing nature of national competition noted elsewhere can be expected to alter the dynamics of minority districts—and, by extension, voter behavior— despite their detachment from the surrounding system.

Internal and external rules are expected to produce a particular set of pre and post-reform outcomes. The evidence and logic presented by Rodriguez Raga and Botero (2008) regarding the post-reform party system is a key heuristic. They make the case that the shift from multiple party lists and a single non-transferable vote (SNTV) to a single-party list PR system with the option for open or closed lists has the effect of consolidating parties. This makes it more difficult for smaller parties or *movimientos* to thrive. I reason that this shift from what Pachón and Shugart (2010) call "personalization" to "listization" will increase incentives for candidate-driven *movimientos* to seek election in smaller magnitude districts. This is due to the amenability of smaller districts to personalized politics (Ibid). That is to say, intra-partisan competition is heightened in smaller magnitude districts because there is no advantage to the pooling of votes on single party lists. While their magnitude is small, the ISD and ICD districts do not fit this mold, being typified by *non*-personal party competition (strong control from central party organizations), as well as considerable group control over candidate selection by traditional authorities. The BCD, however, is strongly marked by personal vehicles and a *lack* of group control, largely due to the shorter history of organizations and the rules that guide organizational and candidate registration. In addition, the post-reform option for open lists leads to a decrease in the number of competing parties in party-driven districts.

As a result, these changes should produce a reduction in the number of competing parties in the ICD and ISD. These factors converge to produce two hypotheses regarding minority district fragmentation:

H1: The 2003 electoral reforms will lead to an increase in the number of lists competing for seats in the BCD.
H2: The 2003 electoral reforms will lead to a decrease in the number of lists competing for seats in the ICD and ISD.

The consolidation of parties and inducement of a more cohesive party system in the post-reform years has, to some extent, forced smaller parties to come together (Rodriguez Raga and Botero 2006). The political left is a prime example, which saw the convergence of multiple parties to form the *Polo Democrático Alternativo* (PDA).[10] This consolidation is highlighted by the PDA's strong performance in the 2006 legislative and presidential elections.[11] Due to left-leaning tendencies of ethno-racial parties, organizations, and citizens, I expect the gains made by the left to reduce the percentage of minority district votes arriving from non-minority areas and urban centers. In essence, the emergence of electable candidates on the left can be expected to reduce the role of the "protest vote" in national elections.[12] Consequently, at the district-year level (e.g. the

[10] The PDA resulted primarily from the convergence of the *Polo Democrático Independiente* (PDI), the *Alternativa Democrática* (AD), and some sectors of *Marcha Patriótica* (MP).
[11] The PDA's presidential candidate, Carlos Gaviria, acquired 22.04% of the first-round presidential vote. Although a distant second to Alvaro Uribe—who did not require a second round to claim victory—the PDA's second place finish was the strongest of the left-leaning party in Colombia. They also acquired 11 seats in the 100-member Senate, thereby supplanting the Liberal Party as the main opposition to the Uribe government.
[12] The "protest vote" term describes the tendency of Colombian voters to cast votes for parties without ties to those that were hegemonic during the two-party era; the Colombian Liberal and Conservative Parties. The role of the protest vote is highlighted by the electoral outcomes for the National Constituent Assembly (ANC), in which the AM-19 movement and other non-traditional organizations acquired surprisingly high vote totals. Many voters found themselves seeking to express their discontent with the nebulous programmatic ideologies of the ruling parties, a circumstance that catapulted two Indigenous leaders into the ANC and a host of representatives from a political left that was theretofore institutionally unrepresented (in the national sense).

entire ICD in 2002 or the entire BCD in 2006) I expect to see a higher proportion of minority district votes to come from minority-influenced departments (MIDs) in post-reform elections. This is simply due to the decrease of votes from non-MIDs and major urban centers. Additionally, I expect this reduction of non-MID support to lead to a greater concentration of district votes in MIDs. In other words, there will be more votes coming from a smaller number of departments, particularly those more closely associated with minority populations. Therefore, post-reform district-year data should also see increases in HHI scores. Finally, and following the same logic, I also expect these dynamics to play out at the party-list level for winning lists.

H3: Electoral reform will lead to an increased rate of MID support in minority districts.
H4: Electoral reform will lead to increases in HHI concentration scores in minority districts.
H5: Electoral reform will lead to an increased rate of MID support for winning lists in minority districts
H6: Electoral reform will lead to increases in HHI concentration scores for winning lists in minority districts.

Due to the fact that constituency outcomes extend from MID support and HHI scores, the expected post-reform increases in these measures should also produce certain constituency formation trends. Higher MID support will increase the likelihood of winning lists sitting in the top half of the X axis (from "weak" to "strong"), while higher HHI is expected to more commonly move winning lists to the right side of the Y axis (from "low" to "high"). Thus, elections prior to reform (1991, 1994, 1998, and 2002) are expected to produce more Type 1 and 2 constituencies, while post-reform cycles (2006 and 2010) are expected to more commonly produce Type 3 and 4 constituencies.

H7: Electoral reform will lead to the stronger and more concentrated constituencies, with the tendency of outcomes moving closer to or into the Type 3 and 4 categories.

I present a two-part discussion that analyzes key factors impacting minority constituency formation out of minority districts. The first focuses on the internal dynamics (i.e. candidate selection and ballot access) and the second on the effects of electoral reform implemented in 2006. To carry this out, I begin with an overview of the data, followed by a discussion of some general observations from minority districts, including the volume of votes cast, number of lists registered, and the role of the non-minority vote (votes from non-MIDs and urban centers). This is capped by an analysis of constituency formation at the district and party-list level. Frequent attempts are made to link empirical patterns with reform implementation so that conclusions can be derived regarding the impacts of systemic electoral reform on support for minority districts and constituency outcomes.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

Reserved seats for Colombian political minorities were first implemented in 1991 when the Senate set aside two seats for Indigenous communities. Since then, the Chamber of Representatives has added two seats for Afro-Colombian communities in 1994 and an additional seat for Indigenous populations in 2002. This representation is elected from separate minority districts that have a national scope. I include here all electoral data pertinent to these minority districts from 1991 to 2010, a span that includes a total of 16 elections for minority representation. Among these, six pertain to the election of

Indigenous delegates to the Senate (1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010), three for electing Indigenous delegates to the Chamber (2002, 2006, and 2010), and four for choosing representatives of Black communities to the Chamber (1994, 2002, 2006, 2010).[13] Consequently, the information shown here has resulted in the election of 23 minority representatives.[14]

In minority districts with a national scope, geographic voting patterns are crucial for making sense of the district's constituency tendencies, which are otherwise marked by ambiguity. In order to measure the geographic concentration of candidate/district support, I employed the Hirschman-Hirfindahl Index (HHI). This statistical measure accounts for the relative size and distribution of departmental support for each candidate. In other words, it describes the geographic concentration (or dispersal) of a candidate's base (or overall district outcomes). For my purposes, HHI is tabulated by squaring the proportion of a candidate's vote total from each of the 33 departments (including Bogotá) and adding these figures together.[15] These figures are then added together to give the "sum of squared proportions" statistic, which is then multiplied by 100 in order to produce an integer. HHI scores can range anywhere between 3.03 (perfectly dispersed across all departments) to 100 (full concentration within a single department).[16] This measure is

[13] At the time of writing, municipal-level data for the 2014 election was not yet available. For this reason, these latest electoral outcomes are not included in this analysis

[14] It should be noted that there was a gap in implementation for the BCD, which was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in 1996 on the grounds that the law was developed and passed without the proper procedural requirements (Sentence C-484 of 1996). A new statute that included the provisioning of seats for Black communities was passed in 2001, when it was included as part of the doling of reserved Chamber seats for other political minorities (Law 649 of 2001).

[15] For a similar use of this index see Crisp and Ingall (2002). In this paper, elections prior to 2002 included vote proportions from 33 departments. The addition of votes from Colombians living abroad raises the number of squared proportions to 34.

[16] The maximum HHI score of 100 would be produced when all votes are received from just one department. The minimum score of 3.03 is a function of the number of departments (33) and would be produced when each department contributes the same number of votes to a candidate. For example, 33

computed at the candidate, district-year, and district (all years) levels. On the party-list level, I reason that by capturing the concentration or dispersal of a candidate's electoral base, HHI scores reveal three dynamics. First, they describe the breadth of a candidate's programmatic appeal. Second, and in accordance with appeal, they indicate a set of constituents whose interests the legislator will be inclined to represent. Third, the support patterns for successful candidates will signal future aspirants of the requisites for success. On the district level, I understand HHI scores to point to the general trends of support exhibited by the ISD, ICD, and BCD, respectively.

In addition to electoral data, census data from 2005 is used to classify departments according to their ethnic makeup.[17] This was done in order to approximate the strength of the minority vote across districts and elections. Departments with a minority population equaling *at least* 15% of the district total are labeled as "minority-influenced departments" (MIDs). To be clear, the classification of departments as "minority-influenced" does not firmly establish that votes coming from those departments are being cast by Afro or Indigenous voters. Indeed, the secret nature of suffrage in Colombian elections, much like elsewhere, greatly reduces the chance of knowing specifically which votes are cast by whom. Knowing that a department has a bare minimum percentage of minority residents allows for a safer assumption that votes from certain locales are being cast by ethno-racial minorities. Or, inversely, the MID vote share provides an approximation of the strength of the minority vote by omitting votes that are most likely

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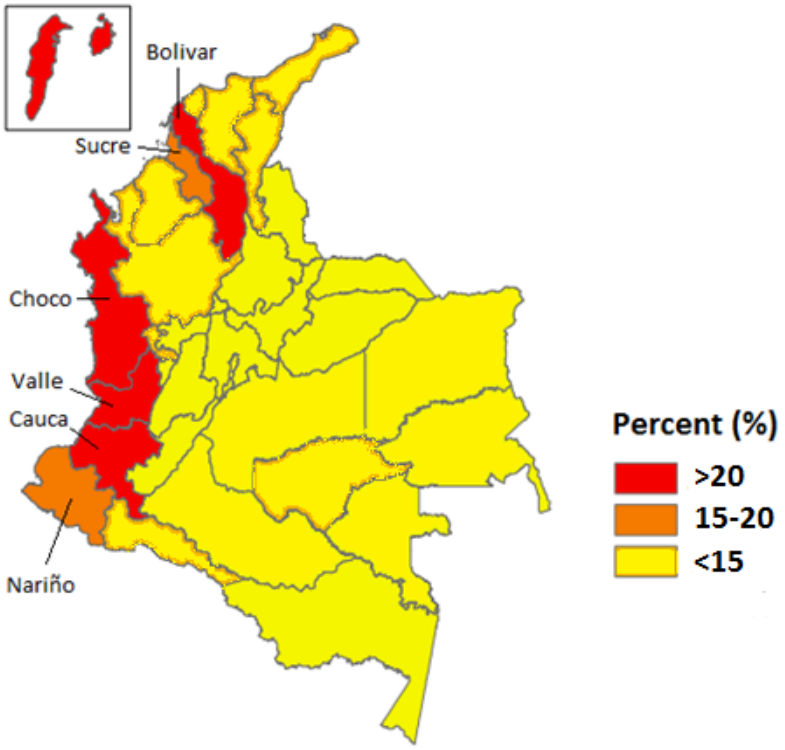
departments contributing exactly one vote would each be contributing 3.03% of the total vote (.0303). Each of these values squared and then summed together would once again equal .0303, which when multiplied by 100 produces an integer of 3.03.

[17] The 2005 Colombian census is the latest data available for analysis. Information on ethnic makeup is available at the municipal level and provides five ethno-racial categorizations; Afro-Colombian/Black, Indigenous, Raizal (from the islands of San Andres and Providencia), Romani, or "None of the Preceding Categories."

from *non*-minorities (votes from departments whose minority population does not reach the 15% threshold). The 15% minimum standard means that departments classified as MIDs have minority populations that Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) would classify as a "tilted" minority group (rather than a "uniform" or "skewed" minority). In social situations, Kanter equated skewed status with an increased ability to impact overall group dynamics and surroundings.

Figure 3.1. Afro-Colombian Population by Percent of Department Total



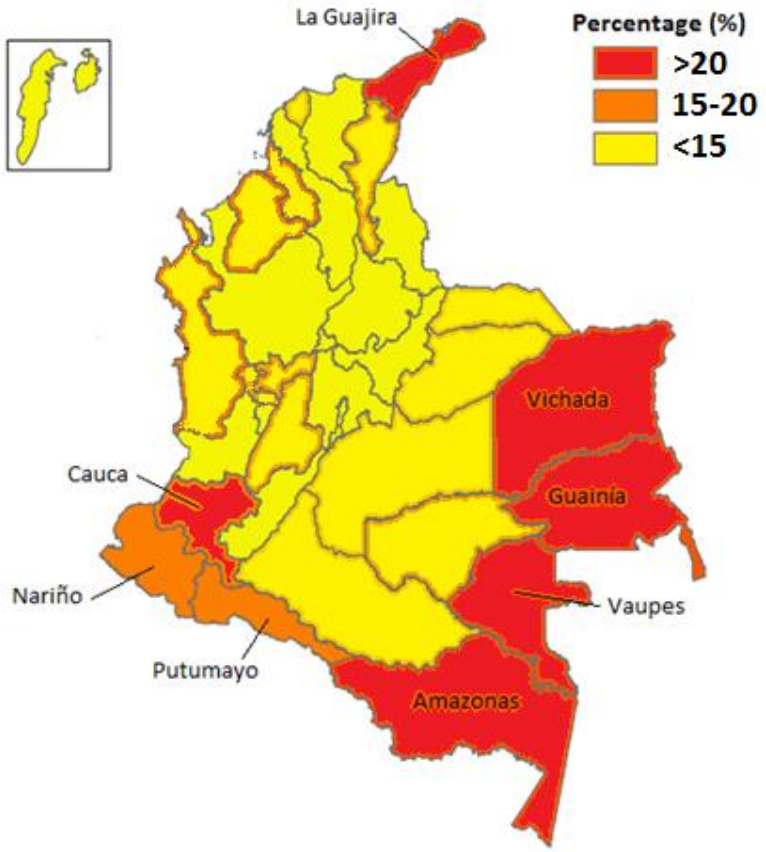
Source: *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadisticas* (DANE) of Colombia.

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the geographic locations of MIDs, revealing the regional tendencies of Afro and Indigenous populations.[18] Figure 3.1 shows that high concentrations of Afro-Colombians reside in the lowland areas of the Pacific and

[18] The maps presented here are taken directly from the DANE, which used inconsistent percentage schemes to identify high-minority areas. As such, the maps do not reflect a direct comparison of minority demographics. Rather, they have the function of giving a geographic visual of the areas in which minorities tend to comprise a large segment of the population.

Caribbean regions. They comprise a particularly high percentage of the Pacific departments of Choco, Valle del Cauca, and Cauca, as well as the Caribbean department of Bolivar (shaded in red). Falling

Figure 3.2. Indigenous Population by Percent of Department Total

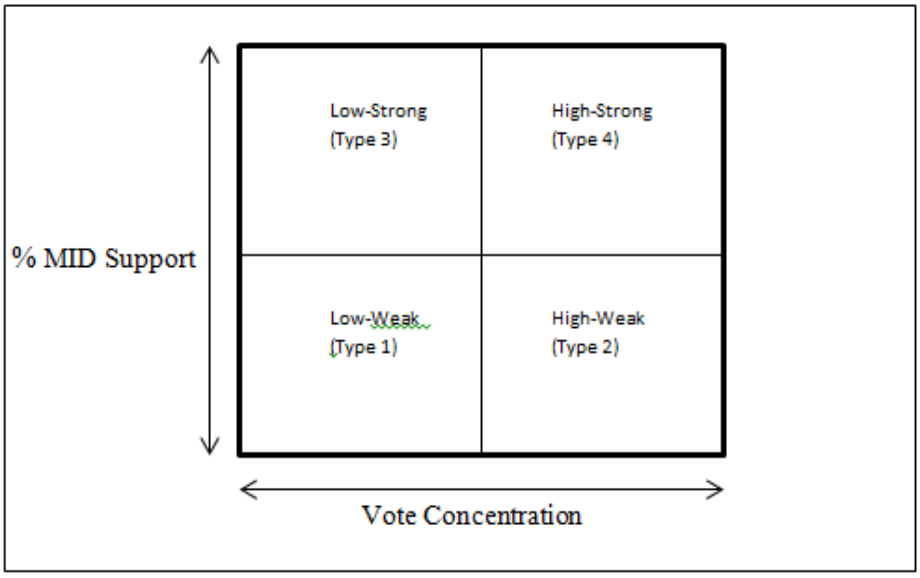


Source: *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadisticas* (DANE) of Colombia.

just under the 20% population threshold are the Pacific department of Nariño and the Caribbean department of Sucre (shaded in orange). Indigenous populations tend to be more scattered than their Afro-Colombian compatriots (Figure 3.2). Departments featuring the highest proportion of Indigenous inhabitants are found mostly in eastern

Colombia, situated in the Amazonia region (shaded in red). The departments of La Guajira—located at the north tip of the country—and Cauca add to this list. Two additional departments (Nariño and Putumayo) in the Pacific fall between 15 and 20 percent. Collectively, the two maps identify the Pacific region as having the most prominent ethnic population in terms of percentage of departmental totals. They also clearly display the scattered nature of minority demographics, which are typified by regional pockets of concentration. This begins to provide a visual of the form that a minority geographical district might take if it were based solely on the importance that the minority vote plays in each department. Consequently, they indicate the geographic locations in which ethno-racial issues are most salient, both contemporarily and historically.

Figure 3.3. Four-Category Constituency Typology



HHI and MID support statistics are used in conjunction to contextualize electoral outcomes as constituency types. Constituency types are determined by situating the elected representatives' scores along a two-dimensional axis, with HHI (vote concentration) along the X-axis and percent of MID support on the Y-axis. The result is a four-category typology of constituencies (see Figure 3). The four types are labeled as "low-weak", "high-weak", "low-strong", and "high-strong", with the "low" and "high" tags denoting placement along the HHI axis (low concentration versus high concentration) and the "strong" and "weak" designations signifying placement on the MID support axis. In addition, the types are given number labels. These labels are intended to rank—from lowest (1) to highest (4)—the potential of each type to result in responsive representation. The constituency types identified here will inform my expectations regarding representational outcomes, particularly the invoking of group identity in plenary speeches and the linkage of identity to issues.

