



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

International Migration and Ethnic Relations
Peace and Conflict Studies 61-90
Autumn 2007

(Un)Conditional Capacity – Building

- Aymara Women Organizing for Social Change

Christina Hansen
hansen.christina@hotmail.com
Supervisor: Peter Hervik
Total Words: 11 518

Abstract

If deprived and subordinate women in rigorous systems of stratification are to change their position, social agency and collective activism is needed, but how? Several Bolivian Aymara women have experienced processes of “capacity-building” to be a successful measurement, but to what extent? Being part of the poorest sectors of society implies being dominated by a diverse spectrum of social injustices. In this paper I argue that capacity-building may be a potential tool for social change. I will show this by referring to the informal education and the “symbolic capital” this embraces, seen from an empowerment perspective. By illustrating the conditions under which the Aymara women live, I will, with the help of intersectionality theory present some of the factors which impede them to bring about a radical social change. Nevertheless, the indigenous women’s agency and activism are crucial for the achievement of social justice.

Key words: capacity-building, indigenous women, Aymara, activism, power relations, informal education, Bolivia.

Sammanfattning

Om missgynnade och underordnade kvinnor i strikta klassificeringssystem ska förändra sin position krävs socialt deltagande och kollektiv handling, men hur? Flertalet Aymarakvinnor har upplevt att ”kapacitetslärande” åtgärder har varit framgångsrika, men till vilken nivå? Att vara del av samhälles fattigaste befolkning betyder ett liv under en mångfald sociala orättvisor. I den här uppsatsen argumenterar jag för att kapacitetslärande är ett potentiellt verktyg för social förändring. Detta gör jag genom att hänvisa till den informella utbildningen och det symboliska kapital som åtgärden omfattar, sett ur ett makt- och självbestämmande-perspektiv. Genom att förmedla de förhållanden som Aymarakvinnorna lever under, och med hjälp av intersektionalitetsteorin presenterar jag några av de faktorer som försvårar dessa att nå en radikal social förändring. Likväl är ursprungskvinnornas sociala påverkan och aktivism central i kampen för rättvisa.

Nyckelord: kapacitetslärande, ursprungskvinnor, aymara, aktivism, maktrelationer, informell utbildning, Bolivia.

Contents

Abstract

Sammanfattning

1 Introduction	1
1.1 Aim and Purpose	2
1.2 Delimitations	2
1.3 Presenting Key Concepts	3
1.3.1 Capacity-building	3
1.3.2 Informal Education	3
1.3.3 Agency	3
1.4 Theoretical Approaches	4
1.5 Methods and Material	5
1.6 Outline of Essay	7
2 Background	8
2.1 Bolivia: Economic, Demographic and Social Aspects	8
2.1.1 The Rise of an Indigenous Identity	10
2.1.2 Who is “Aymara”?	11
2.1.3 Social Groups, Stratification and Labelling	12
2.2 “La Nueva Bolivia”	13
2.2.1 Gender Inequality	15
2.2.2 The Rise of Popular Movements	16
2.3 Presentation of the Case Study	17
3 Analysis	20
3.1 The Process of Organizing	20
3.1.1 Informal Education	23
3.1.2 Putting Aside “La Pollera”	24
3.1.3 Capacity-Building as a Strategy	25
3.2 The “Recipients of Development”	26
3.3 Discussion	29
4 Conclusion	31
Notes	34
References	37
Appendix I	
List of Abbreviations and Concepts	44
Appendix II	
Interview	46

1 Introduction

If deprived and subordinate women in rigorous systems of stratification are to change their position, social agency and collective activism is needed. The last decades have seen a “new global phenomenon” (Niezen 2003) of massive mobilizations of indigenous peoples all over the world. The social uprisings in Bolivia have been given significant global attention by anthropologists, social scientist, political activists, and indigenous peoples. Women have increased their participation and visibility in these struggles and also formed hundreds of organizations consisting exclusively of women fighting injustices - such as sexism, racism and classism - under which they live. “*Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara Amuyt’a*” CDIMA, a grassroots organization based in El Alto perched above La Paz, is one out of many women’s organizations.

