

Strategies and Mechanisms for Women Native Political Participation to Lamas District in Peru

Bertha Zelmith De Souza-Canayo^{1*}

¹ Postgraduate School. César Vallejo University. San Martín, Trujillo.

* Corresponding author: Email: berthadesouza@hotmail.com

Abstract

This article aims to present the situation of the political participation of native women in the District of Lamas, San Martín Region and how this right promotes their empowerment, as well as a brief diagnosis referring to the strategies and mechanisms that have been implemented by the regional authorities to contribute to the promotion of these rights. This research is based on the collection of information, the analysis of data and the evaluation of the actions that promote this participation, in addition to their problems and demands. The objective is to promote the empowerment of the capacities of native women leaders of organizations in the sector, to make feasible the proposals of political advocacy and governance in the space where they are positioning themselves, seeking the protection of the State in defense of their interests, and that through the relevant mechanisms and strategies on the part of the authorities, the barriers that these women have to face to assert their rights are broken, either due to lack of education or the ethnic electoral quota that contemplates only intermediate public positions such as regional and provincial councils, leaving a great deficit in positions of national representation and at the local-municipal level.

Keywords: Natives, political representation, political inclusion, ethnic quota in Peru, empowerment.

Introduction

This research is based on the need to reflect on the needs and situation of native women in the District of Lamas in relation to their right of political participation protected by the State and that promotes their empowerment and analyze what strategies and mechanisms have been implemented for their promotion by the regional authorities of the San Martín Region in the year 2020-2021. The research also rescued the significant contribution of the Federation of Native Women of the San Martín Region (FEMIRSAM), these are recognized by geographical criteria, gained recognition of the problems of native leaders. The information collected shows the disadvantaged situation faced by native women in the Lamas District, not only because of the lack of information in terms of statistics, but also because of the lack of education, since many of these women are illiterate, the considerable levels of poverty, the difficult access to health, the lack of job opportunities, the violence of which they are victims because they are women, the tenuous response of state programs and regional government strategies to respond to their specific needs.

Likewise, this article explores the right to political participation of native women of the District of Lamas, which contributes significantly to their empowerment and strengthens the policy of equal opportunities promoted by the Peruvian State. An analysis from the perspective of the democratization process of Peru and the viability of

the gender and indigenous quota, highlighting gender and ethnic inequalities within a framework of equal opportunities that must be promoted by regional governments since it is urgent to recognize indigenous women as political subjects whose participation will promote the well-being of their communities and their particular demands will be met. The low political participation and weak empowerment of native women in the Lamas District is part of a current latent problem in the country, and its promotion becomes difficult because no relevant mechanisms and strategies have been implemented to contribute to their promotion and appreciation. Therefore, the respective search of various bibliographies was carried out, finding certain coincidences that allow to be taken as references for this research.

Background

In reference to the international background, Prudente, A. (2019), was pointed out in her thesis entitled *The participation of women in public actions, myth or reality in Anconito*. PhD thesis in Organization and Community Development. Santa Elena Peninsula State University. Ecuador. Through her research, she concludes that the guiding framework of scenarios and conditions of advancement, motivation and greater efforts towards gender equity is a reality if they take into advantage of the sensitive potential, skills and capacities that are involved in women's new competences and opportunities. In addition to the above, it should be pointed out that education is a fundamental indicator for the participation of women, an issue with which this study agrees, finding that when this occurs, the cognitive, developmental, maturity of ideas and approaches to decisions of women are outlined with knowledge accessible to debates and voluntary compliance with assistance to diversity of political, welfare, leadership, and negotiation scenarios that allow their attributes to be highlighted in the reality of their public participation.

Álvarez, C (2018), in her thesis entitled *Political Empowerment of Women in Mexico: The Cases of Baja California and Mexico City*. PhD thesis in Social Sciences. Tijuana, B.C., Mexico. This study concluded that, the identification of the conditions and mechanisms that enhance or hinder the political empowerment of women through the analysis of various initiatives and processes of political empowerment, which emerge both from civil society with and without public funding and those promoted through public policies with emphasis on the use of 3% of the budget of political parties for women's political leadership and gender quotas, in Baja California and Mexico City, in the period of 2012-2018. Thus, the sum of inequalities and discrimination, such as being a woman, the elderly, indigenous and low-income, places more barriers to exclusion from the public sphere for these women.