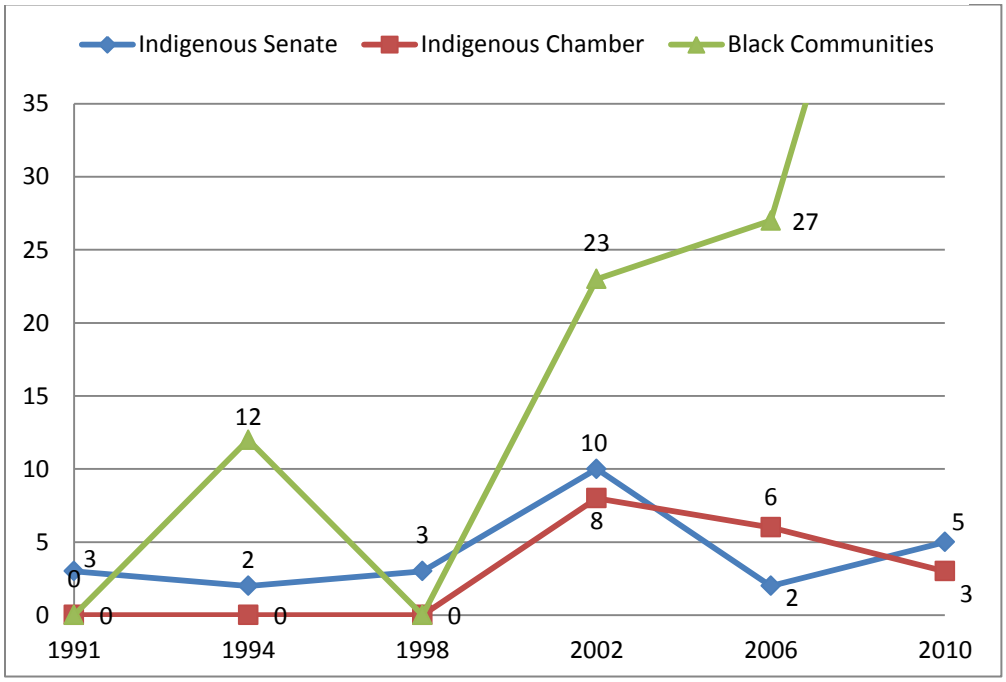
DATA ANALYSIS

Candidate Lists and Fragmentation

Figure 3.4 shows the number of lists in each district since 1991. Through the 2010 electoral cycle, there have been a total of 169 candidate lists registered in minority districts. The comparative totals are noteworthy. The BCD has produced 128 of 169 total minority district lists, representing a proportion of just over three quarters of the total (75.7%). Since its introduction in 1994—and keeping in mind the non-inclusion of the Afro district in 1998—the number of lists registered for Black communities has consistently eclipsed those of the indigenous district(s). In most cases the number of BCD

lists is more than triple the number of indigenous candidacies, with a particularly conspicuous octupling of Indigenous lists in 2010 (67 to 8). This gap is consistent even after the introduction of the ICD in 2002. Furthermore, the number of lists vying for Afro seats has steadily increased over time, beginning with 12 lists in 1994 and expanding to a whopping 67 lists in 2010 (not visible in Figure 4). This has produced a rate of 32 lists per available seat in the BCD. The Indigenous districts, in stark contrast, have produced a total of 41 candidate lists combined, culminating in an average of 2.7 lists per available seat. When the ISD and ICD are disaggregated, we find that the former has produced a list per seat average of 2, while the latter has presented 5.7 candidacies per seat.

Figure 3.4. Number of Lists Registered in Minority Districts (1991-2010)



The BCD has been typified by ongoing spikes in fragmentation, an affliction previously attributed to observable rifts in the Afro movement (Agudelo 2002).[19] I do not contest that contrasting framing strategies and sharp divisions are markers of the Afro-Colombian movement. I insist, however, that attributing the growth of BCD lists solely to these factors ignores the critical role of institutional design. The hurdles for registering lists in the BCD are remarkably low. This flaw appears to have been exacerbated when the nature of party competition was altered by the reforms of 2003. The introduction of a minimum threshold and single party lists would both have the effect of putting small parties at a disadvantage, and the BCD became a destination for those clinging to institutional access.

Conversely, indigenous districts produce far less candidacies due to the great amount of control exercised by tribal authorities and organizations.[20] Latin American scholars have noted the relative cohesiveness of the Colombian indigenous movement throughout the 1990s, despite the great amount of ethnic and regional diversity and ruptures within ONIC—the largest Indigenous organization—which catalyzed the

[19] This line of thought leans on observations of the Afro-Colombian movement, broadly conceived. It holds that the most basic fissures within the movement—largely traced to the competing framing strategies across Black organizations—inhibit the ability of organizations to unite for electoral purposes. Much of this, the story goes, has to do with particularized (local) demands. A prime example would be the *Asociación Campesina Integral del Atrato* (Undivided Rural Association of the Atrato; ACIA), which formed in the early 1980s, its primary purpose being the defense of land and riparian rights along the Atrato river. ACIA saw the need to link territorial rights in the Pacific to cultural identity and traditional methods of resource extraction. This framing strategy has been termed the "indigenization" of Black demands due to the attempt to link territory and culture (Agudelo, Hoffman, and Rivas 1999). This is also why organizations like this sought to align with Indigenous actors such as Rojas Birry during the ANC—they saw the cultural connection to land as a common thread. In contrast, other Afro-Colombian leaders— often linked either to traditional parties or the political left—came from an urban viewpoint that stressed rights via racial inclusion rather than ethnic difference (Ibid).

[20] Augmenting this institutional reality was the organizational landscape present during the 1990's. There were just three Indigenous parties that had the capacity to mobilize candidates under these constraints; the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC); the Colombian Indigenous Authorities Movement (AICO); and the Indigenous Social Alliance (ASI).

entrance of ASI into electoral politics (Laurent 2005; Peñaranda 2009). This confluence of factors resulted in just three Indigenous senate candidates in the district's inaugural year. This number decreased to two in 1994 when ASI made the strategic decision to vie for Senate seats within the national district rather than the Indigenous, only to find themselves unsuccessful in this attempt and pushed back into the Indigenous district in 1998, returning the number of lists in the Indigenous district to three. In sum, throughout the first three cycles, the creation of candidacies from the Indigenous movement was funneled through the three most overarching Indigenous organizations, which had highly centralized internal structures (Peñaranda 2009, Chapter 3). The result has been an electoral landscape with far greater order and clarity than that observed in the BCD.

District-Level HHI Scores and MID Support

The tables in the previous section clearly demonstrate the complexity of minority district elections in Colombia. The selection of minority representatives does not occur in a manner that gives complete ownership to the target groups. A large proportion of the votes that are cast in the minority roll are most likely from non-minority citizens, a circumstance that gives us theoretical reasons to be skeptical of the quality of minority group representation that will arise from such an arrangement. Percentages of the vote from non-minority areas, however, are insufficient to arrive at full conclusions about the crystallization of constituencies in these districts. As Figures 1 and 2 have indicated, Afro and Indigenous Colombian populations are geographically dispersed. Moreover, the territorial entities that have come to represent minority politics (e.g. *resguardos*, *cabildos*, *titulos colectivos*) can be found in opposite corners of the nation. Thus, even in a scenario

where non-minority influence in elections is extracted entirely, the issue of constituency formation and issue representation is still quite complex, as minorities inhabiting different parts of the nation bring diverging group interests—Indigenous residents of the Cauca department might have riparian demands while those in La Guajira are pushing for mining legislation, for example. Taking all of this into account, I measured electoral outcomes along the lines of geographic vote concentration and the rate of minority support in order to make better sense of ethnic constituencies, it is necessary to classify electoral outcomes. This entails situating electoral outcomes into a four-category typology that combines geographic vote concentration scores (HHI) with rates of support from minority-influenced departments (MIDs) which have a minimum minority population of 15% of the department total. The integration of HHI and MID support rates is first presented at the district level, followed by candidate-level scores that will significantly impact the predictions of representational outcomes in later chapters.

Table 3.1. HHI Scores and Rates of Support from Minority-Influenced Departments (By District and Year, 1991-2010)

Year	ISD		ICD		BCD	
	HHI	% MID	HHI	% MID	HHI	% MID
1991	8.10	35.9	--	--	--	--
1994	12.51	33.2	--	--	10.98	55.6
1998	8.96	47.3	--	--	--	--
2002	8.21	37.2	8.05	29.0	11.48	53.7
2006	13.26	46.3	8.32	19.5	8.92	65.1
2010	14.44	55.6	7.04	34.4	7.58	80.7

Table 3.1 shows the observed outcomes for HHI and MID support at the level of the district-year. This data reveals contrasting outcomes across minority districts. The ISD has generally seen an increase in vote concentration from 1991 to 2010, going from a score of 8.10 to 14.44. The percent of the vote from MIDs in this district has also seen an overall increase, although there are dips and spikes along the way. Despite the ebbs and flows in MID support rates, the ISD appears to have produced a pattern of increasing vote concentration and higher proportions of MID support overall. This culminates with the first and only Indigenous district election featuring a majority of votes from MIDs (2014). This indicates that the district has seen greater ethnic ownership over time and particularly so in the cycles that came on the heels of the 2003 electoral reforms. The ICD offers less clarity in regard to change over time, as well as the direction thereof. The HHI scores in the ICD have seen a relatively marginal shift from the first cycle to the last (8.05 to 7.04), as well as a notably inconsistent share of votes from MIDs. The ICD also features the district-year instance with the lowest share of MID votes across all districts (19.5% in 2006) and by these measures is the district with the least amount of minority control over elected representation. In addition, there is no identifiable impact that might be attributed to systemic reforms. Consequently, an intra-group comparison of the Indigenous districts shows that the electoral dynamics of the lower house are quite distinct from the upper house. These contrasting electoral support patterns arise despite the fact that the same ethnic parties are often in competition for both districts. Thus, the chamber of congress in which the seat is allocated seems to have a significant impact on HHI and MID vote shares.

The share of BCD votes from MIDs was flat across the two pre-reform cycles, followed by a pronounced post-reform spike in 2006 (65.1%) and again in 2010 (80.7%). HHI scores, on the other hand, indicate that vote concentrations have decreased over time, going from 10.98 in 1994 to 7.58 in 2010. This is an intriguing combination of results, as it leaves the impression that a higher vote share is coming from a shrinking number of departments (N=6 for Afro-Colombian MIDs) while also being less concentrated. This suggests that voting patterns in early BCD cycles—particularly 1994 and 2002—were defined by high vote shares from a single non-minority department or urban center. A glance at BCD support from Bogotá lends support for this remark, which declined sharply from 1994 (24.5%) to 2010 (11.6%). The broad message is that BCD votes became less concentrated over time, largely due to the combination of a drop in the Bogota vote and the lack of a dominant electoral hub in Afro-Colombian MIDs. Whether this will translate to similar outcomes at the party level remains to be seen. Regardless, this data points to an interesting story in the BCD that mixes two potentially counterintuitive processes; on one hand, the increase of group control over minority representation and, on the other, the increasing dispersal of electoral support within the district. While the former may facilitate the crystallization and representation of minority demands, the same process may be confounded by the latter. Also, the increasingly scattered nature of district-year votes lends some support to Agudelo's (2002) claim that the Black movement has become increasingly fragmented with time, a matter that I foresee complicating group representation in national institutions.

Party-List Level HHI Scores, MID Support, and Constituency Outcomes

Support patterns at the party-list level add much needed detail to district-level observations and may provide the best indicator of future representational outcomes. Table 3.2 provides an overview of HHI scores and MID support for candidates elected to the ISD. HHI scores for ISD representatives range from a low of 7.89 (Francisco Rojas Birry in 2002) to a high of 39.88 (German Lopez in 2010; Range = 31.99). MID support

Table 3.2. HHI Scores, MID Support Rates, and Constituency Types in the Indigenous Senate District (1991-2010)

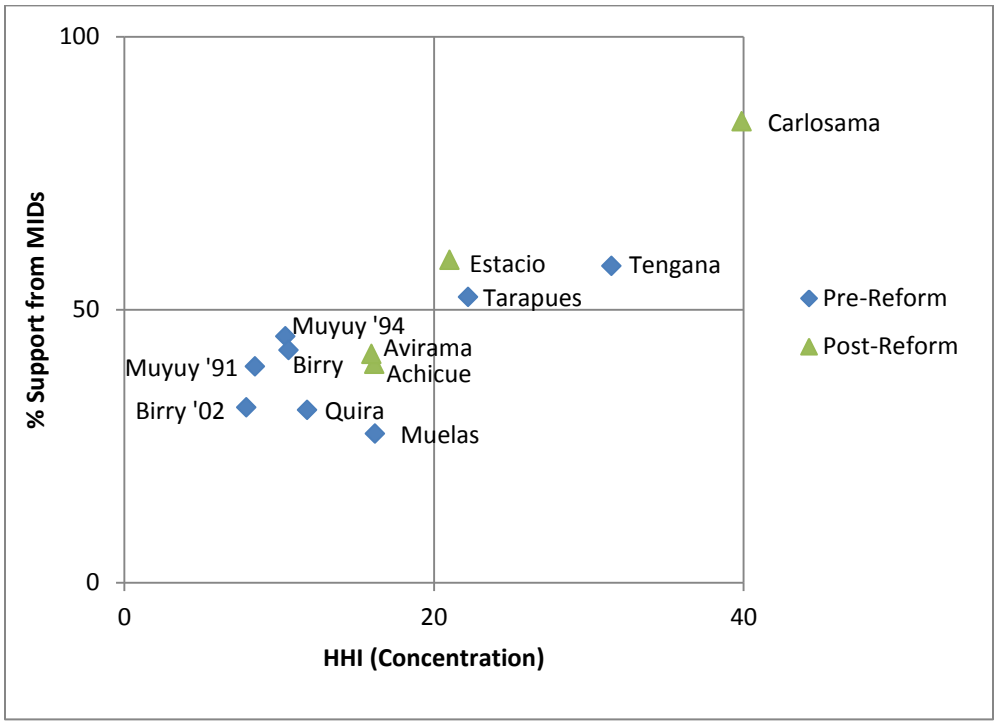
Candidate	Party/ Org	Year	HHI	MID%	Type
ANATOLIO QUIRA	ASI	1991	11.82	31.61	1
GABRIEL MUYUY	ONIC	1991	8.44	39.62	1
GABRIEL MUYUY	MIC	1994	10.40	45.12	1
LORENZO MUELAS	AICO	1994	16.19	27.33	1
FRANCISCO ROJAS BIRRY	AICO	1998	10.61	42.64	1
MARTIN TENGANA	*ASI*	*1998*	*31.47*	*58.04*	*4*
EFREN FELIX TARAPUES	*AICO*	*2002*	*22.21*	*52.34*	*4*
FRANCISCO ROJAS BIRRY	Coalition	2002	7.89	32.11	1
*ERNESTO ESTACIO**	*AICO*	*2006*	*21.00*	*59.12*	*4*
JESUS PIÑACUE ACHICUE*	ASI	2006	16.15	40.13	1
*GERMAN CARLOSAMA**	*AICO*	*2010*	*39.88*	*84.51*	*4*
MARCO ANIBAL AVIRAMA*	ASI	2010	15.97	41.90	1
MEAN (ALL LISTS)	--	1991-2010	17.67	46.21	2.00
PRE-REFORM MEAN	--	1991-2002	14.88	41.10	1.75
POST-REFORM MEAN	--	2006-2010	23.25	56.43	2.50

*Open lists in which scores and types are tabulated from all open-list votes, rather than just the head of list candidate.

rates extend from a low of 27.33% (Lorenzo Muelas in 1994) to a high of 84.51% (German Lopez in 2010; range = 57.2). Outcomes in the ISD led to eight "low-weak" constituencies (Type 1) and four "high-strong" (Type 4) constituencies, the latter shown in bold italics. Six out of eight "low-weak" constituencies are produced in the pre-reform period (1991-2002, above the while two of the four "high-strong" outcomes are produced in the post-reform period. This is consistent with the observations in Table 1 that note a decrease in the share of votes from non-minority urban centers (Bogotá and Medellín) in later cycles.

There is a general trend toward stronger minority constituencies in later electoral cycles, although there also continue to be instances in which elected representatives have a relatively small share of votes from MIDs. Francisco Rojas Birry (2002), Jesus Piñacue (2006), and Marco Anibal Avirama (2010) all fit this electoral profile, with each receiving less than half of their support from MIDs. A scatterplot of these outcomes is provided in Figure 3.5, placing each elected candidate on the four-category typology grid. Pre-reform outcomes are mostly clustered in the lower-left quadrant, while the four post-reform scores are slightly more scattered. According to the theoretical framework detailed in Chapter 2, the representative most likely to bring minority issues to the agenda and pen minority-friendly legislation would be German Carlosama, whose mandate was sanctioned by the most concentrated base and highest MID support rate. We would expect Rojas Birry's 2002 results to provide the least motivation for representing group issues.

Figure 3.5. Plot of Constituency Outcomes for ISD Representatives



As is shown in Table 3.3, the range of HHI scores in the BCD is broad (Range = 68.87) relative to those of the ISD (Range = 31.99). This is due entirely to the highly concentrated support that Yahir Acuña garnered in 2010, which amounted to an HHI score of 79.58. It is worth noting that Acuña's voter base is found predominantly in the department of Sucre (89.13% of total votes), a place that has a large Afro-Colombian population (15.68% of the department total), yet is physically and culturally disconnected from the Pacific region departments more commonly associated with Afro-Colombian grass roots organizations and collective land titles. It will be interesting to see how this brand of minority representation will differ from others that have a greater vote share from Pacific region departments, potentially providing an indicator of the chasms in the Black movement. Also as a cause of

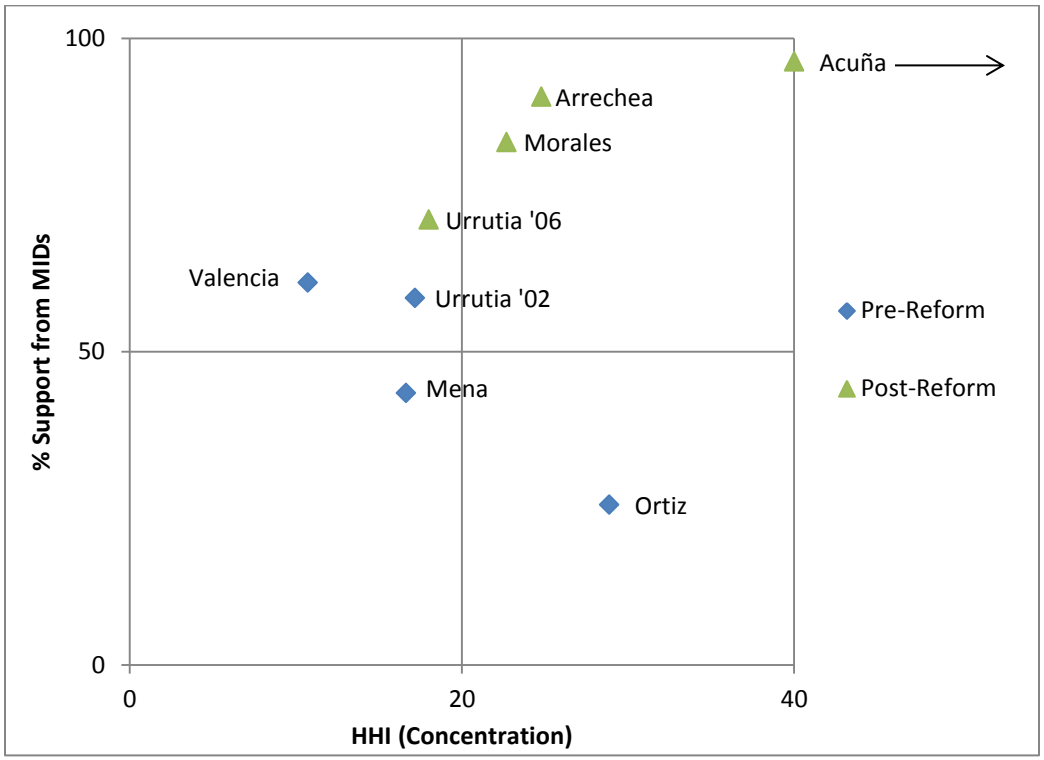
Table 3.3: HHI Scores, MID Support Rates, and Constituency Types in the Black Communities District (1994-2010)

Candidate (*Open List Total)	Party/Org.	Year	HHI	MID%	Type
AGUSTIN VALENCIA	Com. Negras^	1994	10.71	61.01	3
ZULIA MENA	Com. Negras^	1994	16.63	43.39	1
WILLINGTON ORTIZ	AEAFUAC	2002	28.87	25.58	2
MARIA URRUTIA	MPU	2002	17.17	58.58	3
SILFREDO MORALES*	Afrouninca	2006	22.68	83.45	4
MARIA URRUTIA	ASA	2006	17.99	71.10	3
HERIBERTO ARRECHEA*	MPU	2010	24.78	90.68	4
YAHIR ACUÑA	Afrovides	2010	79.58	96.31	4
MEAN (ALL)	--	1994-2010	27.30	66.27	3.00
PRE-REFORM MEAN	--	1994-2002	18.35	47.14	2.25
POST-REFORM MEAN	--	2006-2010	36.26	85.39	3.75

^Specific organizational information for various BCD candidates in 1994 was not available through the *Registraduria Nacional*.

his *Sucreño* electoral base, Acuña acquired the highest proportion of MID support. Notably, the HHI and MID% combinations in the BCD yield just one "low-weak" and one "high-weak" constituency. This small number of weak outcomes sharply contrasts those of the ISD, which was typified by patterns of weak minority support, particularly in early cycles. The remaining seven BCD types are three each of the "low-strong" and "high-strong" types.