CDIMA’s principal aim is to improve the participation of indigenous women in public spaces. One of the tasks stated by CDIMA is to engage in the *informal education* and to stimulate the understanding (*concientización*) of the Aymara identity, human rights, women’s rights and the indigenous people’s rights in the rural areas of the La Paz district. Aymara activist Enriqueta Huanto works with the area called “*formación y capacitación*” (education and capacity-building), which consists of promoting and encouraging women’s activism and leadership. Thus, the work is practically training and organizing the women. Several activists experienced the organizational work as an educational process since it strengthened and taught them how to influence and “exercise power” (Diakonia 2006:126).

Although women from the popular classes¹ have since long engaged in political movements and uprisings in Bolivia, they still constitute the most harmed and marginalized social group in terms of access to land titles, health care, education, political power and representation (Arnold and Spedding 2005:105,111, Diakonia 2006, IWGIA, UNDP). If they are to change their situation, some sort of empowerment is necessary (Rowlands 1997:16).

1.1 Aim and Purpose

My principal objective of this essay is to identify and understand the process of capacity-building as a potential tool for social change. Further, my intention is to see what factors in society may impede these efforts too actually accumulate into radical social change. The questions I intend to deal with and problematize are the following:

- 1) **How has the process of *capacity-building* strengthened the Aymara women's influence on their lived social realities?**
- 2) **What constraints are still limiting their possibility of agency?**
- 3) **What potentials for social change does activism imply?**

“Social change” refers to a change towards a more socially equitable society. Peace, or more specifically *positive peace* presupposes the absence of structural violence, i.e. socioeconomic injustices (poverty, discrimination etc.) (Galtung 1969).

1.2 Delimitations

The highly debated issue of indigenous women's human rights in relation to oppressive traditional customs, and the paradoxical relationship between collective and individual rights (see e.g. Sierra 2001; Niezen 2003) will not be given any significant attention. Neither will my paper explore and theorize the rise of “new social movements” (see Melucci 1996) or the concept of “development”. The issue of identity formation and “identity politics” dealt with in this paper must not be seen as a comprehensive discussion. Due to the issues' immense character I have chosen the few aspects relevant to my particular analysis.

1.3 Presenting Key Concepts

1.3.1 Capacity-building

Capacity-building² can be defined as ‘the process of strengthening the abilities or capacities of individuals, organizations and societies to make effective and efficient use of resources, in order to achieve their own goals on a sustainable basis’ (cited in World Bank 2007). It is a broad definition of the notion. It means much more than just a “training-oriented approach”, and aims at being used “for the development of effective poverty reduction strategies” (ibid). It is the process of “assisting an individual or group to identify and address issues and gain the insights, knowledge and experience needed to solve problems and implement change” (The California Wellness Foundation 2001). Capacity-building can be attempted in various sectors of society. The focus here, however, will be on a grassroots organization which offers capacity-building work-shops for indigenous women of the popular classes. Organizations in developing countries can themselves sometimes be recipients of capacity-building (Lind 2004).

1.3.2 Informal Education

Informal education conveys “values, experiences, and attitudes, which are very difficult to define, let alone measure and compare” (Cohen 2001:358). *Informal education* is used to describe “all types of education outside the classroom, including apprentice-mentor, parent-child, and self-guided courses of learning which are quite structured” (ibid:359). Informal learning refers to skills and knowledge collected from daily life experiences and personal interactions (ibid:358).