Cedillo, R. (2018), in his study entitled *Indigenous Political Inclusion in Peru in the XXI Century, Autonomous University of the State of Mexico*. (Scientific article). The author concludes by pointing out that the political inclusion of indigenous people is conditioned by the system of blurred and deterritorialized political parties, an electoral impeachment confined to the national level and the fragile link between elected indigenous people and peasant social organizations. The key to the problem of native and original political inclusion in Peru is that the ethnic electoral quota is contemplated for intermediate public positions such as regional and provincial councils, leaving a large deficit in positions of national representation and at the local-municipal level. It is also determined that the native representation achieved so far is of little substance, due

to the weak link they have with indigenous organizations and national disdain for the issues of the native peoples, such as land and the solution of indigenous problems.

Gigena, A. (2018), in her study entitled *Indigenous-Women and Political Decisions. Scope and limitations of indigenous and gender institutionalization in Chile.* (Scientific article). Chile. She concluded that gender mainstreaming, so weighted for Chile when studying state capacities in Latin America, shows significant limitations by not yet incorporating an intersectional gender approach so necessary in heterogeneous and plurinational societies. Underlying the difficulty of assuming an intersectional practice, in any of the organisms studied, lie the discursive configurations woven into the meshes of the colonial patriarchal system, which are settled and circulated in state institutions but cannot be reduced to it. The similarity in the representations on indigenous women observed both among State officials and among indigenous referents of communities or associations reflect this.

Ayumi, P. (2019), in her thesis entitled *Process of political empowerment of women participants of the popular dining room "Corazón De María" in Huaycán between 2013 and 2018.* Master's thesis in Gender Studies from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. Lima, Peru. The study concluded that, based on the main results, it has been found that women display, in their participatory experiences, some key elements of the exercise of their agency and political participation. Determining that these individual practices develop their political empowerment, insofar as they promote the collective role of women. The analysis of these processes in relation to the social, economic, cultural and political variables has made it possible to demonstrate the limitations and potentialities of the political participation of these women.

Jove, Y. and Cutisaca, D. (2019), in her thesis entitled *Social representations of women leaders of the Federation of United Women's Organization for Development with Equity on participation in Municipal Management in the District of Azángaro – 2017.* Sociology Thesis. National University of the Altiplano. Puno, Peru. The study concluded that, in relation to the results obtained, they indicate that the participation of women in these spaces has been gradually increasing, leading women along the path of empowerment, which contribute and contribute to the construction of democracy, governance and good governance, from the perspective of women and some actors of the local public scene of the district of Azángaro. Therefore, with regard to the exercise of their rights by women, there has been significant progress in the recognition and defense of women's rights, which are fundamentally in the normative and legal field, but which are not fully reflected in a transformation of the situation and position of women, the aim of guaranteeing and articulated the social and political fabric, many of the women's organizations are in the process of strengthening and redefining their roles and the nature of their demands.

For his part, Rojas, L. (2018) in his thesis entitled *Empowerment of women in political positions and / or heads in the field of Local Governments of the Province of Puno, 2016-2017.* Master's thesis in Scientiae in Social Work. Specialty in Human Resources Management. National University of the Altiplano. Puno, Peru. It was concluded that, based on the results obtained from the analysis on the empowerment of women in political positions and/or heads of government in the Puno Province, based on the testimony of fifteen women who hold political and leadership positions as a social phenomenon, the empowerment that these women had was driven by the desire to continue their professional and personal projects; there are characteristics specific to

women in political and leadership positions, which differentiate or distinguish them from men in similar positions, so there is a difference according to gender. The importance of this research is given because it is a social issue that deserves to be considered at the level of importance and significance in the different public and private institutions of our society to know and implement policies that contribute, where women are participants in political and leadership positions.