Figure 3.6: Plot of Constituency Outcomes for BCD Representatives (1994-2010)



My framework suggests that Acuña will be the elected representative most likely to bring minority identity to the deliberative process, while Mena and Ortiz are least likely to do so. Notably, post-reform constituency types are all situated in the top two quadrants, confirming that post-reform BCD representation is consistently elected by a stronger MID electorate (less influence from non-minority areas). This outcome is surprising, given the observed decrease from 1994 to 2010 in district-level HHI noted in Table 3.1 (from 10.98 in 1994 to 7.58 in 2010). Normally, we would expect this longitudinal decline to translate to party-level HHI and produce constituency outcomes closer to the Type 1 and 3 categories. This, however, was not the case. Three of the four post-reform winners sat in the Type 4 (high-strong) segment, with the fourth falling just short of the HHI score needed to join them. This indicates that the increased

fragmentation of the BCD has broadly produced scattered district support, but that its personalist—rather than party-driven—tendencies lead to more localized and thus concentrated support for winning candidates. This lends support to the expectation that post-reform elections would produce stronger (Type 3 and 4) minority constituencies. Comparatively, the post-reform tendency is more pronounced in the BCD than in the ISD. Given their cross-institutional nature (house versus senate), a direct comparison between their electoral tendencies is problematic. Nonetheless, the outcomes forecast heightened representation of minority identity by Afro representatives.

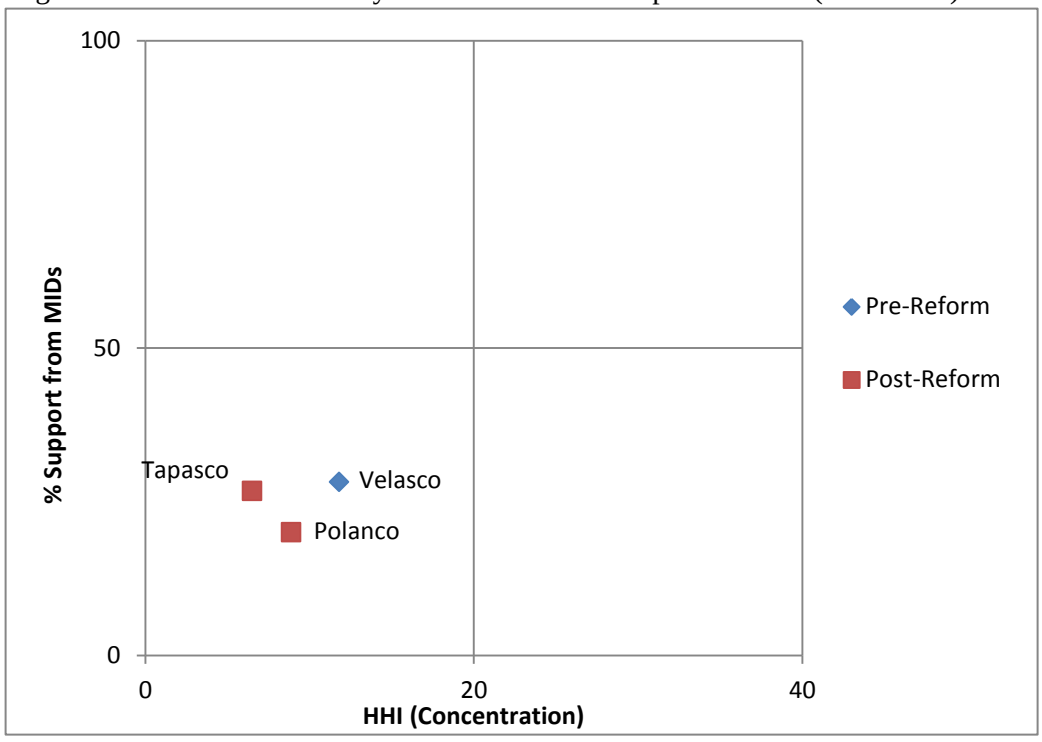
Table 3.4. HHI Scores, MID Support Rates, and Constituency Types in the Indigenous Chamber District (2002-2010)

Candidate (*Open List Total)	Party/Org.	Year	HHI	MID%	Type
LORENZO VELASCO	AICO	2002	11.79	28.19	1
ORSINIA POLANCO	Polo Dem.	2006	8.87	20.04	1
HERNANDO TAPASCO*	Polo Dem.	2010	6.51	26.73	1
MEAN (ALL)	--	2002-2010	9.06	24.99	1.00
PRE-REFORM MEAN	--	2002	11.79	28.19	1.00
POST-REFORM MEAN	--	2006-2010	7.69	23.39	1.00

The shorter history of the ICD means that there are only three electoral instances upon which data can be collected. In conjunction with consistently low HHI scores (Table 3.4), the scarcity of cases produces zero variation in constituency outcomes. All three elected representatives are clustered in the lower-left quadrant of Figure 3.7, making them all “low-weak” constituencies (Type 1). This data suggests that the ICD is

seeing weaker minority support than the ISD and BCD. It follows that, per my theory, this district is least likely to result in responsive group representation. Touching on specifics, HHI scores are quite low, ranging from Velasco's high of 11.79 to Tapasco's low of 6.51 (Range = 5.28). Also, and in opposition of the previous trends noted for the ISD and BCD, HHI vote concentrations *decrease* in post-reform cycles. This indicates that support for ICD candidates became more dispersed, a curious outcome for a chamber that is designed to represent more localized (read

Figure 3.7. Plot of Constituency Outcomes for ICD Representatives (2002-2010)



geographically concentrated) interests. MID support rates are also markedly low, ranging from Velasco's high of 28.19% in 2002 to Polanco's low of 20.04% in 2006. In sum,

viewed in terms of an identifiable minority support base, ICD representatives have received the weakest minority mandates. Ergo, these representatives will to have less to gain from standing for minority constituents. Furthermore, representatives elected after the 2003 electoral reforms appear to nudge further away from concentrated, strong minority support bases. It remains to be seen how this will correlate with representational outcomes, but these observations do not inspire great expectations out of that district.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is clear that the internal rules guiding ballot access have a significant impact on the number of lists registered across elections (Figure 3.4). On the surface, the low number of candidates vying for indigenous seats seems surprising, particularly due to the lack of signature requirements for ballot access (Constitutional Act No. 2 of 1991) and diversity of indigenous groups in the national territory. I have made the case that the number of lists in indigenous districts is kept at bay due to institutional rules, which grant a gatekeeper role to tribal institutions and organizations. Indigenous district candidates must have the official support of an indigenous organization *or* have held a traditional position of authority in their tribal council. It follows that the tribal councils and the organizations that they spawned have a large hand in managing the nature of ISD and ICD competition, particularly during the early electoral cycles of the ISD. In the absence of organizational sentineling, registering a candidacy in the BCD has been far easier—and hence more common. The proliferation of candidacies in the district has led to higher district-year HHI scores (Table 3.1) and the guiding rules have made the district hospitable to candidate-driven *movimientos,* commonly marked by localized interests. In

sum, group control over ballot access centralizes candidate selection processes. This bears a distant relation to Hinojosa's (2012) counterintuitive finding that less democratic candidate selection processes facilitated increases in women's representation. But rather than increasing rates of minority representation, in this case a fixed variable, group control over candidacies may *improve* representation by increasing accountability to the group. Moreover, this all prompts a new question: how will the candidate-centric mandates (rather than party-centric) of the BCD translate to group representation in institutions?

LA01 introduced systemic changes that were external to minority districts, but which also impacted electoral outcomes. The "rationalization" of the Colombian party system—motivated by single-party lists, open-list options, and D'Hondt formula—altered the nature of inter-partisan competition throughout the political system. This forced more cohesive parties and made it increasingly difficult for smaller, candidate-centric parties to flourish. This factor, in combination with the aforementioned lack of group oversight, helped produce an excess of candidacies in the BCD. More importantly, it produced decreases in rates of support from non-MIDs. Stated inversely, it increased the percentage of BCD, ICD, and ISD votes that came from MIDs, thus making post-reform minority mandates *stronger* in nature. Put simply, less interference from non-MIDs pushed minority constituencies to the top of the typology (Types 3 and 4). These outcomes should produce stronger minority representation, as representatives will be speaking for a more clearly identifiable minority constituency.

This discussion highlights the role of institutional factors on electoral outcomes and constituency formation. For all of their importance, a focus on institutions may also

unintentionally mask other underlying issues. My treatment of minority organizations, for example, treats them as objects reacting to the guiding rules of minority districts, rather than being complicit in their elaboration. But we can be certain that the strength of indigenous organizations and *cabildos* is largely responsible for the manner in which the ISD was originally implemented. The way that the BCD was drawn up is also surely a function of the state of the Afro movement at the time *Ley 70* was drafted. I stand firm in ascribing a higher role to institutions, but I mention these convenient omissions as a way of introducing the potential undoing of the institutional argument. Should it turn out in subsequent chapters—particularly Chapter 4 on congressional representation—that elections have little impact upon representational outcomes, then the insistence upon the conditioning nature of institutions is weakened. In short, it may be necessary to step back and seek out alternative explanations—whether this means bigger picture or micro—to discover what is truly happening on the ground.

CHAPTER 4: MINORITY PRESENCE, CONGRESSIONAL DISCOURSE, AND IDENTITY REPRESENTATION

Evaluations of democratic institutions often take into account their inclusiveness, in effect conducting a litmus test of institutional diversity and minority access. Embedded in these assessments is the normative assumption that increases in minority representation are desirable and that *under*representation—where disproportionate with demographics—requires redress. Per this argument, non-inclusive institutions are emblematic of social inequities and thus a democratic liability. More specifically, minority representation is deemed particularly important for historically marginalized groups, who particularly stand to benefit from "descriptive" representation due to the shared life experiences that produce a minority perspective, even if group demands are not uniform (Mansbridge 1999). In essence, descriptive representation is valuable insofar as it impacts a representative's tendency to "act for" their descriptive constituents. This line of thought converges with theories of deliberative democracy that see the inclusiveness of democratic processes as a means for achieving social justice. Diverse societies, it is reasoned, require input from all segments in the articulation/distribution of public goods in order to maximize democratic legitimacy. As John Dryzek aptly wrote, "No concerned individuals should be excluded, and if necessary, some educative mechanism should promote the competent participation of persons with a material interest in the issues at hand who might otherwise be left out" (Dryzek 1990: 43).

Calls for inclusion via descriptive representation have insisted upon the influence of a representative's background on their behavior in office. Some empirical observers, however, have raised questions regarding the value of gerrymandered minority districts in the United States, with some insisting that minority constituencies are unwarranted (Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran 1996), have the effect of bolstering non-minority

conservatism (Lublin 1997) or are ineffective for achieving true minority empowerment (Guinier 1994). Finally, there are those who insist that minority influence is conditional upon membership in dominant coalitions (Browning, Marshall, and Tab 1984), hinting that partisan affiliation is of greater importance than identity.

However, many scholars have confirmed the linkage between descriptive and substantive representation. Scholars have repeatedly shown that descriptive representatives are more likely than non-descriptive representatives to introduce minority-friendly policy and new priorities to the agenda (Bratton 2005; Bratton and Leonard 2002; Carroll 2001; Jones 1997; Htun and Jones 2002; Schwindt-Bayer 2006; Swers 2005; Taylor-Robinson and Heath 2003; Thomas 1994) and that more gender-inclusive institutions adopt policy identified as "women's issues" (Kittilson 2008; O'Regan 2000; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). Students of ethnicity and race have authored studies agreeing to the latter, showing that descriptive minority presence has a positive relationship with the adoption of "racial and ethnic issues" (Preuhs 2006). Not to be forgotten are studies with a focus on structural outcomes, which have demonstrated that minority constituents in reserved seat districts receive a greater share of public goods (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004). As Duflo (2004) notes, this indicates that any costs of reserved representation (i.e. narrowing candidate choices, less experienced representatives, etc.) appear to be offset by the representational benefits for marginalized populations.

Contributing to the conversation on descriptive-substantive linkages, this chapter assesses the integration of minority identity in plenary speeches by minority

representatives in Colombia. The effect of Indigenous and Afro seat reservations is examined through a qualitative analysis of the language used by minority representatives in congress. More specifically, I analyze the relationship between constituency variables and representational outcomes, in effect testing the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 and building on the empirical foundations of Chapter 3. Thus the primary goal is to determine whether constituency dynamics—as products of elections—have an observable impact on representative behavior. This includes an evaluation of the measures visited in Chapter 3, namely Hirschman-Herfindahl Index (HHI) scores and rates of support from minority-influenced departments (MIDs).[1] It is from these two measures—which collectively establish the geographic focus and strength of their minority support base—that expectations of representative behavior are derived and outcomes assessed. The analysis is performed while empirically measuring the use of Indigenous and Afro identity by minority representatives in the deliberative process. Plenary speeches are inspected in order to determine the tendency of minority representatives to "stand for" minority constituents by introducing ethno-racial identity and linking identity to geographic locales and issues. Thus, I introduce evidence that is markedly different than most studies on the descriptive-substantive relationship, which commonly focus on the introduction and passage of policy (see, e.g., Bratton and Leonard 2002; Childs 2004). As Piscopo (2011) finely demonstrated, a focus on policy reflects a narrow interpretation of Pitkin's concept of descriptive representation. "When Pitkin wrote that descriptive representatives 'stand for' constituents, she was referring to

[1] These measures are articulated in greater detail in Chapter 3. HHI concentrations are determined by tabulating each department's share of a candidates support, squaring those proportions, and summing the squared proportions. The "Rates of support from MIDs" figure represents the percentage of a candidate's total vote that came from departments with a minority population of *at least* 15% of the departmental total.

their *portrayals of constituents' circumstances*" (Ibid, p. 449). A focus on language allows us to capture these portrayals, thereby grasping the ways in which a legislator's language reflects group values and standing in society.

The Colombian case is an ideal setting for assessing the impact of electoral constituencies on representational outcomes, particularly as it pertains to the use of the "talking function" in a legislature. In July 2002, a new congress convened in Bogotá that included a full gambit of seats reserved for political minorities. The lower house now featured one seat for Indigenous communities and two seats for Black communities, the latter being reinstated after a one-session hiatus.[2] These freshly implemented quotas were added to the extant seats awarded to Indigenous communities in 1991, producing the broadest set of affirmative action measures in the region. As a result, we can assess the impact of electoral patterns and constituency dynamics over the course of three legislative cycles (2002-2006, 2006-2010, 2010-2014). Further, it allows for a systematic comparison across the two largest ethno-racial minority groups in Latin America (Indigenous and Afro-Latinos), as well as a cross-institutional comparison specific to Indigenous Colombians (lower house vs. senate).

Capitalizing on this context, this chapter is an exercise in understanding the impact of reserved seats on the substantive representation of indigenous and Afro-Colombians. When a minority representative introduces identity and makes identity-issue linkages, she engages in a particular type of substantive representation. Not only does she

[2] The passed legislation that called for the implementation of seats reserved for Black communities was deemed unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court of Colombia in 1996 on the grounds that the law was developed and passed without the proper procedural requirements (Sentence C-484 of 1996). A new statute that included the provisioning of seats for Black communities was passed in 2001, along with the other two Chamber seats reserved for Indigenous communities and Colombians living abroad (Law 649 of 2001).

"stand for" descriptive constituents, but also "acts for" them by invoking identity as a deliberative tool (Pitkin 1967, p. 83). Ergo, using identity as a deliberative tool is understood here to be a form of substantive representation, wherein minority representatives are "acting for" their constituents. I reason that minorities in a legislature—particularly those who comprise such a small proportion thereof—will attempt to represent group interests in a deliberative fashion by invoking group identity, communicating desires, and articulating interests. Although the discursive/deliberative role is not the only way that substantive representation can be measured, this "process oriented" variable is preferable in contexts where the minority has such little chance of achieving policy outcomes.[3] Simply put, discourse is most readily available tool for minorities who fail to reach a point of critical mass (Bratton 2005). I should also note that all plenary sessions are recorded and televised, although rates of viewership are a mystery. However, representatives commonly mention viewers and the publics to whom they speak in their utterances, proving that the ears of the electorate are a consideration when they choose their language. It follows that voters and constituents should be an important determinant of this behavior. To assess this importance, the analysis tests for the effects of constituency while evaluating both the *frequency* with which Afro and Indigenous Colombian representatives invoke identity and *how* they substantively link identity to other ideas.

[3] In their analysis of the Argentine gender quota, Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) make an important distinction between "process oriented" and "outcome oriented" facets of substantive representation. Representation as process occurs when legislators undertake activity on behalf of descriptive constituents. This can occur without resulting in policy outcomes (pp. 397-399).

To measure the use of identity by minority representatives, I created three measures; 1) an ethnic invocation score (EIS), which identifies the introduction of identity in floor speeches; 2) a geography-identity linkage score, which notes the frequency with which representatives substantively link minority identity to geographic locations; 3) an issue-identity linkage score, which tabulates the frequency with which representatives substantively link identity to issues on the agenda. Prior to adding procedural details, some expectations of these measures vis-à-vis constituency variables should be noted. As the independent variables, HHI and MID support are expected to exhibit various positive relationships. High MID support rates are assumed to be an indicator of greater minority control over representation, as it means that fewer votes are from non-minority areas and urban centers. [4] The result is a greater level of accountability to minority populations and heightened motivation to bring minority identity to the pulpit. This is somewhat akin to the "mandate effect" noted by Franceschet and Piscopo (2008), which posits that quotas resulting from domestic activism (bottom-up) enhance legislator obligations to represent the interests of the minority group (pp. 402-404). The difference here is that the mandate is not a reflection of the passage of the quota. Instead, the "electoral mandate effect" identified here is—as the name might suggest—an extension of electoral outcomes. MID support indicates a stronger minority mandate that is from areas more closely associated with the grass roots politics of the Afro and indigenous movement. In theory, this should increase legislator obligations to the minority group. The invoking of minority identity in congressional debate—and linking it with issues and geography—is perceived here as the promotion of minority interests.

[4] For a review of the empirical logic undergirding the assumption that votes from MIDs are a sign of a strong minority support base, see Chapter 3, pp. 60-66.

Thus I expect that as rates of MID support increase, ethnic invocation scores and issue-identity linkage scores will also increase. Conversely, lower MID support indicates that a reserved seat is occupied by a politician with less appeal—and weaker ties—to the target group. I expect that this positive relationship between MID support and identity invocations will be observed at both the district-year and individual (representative) levels.

H1: Higher rates of MID support will produce higher EIS scores at the level of the district-year.
H2: Higher rates of MID support will produce higher EIS scores at the level of the individual representative.
H3: Higher rates of MID support will produce higher issue-identity linkage scores at the level of the district-year.
H4: Higher rates of MID support will produce higher issue-identity linkage scores at the level of the individual representative.

Due to their focus on vote concentration versus geographic origins of support, I expect HHI scores to impact geographic invocations and linkages between geography and identity. In essence, HHI gives us a spatial indicator of an elected representative's support base. Higher concentration scores indicate close ties to a locality, department, or region. Lower scores suggest that their appeal is broader and less parochial. I reason that, as an indicator of local ties, higher HHI are produced by candidates who have high accountability to specific communities. It follows that higher HHI concentrations will be accompanied by a greater tendency of minority representatives to make substantive geography-identity connections, or what I have called here geography-identity linkages. Ergo, higher HHI will have a positive effect on geography-identity linkage scores.

H5: Higher HHI concentration scores will produce higher geography-identity linkage scores at the district-year level.
H6: Higher HHI concentration scores will produce higher geography-identity linkage scores at the level of the individual representative.