1.3.3 Agency

Agency may be defined as “a person that acts to produce a particular result”, and *agents* as “persons that take an active role or produces a specified effect” (The Oxford Dictionary of English), or “ordinary people who create historical change through the activities and struggles of their everyday lives” (IDRC 2003). How do then “agency”, “activism” and “action” relate to each other? “Agency” can be a tool for self-control and change, and is learnt in practice (Holland 2001:38). “Activity”, a socially produced re(inter)action, portrays people as being engaged in their environment, and is therefore interconnected with the concept of “practice” (ibid). In this paper a “social action”, a term introduced by Max Weber, refers to a strategy, that we use to contest whatever we react to in our environment

(such as injustice), it is not passive but potentially active and reacting. An action is social as long as it has social consequences (Edling och Rydgren 2007:19). *Social agency* is in this essay interpreted as a symbolic and a very much powerful capital.

1.4 Theoretical Approaches

Symbolic Capital

The main focus of the capacity-building process in this essay is the result of informal education³ such as the acquiring of skills and knowledge⁴. I will be using Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic capital" in order to explain the impact of the social products resulting from human activity (Grenfell 1998:18)⁵. This kind of *capital*, gained through experience, informal education and leadership training, will achieve power in terms of legitimacy and recognition (Levinson et al 1996:6). Freire's (Nationalencyklopedin) term *concientización* (to raise awareness) is a much known concept used in educational theories in relation to oppressed people and practical action.

The Capability Approach

"Development" should be understood not only as economical growth, but also as a process increasing the "freedom" of people i.e. the right to be or do something and the actual possibilities to be or do something. Amartya Sen (2001) uses the terms "negative freedom" or "negative liberty" and "substantial freedom" where the former describe freedom from coercion (enslavement, assault etc) whereas the latter also include the actual opportunities given to people in terms of "resources" or *agency*. Sen calls this the *capability approach*. To be able to actively participate in deciding about the conditions of our collective lives and to reason together about social problems implies a process of developing and learning of capabilities by experience and education (both formal and informal), since these are skills that no human being is born with. Focus here will be on the symbolic capital of *agency*, which refers to an individual's capacity of action (Adkins 2004:179).

Empowerment

Capacity-building has an aspect of "power"; "the ability or capacity to do something or act in a particular way" (The Oxford Dictionary of English). "Empowerment", no matter how worn out the term may seem, is a common concept used in "development"⁶ contexts, in

particular in relation to NGOs and women (Rowlands 1997:v-vi). Hence, empowerment can in this sense be “offered” by “outside bodies”, or initiated from “within”. Empowerment can be used as a tool for activism and is seen as part of processes of social change (ibid). Empowerment is more than participation in decision-making. It involves “undoing negative social constructions, so that people come to see themselves having the capacity and the right to act and influence decisions” (ibid 14). There are three interrelated aspects of empowerment; personal, relational and collective, where the latter dimension means individuals who work together towards a collective action based on cooperation (ibid 15).

*Intersectionality*⁷

When approaching the implications of the processes of empowerment my wish is to “embrace a feminism that is grounded in a recognition of interrelated injustices” (Babb 2007). Intersectionality theory is an attempt to cover the multilayered structure and grounds of identity in a discussion about power-relations (Braidotti in Eriksson-Zetterquist 2007;11). My intention is to reveal the simultaneous existence of various power relations which exist, not only “within” the same social group, but also in relation to other power dynamics throughout the given society which may impede or complicate women’s capacity-building efforts. An example of such dynamics, discussed in this paper, are the subordinated women activists’ relations to social (state or non-state) institutions which may influence on the definition on the “poor women’s needs”, and whether the same disadvantaged women are conceived as “recipients” or “agents” (Rowlands 1997:22) by the dominant social group. The application of the intersectionality viewpoint and the awareness of the multidimensional oppressions and realities of the subjects studied have been central in the elaboration of the paper.