Jaramillo, C and Valenzuela, M. (2019) in their study entitled *Electoral Quotas. A multilevel analysis of the effects of their application Lima: ONPE*. Research that contributes to clarify the effects of electoral quotas in Peru, with the aim of warning about the conditions that make it difficult to reduce the gaps in access to representation positions. It concludes by indicating that the work is part of the research line of the National Office of Electoral Processes related to citizen inclusion, which seeks to analyze the dynamics of citizen participation within political parties and their political competence during electoral processes and the conclusions of the analysis of each electoral quota applied in Peru (women, young people and indigenous) will contribute to establish a better academic perspective on these measures. In the case of Peru, the studies on the application of the gender quota carried out up to 2018 drew attention to the urgent need to implement complementary measures to quotas such as parity and alternation, with the aim of guaranteeing a greater presence of women in positions of representation. Likewise, the need for the formulation of electoral reforms that focus on improving the representative and substantive participation of women, youth and indigenous people. It is understood then that the inclusion of these sectors will have a positive impact on Peruvian democracy.

While, Pérez, K. (2019), in her thesis entitled *The importance of women's empowerment as a mechanism to strengthen political participation in the district of Pátapo*. Master's thesis in Polytology, Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo. Lambayeque, Peru. It is concluded due to the theoretical development of the concept of empowerment to recognize its effects on the women inhabitants of the Pátapo District, which is essential to take into account according to the observation of the reality of the woman inhabitant of the Pátapo District, who has developed capacities that are basically manifested in their commercial participation in the development of their own family group, that is, they have been constituted as heads of family, showing management skills in decision-making. This research is very feasibility, since it allowed us to observe the effects of this public policy that tends to balance the participation of women with that of men in political activity.

Theories that supported our research

Theory of social representation

Developed by Moscovici (1961), in his book *Psychoanalysis, Its Image and Its Audience*, he argues that the term social representations was developed through psychoanalysis in French society. Its purpose: to redefine the problems and the conceptual framework of social psychology from the phenomenon of social representation.

Likewise, this theory was studied by Abric (2001), in his book *A structural approach to social representations*, who argued that social representation functions as a system of interpretation of reality that governs the relations of human beings with their physical and social environment, since it will determine their behaviors or their practices. It is a guide to action, to guide actions and social relations. The social mass, in this case the organization of women, are permanently using common sense in their social relations, consequently their representations are the product of the acts of thought of a collective, which finally govern its social practice.

Theory of citizen participation

Developed by Rawls (2001), in his book *Theory of Justice*, in which he points out that, citizenship as equal people in the sense that all are understood to possess, to the minimum essential degree, the moral faculties necessary to participate in social cooperation for a lifetime and to be part of society as equal citizens. With these notions of citizenship it can be observed that citizen participation is managing to change governments by implementing a new way of doing politics, promoting governance with characteristics of participatory democracy taking as an example several regions where citizen participation is extremely important, women are claiming their place as organized women, developing a fundamental role in the construction of an equitable society where a high conception of participation as a citizenry must be developed and contribute to the construction of new meanings from the everyday.

Feminist Theory of Empowerment

Developed by De León (1997), in her book *Feminist Theory on Empowerment*, she argued that this theory frames feminists to make new issues about how in societies women do not have the same resources and rights as men since the decisions of both should have equity and equal value just as the tasks that are performed in the homes should be shared, which in society in some cases is not well framed.

Peru's democratization process

This doctrine was developed by Alicia del Águila in 1966, in her book "Historical approaches to suffrage and indigenous participation and quota", in which she states that the centrality of this in legislative debates of an electoral nature (both for its inclusion and for its exclusion). This reading proposes a periodization of Peruvian electoral history and seeks to place in the debate a long-term view, banishing inaccurate ideas about the history of suffrage (such as the supposed indigenous electoral absence until 1979).