Finally, cross-group expectations are primarily driven by the electoral outcomes discussed in Chapter 3. Particularly important are the HHI and MID support statistics for representatives elected from 2002-2010, as those are the legislators included here. The average rate of MID support for elected BCD candidates from 2002-2006 is 70.95%, while the corresponding figure for ISD representatives is 51.69%. ISD officials had by far the lowest MID support at 24.99% (See Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Per my theory, this leads us to believe that BCD representatives have the strongest electoral mandate effect, with high rates of minority district support that should heighten obligations to represent group interests, with the ISD and ICD coming in second and third, respectively. In regard to HHI scores, these trends continue. The BCD has the highest average for the pertinent cycles at 31.85. ISD winners delivered an HHI of 20.52, followed by their co-group representatives from the ISD who brought a mean concentration of 9.06. These figures leave us with the impression that BCD agents have more intimate local ties with the communities that elected them—or at least have depended on these communities to a greater degree for their mandate—than have indigenous delegates. In sum, higher MID support *and* HHI lead me to believe that BCD representatives will have higher EIS, issue-identity linkage scores, and geography-identity linkage scores. The same comparative tendency within the indigenous representation hints that the same results should follow for ISD versus ICD delegates.

H7: BCD representatives will produce higher EIS, issue-identity linkage scores, and geography-identity linkage scores than ICD and ISD representation.
H8: ISD representatives will produce higher EIS, issue-identity linkage scores, and geography-identity linkage scores than ICD representation.

With this set of expectations in mind, I first proceed by detailing the qualitative data and procedures used to measure the use of minority identity in Congressional discourse. This includes an overview of the data mined for the purposes of the analysis, details regarding the measures created, and an explanation of the qualitative coding process. I also describe some of the limitations of the data and draw boundaries on the conclusions that can be reached through the analysis. From there, I deliver an analysis of the data, focusing first on EIS outcomes. This is followed by an assessment of the relationship between HHI and geography-identity linkage scores. The relationship between MID support and issue-identity linkages will conclude the analysis. Finally, I discuss some of the theoretical ramifications.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

The data used in this analysis was mined from the *Gaceta del Congreso de Colombia* and consists of plenary transcripts from the Colombian Chamber of Representatives and Senate. All plenary transcripts from July 2002 to June 2014 were obtained, spanning three legislative cycles (2002-2006, 2006-2010, and 2010-2014). Congressional legislative periods have two sessions; July to December (session 1) and March to June (session 2). Consequently, each four-year cycle included data from eight legislative sessions (two per year). Using this qualitative data, two separate analyses are conducted;

first, a comparative exploration of the *frequency* with which minority representatives invoke identity; second, an investigation of the *nature* of these invocations. The second analysis focuses in on the linkage of identity to issues and geographic locations and both analyses include cross-group and cross-chamber comparisons.

The first analysis quantifies the use of identity in plenary speeches delivered by minority representatives. Each representative's tendency to invoke minority identity becomes part of a rhetoric score called an "ethnic invocation score" (EIS). In essence, this statistic denotes a legislator's tendency to invoke minority identity in a floor speech. Tabulating EIS required extracting each plenary speech delivered by a minority representative between July 2002 and June 2014 (three legislative cycles). Throughout the extraction process, I scanned each speech to ensure that it was "substantive" in nature. A "substantive" speech was defined as one in which the representative makes a clear argument concerning a bill, proposition, issue, or previous speaker's statement. "Non-substantive" speeches included those pertaining to procedural matters (motions to vote, motions to adjourn, etc.), personal explanations (absences, tardiness, etc.), and other personal comments (introducing a guest speaker, mentioning festivals/holidays, etc.).[5] Put simply, if a representative presented a position in regard to a policy matter that was under congressional deliberation, the utterance was considered substantive. This process resulted in a total of 828 substantive speeches from 15 elected officials—six each from the BCD and ISD, as well as three from the ICD.

[55] For the vast majority of BCD, ICD, and ISD representatives, non-substantive speeches were remarkably rare. The exception to this rule was Maria Isabel Urrutia, who displayed a high tendency to seek motions to re-open discussions, motions to vote, motions of order, and various personal remarks that were not related to congressional business. This was particularly the case in her first term (2002-2006).

After extracting each substantive speech, these were uploaded to NVivo to conduct lexical searches. All speeches were queried for ethnic invocations using the same terms that were used in the minority presence analysis described above. Each speech featuring an invocation of group identity—and that was part of the main body of a speech—was marked as an "identity-inclusive speech."[6] This classification was made without regard to the frequency or volume of invocations present and only in instances in which the representatives minority group is the source of the invocation (non-group invocations were excluded). A total of 254 identity-inclusive speeches were identified out of the total population of 828. The number of identity-inclusive speeches was compiled at the individual level and the EIS was tabulated for each representative by dividing the number of identity-inclusive speeches by the total number of substantive speeches extracted (EIS = identity-inclusive speeches ÷ total substantive speeches).[7] EIS were also tabulated at the district (BCD, ICD, and ISD) and district-year levels for comparative purposes. I them assessed any linkages between EIS outcomes and MID support by placing the two statistics on an X-Y scatterplot in a hope of identifying patterns across districts.

EIS gives an indication of a representative's tendency to insert identity into congressional discourse when making substantive policy arguments. It is insufficient, however, when the goal is to describe the *nature* of the invocation. Acquiring this level of detail required coding a random sample of identity-inclusive speeches. Given the intent

[6] The "main body" of a speech excludes introductions or salutations that identify the speaker as the representatives of Black or Indigenous communities. This means that in the instances where a speaker introduced themselves as the "Afro-Colombian," "Black communities," or "Indigenous communities" representative the speech was not deemed "identity-inclusive."

[7] To see examples of this procedure in the gender literature, see Piscopo (2011) and Shogan (2011).

of the exercise—to determine the frequency with which identity was connected to issues and geography—speeches without identity invocations were excluded. Using a random number generator, I pulled a sample of approximately one-third of the 254 identity-inclusive speeches. This led to a sample of 86 speeches, each coded by hand using a sheet that identified the number of identity invocations and the nature of these invocations (substantive versus non-substantive). I also noted geographic invocations and whether these were linked to the minority group (geography-identity linkages). Next, issue coverage was recorded and also assessed for linkages to group identity (issue-identity linkages). Finally, I recorded total word counts, geographic locales invoked, and the nature of geographic invocations (substantive vs. non-substantive)[8] Geography-identity linkage scores and issue-identity linkage scores were derived by dividing the number of speeches with substantive geography-identity or issue-identity linkages by the total number of coded speeches (linkage score = speeches with identity/geography-identity linkages ÷ total coded speeches).

This dual qualitative comparison—across minority groups and chambers of congress— will provide strong indications of the frequency with which Indigenous and Afro representatives invoke identity and how often they make substantive connections. Furthermore, examining the effects of MID support and HHI scores will indicate whether elections and constituency factors are determinants of representative behavior.

This analysis has a few caveats. For the added benefit of efficiency, speech coding was done for a random sample of speeches delivered by minority representatives.

[8] A copy of the code sheet used for this process is included in Appendix A.

A couple of limitations extend from this. First, an analysis of non-minority representatives (all others) is omitted. The cost associated with this omission is the inability to draw larger conclusions regarding the way that the full population of legislators invoke identity and make substantive linkages. This, of course, poses some limitations. The data presented here, however, satisfactorily addresses the chapter's focus. By this, I mean that the data allowing for an Afro versus Indigenous and Chamber versus Senate comparison is appropriate for answering the central questions at hand: to what extent do minority representatives introduce minority identity to the deliberative process and how much is this conditioned by constituency dynamics? This is addressed in a systematic fashion, with data that is amenable to deriving conclusions about the comparative behavior of minority representatives. The second limitation is that the random sampling process—in conjunction with the small number of speeches from certain representatives—forced the exclusion of certain representatives from individual-level analyses. Exclusions were made in cases where a legislator did not reach a minimum of three coded speeches. Individual-level attrition was sharpest in the BCD, with two (out of six total) representatives not reaching the threshold. This means that the individual-level relationships between the independent constituency variables (HHI and MID support) and dependent identity representation variables (issue-identity linkages and geography-identity linkages) are being drawn from a smaller number of cases than originally anticipated. Nonetheless, the combination of district and individual-level outcomes should still provide a strong indication of the strength of these correlations.

The final limitation extends from the omission of a comprehensive overview of the agenda across each of the legislative periods under study. Thus I am unable to control

for the impact of the agenda on congressional discourse, which in certain years may have brought issues that were more amenable to the introduction of minority identity. This was also a necessary evil that aided the efficiency and parsimony of the analysis. A content analysis of all major bills submitted to both the Chamber and Senate posed a formidable task. Moreover, the added benefit of such a review may have been limited, as it would have required justifying assumptions surrounding the types of bills that are friendly to minority discourse. I note some statistical outcomes that soften this issue somewhat, showing that it is unlikely that agenda is a key factor driving the use of identity.

DATA ANALYSIS

Ethnic Invocation Scores (EIS)

It is difficult to discern a clear pattern in EIS outcomes across minority districts and legislative periods, as demonstrated in Figure 4.1. On average, ISD representatives invoked Indigenous identity in their speeches at a greater rate than BCD and ICD representatives. The scores for the ISD are marked by a large spike in 2006-2010, a period in which Indigenous identity was invoked in almost 45% of the floor speeches delivered by an ISD representative. The ICD also shows an increase during this period, although minimal in comparison (.381 to .415). EIS in both Indigenous districts then tumbles in 2010-2014. In comparison, BCD representatives have produced less EIS variation across cycles. After an initial dip in 2006-2010, there is a rebound in 2010-2014. The latter is almost congruent with the 2002-2006 score (difference of -.007). The consistency in the BCD indicates that there has been little change in the mere mention of

Afro identity, although this tells us little of the nature of these invocations. Indigenous districts, on the other hand, stand out for the sharp variation produced across cycles.

Figure 4.1. Ethnic Invocation Scores by District and Legislative Cycle (2002-2014)

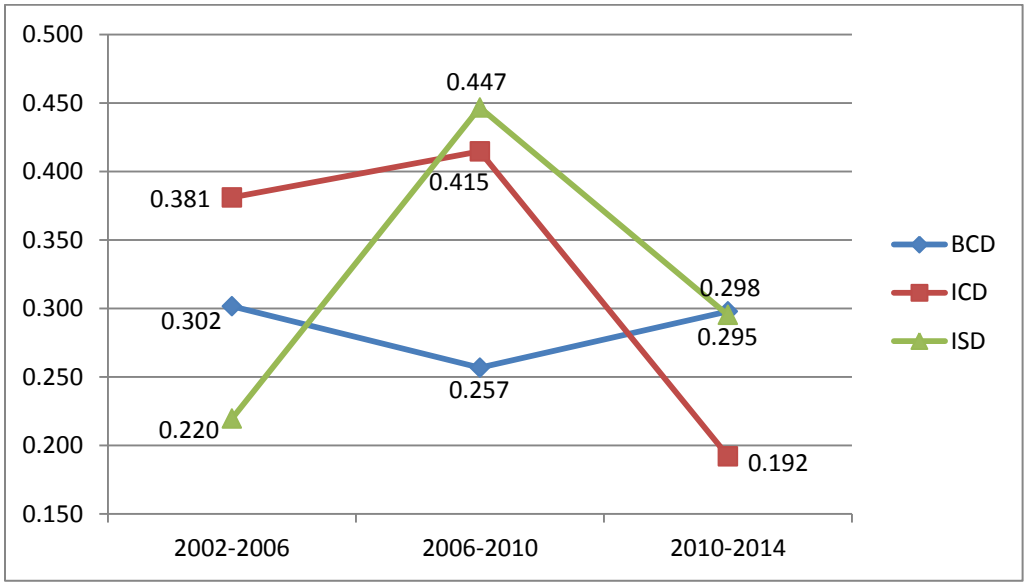
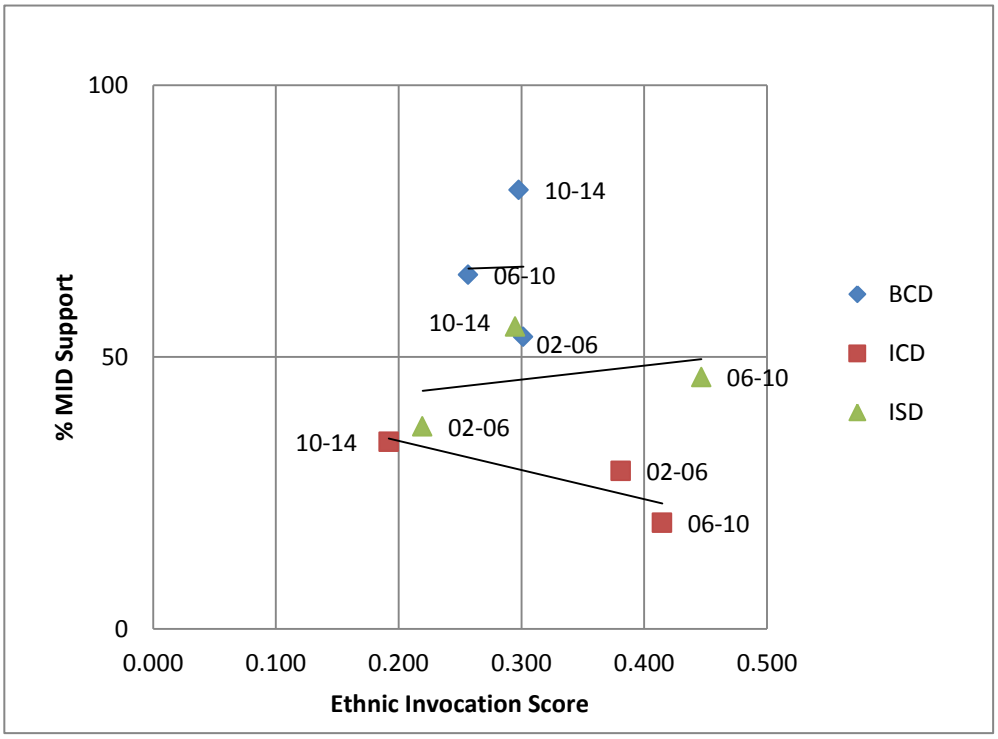


Figure 4.2 shows the relationship between MID support and EIS outcomes at the district-year level, with MID support collected from all candidate lists (winners are not isolated). Aggregated levels of electoral support from minority-influenced departments (MIDs) do not have a clear relationship with EIS outcomes. I expected that a greater percentage of MID support would motivate minority representatives to bring identity to the podium with greater frequency, as they would be responding to a base that is heavily influenced by the minority vote. But the rate of support from MIDs appears to have exerted an uneven influence. The results from the ICD particularly defy expectations, with representatives invoking identity *more* frequently where the percent of MID support was *lower*. The plots indicating BCD outcomes show a great disparity in MID support,

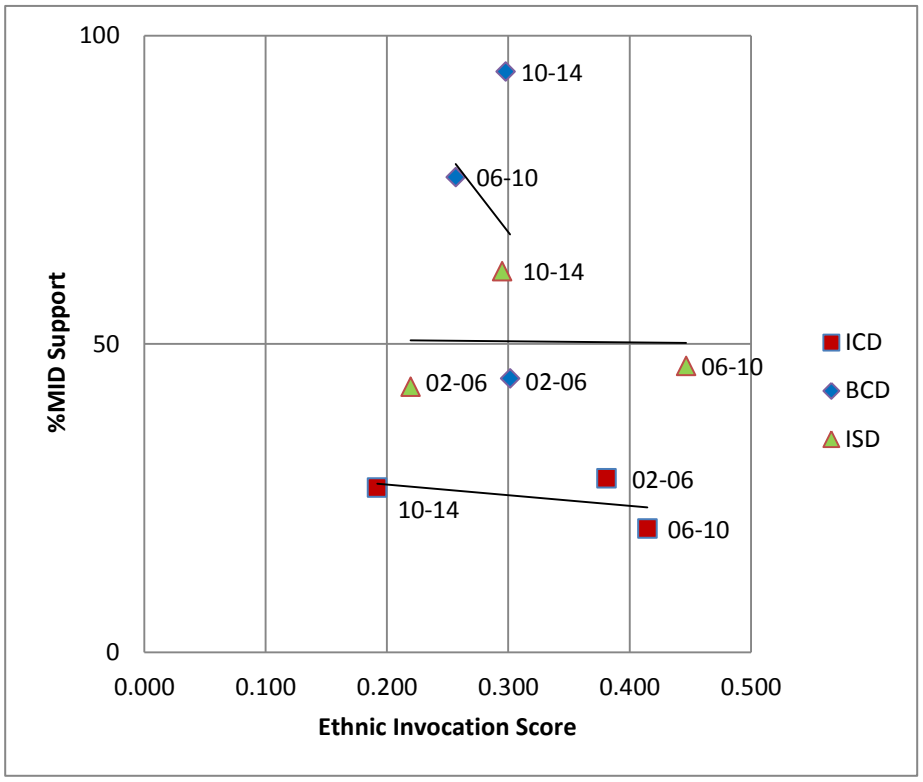
ranging from 55.6 to 80.7% (Range = 25.1). Yet this failed to produce any great variation in EIS, which saw a low of .257 and a high of .302. More importantly, the highest spike in MID support produced a very similar EIS outcome as did the lowest, indicating that the district rate of MID support had little, if any, impact on the invoking of Black identity. The ISD observations come closest to lending support for the expected outcome, although this is tenuous given that lower MID support in 2006—relative to

Figure 4.2. MID Support and Ethnic Invocation Scores (District-year level, MID Support from all candidate lists)



2010—is associated with the highest EIS for the following legislative cycle. Reasoning that broader district outcomes might matter less to district winners than their own list's support, I also tested for the effect of MID support from winning lists only. Figure 4.3 shows that a focus on MID support for winning lists brought only small changes. The

Figure 4.3. MID Support and EIS (District-year Level, Winners Only)

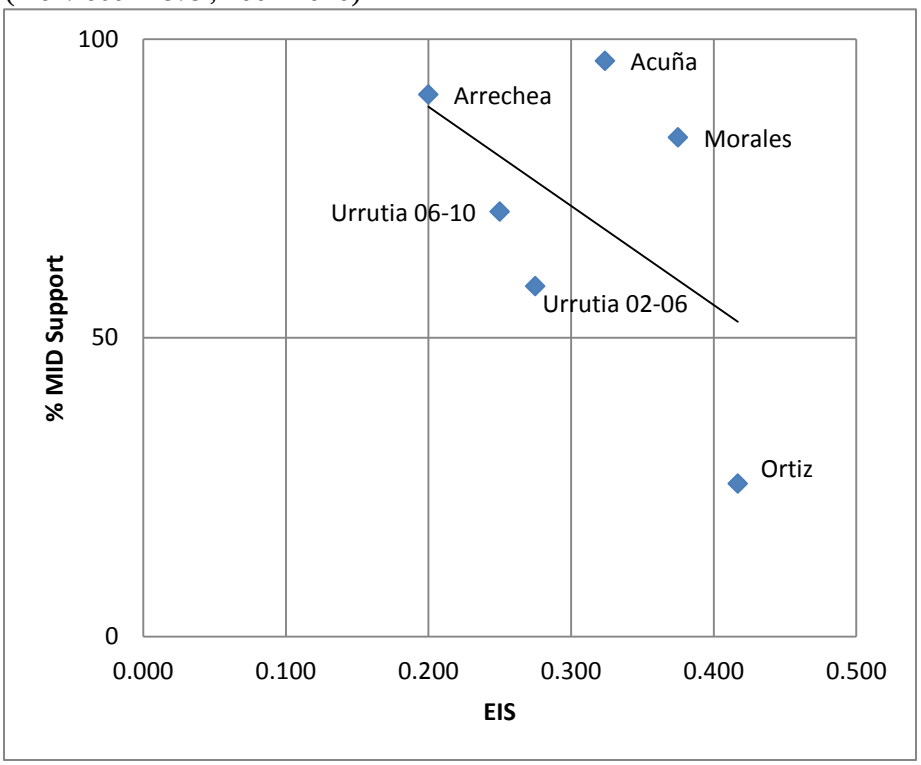


trend for the ICD continued to be slightly downward. Furthermore, the slightly positive trends in the ISD and BCD from Figure 4.2 change direction. These district-leveloutcomes indicate two main possibilities; first, that MID support is inconsequential to a representative's willingness/capacity to invoke minority identity; second—and less obvious—that this effect may be obscured at the district level and requires zooming in to the level of the individual representative.