1.5 Methods and Material

Qualitative methods start from the perspective and actions of the subjects studied, whereas quantitative studies proceed from the researcher’s ideas about the categories which should constitute the central focus (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2005:3-4). A qualitative method I believe is the most appropriate since my analysis derives from a specific case study and women’s own testimonies. Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2005:5) argue in favour of a “reflexive methodology” where research is based on careful interpretation and reflection. In other

words all references to empirical data are the results of *interpretation*, and *reflection* can be defined as the interpretation of interpretation and the “launching of critical self-exploration of one’s own interpretation of empirical material” (ibid). These interpretations referring to “reality” may in its selection suppress alternative interpretations. As a researcher, interpreter and author it is crucial to be aware of these facts. Hence, it is not my ambition to determine “how things are” or “how best to interpret a phenomenon” (ibid:9), but to present possible interpretations, and in this way, hopefully contribute to a wider understanding of the dimensions of the case study.

“*Género, etnicidad y participación política*” (2006), published and subsidized by Diakonia (a development aid agency), has been a key source to the analysis. The book presents an investigation conducted in the La Paz district. Aymara activist Enriqueta Huanto Ticona, leader for the grassroots organization CDIMA, was one out of three women who collaborated as co-researchers. Lind (2004:76) may have argued in opposition of the Diakonia project. She questions the “development policies”, in particular the relationship between women’s agencies and local women’s organizations. One of Lind’s examples reflects pretty much the project of Diakonia where community-based women’s organizations were asked to participate in a project facilitated by middle-class professional women’s organizations. According to Lind, these projects tend to provide the participants with no or little pay for their labour, and that poor⁸ women therefore lose economically from these kinds of gender and development models, although gaining some political visibility and/or personal development. These sort of details are beyond my knowledge, although my personal impression of the project is very positive based on the fact that I was present at the book release in El Alto (Oct 2006), meeting and listening to the women involved, and interviewing Enriqueta Huanto Ticona (hereafter Enriqueta). Additionally, I got to know one of the anthropologists in charge. The interview (audio-recording) (see transcript in Appendix) with Enriqueta, conducted at the CDIMA office in El Alto on the 16th of November 2006, is also part of the case study. She agreed to have her full name published and also to be quoted. Further material playing a crucial role in my analysis are mostly secondary sources consisting of scientific articles, which enabled me to base my research on fairly up-to-date facts.

It was my encounter with poverty in Bolivia which triggered my emotions. I found the informal education I gained in Bolivia and in Chile in 2006, where I was taught by indigenous activists, peasants and intellectuals, invaluable. In this essay I wish to be loyal

to those experiences and convey these feelings and worldviews “based on women’s own cultural experiences” (Sierra 2001:88), with the personal conviction that we may learn if we listen.

1.6 Outline of Essay

In the first chapter an introduction to the question of issue has been presented, including the main objectives, delimitations, key concepts, theoretical frameworks and methodology. Chapter two contextualizes the issue ending up with the actual case study. Chapter 3 constitutes the analysis framed within the chosen theoretical approaches, and concludes with a discussion. A summary of the central results is to be found in the last chapter (4), followed by notes, references and appendices.

2 Background

In the following text, brief and general - still relevant - facts regarding the demography and socio-economic features of the Bolivian society are presented. This is followed by a discussion of the awakening and description of an “indigenous” and “Aymara” identity, and the rigorous social stratifications that persist in Bolivia. Additionally, I will present the recent political development in the country and the rise of popular movements. The chapter ends with the case study.

2.1 Bolivia: Economic, Demographic and Social Aspects

Bolivia, the poorest country of South America, is heavily dependent on foreign aid from multilateral lenders and foreign governments to handle budget deficits. The economic feature is characterised of being exclusionary to the majority of the population. Access to economic resources and political power is restricted and often conditional on clientelism. Access to social services, such as education, health and sanitation is limited (Gray-Molina, 2003:63). The educational system, however, has improved and is for the moment in a stage of further adjustments. Today there is an intercultural bilingual education, which for long was absent. The high levels of illiteracy persist, especially in rural areas. Surveys also show that during the neo-liberal period poverty has increased in rural areas (ibid 74). Bolivia’s

present situation of poverty and underdevelopment calls for the necessity for achieving a high and sustained rate of economic growth. The country has failed to accomplish this since the restoration of democracy. There exists a widespread distrust on the relatively new neo-liberal model (of 1985) implemented from the “outside” (Whitehead, 2001:37-39; Molina 2001).