Likewise, Óscar Espinosa, in his book "El sistema de la cuota electoral indígena en la Amazonía: problemas y limitaciones", takes a tour of the political and electoral participation of indigenous peoples since 1979, when the right to vote was restored to the illiterate. The analysis focused on the application of the so-called native quota in the last elections, raising some points for review at the present.

The political participation of indigenous women in sociology

With regard to the interdisciplinary perspective, the issue has been addressed by Sociology, as it was indicated that although participation in politics has been promoted and therefore, the empowerment of indigenous women has not been consolidated, it has not achieved a substantive indigenous representation because, given the weight of national discussions on political matters, economic and social, in Congress fail to put their issues on the national agenda, especially in two decades in which the problem of land ownership, the conservation of natural resources and traditional ways of organizing are endangered by the extractivist policies of the national government. Substantive representation would mean that indigenous political participation would ensure that where it is governed and legislated is for the general good, regardless of ethnic, social or economic differences, with a real benefit for all members of society (Pitkin, 1985, pp. 66-70).

Conceptual framework

Aspects related to:

Women's empowerment

This is seen as a process where a person, who had been denied the possibility of making strategic decisions in his or her life, now has that possibility. Three dimensions of empowerment were also distinguished: (i) resources, in tenure and access, both materials, human and social; (ii) agency, in terms of the decision-making process, and on the power of negotiation and manipulation; and, iii) achievements, in relation to results that denote well-being. One of the ways you can think of power is in a person's ability to make decisions; being powerless, then, refers to the denial of that possibility, explains the author. In this line, empowerment was understood as the process of change in different dimensions. (Kabeer, 1999, p. 36).

Political participation

It is used to refer to those activities in which ordinary people take part, such as voting in elections, military in a political party, attending, participating in political spaces, making contributions through monetary contributions to political parties, as well as discussing political issues, lobbying leaders, supporting candidates and disseminating political information of their guidelines to civil society. (Arnoletto, 2007, p.41).

According to the research announcements by the newspaper El Peruano, (2008) he mentions that in the country an important space for political participation is constituted by political organizations, composed of parties with national scope, movements of regional or departmental scope, electoral alliances and local political organizations, constituted for a given electoral process. It was also mentioned that the political participation of women in Peru is a long way to go that in no country in the world do women enjoy the same opportunities as men. In order to change these inequalities, several discrimination measures have been applied, such as gender quotas, with the aim of recruiting women into political parties as fillers for their lists, a political strategy to comply with the gender quota law. (Miloslavichtupac, 2007, 23).

Democratization process

In reference to the women's vote, which in our country was recognized in 1955 and was exercised for the first time in the elections of 1963; however, the vast majority of indigenous women were illiterate, which prevented them from exercising their right to vote. Illiterate voting in Peru was only introduced by the 1979 Constitution. So indigenous women, in fact, were only able to vote for the first time in the national elections of 1980, twelve years after the Agrarian Reform of 1968. With the Agrarian Reform of 1968, the military government of Generals Velasco Alvarado and Morales Bermúdez (1968 – 1980) had just abolished, definitively, the forced labor of "the Indians" in the haciendas of the Andes. At the same time, it had officially recognized peasant communities in the Andes and native communities in the Amazon with communal property titles and, also, with communal representatives elected and officially registered in public records. (Kristen, 2005, p.46)

Electoral Quotas

In addition, with reference to electoral quotas, it was pointed out that they are affirmative mechanisms that seek to promote and strengthen the political participation of different population groups in an equal manner. They presume that there are social, economic, political and cultural inequalities that prevent participation under equal opportunities between social groups and individuals. Thus, they focus on the selection process of candidates for a position of political representation, so that electoral political competition does not reproduce the disadvantages between groups (Ríos, 2008, p.46). Likewise, we can point out that the quotas establish a number or proportion of positions, places, promotions or vacancies that must be occupied by the discriminated group. It is an appropriate way when there is underrepresentation or difficulties in accessing and promoting certain sectors of society to certain spaces, especially when these difficulties are resistant to non-compulsive mechanisms or incentives for change, and when resistance to change is mainly located in decision-makers (voters), decision-making bodies, etc.). (Soto, 2009, 74).