Table 4.1 provides a first glimpse at EIS outcomes at the individual (representative) level. Individual scores ranged from a low of .192 (Hernando Hernandez, ICD) to a high of .451 (Jesus Piñacue, ISD). The data reveal sharp variations in

individual activity, with some representatives stepping to the podium over 100 times while others appear to have a marked inclination for introversion, in some cases speaking just a handful of times over a four year mandate. There appears to be no particular order to the EIS variation in the BCD across cycles or representatives. This suggests that none of the congresses under study presented an agenda that brought greater opportunities to introduce Afro identity, somewhat lessening the damage of one of the mentioned weaknesses herein. Even so, this remains difficult to substantiate without having

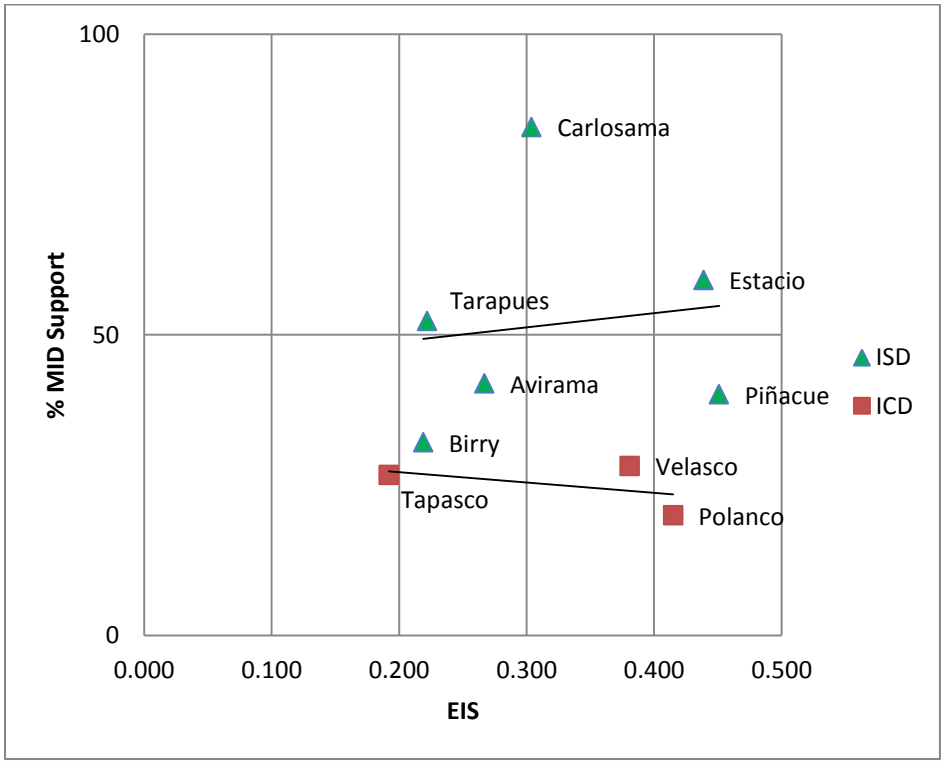
Figure 4.4. MID Support and Ethnic Invocation Scores for the BCD (Individual Level, 2002-2010)



performed a content analysis of all laws deliberated across cycles. The ISD, contrarily, is marked by close scores between representatives sharing the same cycle. In other words, ISD representatives do not deviate greatly from colleagues with whom they sat in office.

It is therefore possible that representative EIS is a function of the agenda—particularly in 2006-2010, where the observations are notably high in both the ISD *and* the ICD. Again, this cannot be confirmed with the present data, but I will revisit this when the focus turns to the *nature* of ethno-racial invocations.

Figure 4.5. MID Support and Ethnic Invocation Scores for the ICD and ISD (Individual Level, 2002-2010)



I expected to observe a positive relationship between the percent of MID support and EIS outcomes, reasoning that a more robust minority support base would lead to higher identity invocation rates. Individual-level scatterplots of MID support and EIS are presented in Figures 4.4 and 4.5, with neither lending great support to expectations. In fact, the data from the BCD (Figure 4.4) indicates that lower MID support rates are *more*

likely to be connected with frequent introductions of minority identity. The ICD observations (Figure 4.5) indicate likewise, although there is little variation in MID support upon which conclusions can be developed. The ISD is once again the minority district with the strongest support for the presented hypotheses, exhibiting a slight upward trend. This provides at least some support for these expectations in regard to the ISD, however weak the relationship.

Table 4.3. Minority Identity Invocations in Coded Speeches (By District, 2002-2014)

	District		
	BCD	**ICD**	**ISD**
Total Speeches (N)	24	16	46
Words Per Speech	623.9	609.9	776.3
Total Invocations	130	108	452
Words Per Invocation	115.2	90.3	79.0
Group Invocations	104	103	431
Words Per Group Invocation	143.9	94.7	82.6
Non-Group Invocations	26	5	21
Words Per NG Invocation	575.9	1951.4	1700.6
Identity Substantively Linked (%)	17 (70.8%)	11 (68.6%)	42 (91.3%)

District-Level Identity Linkages

Table 4.3 provides a broad overview of information from the sample of coded speeches. Measured as the rate of identity invocations per spoken word, ISD representatives mentioned identity most frequently, doing so at a rate of one invocation for every 79

words. Representatives of the ICD were next, mentioning ethnicity at a rate of one invocation for approximately every 90 words. Afro representatives brought identity to the lectern least often, invoking Afro or Indigenous identity once for every 115 spoken words. This cross-district trend continues when "group-specific invocations" are isolated,[9] although the gap widens further from the indigenous districts to the BCD, which invokes Afro identity once for every 144 words. The "non-group invocations" statistic is noteworthy. Representatives of Black Communities were more likely to bring Indigenous identity into the conversation than vice versa, doing so at a rate of one indigenous invocation for every 576 words. This cross-group invocation rate was three to four times greater than those observed for Indigenous representatives. Thus, not only do Indigenous representatives invoke their own identity more often than their Afro-Colombian colleagues, but BCD representatives are more helpful in bringing indigeneity to the discourse than indigenous representatives do for Afro identity. This is a curious statistic given that indigenous representatives have often framed themselves as champions of both indigenous and Afro communities, particularly during the constitutional reform period (Laurent 2005; Agudelo 2002). Interestingly, while BCD representation invokes identity less than ICD lawmakers, they make substantive linkages to issues slightly more (+2.2%), suggesting that ICD representatives are more commonly invoking identity without a clear connection to a policy argument. Finally, ISD representatives make substantive issue-identity linkages most often, doing so over 90% of the time (91.3%). These general results indicate that indigenous identity has been blended

[9] A "group-specific" invocation is a reference that is made to the representative's respective minority group (that for which they serve as a "descriptive" representative). A "non-group" invocation is a mention of the other group's identity, where Indigenous representatives invoke Afro identity and vice versa.

in to the deliberative process with greater facility than Afro identity. What is less clear is whether this is a function of the social perception of the former identity versus the latter. That is to say, I cannot determine if the trope of racial democracy—which connects the dual process of discrimination and ethno-racial mixture— is responsible for the acceptability of indigenous over black identity. It is plausible that contrasting historical treatments of the two groups, in which blacks are often *not* perceived as legitimate

Table 4.4. HHI Scores and Geographic Invocations (By District, 2002-2014)

	District		
	BCD	**ICD**	**ISD**
HHI Scores (Winners Mean)	26.49	11.58	15.84
Total Speeches	24	16	46
Speeches w/ Geo. Invocations	14 (.583)	9 (.563)	31 (.674)
Speeches w/ Muni. Invocation Only	3 (.125)	2 (.125)	4 (.087)
Speeches w/ Dept. Invocation Only	2 (.083)	1 (.063)	11 (.239)
Speeches w/ Region Invocation Only	0 (.000)	1 (.063)	0 (.000)
Speeches w/ Various Levels	9 (.375)	5 (.313)	16 (.348)
Substantive Geography-Issue Linkage	12 (.500)	9 (.563)	27 (.587)
Geography-Identity Linkage (%)	7 (.292)	7 (.777)	29 (.935)

objects of state or intellectual concern, has carried over into institutional politics (Wade 1993, pp. 29-37). Without being dismissive of the importance of historical antecedents, I concede that I do not have sufficient information with which to confirm historical treatment as an explanatory factor. Generating an argument of this ilk is outside of the scope of this project, and thus never its intent. The important message to glean from the frequency of ethnic invocations is that, whatever the cause, indigenous representatives

will have greater opportunities to make substantive linkages with identity, if they are so motivated. This advantage is particularly observable in the Senate, where the insertion of indigeneity into the discourse has been most recurrent.

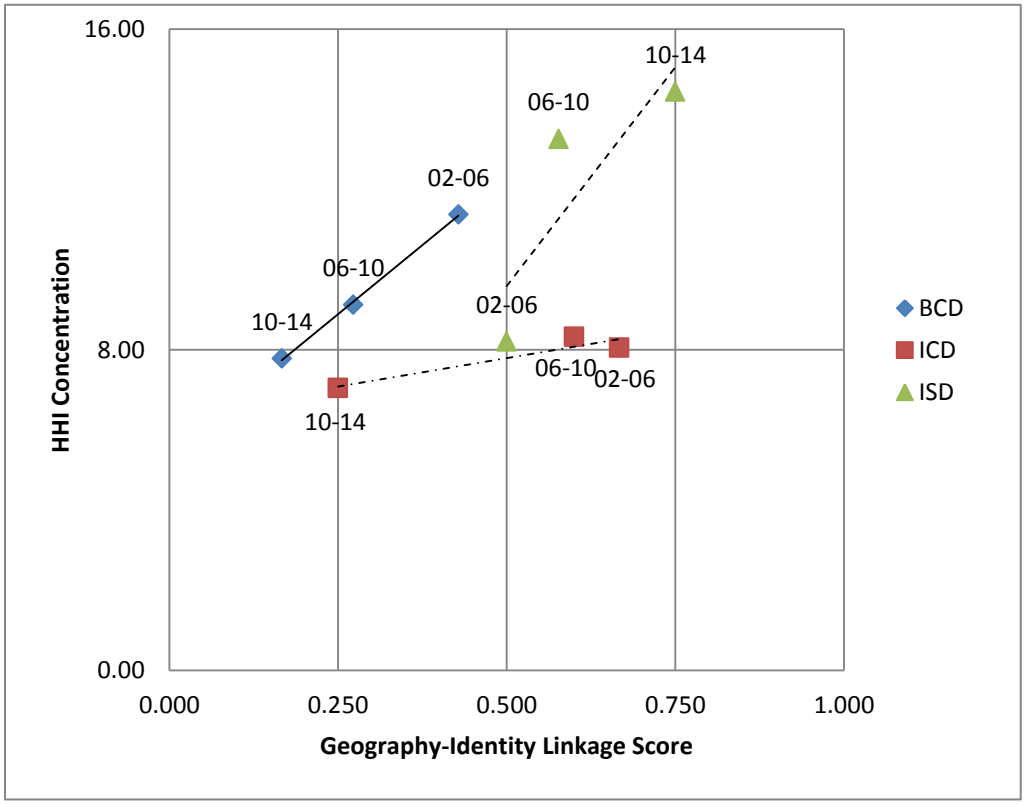
I expected that higher HHI scores would give representatives greater motivation to link minority identity geographic locales.[10] Table 4.4 shows the district-level relationship between HHI and geographic invocation scores. Based on the HHI observations, we would expect the BCD to have the highest tendency to invoke geography as this district showed the most concentrated support (HHI = 26.49). My logic would suggest that this would be followed by the ISD (HHI = 15.84) and then the ICD (HHI = 11.58). The displayed outcomes tell a slightly different story. Relative to ICD representatives, those from the BCD do invoke geographic locales with slightly more frequency, but the negligible difference (.020) is hardly commensurate with the wide HHI gap (+14.91 HHI points). Furthermore, ISD representatives also invoked locales less often than the BCD, despite the lower HHI figure (-10.65 points). Most importantly, BCD representatives linked Afro identity to geography far less than did Indigenous representation. They made these connections in 29.2% of speeches. Making linkages between Afro identity and geography almost a third of the time is not inconsequential. It demonstrates that BCD representatives were indeed making connections between constituent identity with localities and departments. Comparatively speaking, however, this rate is paltry. ISD representatives linked identity with geography in 93.5% of speeches, while their partners in the ICD did so 77.7% of the time. This district-level data

[10] Sub-national levels of government included here are the department and municipality. Where a representative mentions a neighborhood, collective territory, or Indigenous reservation, this information was added to the corresponding municipality and department in which they are located.

suggests that a more clearly defined geographic constituency—at least for Afro-Colombians—does not motivate the defense of specific minority communities. The higher concentration in the ISD has delivered more geographic invocations, as well as linkages between Indigenous identity and communities.

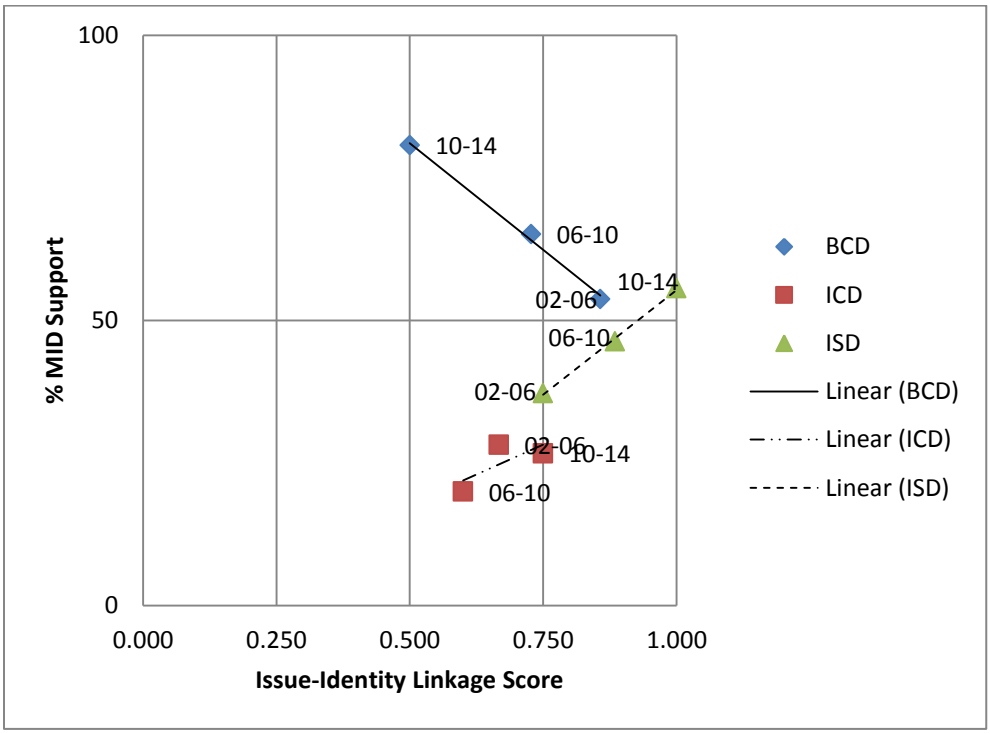
Figure 4.6 zooms in to the level of the district-year. As expected, the relationship between HHI and geography-identity linkages is positive for all districts. The ICD exhibits the weakest relationship, while the correlations for both the BCD and ISD are considerably strong. Also notable is the contrasting chronological tendencies between the

Figure 4.6. HHI Concentration and Geography-Identity Linkage Scores (District-year Level, All Districts)



BCD and ICD, on one hand, and the ISD on the other. Representatives of the former two districts generated their lowest combined HHI and linkage scores in the most recent period (2010-2014) and their highest in the most distant (2002-2006), in essence seeing a decrease in the geography-identity linkages over time. Contrarily, the latter district makes these connections with increasing frequency as time moves forward.[11]

Figure 4.7. MID Support and Issue-Identity Linkages (District-Year Level)

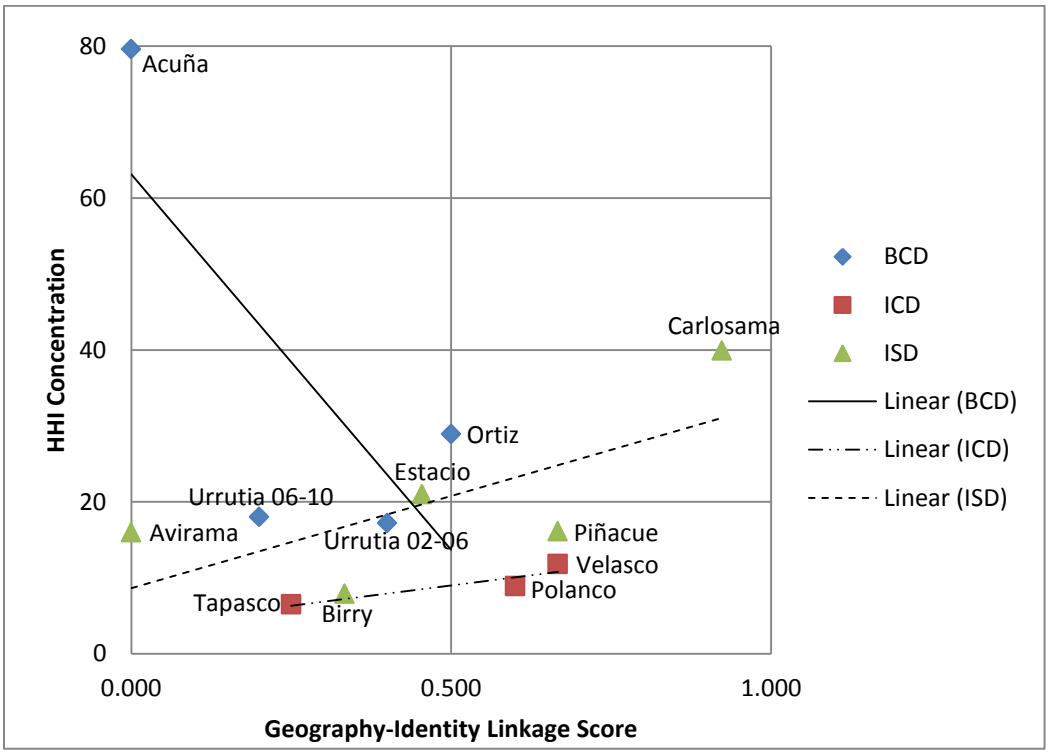


[11] To test spuriousness of this relationship, I also plotted the relationship between MID support and issue-identity linkages. To a degree, the results clash. Both the BCD and ICD bring lower linkage scores when MID support was highest. The ISD again produced a markedly positive trend. My reasoning dictates that vote concentration should have a conspicuous impact on a lawmaker's tendency to tie identity with sub-national locales. The rate of support from minority departments, in contrast, does nothing to describe geographic support patterns. Thus the uneven results in for MID support and geography-identity linkages are consistent with my logic.