Two thirds of the total population, of approximately 9 million, live in the Altiplano⁹ and one third in the lowlands. In Bolivia approximately 60 percent of the entire population (UNDP), 95 percent of the rural population, and nearly all of the indigenous population, live under poor conditions.¹⁰ A census from 2000 show a number of 2, 27 million poor people in rural areas, of which 85 percent of these would be in the Altiplano. Poverty is very much characterized by residence (rural territories) and ethnicity (indigenous). The Andean world was from the sixteenth century on a place of multiple cultural confrontations, intermixing, migration and inter-breeding that brought about new collective identities (Gruzinski and Wachtel 2004:181). The last Bolivian census (2001) declares 63 percent of the total population identifying as indigenous (Canessa 2006:256; Paulson and Calla 2000:139).¹¹ At least 30 regional languages and dialects exist throughout the whole country. The official language is Spanish, spoken by 41 percent, and the two major languages are Aymara and Quechua spoken by 21 percent and 34 percent respectively (NE; UNDP). This diversity in languages is also a cultural and symbolical diversity. The Bolivian reality represents a coexistence of several nations and regional cultures which make the country’s demography extremely complex. Thus, it is difficult to talk about a national identity or national community. Important to keep in mind is the fact that statistics on ethnics are very indeterminable, and much critique has been directed towards the censuses (Molina 2001). The majority of these cultures are found in the oriental part of the country which demographically vary from some ten families to groups of near 100 000 people. The occidental area of Bolivia inhabit the two most significant communities, historically, quantitatively and culturally speaking; the Quechuas (approx. 3,5 million) and Aymaras (approx. 2,5 million). Between the two latter groups the differences are mostly linguistic. Therefore they do not necessarily represent two different ethnic identities since the two languages exist within the same Andean culture (García Linera 2003:178-180,188).

Further, it is a fact that social and ethnic stratification and discrimination endure in the Bolivian society. “Whites” and “*mestizos*”¹² have greater possibilities to get

better jobs and opportunities in general, and have a higher social status than the indigenous population. Above from the obvious racial intolerance there is also a tendency towards a socio-economic discrimination, in other words, if an indigenous person is rich, she will not be discriminated (García Linera 2003:188).

2.1.1 The Rise of an Indigenous Identity

In the 1960s and the 1970s indigenous groups in Latin America began to organize transnationally. They used international forums, human rights law and international conventions to pursue their goals (Warren and Jackson 2002:1). Ronald Niezen (2003) in *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* strives for a better understanding of the global phenomenon of the international movement of “indigenous peoples”, through analyses of global patterns in specific behaviour or utterances. Niezen sees the international forums as sources to the growing concept of “indigenous peoples” and the rise of a new global identity.

The category of “indigenous peoples” constitutes an expression of human diversity. The creation of the category, however, involves a common “origin” in particular the commonality of experiences, such as the notion of being oppressed “in similar ways, for similar motives” (Niezen 2003:4). Terms as “ethnicity” and “ethnic groups” are analytical concepts, not terms of identity. However, “indigenous” is not only an analytical concept, as Niezen (2003:3) points out, but also a legitimate expression of identity (see Appendix I for definition according to UN report).