Constraints preventing women's political participation

Economic:

Según los trabajos de investigación por Águila, A (2004), menciona que una de las causas que impiden la participación política de las mujeres, es la carencia de recursos económicos y la dependencia de los ingresos de los hombres, siendo así, las mujeres manifiestan que muchas veces dependen económicamente del varón. Asimismo, manifiestan también que cuando trabajan son menos remuneradas que los hombres por simplemente tener la condición de ser mujer.

Machismo

On the other hand, one of the main causes that prevent the political participation of women, is the phenomenon of machismo, because men consider that women do not

know how to analyze or evaluate, and that they do not know about politics and they will not do well the work that corresponds to men, because to this day many women have to ask permission from the head of the household to be able to participate and influence the different spaces of the political field. According to Aguilar, a member of the Popular Action party, she says that many of the women interviewed emphasize that they are more selfish than men, and that among women they do not support themselves in the case of men, they do support each other. She also mentions that there is not much support among women, and that is why the opposite sex takes advantage of the situation.

Gender discrimination:

According to the research work Eagle, A (2004) mentions that there is discrimination against women in political parties because they are only women. The problem would be in the lack of preparation of women, because most men tend to discriminate against women and often do not let them participate, even to be able to occupy a political position in public institutions of the state, peasant women and members of indigenous communities are doubly discriminated against, many men consider women as a reproductive role and that they should be in the role of the upbringing of children.

Educational:

According to the sources of research by Águila, A (2004) mentions that the leaders who have been interviewed, especially those who reach high public positions where they criticize and accuse women of not speaking, or allowing themselves to be subordinated by men and not being able to defend their rights. expresses that the only way to change this reality would be to apply public policies, especially in education that allow to reverse the situation, and likewise the teaching of behavior can be included. That is, to prepare children to have specific responsibilities, training them specifically in these tasks. In this way, it would seek to reduce the weight of the double day of women, the truth is that most women find it difficult to overcome fears and insecurities to participate politically. When they dare to throw themselves into politics, a first defeat may be definitive.

Time:

The work of reproduction and upbringing of women, is derived double day. For the purposes of political participation, because it generates a problem of time. Precisely as it is a matter of time without necessarily questioning the origin of that problem, it is seen by several women interviewed. Women have less time than men, even to be able to attend the events of political party organizations etc.

Obstacles to women's political participation

According to the research work of Océano, E (2004) mentions that there are structural factors that have restricted and continue to limit the full exercise of citizens' rights by women. In Peru, these factors were exacerbated by the context of the internal conflict in the 1980s and by the breakdown of the democratic balance at the time of the Fujimori government, which nullified the response capacity of civil society and reduced women's

opportunities for development and political participation. In the nation's recent democratic life, these factors will have to be overcome in order to ensure minimum margins of governability and conditions of viability for the country. Several of the factors that hinder women's political participation and that are worth highlighting are the following: The persistence of a patriarchal and exclusionary society scheme in which values are measured through sociocultural, macho and racist patterns that discriminate against women's participation. This negative pattern and pattern is also perpetuated in the family and personal sphere. It is difficult to find representatives of these sectors in leadership positions in political parties. Although political parties are legally structures for men and women on an equal footing, in practice this is not being realized. The phenomenon of political exclusion is more evident in the countryside than in the city. In order to ensure the sympathy of women's groups and their possible electoral flow, some parties currently include the issue of female representation, by promoting the presence of women on the lists.