Rates of MID support are expected to have a positive effect on the coupling of identity and issues. Figure 4.7 shows that this expectation held true for both Indigenous districts. Each saw greater output from representatives in regard to making substantive connections between group identity and policy arguments when MID support was elevated. In fact, every single speech coded for the 2010-2014 legislative session made the issue-identity association, a period which came on the heels of the highest Indigenous MID vote share (55.6% in 2010). The BCD sits in stark contrast, displaying an unmistakably negative relationship. This is by no means a justification for vilifying black representation. Representatives of the BCD are still linking Afro identity with issues quite often, anywhere between 53.7 % (2010-2014) and 80.7% (2002-2006) of the time. This is almost on par with their Indigenous colleagues. Good performance aside, though, the apparent negative influence of MID support defies my expectations and prompts the need to consider the theoretical fallout. Two explanations come to mind—either 1) there is some other deliberative factor that is driving the linkage of identity with policy positions (the agenda perhaps), *or* 2) that the departmental origins of BCD support is of little consequence to black representatives. They may seek to link identity to issues wherever prudent and reasonable, simply because their mandate was granted through institutional affirmative action. Patterns of electoral support may be of secondary concern, if any at all. If this is the case, it jogs another curiosity: why might electoral results carry greater weight for Indigenous representatives? Answers may lie in individual-level data. It is possible that when MID support is highly concentrated in one or two departments, a more parochial approach to minority representation is incentivized,

perhaps resulting in a narrower understanding of minority issues and thus less opportunities to invoke and make connections with minority identity.

Figure 4.8. HHI and Geography-Identity Linkages (Representative Level, All Districts)



Representative-Level Identity and Geographic Representation

Figure 4.8 shows the relationship between individual HHI outcomes and geography-identity linkage scores.[12] As the graphic demonstrates, the ISD relationship remains positive, as increases in HHI result in more associations between identity and sub-

[12] Although the measured relationship is the same, these results will not mirror those observed in Figure 4.6, as this data only includes representatives with a minimum of three coded speeches from the random sample. This standard prompted the exclusion of two BCD representatives (Heriberto Arrechea, 2010-2014; Silfrido Morales, 2006-2010) and one ICD representative (Efrén Tarapues, 2002-2006).

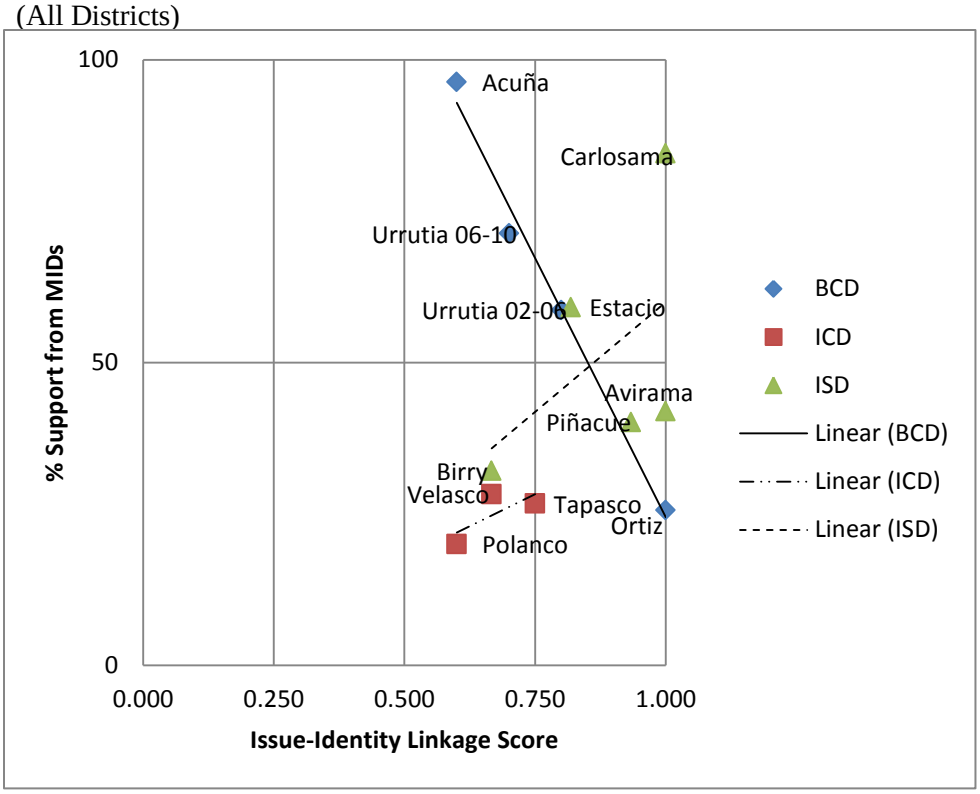
national locales. The wide range of identity linkage scores across districts lessens the probability that the representational format of the Senate—national rather than departmental—makes it more difficult to link identity with geography. The ICD presentation is mainly for visual comparison, as consistency with previous outcomes is inevitable (there is only one representative per legislative period). That is to say, neither

Figure 4.8: HHI Concentration and Geography-Identity Linkage Scores (Representative Level)

HHI nor linkage scores can be disaggregated from district-year to individual. The BCD plots are thought provoking. The disaggregation of statistics to the level of the representative—and the exclusion of two scantly coded individuals—produces a shift from a positive HHI-Geography linkage relationship to an unequivocally negative slant. Moreover, the plots reveal that this negative shift is largely responsible to a single outlier (Yahir Acuña) who exhibits the largest HHI on record (all years and districts) but does not link identity with geography on any occasion. Acuña's mandate for the 2010-2014 legislative period came primarily from the department of Sucre, an MID situated on the Caribbean side of the country. The *sucreño* vote amounted to 89.1% of Acuña's national vote, hence the remarkably high HHI and rate of MID support. These figures were counterbalanced by his accompanying colleague, Heriberto Arrechea, in the previous figure. Acuña's large support from his home department is not remarkably out of place. He has a strong political trajectory in the area, first elected to the *concejo* of Sincelejo, the department's capitol, and shortly after to the departmental assembly. More troubling, though, is his alliance with the right and ongoing investigations into his alleged ties with paramilitary organizations. To be fair, allegations have yet to stick—although his distance from them can be sincerely questioned ("Se salvó de la carcel investigador del expresidente Uribe", 2013; "Los casos pendientes de Yahir Acuña", 2014). Darker

accusations aside, Mr. Acuña can nary dodge the label of the clientelistic politician, purchasing local votes with favors in recent campaigns (Arrieta 2014). The Acuña case illustrates that high HHI scores might only lead to geography-identity linkages when traditional patronage networks are not overriding the salience of group identity. It is also worth pointing out that Acuña's term in office (2010-2014) is the one with the weakest identity linkage scores for each observed relationship (see Figures 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8). My

Figure 4.9. Representative-Level MID Support and Issue-Identity Linkages (All Districts)



interpretation is that Acuña has the tendency of dragging down district-year scores for that period. To be clear, he does invoke identity and link it to issues, as I demonstrate below. But the lack of geography-identity associations indicates that his local affiliations

are not of the ethno-racial ilk. Otherwise he would at some point make a connection between his home department (Sucre)—which he does invoke in 40% of speeches—with Afro issues.

Figure 4.9 turns our attention back to the matter of MID support and issue-identity linkages. In this case, the directionality of each relationship mirrors the district-year observations. The ISD maintains a strong growth in issue-identity associations as MID support increases. Both German Carlosama and Marco Anibal Avirama made such linkages in every coded speech. Carlosama's score is most striking, given the large sample of coded speeches (N=13). He was also shown to be the strongest in regard to connecting Indigenous identity with geographic locations (see Figure 9 above). It merits noting that Carlosama and Avirama's issue-identity scores, the highest two produced, are from the same period (2010-2014). This hints again at the possibility that the agenda in the Senate during this latest season was particularly amenable to invoking Indigenous identity. This possibility is downplayed, however, by the thorough *inability* of Avirama to link identity with geography, where his score was nil. Carlosama was also productive in that regard (92.3% of coded speeches), an expected outcome given his higher vote concentration. In fairness to Avirama, geography-identity linkage scores were generally much lower than issue-identity scores. Nevertheless, the extreme variation between his two scores leaves some doubt that the agenda is mostly responsible for the observed output.

The BCD again presents an unexpected downward trend, with *less* MID support resulting in *more* issue-identity associations. In addition, the plot thickens in the case of

Yahir Acuña. The absence of geography-identity linkages is followed by an issue-identity linkage rate of 60%. In other words, it is not that Acuña is failing to invoke identity and associate it with substantive arguments. On the contrary, he is doing this in over half of his speeches. He just does not seem inclined to do so with geographic locales. It would take a more nuanced look at Acuña's invocations to better understand his tendencies. For now, it appears that his speeches mention either the demands of a geographic population or an Afro position on an issue, but not both. It is possible that his identity invocations are merely a move to satisfy the electoral mandate effect discussed above, and thus akin to a type-casted actor being forced to speak lines befitting their role. Whatever the reason, his case speaks against the theory constructed here, as his extremely high HHI and MID support should result in the linkage of identity with issues *and* geography. After all, if he is a champion of Afro issues and almost 90% of his support is from Sucre, then my reasoning dictates that he should ultimately seek to represent *sucreño* Afro-Colombians. This data does not clearly demonstrate such a connection.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The seats allocated to Colombian minority groups provide them with a mere fraction of congressional representation, a circumstance that hinders their ability to achieve the "outcome oriented" benefits commonly associated with substantive representation. This fact heightens the importance of the deliberative aspect of representation, the "talk function" that is most amenable to making claims about the group's interests on any given issue. Further, if we move beyond cynical takes on parliamentary rhetoric—which

view plenaries as platforms for political showmanship—we can harness the critical aspect of representation that takes place when a legislator "stands for" minority constituents by invoking group identity.

Viewing identity invocations as a form of substantive representation, this chapter assessed the impact of constituency formation in minority districts on representative behavior. Specifically, it measured the relationship between MID support and HHI concentration scores on ethnic invocations and the linkage of identity to issues and geography. I tested this relationship at the district-year and individual (representative) levels, theoretically expecting that higher MID support and HHI scores would induce more group identity invocations and the linkage of identity with issues and geography.

The observations from reserved seats in Colombia deliver mixed findings. Most notably, scores at the individual (representative) level showed that higher rates of MID support were linked with higher EIS figures in the ISD only, where the relationship was slightly positive. Individual level HHI scores were more aligned with expectations: both indigenous districts produced higher geography-identity linkages as HHI increased. Largely due to the outlier of Yahir Acuña, the BCD produces a negative relationship between these two variables. Further, this pattern is followed in regard to the relationship between MID support and issue-identity linkages. Indigenous districts—particularly the ISD—show a positive relationship between these indicators, while the BCD presented a sharply negative relationship.

Constituency outcomes do not exert an influence on the behavior of BCD representatives—at least not in the ways theorized here. This does not, however, suggest

a lack of *capacity* or *desire* to use identity as a deliberative tool. As was revealed by the sample of coded speeches, BCD representatives make substantive issue-identity linkages at a greater rate than ICD representatives. Notwithstanding this observation, BCD representatives collectively stand apart as the least conscious of constituency outcomes. This prompts a new question: Why are ISD and ICD representatives more sensitive to constituency and electoral outcomes?

A potential answer lies in an interesting observation: indigenous representatives are less likely to mention Afro identity than the reverse. This suggests that indigeneity is more legitimate and salient than *negritud* in political circles, a circumstance that others have made note of when assessing the inchoate nature of the Afro-Colombian vote (Agudelo 2002). By mentioning this, I mean to point out that the BCD outcomes diverge from expectations due to increased difficulty in linking identity with issues and geography more broadly. Black representatives mention identity just as much, but making substantive connections is slightly more challenging.

It cannot go unremarked that BCD representation, on average, produced the highest HHI concentration across all districts. But rather than facilitate more geography-identity linkages, a more concentrated support base appears to be an indicator of patronage networks that can have little to do with black politics. The Yahir Acuña case clearly illustrates this dynamic. Geography is invoked often, as is identity. But the two are rarely connected. He seems more concerned with addressing the issues of people in Sucre rather than *afro-sucreños* specifically, while also being sure to pay lip service to

the quotas target group. This case hints at needed revisions or caveats in regard to the expected impact of vote concentration patterns.

CHAPTER 5: MINORITY DISTRICTS AND EMPOWERMENT: ASSESSING THE LINKAGES BETWEEN MINORITY CANDIDATE SUPPORT AND VOTER TURNOUT IN MINORITY-MAJORITY MUNICIPALITIES

Inclusive and broad participation is central to the quality of representation and democratic processes. Recognizing this, social scientists have dedicated vast resources to identifying the factors that influence an individual's decision to engage in the political process, often citing factors such as income and education (e.g., Verba and Nye 1972; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). Others have moved away from these individual-level factors to consider the role of the political context, in essence arguing that the decision to participate is not an exclusively internal matter (e.g., Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Tate 1991, 1994). On the heels of this empirical shift to systemic explanations, studies have assessed whether variations in minority political power affect minority engagement (Gilliam 1996; Gilliam and Kaufman 1998; Kaufman 1999). These studies most commonly focus on U.S. minorities and systematically observe the historical paucity of minority turnout in comparison with that of white Americans (e.g. Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Verba and Nie 1972). The lagging rate of minority participation, it is posited, is largely a function of the lack of trust between minorities and government that is induced by their exclusion from the system, culminating in disinterest and disempowerment (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Howell and Fagan 1988).

Scholars have since delivered empirical findings that support the "minority empowerment" thesis. Tate (1991) demonstrated that the Democratic presidential primary candidacy of Jesse Jackson produced increases in Black participation in 1984 and 1988, while Washington (2006) observed an increase in both Black and white (overall) turnout when Black congressional candidates appeared. In addition, similar outcomes were observed for Latino populations when a group member is featured on the ballot (Barreto 2007; Barreto, Segura, and Woods 2004). Zooming to the local level, Lublin and Tate

(1995) showed similar increases in turnout when a Black politician was among mayoral candidates, while Bobo and Gilliam (1990) concluded that Blacks were more likely to vote when they lived in "minority empowerment zones."[1] In connection with these empirical studies, Dawson (1995) theorizes that a minority utility heuristic is at work when minority citizens weigh participation. This utility heuristic, the argument suggests, motivates minority citizens because they make connections between their own interests and those of the group. In electoral settings, these interests are embodied by the minority candidate. Consequently, there is a perception of "linked fate" that leads minority citizens to relate the success of descriptive candidates with their own advancement. This speaks back to Mansbridge's (1999) insistence on the salience of "mutual experiences", as well as Young's (1989) argument that shared histories matter. That is to say, it is the shared experience of historical marginalization that allows identity to signal common stakes and victories—and perhaps defeats, as well—to group members. In the language of Pitkin, common group experiences are the fuel that drives the *symbolic* attachment between constituents and representatives. Ergo, inclusive measures do not only intend to increase minority presence in institutions. They are also meant to foster minority advancement in all areas of society (Htun and Jones 2002; Kudva 2003), including heightened self-esteem and confidence (Nanivadekar 2006), increased contact between citizens and representatives (Kudva 2003), and, most importantly, observable increases in the political engagement of minorities (Krook 2006). In sum, it has been shown that the consequences of affirmative action measures extend beyond substantive representation in institutions.

[1] Bobo and Gilliam (1990) defined the concept of the "minority empowerment zone" as a locality in which a Black politician held the mayor's office.

Latin American studies focusing on ethno-racial minorities and institutions have recently grown exponentially, assessing such dynamics as ethnic party formation and performance (Madrid 2012; Rice 2011; Rice and Van Cott 2006; Van Cott 2005), the linkages between indigenous people and ethnic electoral organizations (Laurent 2002), electoral behavior for indigenous populations (Madrid 2005b; Laurent 2010), and electoral behavior and outcomes for Afrolatinos (Agudelo 2002; Agudelo, Hoffmann and Rivas 1999). But even as this body of scholarship matures, key voids remain. First, despite the coexistence of both Indian and Afro-Latino politicization, scholars have not energetically pursued comparisons between indigenous and Black politics in the region.[2] Most importantly here, the minority empowerment thesis has yet to be tested for Latin American ethnic minorities. This chapter seeks to address this gap by conducting an analysis of the impact of reserved seat quotas on turnout in minority-majority municipalities in Colombia. I measure this connection by testing the linkage between votes cast for minority district candidates and rates of participation in minority-majority municipalities. Put otherwise, I measure whether ethnic minority communities that are strongly linked to the minority district vote also see greater turnout figures, the latter understood here as an indicator of minority empowerment. In essence, this chapter seeks to determine whether the Colombian reserved seat policies produce similar symbolic outcomes as those observed elsewhere, including. Further, we are entirely unaware of the comparative impacts that reserved seats have had for the two target groups. Do minority-

[2] There are a few notable exceptions. Taking a regional approach, Hooker's (2005) piece that highlights the disparity in a collective rights gained by indigenous groups versus Afro-Latinos in multi-cultural reforms. Chapter 3 of Van Cott's (2000) earlier book also sheds light on some of the comparative development of Afro-Colombian social movements versus Indian Colombians while highlighting each group's involvement in the National Constituent Assembly. Finally, Sanchez et al. (1993) perform another single-state comparison of the involvement and outcomes for each group following the constitutional reform process in Colombia.

majority municipalities with stronger electoral linkages to minority districts also exhibit higher rates of participation in elections? Has either target group experienced a greater sense of empowerment as a result of minority districts? To my knowledge, a systematic and cross-identity analysis of this ilk has yet to be conducted in the region. As such, the conclusions derived will make a key contribution to the minority empowerment and Latin American ethnic politics literatures.

Following those who find support for the minority empowerment thesis, the main expectation of this study is that minority-majority municipalities exhibiting strong support for minority district candidates will also see higher voter turnout. There are also two subsequent expectations that are assessed comparatively. First, and due to a longer history of group recognition by mainstream society, I expect to observe a more pronounced positive relationship between minority district support and participation in indigenous versus Afro-Colombian minority-majority municipalities. This stems from the historical fact that "indigeneity" was preserved as part of the national Colombian identity far more than "negritude" (Wade 1993), a historical circumstance that makes it more likely that a strong sense of group consciousness has taken form in the indigenous case.[3] Additionally, Agudelo (2002) has noted that the fragmentation which typifies the Black vote is symptomatic of a lack of group solidarity. We can expect the delicate cohesiveness of Black communities to be accompanied by a lower probability to experience empowerment as a result of identity-driven quotas. Finally, and taking the

[3] A psychological theory called the "ethnic community approach" holds that membership in a disadvantaged minority community leads group members to develop strong feelings of group consciousness. A potential product of this awareness is the emergence of group calls for political action, particularly for the purpose of improving the status of the community (Miller et al 1981; Olsen 1970; Verba and Nie 1972).

form of a cross-institutional comparison, I expect strong electoral linkages to the indigenous senate district (ISD) to produce a more formidable positive relationship with turnout in indigenous minority-majority municipalities than does support for the indigenous chamber district (ICD). I expect this to be the case due to the higher visibility of the ISD, which guarantees representation in a smaller and more prestigious institution. This is, in part, an extension of Zetterberg's (2009) argument that "signal effects"—the "interpretive effects" that policies have on masses—are heightened when the policies are both salient and perceived to have real impacts for constituents. In other words, minorities must perceive inclusive measures to have a true impact in their lives in order for these mandates to affect their perceptions of government. It is more likely that this will be the case when minority district candidates are both more visible and will constitute a larger proportion of institutional actors once elected to office (2 out of 102 in the senate vs. 1 out of 166 in the house). Thus, the salience and potential efficacy of indigenous representatives in the upper chamber should enhance their impact on symbolic empowerment.

This study capitalizes on a unique opportunity to compare the effects of reserved seat policies for both Afro and indigenous Latinos. This is due to advantageousness of the Colombian context, in which both minorities have seat reservations in the *Congreso Nacional*. The particularity of the case, however, does not confine the importance any potential conclusions. On the contrary, it allows for further development of a growing body of institutional literature by offering a means for comparing the impact of minority candidates across minority groups, while also holding constant the variables commonly used to explain cross-national variation (Gray and Caul 2000). This is a promising set of

conditions for making a substantial contribution to the literature on minority empowerment and the impact of representational quotas, as it isolates the effects that minority presence in elections has on ethnic voters.