There are multiple approaches to the term “indigenous”. The debates over the problem of definition are, according to Niezen, “actually more interesting than any definition in and of itself” (ibid 19). Another trend encourages a more open definition of “indigenous peoples” as to refer to anyone who defines themselves as “indigenous” (ibid 183).¹³

The ambition of states to promote a coherent national culture has in many parts of the world been followed by the rise and development of indigenous activism. These two simultaneous processes have each in different ways made such indigenous self-identity, based on activism as a response to the injustices, possible (ibid 86). In a similar way as Niezen, Warren and Jackson (2002:27) see how the “indigenous movement” at an abstract level becomes a wide range of struggles, strategies and discourses in practice. Albó (2004:28-31), when explaining the Indigenous Awakening, refers to local conditions such as

the failure of development models, urban migration and non-indigenous allies (NGOs), but also possible external factors; the collapse of communism, the imposition of neo-liberal economic models and finally the development of the human rights regime (see Albó 2004 for further details). Diver and Rappaport explain that “the state is both the cause of ethnic marginalization and a vehicle for indigenous vindication” (in Healy and Paulson 2000:15). Canessa describes the claim of indigenous status as a claim to authenticity and a claim for justice (2006:243). Interestingly enough, Canessa asks whether a movement composed by indigenous people make it into an “indigenous movement”, and if Evo Morales, then, being indigenous and a leader, makes him an “indigenous leader” (2006:253).

As Albó reaffirms, collective ethnic identities are fixed neither in time nor in space. Indigenous people, leaders and intellectuals refer to the past in order to strengthen their identities, and do often include the creation of utopias (see also Niezen 2003). But the historical facts in current usage are constantly being reconstructed to be able to meet the constant emerge of different challenges. This can in some cases imply the denying of historical realities (2004:27). The indigenous identity is invoked by a minority of educated leaders in any given society (Niezen 2003:11).

2.1.2 Who is “Aymara”?

The ethnic discourse has gained weight the last decades in the rural areas of Bolivia (Arnold and Spedding 2005:71). It is difficult to talk about obvious “Quechua” and “Aymara” identities in the pre-Colombian period, since it is not known exactly what role language and dialects had in identity formation of the period. Most probably the majority identified with their immediate surroundings, *ayllus* (kinship-based indigenous communities), or a federation of local *ayllus*. Changes that occurred in the colonial period led to the identification of Quechuas and Aymaras as “homogenous” groups, each with its own language. The relocation of *ayllus* and indigenous communities, due to new tax policies, gradually reduced the links between ethnic identity and *ayllus* (Albó 2004:17-18).

The *campesino* (peasant) identity, promoted by the state and political actors, dominated for a long time. However, this did not make the well established indigenous cultures and traditions disappear (Albó 2004:,20-21). Bolivia was the first country in the region where political parties began to consider ethnic identity important, although the tradition has been to meet “ethnicity” with suspicion. Not only political parties but also trade union movements were slow to recognize the importance of ethnic identity of the

organized lower-class sectors (ibid 27). Arnold argues that there has been a tendency to blend class and ethnicity; the more rural and lower on the socio-economic scale, the more “indigenous” you are. The closer to the urban centres and the dominant class, the “whiter” you are (Arnold and Spedding 2005:72). Canessa underlines the fact that Bolivians are more inclined than ever to identify as indigenous, or more correctly “belonging” to a group such as “Aymara” and “Quechua” (2006:242).

2.1.3 Social Groups, Stratification and Labelling

All classifications are social constructions which divide people (or animals, things etc) according to pre-established categories or kinds, aiming to create a social order (Eriksen 2004:253). What constitutes an “identity marker” or category depends on when, and where, and under what conditions it is being constructed. For example it can be appearance, dress or language which defines someone as “Indian”, “mestizo” or “white” (Ibid 285). As Barth (1996) emphasizes it depends on its *boundaries* and the relational aspects, and not the characteristics of the person or group. When Eriksen talks about *imagined communities*, referring to Benedict Anderson concept of “nations”, he means that the “imagined sameness” contributes to the feeling of “belongingness” (1996:51), whether it is ethnic, national, religious, political groups or movements. “Identity”, or “identification” as Erikson rather calls it, is a *relational* process which is constructed in relation to the “other”, and *situational*, which means that the feeling of belongingness changes from one situation to another (1996:53).