Conclusions

It is important to highlight the existence of a national and international legal framework in our country that regulates the participation of indigenous peoples in the political life of the State. To this is added that we are close to the presidential and congressional elections and it must be considered that native women leaders have the right to belong to political groups and lists that promote their empowerment. Concluding in this regard that:

A number of limitations have also been identified for the implementation of the right to political participation of indigenous peoples, especially for women belonging to these communities in the Lamas District, San Martín Region, thus causing them not to respect the legal standards in force or to allow their real inclusion in decision-making at the level of the different government spaces. As for the work carried out by the Regional Government of San Martín, it is evident that the ORDEPISAM arose as a result of the pressure of the organizations to place their demands in the Regional Government. However, budgetary or personnel limitations have dented its work and the achievement of its initial objectives, reaffirming the need to strengthen leadership capacities to access decision-making in public management, in the same way, this means that greater indigenous policies cannot be articulated from the regional government to local governments, due to a similar situation with the offices of indigenous affairs in the provincial or district municipalities.

With regard to CODEPISAM, although there is a Women's Secretariat within its Board of Directors, this institutional channel is still limited in meeting the specific demands of indigenous women and promoting their participation. This is evidenced by reference to their access and participation in leadership positions that are still limited in the federations. Information was extracted from CODEPISAM that, although women have a presence within the organization, it is not usual for them to participate actively, either in federations or communities. Faced with this situation, FEMIRSAM leaders point out that their organization seeks to complement the actions undertaken in the CODEPISAM Women's Secretariat and strengthen its political participation in the region. Given the difficulties faced by indigenous women in the Lamas District in promoting their

empowerment and political participation, it is evident that, with the creation of FEMIRSAM and its strengthening, the aim is to promote the political participation of indigenous women in San Martín. While work has so far been limited to some leaders, it is noted that it is necessary to work from the grass-and-file communities themselves with a view to achieving, in the short or medium term, positions in local and regional governments. It is urgent to review the quota system for the Amazonian indigenous population that has been applied since Law 27734. The application of this system in the electoral processes of the last decade shows the limitations of this regulation. There is no doubt that affirmative action measures seek to balance the age-old injustices against the country's indigenous peoples, but through measures that really achieve, in the short, medium and long term, better indigenous participation and representation in the electoral process and in Peruvian political institutions. Although progress was evident when the latest amendment was decreed in Law NO. 31030, with regard to the criterion of gender parity and alternation on the total number of candidates presented by each political organization, the current gender quota being 50%. With their respective alternation.

References

1. Abric, J. (2001). *practicassociales y representaciones*. México: EdicionesCoyoacán. Allport, G. (1935). *Handbook of social psychology*.
2. Ayumi, P. (2019), *Proceso de empoderamiento político de mujeres participantes del comedor popular “Corazón De María” en Huaycán entre 2013 y 2018*. Tesis de Magister en Estudios de Género de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Perú. Lima, Perú.
3. Álvarez, C (2018). *Empoderamiento Político De Las Mujeres En México: Los Casos De Baja California Y Ciudad De México*. Tesis para Obtener el Grado de Doctora en Ciencias Sociales. Tijuana, B. C., México. El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. <https://www.colef.mx/posgrado/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/TESIS-Alvarez-Torres-Cheryl-DCSER.pdf>.
4. Águila, A (2004). *Mujeres en los partidos políticos del Perú Lima*.
5. Anduiza y Bosch, (2007). *Comportamiento político y electoral*, Madrid.2ª ed., Ariel.
6. Arnoletto, E (2007). *Glosario conceptos políticos usuales México* Ed. EUMEDNET.
7. Briñón. (2007). *Una visión de género es justicia departamento de educación para el desarrollo de entre culturas interés y ayuda en acción*. 25 COMITÉ
8. CEDAW, (1999). *Recomendación General sobre el párrafo 1 del artículo 4 de la Convención sobre la Eliminación de todas las formas de discriminación contra la mujer, adoptada por el Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación contra la Mujer, 20º periodo de sesiones, EE.UU.*
9. Cruz, V (2015). *Participación Social y Política De Mujeres Líderes, Integrantes De La Red De Mujeres Autoridades Trujillo 2014*. Tesis para Optar El Título Profesional de Antropólogo Social. Trujillo - Perú. Universidad Nacional de Trujillo. <http://dspace.unitru.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/UNITRU/2099/RODR%C3%8DGUEZ%20CRUZ%20VERONIKA%20LIZET%28FILEminimizer%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
10. CAPEL, Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (2000) *Diccionario Electoral*. San José Edit. Instituto Interamericano de Derechos.
11. *Constitución Política Del Perú* (1993). Lima.
12. *Convención, Observaciones Y Recomendaciones Del Comité De Las 7ª Y 16ª Del Comité Al Vi Informe Periódico Del Perú, (1997)*. Las 468ª, 480ª y 481ª del Comité al V Informe periódico del Perú, sesiones 583ª y 584ª y La 411ª del Comité al II Informe periódico del Perú, sesión 275ª. cc Repositorio Institucional – UNAMBA - PERÚ 88 de 98
13. Calfio, M. y Velasco, L. 2005 *Mujeres indígenas en América Latina: ¿Brechas de género o de etnia? Seminario internacional Pueblos Indígenas y Afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe: Relevancia y Pertinencia de la Información Sociodemográfica para Políticas y Programas*. CEPAL, Santiago, Chile.