Capitalizing on the implementation of both indigenous and Afro-Colombian seat reservations, this paper conducts a comparative (cross-identity) analysis with the goal of identifying the contexts in which higher rates of support for minority candidates is linked to minority empowerment. I examine this question from a cross-municipal perspective, analyzing voter turnout for minority-majority municipalities across five election cycles. All of the electoral data utilized here was acquired from the *Registraduria Nacional de Colombia*, while the population data used to identify minority-majority municipalities were acquired from the *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadisticas* (DANE) of Colombia. The analysis reveals that indigenous candidates are more likely to have significant impact on overall turnout rates in indigenous-majority municipalities than Afro-Colombian candidates. The latter group of candidates do not exhibit a significant impact on turnout in Afro-majority municipalities, in most cases. Thus, indigenous candidates appear to have greater empowerment effects for group members than do Black candidates. Equally important, I find that the strength of the relationship between minority roll candidates and voters is strengthened when we make the analysis exclusive to the Pacific littoral. It therefore appears that the salience of ethnicity and race does not just vary across minority groups, but also across geographical contexts.

Before proceeding, I would like to make a note regarding the use of the term "minority empowerment." As will be illustrated in the following section, I restrict the use of this term to ideas specific to the concept of minority political engagement. I do not—

and with my data, I believe I *cannot*—make claims regarding changes in the agency for any set of minority actors. That is to say, the use of the word "empowerment" should not be understood to present arguments about the ability of minorities to enact change, alter their collective social standing, or become a more formidable vehicle of public policy. Rather, it is a reflection of minority political participation, which may or may not facilitate more substantive outcomes. It is clear that simple changes in voter turnout do little to explain changes in inter-group power dynamics. Such an assessment would require far more intricate and involved measures. But I also view the term to be apropos, primarily because it begins to describe the *potential power* of minority groups and captures the positive "feelings" that group members acquire due to greater inclusion. Black voters participate more, for example, because inclusion makes political processes potentially more valuable to them.

DATA, MEASURES, AND PROCEDURES

To examine the relationship between rates of minority district support on minority turnout, I relied on both electoral and census data from governmental sources. The electoral data used was mined during fieldwork from the *Registraduria Nacional de Colombia,* while the population data was acquired remotely via the *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadicas* (DANE). Both data types were compiled at the municipal level. The population data utilized came from the 2005 Colombian census conducted by the DANE, the earliest census cycle for which municipal-level ethnicity data was available. Electoral data was mined for each election cycle between 1991 and 2010 (6 cycles total). It should be noted that electoral data for the 1998 cycle was not

available at the municipal level for minority rolls, thus an analysis of minority turnout in connection with minority rolls was not possible for that cycle. The models for predicting turnout in MMMs also include various controls for district competitiveness and the availability of polling stations. The main independent variable (IV) of interest is *the proportion of municipal votes cast for minority district candidates* in the BCD, the ISD, or the ICD. This independent variable is calculated as the percentage of votes that were cast for the pertinent roll of minority candidates (proportion of minority votes cast = votes cast for minority district candidates ÷ total votes cast in the municipality). The dependent variable dependent variable is *rate of voter turnout* and is calculated as the percentage of registered voters who casted ballots at the municipal level.[4]

Original implementation of Colombian seat reservations occurred in 1991 for indigenous communities, who received 2 (out of 102 total) seats in the Colombian senate immediately after the conclusion of constitutional reform. This seat reservation policy has remained uninterrupted, now spanning six election cycles (1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010), five of which are included in the analysis due to the inaccessibility of the 1998 data. In 2002, indigenous communities also gained one additional seat (out of 166), this time in the lower house. Black communities first gained 2 reserved seats (also out of 166) in the Colombian house during the second post-reform legislative period (1994-1998). Consequently, the first election including a Black minority roll occurred in 1994. This policy, however, saw a gap in implementation in the subsequent cycle (1998-2002) due to a legal struggle regarding the constitutionality of the measure. After being reinstituted for the 2002-2006 cycle, the policy has since remained in place. The Afro-Colombian

[4] Voter turnout among registered voters was the only statistic available from the Colombian National Registrar, which does not calculate abstention rates based on the total voting age population (VAP).

minority roll has therefore been present across 4 electoral cycles (1994, 2002, 2006, and 2010), all of which are included here.

Due to the fact that it is impossible to determine the identity of voters, the nature of seat reservation implementation in Colombia requires special procedures to maximize the probability that a vote for minority candidates came from a Black or indigenous voter. In order to more safely assume that minority roll participation was primarily a function of minority voters, data was compiled at the municipal level including only municipalities that are predominantly Black or indigenous (70% or more of either group, but not both combined). The 2005 census data acquired through the DANE was used to determine the ethno-racial makeup of each Colombian municipality. All municipalities not reaching the 70% threshold for either group were excluded from the analysis. This threshold was utilized for three reasons. First, the threshold is consistent with the nature of the study, which seeks to link votes cast for minority candidates with changes in minority turnout. In order to perform this type of analysis, given the nature of the data and inability to determine voter identity, it is necessary to only include minority districts in the analysis. It would otherwise be impossible to determine the specific effect of reserved seat candidates on minority empowerment. Second, a 70% minority-majority municipality (MMM) according to 2005 census data can be more safely classified as such across all election cycles. A simple minority-majority (50% +1) on the other hand could possibly have seen demographic changes that might alter its classification across election cycles, which span almost twenty years (1991-2010) and includes years that are up to twelve years prior to the collection of population figures. Thus, if a simple majority was used the likelihood that excludable cases were wrongly included would be increased. The third

reason for this threshold is that it functions to lend more credibility to the results by further maximizing the assumption that minority roll votes came from minority voters. This procedure for identifying MMMs is a necessary step for approximating the impact that minority districts had on minority voters as it makes it increasingly likely that the voter turnout figures included in the analysis are a reflection of Black and indigenous voter behavior. Including data for non-MMMs would greatly jeopardize this required assumption.

Because these data were compiled at the municipal level and are specific to the election year, the unit of analysis for this study is the *municipality-year*. The total number of minority-majority municipalities included in the analysis was 82, with some attrition of cases across cycles due to inconsistencies in data or the non-existence of certain municipalities in earlier years. Sixty of these municipalities were classified as Afro-majority municipalities (AMMs), most of which were analyzed across four elections cycles (1994, 2002, 2006, 2010). The remaining 22 were classified as Indigenous-majority municipalities (IMMs), with the majority of these analyzed across six election cycles (1991, 1994, 2002, 2006, 2010). After excluding cases with gaps in data and adding the pertinent electoral years to each municipality, the total number of cases include came to 382 (N = 382). Two hundred seventy-three of these municipality-year cases were AMMs, with IMMs making up the remainder (109).

The final sample size is formidable and allows for a multivariate linear regression in order to measure the relationship between the IV (minority candidate support) and DV (overall voter turnout in MMMs). In order to control for other electoral dynamics, I also included four dichotomous district competitiveness measures. Representation for the

Chamber of Deputies is elected at the department level. Ergo, these measures are intended to denote the inter-partisan competition in the department's lower house elections. This is captured for both the previous and current election. These measures include the following:

1) Whether a single party won more than 70% of department seats in the previous election (PREVSEATCOMP; 1 = No, 0 = Yes).
2) Whether a single party won more than 70% of department seats in the current election (SEATCOMP; 1 = No, 0 = Yes).
3) Whether 3 or more parties gained seats in the district in the previous election (PREVPARTYCOMP; 1 = Yes, 0 = No).
4) Whether 3 or more parties gained seats in the district in the previous election (PREVPARTYCOMP; 1 = Yes, 0 = No).

These measures essentially took into account the tendency of a single party to dominate a district *or* the ability of tertiary political parties to win seats.[5] As I have designed them, a dichotomous classification of "1" indicates that the district was/is competitive in nature. If more than two parties acquired seats in the previous house election, for example, this was understood as a competitive election. The party competitiveness measure was particularly useful for departments with district magnitudes higher than five, where there is greater chance for tertiary party success. The seat allocation aspect sought to capture instances of single party dominance. If a single party won more than 70% of available seats the district was considered *non-competitive* (e.g. winning three out of four available seats). This measure was more amenable to districts with smaller magnitudes in which it was unlikely *or* impossible—in the case of two-seat

[5] Two points must be added here. First, the nature of the Colombian party system is historically two party dominant, with the Liberal and Conservative parties operating under the quasi-oligarchical pact known as the National Front. Consequently, any election in which a tertiary party was capable of acquiring seats can legitimately be viewed as particularly competitive, whether that tertiary party was lasting or effervescent (temporary coalitions notwithstanding). Second, house races are conducted at the departmental level, one governmental level above the municipal. Thus, all party competitiveness measures are necessarily compiled at the departmental level rather than the municipal.

districts—for a third party to win a seat. The final intervening variable taken into account is the *availability of polling stations*, here operationalized as the number of polling stations per registered voter in a municipality, all multiplied by 1000 in order to deliver integers greater than 1 (polling stations/registered voters X 1000). The theory behind the polling stations variable is that a higher number of polling stations per registered voter may decrease the costs of participation by offering easier access to a nearby polling station *and* possibly a decrease in waiting time where more polling stations are present. Both of these factors may impact an individual's decision to participate due to an alteration in the cost-benefit analysis attached to the voting process.

DATA ANALYSIS

I estimated the models using a time-series cross-sectional (TSCS) analysis. This entailed running series of OLS models that included dummy variables for each MMM to correct for municipality-specific effects. The Durbin-Watson (DW) statistic is used to test correlation among the residuals. The desired range for DW outcomes is between 1.50 and 2.50. A score closes to 2.0 indicates non-autocorrelation, while a value closer to 0 indicates positive autocorrelation and a score closer to 4 suggests negative autocorrelation. In an attempt to assess the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable in a particular context, I also ran additional models that isolated MMMs in the Pacific Region.

The model outcomes in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 demonstrate the stipulated relationships for AMMs. We should first note that for each model the Pearson's R

correlations are moderately positive and significant, though the correlation is higher when Pacific region AMMs are isolated. The DW statistic for all IMMs falls just below the desired range (1.382), suggesting that there is a slight positive autocorrelation tendency. The Pacific region DW falls just within the range (1.561). Interestingly, the single factor with statistical significance in both models is the party competitiveness dummy for the current election (-5.606 and -9.167). This is a curious indicator, as it suggests that competitive districts tend to produce lower turnout in MMMs. More importantly, however, is the fact that the rate of minority district support shows contrasting outcomes between the two models. When all cases are

Table 5.1. Impact of BCD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Lower HouseParticipation in Afro-Majority Municipalities (All Cases)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	50.450***	3.635
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	-.103	.060
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	3.062	3.775
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	2.233	2.591
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	-5.596	3.718
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	-5.606**	1.942
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	-.586	.857
Number of Cases	223	
Durbin-Watson	1.382	
Pearson's R	.271*	
Adjusted R^2	.048	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

included (Table 5.1) the rate of minority district support actually has a negative impact on turnout (-.103). When MMMs of the Pacific are isolated, the direction flips (.210).

Neither of these correlations, however, are significant. It is therefore difficult to conclude with certainty that this relationship is not spurious. It is still worth noting that the relationship between BCD support and turnout is strongest when Pacific region AMMs are isolated. This variation in outcomes implies that the presence of minority district candidates is most likely to produce a symbolic outcome for Afro-Colombians in a particular geographic context; the Pacific littoral. Given that the area has been a key focus of Afro-driven policies such as mining reform, riverine/riparian rights, and

Table 5.2. Impact of BCD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Lower House Participation in Afro-Majority Municipalities (Pacific Region)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	46.021***	3.621
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	.210	.060
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	-.155	9.020
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	3.833	2.490
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	-5.756	8.960
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	-9.167***	1.962
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	.548	.813
Number of Cases	143	
Durbin-Watson	1.561	
Pearson's R	.442**	
Adjusted R^2	.160	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

communal landholdings (Asher 2009), it is not surprising that it would mean more to practice Black politics in this region versus others. In other words, we would expect the greatest sense of group consciousness and perceptions of

connected fate to be strongest in the departments of the Pacific, such as the Chocó, Valle del Cauca, Cauca, and Nariño, where Afro-Colombian identity has been linked to structural outcomes like territory and natural resources.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show the model outcomes for IMMs. The directionality of the models is also positive and mirrors the BCD outcomes in one regard; the positive impact of the model on turnout is higher in Pacific IMMs (.621) than when all IMMs are

Table 5.3. Impact of ICD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Lower House Participation in Indigenous-Majority Municipalities (All Cases)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	46.876**	12.998
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	.352*	.146
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	-10.356	7.374
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	13.683	8.548
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	15.463*	6.671
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	2.353	3.481
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	-6.883*	3.381
Number of Cases	66	
Durbin-Watson	1.445	
Pearson's R	.496**	
Adjusted R^2	.169	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

included (.496). Both DW statistics fall just below the desired threshold at 1.445 and 1.454, respectively. Notably different in IMM models are the relationships between rates of support for ICD candidates and the DV (turnout). Both correlations are positive and statistically significant, with all cases producing a slightly lower figure (.352) than Pacific region cases (.443), with the latter being most significant (p<.01). In addition, the party

competitiveness measures flip from Table 5.3 to Table 5.4. While party competitiveness—particularly in the previous election—had a strong positive effect when all cases were included, the model exclusive to Pacific MMMs shows that these variables have a slightly negative effect. The only significant figure among these correlations is

Table 5.4. Impact of ICD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Lower House Participation in Indigenous-Majority Municipalities (Pacific Region)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	78.678***	10.325
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	.443**	.123
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	Excluded^	---
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	Excluded^	---
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	-2.671	3.467
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	-3.193	3.365
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	-10.376**	2.864
Number of Cases	42	
Durbin-Watson	1.454	
Pearson's R	.621**	
Adjusted R^2	.320	

^The combination of excluded cases due to missing data and isolating Pacific region MMMs produced errors due to these predictors being constant in regard to the DV.
***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

produced by party competitiveness in the previous election when all cases are included (15.463) and the large standard errors shown in Table 5.4 (3.467 and 3.365) make it imprudent to derive any conclusions from these numbers. It is possible that competitiveness between parties carries greater weight for turnout outside of the Pacific, as the smaller Pacific population figures that lead to lower district magnitudes in the

region might decrease competitiveness and access for tertiary parties.[6] But given the large margin for error in the outcomes, this is pure speculation. The number of polling stations statistic is negative and significant in both models, a result which defies the expectation that more polling stations per registered voter would have a positive correlation with turnout as this would facilitate participation.

Table 5.5. Impact of ISD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Senate Participation in Indigenous-Majority Municipalities (All Cases)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	55.200***	6.726
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	.028	.063
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	-5.709	3.783
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	-3.769	3.658
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	8.209*	3.431
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	4.308	2.454
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	-2.870	1.558
Number of Cases	108	
Durbin-Watson	1.398	
Pearson's R	.358**	
Adjusted R^2	.076	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 also show model outcomes for IMMs, but with the DV shifting to turnout in senate elections. Again, Pearson's R statistics are both positive with the Pacific IMMs producing a more pronounced figure (.358 and .408), though in this

[6] The Valle del Cauca department is the sole exception, which has a district magnitude of 13. However, as I have classified MMMs (70% minority or higher), there are no IMMs in the Valle del Cauca department. The remaining Pacific departments have a district magnitude of 4 or lower. The Pacific departments particularly marked by a high number of IMMs are Cauca (DM = 4) and Nariño (DM = 4). This increases the likelihood that many IMMs are classified as non-competitive due to the lower number of seats available.

instance the latter outcome fails to reach statistical significance (p = .071). Also, the DW statistics both fall just short of the desired range (1.398 and 1.344), indicating a slight positive autocorrelation in the residuals. These tables somewhat follow the previous sets in regard to the impact of minority district support on turnout—the impact of this variable

Table 5.6. Impact of ISD Support, District Competitiveness, and Polling Stations on Senate Participation in Indigenous-Majority Municipalities (Pacific Region)

Variable	Unstandardized B	Standard Error
Constant	45.556***	7.630
% of District Votes Cast in Minority Roll	.124*	.059
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Previous Election	-6.120	8.164
Seat Allocation Competitiveness in Current Election	.279	3.837
Party Competitiveness in Previous Election	9.408	8.558
Party Competitiveness in Current Election	1.022	2.574
No. of Polling Stations Per Registered Voter	-1.668	1.484
Number of Cases	69	
Durbin-Watson	1.344	
Pearson's R	.408	
Adjusted R^2	.086	

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05

on the dependent variable is stronger when Pacific region IMMs are isolated (.124, p < .05). The model including all IMMs delivered a very small and non-significant correlation (.028, p = .662). A look back at Tables 5.3 and 5.4 reveals that ICD support exhibited stronger positive impacts on house turnout than ISD support on senate turnout. Most notably, the Pacific region correlation for the ICD (.443) is markedly higher than that of the ISD (.124), both statistically significant figures. A similar observation can be made through the models including all IMMs, with the impact of ICD support (.352)

outweighing the effect of ISD support (.028) on IMM turnout, with the latter correlation being particularly unreliable. My hypothesis was that the enhanced visibility of senate candidates would heighten the "signal effects" of the ISD, thereby fostering greater empowerment for indigenous citizens. But this prediction has not materialized, indicating either that the ISD candidates are no more visible than ICD candidates or that Zetterberg's signal effects do not play a role in this political context.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter examines the contexts under which minority district support inspires changes in participation rates in minority-majority municipalities. While including district competitiveness and polling station variables in the models, I sought to determine whether or not linkages to minority district candidates empower the minority citizens of the target groups. It is clear that strong linkages with ICD district candidates have a more pronounced positive impact on IMM participation than support for BCD candidates on AMM participation. The results for the impact of BCD support on AMM turnout also reveal a positive correlation, but the lack of statistical significance inhibits our ability to make firm conclusions regarding this relationship. These findings are congruent with one of the articulated expectations, which posited that ICD support would be more strongly connected with empowerment outcomes due to the longer history of inclusion by the central government (Wade 1993). I view this as a modest confirmation that group consciousness is more deeply intermingled with politics in indigenous communities. This is, per my account, primarily due to a longer past of linking identity with key political issues such as territory and self-determination (Van Cott 2000) and a longer track record

of engaging in institutional politics to achieve group goals (Laurent 2005). That is to say, it appears that the historical recognition of indigeneity (e.g. indigenous territories [*resguardos*] and governing bodies [*cabildos*]) versus the more hardline removal—or the attempt thereof—of the Afro-descendant identity from the national memory has a considerable impact. In short, indigenous citizens seem far more likely to view political engagement as a group weapon than Afro-Colombians. By saying this, I do not mean to imply that Afro-Colombians are less politically engaged overall, nor can this data be made amenable to such a claim. Still, the data does suggest that, whatever the nature of overall group engagement, Afro-Colombians appear to mobilize less around their identity—assuming, of course, that minority district support is a good proxy for group engagement. Otherwise, we would see a more conspicuous empowerment outcome as a function of linkages to the minority roll. Further research is needed to unearth this dynamic, particularly in the regional and localized contexts where candidates vying for seats reserved for Black communities had little to no effect on turnout in AMMs.

It is possible Afro-Colombian politics has suffered more from the deleterious effects of increased levels of violence that has been observed in some Afro-majority areas This is an unfortunate process that the *Observatorio Pacifico y Territorial* (Territorial and Pacific Observatory; www.pacificocolombia.org) has continuously noted over the last several years. The explanatory power of this issue, however, is questionable. Many tribal communities are finding themselves increasingly mired in the violence of the Pacific (Mesa Permanente de Concertación Nacional con los pueblos y Organizaciones Indígenas 2014). Yet this does not appear to have prevented the ICD from exhibiting a heightened impact on turnout in IMMs, particularly in the Pacific. Despite that disclaimer, the

importance of increased violence in the Afro-Pacific cannot be summarily dismissed as a potential factor. Displacement as a result of violent struggle in the conflict-laden region has been noted as a mostly Afro-Colombian problem—although it cannot be said to be exclusive. It is hardly doubtful that displacement and fear might be harmful to empowerment. Confirming or denying violence as a factor requires the operationalization of violence as a variable at the municipal level. I have yet to find a data source that covers such an expansive period of time and pinpoints violent acts at the municipal level, thus attempts to take this into account have yet to materialize.