Possibilities of identification can be in terms of “ethnicity”, “class”, “race”, “culture”, “gender”, “sexuality” among a range of other ways, and are often differentiated internally in terms of age, sex and class (Eriksen 2004:295). Even gender is a cultural construct, or can be seen as a “lived social relation” (see McNay 2004:176). Instead of using the biologically differentiation in terms of “sex”, gender points to the fact that women’s subordination is socially constructed and not biologically determined, hence, a relation subject to change (IDRC 37). A social group can become defined as an “ethnic category”, on the one hand, by its social surrounding or a dominant group within a society through a process of “labelling”, and on the other hand through a process of collective “self-identification”, although the latter do mostly not imply calling oneself “ethnic”. Labelling can be seen as a process where the complex experiences of an individual or a group is being reduced to one dimension, thereby “controlling them more effectively and making it

more difficult for them to gain credibility for their own struggles” (IDRC 206) The imagined “fellowship”, however, can be strengthened through mobilization and then develop an abstract solidarity within the group (Eriksen 2004:323). Social identities tend to become important first when they seem to be threatened (ibid 345). Additionally, Miles (1993) says that categorizations allude simultaneously to *exclusion* and *inclusion*.

All these phenomena or categorizations can be said to be “overlapping” (Eriksen 2002:42) and all but clear-cut and therefore difficult to give each of them a fair definition. Even more complex is to explain the relation between the phenomena (Eriksen 2004:159). Eriksen argues further that it is impossible to give a fully satisfactory definition of the highly debated term “culture” (2002:60), therefore it is not even worth for me to give it a try. I could have continued this issue into a never-ending discussion, but due to its very complex and immense character I choose not to. My intention though, has been to provide the reader a general theoretical point of departure for how the terms are used throughout the essay. I am aware of the fact that I have excluded a discussion on the role of emotions in constructions of identity.

2.2 “La Nueva Bolivia”¹⁴

The growing political power of the indigenous people led to the government’s recognition of the indigenous rights and identities. Significant changes occurred in particular after the return to democracy in 1982. Jaime Paz Zamora’s government (1989-93) was one of the first in Latin America to ratify Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) (created in 1989). It was ratified in 1991 only after the massive march for “Land and Dignity” (*Marcha por la Tierra y Dignidad*) in 1990. Bolivia’s implementation of the neoliberal model and its set of adjustment measures, starting in the mid 80s, were one of the harshest in the region, and has up to date had significant impact on national politics and civil society. However, massive mobilizations and protests against the neoliberal reforms took place during the 1990s. The administration of Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (1993-97) together with the Aymara vice-president Víctor Hugo Cárdenas made constitutional changes that recognized Bolivia as “multiethnic and pluricultural” which included the rights of the indigenous people to maintain their resources and traditions, including their language, organization and system of justice.¹⁵ Decentralization, promotion of bilingual education and the granting of land titles to indigenous communities have been part of the

process of national political change (Albó 2004:26; Healy and Paulson 2000:4-5,11; Arnold and Spedding 2005:107; Lind 2004:59; Healy and Paulson 2000:5,6).

One such initiative was the Law on Popular Participation of 1994 “LPP” (Ley de Participación Popular) during the government of Gonzales “Goni” Sanchez de Lozada. The law transformed the relationship between the state and society, and has been the most progressive law in the decentralization aspect as well as in relation to its promotion of gender equity in representation and participation.¹⁶ The main objective of the LPP was to increase popular participation in government, to incorporate historically excluded sectors of the society from citizenry practices, especially those with rural origin, indigenous and women, and to decentralize economic resources as well as administrative and political power (Urioste 2002:157).¹⁷ However, critique has been directed towards the evidently vague description of “participation” and the lack of normative specificity, which deprives citizens of a firm basis upon which to demand their participative rights (Van Cott, 2000:170; Salguero 1999:62; Ayo 1999:92). Further, there is no proof that the Popular Participation process according to Urioste (2002:177-178) has restrained or reduced the national rural poverty in a substantial way.¹⁸ Contrary to Urioste, Van Cott (2000:205) says that although local people continue to complain about the proper mode of implementation and suggest minor modifications, they would resist the idea of dismantling the LPP, since the law has brought dramatic improvements in living conditions, if not in popular participation.