14. Cedillo, R. (2018), Inclusión política indígena en el Perú en el siglo XXI, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México.
15. Comité Cedaw Recomendación General N° 25, sobre el párrafo 1 del artículo 4 de la Convención sobre la Eliminación de todas las formas de discriminación contra la mujer, adoptada por el Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación contra la Mujer, 20° periodo de sesiones, 1999, párrafo 7.
16. Dávila, S. (2007). Experiencias de gestión local y presupuesto participativo. Lima: USAID.
17. Franceschet, S. (2008). ¿Promueven las cuotas de género los intereses de las mujeres? El impacto de las cuotas en la representación sustantiva de las mujeres. 36p.
18. Fernández, B (2012). Participación política de las mujeres, Lima ed. I.E.P.
19. Fassler, C (2004). Desarrollo y participación política de las mujeres, Rio de Janeiro.
20. Fernández, G (2012). Participación política de las mujeres Lima edit. i. e. p.
21. García B, (2004). Campañas electorales y sus efectos sobre el voto revista psicología política.
22. Gigena, A. (2018) Mujeres-Indígenas y decisiones políticas. Alcances y limitaciones de la institucionalización indígena y de género en Chile. Revista electrónica Scielo La ventana vol.6 no.48 Guadalajara, México. ISSN 1405-9436.
23. Herrera, R (2018). Nivel de participación política de las mujeres en las elecciones distritales de tamburco en el año 2014. Tesis Para Optar el Título Profesional de Licenciado en Ciencia Política y Gobernabilidad. Apurímac – Perú. Universidad Nacional Micaela Bastidas De Apurímac.
http://repositorio.unamba.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/UNAMBA/676/T_0397.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
24. Jaramillo, C y Valenzuela, M. (2019) Las Cuotas Electorales. un análisis multinivel de los efectos de su aplicación Lima: ONPE, 1ra. edición, 2019 188 págs. – Serie Documento de trabajo 46.
25. Jave, I. y Uchuypoma D. (2017) *Diagnóstico sobre experiencias de formación en los pueblos indígenas. Los casos de San Martín y Ucayali* Primera edición digital: 2017 Instituto de Democracia y Derechos Humanos de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
26. Jove, Y. y Cutisaca, D. (2019). Representaciones sociales de las mujeres líderes de la Federación de Organización de Mujeres Unidas para el desarrollo con equidad sobre la participación en la Gestión Municipal en el Distrito de Azángaro – 2017. Tesis de Sociología. Universidad Nacional del Altiplano. Puno, Perú.
27. León, M. (1997). El empoderamiento en la teoría y práctica del feminismo", en León, Magdalena. *Poder y empoderamiento de las mujeres*, Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas de la Universidad de Colombia.
28. Ley N° 28983, (2007) Ley de igualdad de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres.
29. Moscovici, S. (1979(1961)). El psicoanálisis, su imagen y su público. Buenos Aires: Huemul S.A.
30. Moore, H. 1991 *Antropología y feminismo*. Instituto de la mujer, Universidad de Barcelona. Ediciones Cátedra, Madrid, España.
31. Montero, L. (2011). Nueva Ley de cuota electoral en Colombia: ¿Aportes a la Democracia? Aprendizajes y Retos en el ámbito Local Estudio de caso. Elecciones Santander-Colombia.
32. Moser, C (1989). Planificación de Género Objetivos y Obstáculos Chile edit. Género en el estado.
33. Miloslavich, D (2008). Participación política de las mujeres Lima.
34. Moscoso, E (2006). Sembrando la participación política en las mujeres del Perú Lima.
35. Moses, D. ., Asukwo, A. E. ., Yusuf, M. A. ., & Ibanga, I. J. . (2021). Achieving Sustainable Development Goals 2016-2030 in Nigeria through Female Enrolment into Electrical/Electronics Engineering Trade in Technical Colleges of Adamawa State. *Journal of Advanced Research in Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 2(1), 28-39. <https://doi.org/10.47631/jareas.v2i1.214>
36. ONU Mujeres. (2013). Guía Estratégica Empoderamiento Político de las Mujeres: Marco para una Acción Estratégica. América Latina y el Caribe (2013-2017).
37. Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales. (2016) 60 años del voto de las mujeres en el Perú. Lima, ONPE, p.45.