Leaning against my preliminary expectations were the cross-institutional outcomes across indigenous districts. Because of the greater visibility of senators relative to house representatives, I expected those candidates to augment the "signal effects"—the "interpretive effects" that policies have on masses—of seat reservation policies (Zetterberg 2009). Stated otherwise, I expected constituents to believe that senators would have a greater capacity to produce salient and impactful policy changes. It seemed likely that this would be the case for the more prestigious of the legislative chambers, who also constitute a larger proportion of institutional actors once elected to office (2 out of 102 in the senate vs. 1 out of 166 in the house). The salience and potential efficacy of ISD representation, however, has not delivered results that suggest a greater level of empowerment as a function of ISD support. It is possible that an explanation lies in the nature of high-profile politics, which might lead minority senators to seek support from a more mainstream, urbanized voter base. The result is a shift away from the grass roots demands of the Indigenous movement, which may in turn heighten skepticism toward minority senate representation and the district. A deeper analysis of support patterns may

lend credence to such an explanation. If indigenous senate candidates exhibit more urban or "Andean" support patterns than Indigenous house candidates, this may be a partial confirmation that the lower chamber aspirants have stronger linkages with the grass roots base of the Indigenous movement.

Finally, my results also show that the impact of minority district support on voter turnout is subject to geographical variation. While district support—particularly on the indigenous side—seems to have influence on turnout across all MMMs, the impact is sharper when Pacific region MMMs are isolated. These results speak to the diversity that is present within Colombian minority groups, as different geographical contexts produced different sets of interests and locations within the national division of labor (Wade 1993). The Pacific, more so than any other region, is home to struggles over collective land claims and control over critical resources (Asher 2009). Thus, it seems as though identity is particularly salient when it is linked with structural demands, particularly those in which cultural or traditional group rights plays a considerable role (e.g. collective territory, traditional modes of resource extraction, etc.). This preliminary finding merits greater attention. Further study on these regionalized outcomes is particularly important as it serves to deliver a better understanding of the nature of race in a post-racially democratic society—or at least a society that is post-racially democratic in the rhetorical sense. That is to say, the conjunction of ethnicity/race, "mutual experiences" (Mansbridge 1999), and historically-rooted systemic disadvantages (Young 1989) seems to have acquired more force in certain spatial (read localized) contexts. Thus, the "friendly liquidation of the past"—to borrow a phrase from the late Donna Lee Van Cott—might be viewed as a post-racially democratic process in which the role of ethnicity and race in

the ordering of Latin American society has undergone a partial but incomplete reformation.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Minority quotas have become a popular tool through which legislative institutions are made more inclusive. This phenomenon has raised questions about the costs and benefits of these measures, the latter assessed according to the extent to which they produce effective minority representation. Determining the contexts in which descriptive minority representation results in substantive and symbolic outcomes for Afro and indigenous Colombians has been the main goal of this dissertation. In this chapter I revisit the purpose of the study and summarize my findings. I continue by touching on a few of the shortcomings of this research and future plans for study.

RECAP OF THE STUDY AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I began this project seeking an answer to a specific question: what are the substantive and symbolic outcomes of reserved representation for Afro and indigenous Colombians? In addition, I sought to determine how constituency outcomes impacted the representation of minority identity. I made the theoretical argument that the impact of descriptive representation on substantive and symbolic outcomes is conditioned by the history of *mestizaje* and racial democracy that undergirds ethno-racial perceptions in the region. This, the argument suggested, leaves interpretation as to who is an ethno-racial subject and in what ways identity can be legitimately used in relation to politics. This factor, in combination with the non-exclusive, non-geographical construction of Colombian minority districts, makes it necessary to consider the formation of minority constituencies through electoral processes. By making a cross-group comparison of understudied populations, this dissertation has made a considerable contribution to the literature surrounding the linkages between descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation.

My findings in Chapter 3 indicate that institutional design and systemic reforms play a considerable role in the electoral outcomes of minority districts. The respective manner in which each district was implemented has had two main effects: 1) contrasting levels of group control over ballot access and candidate selection; 2) fragmentation in minority rolls. These factors are understood to be crucial to representation, where process leads to outcomes. The oversight granted to indigenous organizations and traditional governing structures—as well as the more involved process of creating an indigenous organization—has, in a sense, centralized the candidate selection process for indigenous districts.[1] This has resulted in less district fragmentation, a more unified indigenous vote around a limited number of aspirants, and cohesive organizations with enough reach to have broad appeal. The grass roots sector of the Afro movement, on the other hand, has been overshadowed by weak group control over ballot access and a remarkably simplistic process for establishing a profile as an Afro organization. The resulting spikes in the number of registered lists has exacerbated the pre-existing fragmentation in the Black movement and resulted in weak ethnic mandates. Moreover, BCD electoral processes have not produced lasting parties. I will revisit the fallout of these issues momentarily.

Chapter 4 revealed mixed results in regard to the impact of constituency outcomes on the representation of group identity. Only in the ISD was I able to observe consistent support for the expectation that higher MID support and HHI scores would lead to higher rates of identity invocations and substantive linkages with identity. In addition, representatives from both indigenous districts produced the expected relationship in

[1] While "centralized" candidate selection is normally perceived as the control of party leaders over who runs for their party, I believe that the term is also applicable here if we substitute "minority group" for "party."

regard to HHI and geography-identity linkages. Finally, ISD representation produced higher rates of identity-issue linkages than the other two districts. These findings clearly show that indigenous representation has been more substantively productive.

In comparatively assessing empowerment outcomes, Chapter 5 continued the theme of impactful indigenous representation. The various models demonstrate that linkages to BCD candidates do not have statistically significant and positive impacts on turnout in Afro-majority municipalities. Linkages to ICD candidates, in contrast, were both significant and moderately positive for turnout in indigenous-majority municipalities. The other key finding was that each positive relationship was stronger when Pacific region minority-majority municipalities were isolated.

REVISITING CAUSALITY

It is possible that the lack of strong representational outcomes for Afro-Colombians is a function of the ardent erasure of *negritud* (blackness) from the Colombian national memory. This is also referred to as the *blanqueamiento* (whitening) of Colombian society via the erasure of African presence from her history and culture. In essence, the omission of "blackness" from the national memory was the official solution to the so-called "race problem." As a matter of consequence, it should not be surprising that an identity linked to cultural and ideological genocide lacks salience.

What I have argued here is that, while history and perceptions matter, institutional design is also important. The fact that minority districts were designed in their respective fashions is partially a function of historical circumstances. Indigenous actors have a greater sense of organizational knowledge due to the local governance of *cabildos,* which

in large part has provided them the organizational capacity to push for greater concessions during constitutional reform and exercise control over ballot access. It should also be noted, however, that this does not mean that Afro-Colombians are a population devoid of historical agency or that there is no identifiable Afro-Colombian segment that requires representation. Recognizing this, what remain foggy are the reasons to which we can attribute the comparative lack of transferability of Afro-Colombian identity—particularly in the contemporary representational context—from the cultural to the political. I insist that this current reality, corroborated by the analyses presented here, extends primarily from the dearth of Afro control over representation.

Pointing out high fragmentation and the lack of group control, however, may not be sufficient. But it does raise a new question: What types of candidates have been successful as a result of this design? Early cycles saw the election of figures that were at least known for connections to minority communities, if not prominent champions of Afro causes. A prime example is Zulia Mena (1994-1998), who had strong connections to the *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* and was involved in the interlocution with the state when *Ley 70* was drafted. She continues her political role in Black communities and is the current mayor of Quibdó, the capital city of Chocó. Agustin Valencia, her legislative contemporary, has a similar background. But as time moved forward, the profile of BCD representation began to change. This began with the success of candidates of athletic fame but scant political experience (e.g. María Isabel Urrutía and Wellington Ortíz). Perhaps less helpful to the Colombian cause was the eventual infiltration of representatives connected to nefarious sectors and corrupt practices. Three of the four representatives elected from 2006-2014 fit this description. Silfrido Morales (2006-2010)

was sentenced to a six year prison sentence due to political corruption charges during his mayoral stint in María La Baja, Bolívar. Heriberto Arrechea's (2010-2014) ties to Juan Carlos Martínez, the latter currently serving his own sentence for involvement in parapolitics, are widely known. The case of Yahir Acuña, discussed briefly in Chapter 4, is yet another example of clientelistic tendencies and shady allegiances. Acuña has ties to Enilce Lopéz, also known by her street alias *La Gata*, who is currently serving a lengthy prison sentence for ordering paramilitary squads to murder a woman in Bolívar. During a personal interview, scholar and activist Claudia Mosquera Rosero-Labbé spoke emphatically to this point. She stated that

> Each Afro representative has been a bigger joke than the one before. I had María Isabel Urrutía in this office asking me what are the important Black issues. *Her*, the already elected representative, asking *me* to tell her what the Black community's problems are!....You don't know?!...She hardly seemed intelligent. And the latest representative, this Yahir Acuña, is the most absurd joke of all….The fact is that most of these representatives do not have strong connections with Afro-Colombians…Most don't even consider themselves Black!

I am not sure how Dr. Mosquera-Labbé knows the self-perceptions of Afro representatives, but her words speak to the issue of poor linkages between Black representation and Afro communities due to the hijacking of reserved representation. I have asserted here that this dynamic is largely the result of institutional design, not just cultural perceptions of *negritud*, which cannot easily explain the electoral outcomes of the BCD.

The data from Chapter 3 revealed the tendency of the BCD to produce comparatively higher HHI concentration scores. My expectations were that higher HHI would lead to greater linkages between identity and geography. The outcomes for this relationship, however, defied expectations, with BCD representatives exhibiting a

decreased tendency to link issues with geography as HHI rose. This prompts the need to reassess the message that we interpret from highly concentrated support patterns, particularly where minority district elections are dominated by figures with questionable ties to the group. That is to say, concentrated support within minority-influenced departments, which is most commonly the product of a local/departmental politician from an urban hub, will produce substantive outcomes *only if the elected representative possesses genuine ties with the target group.* Any other representative profile—like those mentioned above—will produce advocacy for localized interests that override broader group demands, especially those traditionally viewed as important to grass roots organizations (e.g. communal land rights, riparian rights, mining and agriculture, etc.). The lower HHI scores observed from indigenous elections, in contrast, are a sign of the exposure of indigenous parties that have survived multiple elections *and* fielded presidential candidates. These organizational platforms have brought more votes from non-indigenous areas, a sign of the broader appeal that produced lower HHI. The most counterintuitive finding is that this influx of votes from *Bogotanos*, *Antioqueños*, and the like did not inhibit substantive representation, at least as it was measured here. Other measures may have produced distinct results, a potential weakness that I discuss in the following section.

From a macro standpoint, there is a factor that has received little attention here: the role of the state itself. Traditional understandings of ethnicity perceive these identities as exogenous to the state (determined outside of state activities). This dissertation's findings, however, suggest that the state had a heavy hand in *creating* identity in contemporary Colombia, particularly in regard to the inclusion of minorities in national

governance. That is to say, the state's active role in molding minority identity as it pertains to institutional politics has been left unarticulated. In earlier epochs, the state interpreted indigenous identity through state sanctioned territorial policies that attached indigeneity to territory. Contemporarily, the state has helped craft identity, at least in part, by offering different modes of implementing group representation. I have noted that Afro-Colombian districts were mobilized in a way that wrestles control over reserved representation away from the target group, opening the door for organizations with little connection to minority politics to hijack reserved seats. This outcome may be unintentional, but the district design had little chance of producing strong advocacy mainly because it left considerable interpretation as to *who* could present themselves as an Afro-Colombian. This came to a crescendo in 2014, an election that featured the election of two Euro-descendants to the seats reserved for Black communities, whose candidacy was legitimized simply because they received the sanction of *Funeco*, an organization filed with the Interior Ministry as an Afro movement. After legal challenges from Afro candidates who lost the election, their authorization was confirmed. Identity is left far less to the imagination for the purposes of legitimate representation, adding to the pages the state has authored that help dictate how Colombian society perceives legitimacy in regard to ethno-racial identities.

SHORTCOMINGS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This project has perceived substantive representational outcomes in a way that is friendly to minorities who have little chance of passing legislation, which both Afro and indigenous representation have struggled to accomplish. Outcome-oriented substantive

representation was thus viewed as an unrealistic measure and would have produced little variation. The response was to mobilize substantive as a process-oriented variable (the representation of identity in plenary speeches). I maintain that this is a viable measure, but it leaves us wanting due to its avoidance of analyzing the policy process and nuances of legislative politics. With whom do minority representatives coalesce and co-author bills? Or, do they remain isolated? What is the content of authored bills? All of these questions are yet unexplored. Speaking for minority constituents is a valid critical act, but it is also a simplistic one that requires little political acumen and explains only a sliver of congressional activity.

The lack of behavioral comparisons with non-minority and non-quota minority legislators has limited the conclusions that these analyses can deliver. The data presented here does not tell us how minority representatives alter congressional discourse and debate issues in comparison with others, their congressional behavior essentially presented in a theoretical and empirical bubble. It also leaves open the issue of the mandate effect. It is unclear how much of reserved representative behavior—invoking identity, for example—is a function of being authorized through an affirmative action measure.

In the absence of viable public opinion data, measuring empowerment effects as a function of reserved seats necessitated adopting assumptions about turnout in minority-majority municipalities. Most prominently, increases in minority-majority municipal turnout were understood to be driven entirely by minority populations, despite the fact that non-minorities votes could be part of the observed increases, thus skewing the outcomes in the dependent variable (turnout/empowerment). To boot, the key

independent variable (rate of district votes cast in the minority roll) is tested for its effect on a dependent variable that is also linked to votes, leaving the distinct separation between the two questionable. My justification is that, rather than testing votes on votes, I am testing for the impact of minority candidate support on municipal turnout. However, this approach for assessing empowerment has clear methodological weaknesses.

Together, the findings and weaknesses of this dissertation point to future research possibilities. Additional studies should include comparisons between reserved representatives, minorities elected through regular channels, and non-minorities. There are certainly some examples of Afro and indigenous representatives who were elected through mainstream processes and who can be identified. Branching out in this fashion is a requisite for more generalizable conclusions on four fronts: 1) the overall impact of minority presence on institutional processes; 2) the exclusive effect that the mandate effect has on reserved representatives; 3) the invoking and linkage of identity across all representatives; 4) the contrasts between minority and non-minority issue positions and voting behaviors.

Alternatively, focus on Afro and indigenous populations can be maintained while reconsidering outcome variables. Specifically, substantive representation must be re-mobilized and new data added so that bill authorship, bill sponsorship, and issue congruence with constituents can be included. Each of these key additions can be accomplished by directing attention to the congressional debate of particular laws. This would involve the use of three sets of introduced laws: 1) laws authored by minorities; 2) laws co-authored by minorities; and 3) laws that focus on issues of importance to minorities. This will grant us the ability to see further inside the legislative process and

identify substantive representation in a more nuanced fashion. In addition, it will be possible to measure minority solidarity in both plenary speeches and roll call votes.

Finally, an expansion to cross-national public opinion studies may provide better indicators of the attitudinal impact of inclusive measures. A comparison of quota types (party quotas versus reserved seat policies) and magnitudes (number of seats awarded/gained) would be particularly useful for making contributions to the discussion surrounding critical mass. The greatest barrier to this advancement is the availability of public opinion data that is comparable, longitudinal, and reaches significant minority response rates, a true challenge given the levels of poverty in which many indigenous and Afro-Latinos exist.

Whichever research path is chosen, I feel confident that ethno-racial representation through quotas—within and beyond Latin America—will prove to be a fruitful area of inquiry into the distant future. Gender scholars have drawn up a theoretical and empirical roadmap that acts as a great heuristic. The nuances of groups like Afro and indigenous Latinos, however, diverge significantly from women, a ubiquitous global minority that consistently comprises roughly half of the national population. Thus modifying extant theories, as I have tried to do here, will revolve around adjusting to the types of constituencies that different ethnic groups produce, whether regional, urban/rural, separatist, working class, or otherwise.

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APPENDIX A:

PLENARY SPEECH CODE SHEET

Variable Description Code

Representative

_____

Gaceta/File No.

_____

Legislative Period

_____

Gender of Speaker (1 = female, 0 = male) ____

Representative Type (1 = BCD; 2 = ICD; 3 = ISD) ____

Number of words in speech ____

Number of ethnicity/race invocations ____

Invocation type (1 = substantive; 2 = non-subst; 3 = unclear) ____
Substantive indicates that the invocation is clearly linked to a specific argument or policy proposal.

Geography invoked (1 = Yes; 2 = No) ____

Level of specificity (1 = Region; 2 = Dept; 3 = Muni; 4 = Various) ____

Locations mentioned:
_____

Identity/minorities linked to location (1 = Yes; 2 = No; 0 = Unclear) ____

Geography invocation type (1 = substantive; 2 = non-subst; 3 = unclear) ____
Substantive indicates that geographical location is clearly linked to a specific argument or policy proposal

Issue Coverage in Speech

Tone of Speech (T) (1 = positive; 2 = negative; 3 = mixed; 4 = neutral; 0 = no tone)
Substantive Identity Linkage (S) (1 = substantive, 2 = non-subst, 3 = unclear)

	Issue	**T**	**S**		**Issue**	**T**	**S**
1	Defense Issues			19	Religion/Church		
2	Internal Conflict/Peace			20	Gay Rights		
3	Military Service/Appts.			21	Human Rights		
				22	Civil Rights		
4	Foreign Affairs			23	Women's Issues/Rights		
5	Trade						
6	Treaties			24	Economy		
7	Terrorism			25	Budget		
8	War			26	Taxes		
9	International Orgs.			27	Employment/Jobs		
				28	Government Spending		
10	Education						
11	Healthcare			29	Business		
12	Immigration			30	Environmental Policies		
				31	Special Interests		
13	Culture			32	Energy/Oil		
14	Traditional Values						
15	Marriage Equality			33	Congress		
				34	Party Politics		
16	Crime/Corrections			35	Corruption		
17	Justice System						
				36	Territory/Land Issues		
18	Symbolic (e.g. holidays)			37	Agriculture		
				38	Mining		
				39	Riparian Issues/Rights		
				40	Athletics/Sports		
				41	Displacement		
				42	Minority Group Rights		
				43	Poverty/Inequality		
44	Other (describe below)						

Other Issues:

APPENDIX B:

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Afro-majority municipalities (AMMs): municipalities comprised of a 70% or greater Afro-Colombian population.

Ethnic invocation score (EIS): statistic denoting the rate at which a legislator or group of legislators invokes minority identity in substantive (policy-relevant) plenary speeches. The statistic is tabulated by dividing the number of identity-inclusive speeches by the total number of speeches delivered by the legislator (EIS = identity-inclusive speeches ÷ total substantive speeches).

Hirschman-Hirfandahl Index (HHI) score: index denoting the concentration or dispersion of a candidate or representative's electoral support. Score is tabulated by squaring the proportion of a candidate's vote total from each of the 32 departments and Bogotá(33 proportions total) and adding these figures together. These figures are then added together to give the "sum of squared proportions" statistic. The sum of squared proportions is then multiplied by 100 in order to produce an integer. HHI scores can range anywhere between 3.03 (perfectly dispersed across all departments) to 100 (full concentration within a single department). This measure is computed at the candidate, district-year, and district (all years) levels.

Indigenous-majority municipalities (IMMs): municipalities comprised of a 70% or greater indigenous populations.

Minority-influenced departments (MIDs): departments comprised of a 15% or greater minority population, taking into account one minority group or the other (Afro and indigenous shares of the population are not combined).

Minority-majority municipalities (MMMs): municipalities comprised of a 70% or greater ethnic minority population.