38. Pérez, K. (2019) La importancia del empoderamiento de la mujer como mecanismo para reforzar la participación política en el distrito de Pátapo. Tesis de Maestría en Politología, Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo. Lambayeque, Perú.
39. Prudente, A. (2019) La participación de las mujeres en las acciones públicas, mito o realidad en Anconito. Tesis de Doctorado en Organización y Desarrollo Comunitario. Universidad Estatal Península de Santa Elena. Ecuador.
40. Rawls, J. (2001). La justicia como equidad, traducido por Andrés de Francisco. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Paidós Ibérica.
41. Rojas, L. (2018) Empoderamiento de la mujer en cargos políticos y /o jefaturas en el ámbito de Gobiernos Locales de la Provincia de Puno, 2016-2017. Tesis de Magister en Scientiae en Trabajo Social. Especialidad en Gestión de Recursos Humanos. Universidad Nacional Del Altiplano. Puno, Perú.
42. Schmidt, G. 2004. Éxitos no anticipados: Lecciones de la experiencia peruana con las cuotas de género en los sistemas mayoritarios con listas cerradas y de Representación Proporcional (RP) con listas abiertas. En INTERNATIONAL IDEA.
43. Tula, M. (2015). Mujeres y política. Un panorama sobre la adopción de las cuotas de género y sus efectos en América Latina y Colombia. Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), Ministerio del Interior de Colombia, Organización de los Estados Americanos e Instituto Holandés para la Democracia Multipartidaria (NIMD). pp. 14-15. ISBN 978-958-8902-64-7.
44. Torres, C (2015). Participación política de mujeres indígenas del Ecuador: Un enfoque a la iniciativa parlamentaria en derechos sexuales y reproductivos. Tesis de grado presentada como requisito para la obtención del título de Licenciada en Relaciones Internacionales. Quito – Ecuador. Universidad San Francisco De Quito. <http://repositorio.usfq.edu.ec/bitstream/23000/4237/1/113928.pdf>.
45. Valdivia, V (2018). La paridad como medida necesaria para la participación política de las mujeres en condiciones de igualdad. Tesis para Optar el Grado Académico de Magíster en Derecho Constitucional. Lima – Perú. Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Perú. http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/bitstream/handle/20.500.12404/13451/BERMUDEZ_VALDIVIA_VIOLETA.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
46. Vélchez y Vargas (2015). Nivel De Satisfacción De Las Socias De Los Bancos Comunales De La ONG Manuela Ramos – Tarapoto Año 2013. Tesis Para Optar Al Título De: Contador Público. Tarapoto – Perú. Universidad Nacional De San Martín – Tarapoto. http://repositorio.unsm.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/11458/2439/TP_CON_00295_2015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y