One of the first and foremost political problems is the consolidation of democracy, to make it viable and gain legitimacy (Assies, 2004:26). Social mobilizations like *Guerra del Agua* (2000) and *Guerra del Gas* (2003), of which the latter led to the resignation of President Sanchez de Lozada, proves the deficiencies of the political regime (Assies 2004:31-32). Bolivian democracy has been characterized as a “pacted democracy”, which means that parties have relied on coalitions in Congress. Assies (2004) describes this sort of system as a “democradura” when referring to the neoliberal economic model and the widespread corruption existing within the politically dominant class.

Evo Morales, a “cocalero” activist, was elected president in December of 2005, and runs a left-wing socialist party Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS). The election of “the first Indian president” in whole Latin America became world news. Since then a “democratic and cultural revolution” is taking place (Morales 2006). The most known reforms recently are the nationalization of hydrocarbons and the work of the Constituent

Assemble (Fjärde Världen 2007). In December 2007 a national conflict broke out resulting from economical disagreement between the provinces, and analysts have expressed worries about a potential outbreak of civil war in the country (Jönsson 2007).

2.2.1 Gender Inequality

According to United Nations, the Bolivian woman is placed on the 94th position on the global scale on gender development, which is very far below the rest of South America. Surveys in Bolivia calculate that the majority of the one and a half million people that live in extreme poverty are women. Women are the ones that suffer the most from the conditions of poverty in terms of nutrition, access to land, and access to education and healthcare. One chief condition to escape poverty is access to land, but it is mostly men that receive land titles (*titulos de tierra*) (Arnold and Spedding 2005:105,111). Women's demands and necessities are not listened to and are subordinated to the demands of the community as a whole (Salguero 1999:64-65). However, the United Nation's document on gender development affirms that the women's situation in Bolivia has changed in a favourable way in the last ten years, in the areas of education, labour market and political participation (GHDP; Diakonia 2006:30).

Although the LPP initiated a new approach of possibilities for women's participation in positions of decision and other levels, in practice it did not result in a proportional female representation.¹⁹ The fact that the majority of the women-oriented state programs have to do with maternal-child health shows the tendency of demands associated with the traditional role of women as mothers; they do not target the non-traditional gender roles, such as the incorporation of women in various areas of production, or development of political competence (Arnold and Spedding 2005:117).²⁰

The reduced possibilities for women to exercise their citizenship and being victims of exclusion, can partly be explained by the historical gender labour division. The difference between women and men is that the former entered the labour market without putting the domestic responsibilities aside (Ardaya 2001:44,104). Women living near the capital municipals have a higher level of participation, and it is more likely that it will have an impact on their lives. It is also in these areas where churches and NGOs are located, working to improve women's possibilities to articulate with the dominant society. Urban women have even more possibilities for participation.

Lately, a tendency of “feminization” of agricultural work has become more obvious. Many women stay in the countryside while their men travel to work in the city. Thus, both productive and reproductive practices are becoming women’s responsibilities. This means in practice higher level of exploitation and subordination, when they are the ones becoming dependent on less valued and precarious labour (Ardaya 2001:68; Loayza Castro in Healy and Paulson 2000:11).

One of the conclusions in the IWGA’s (1998:283) report is that indigenous women are oppressed on three counts; as women, as indigenous and by suffering from a vulnerable economic status within their communities. A common critique is that when the concerns of women in the developing world are dealt with, very little or no attention at all is directed towards the specific situations of indigenous women (ibid 297).

2.2.2 The Rise of Popular Movements²¹

The Katarista movement, named after Tupaj Katari, an Aymara leader of the 1780-81 rebellions, was formed in Bolivia in the late 1960s and was the first organizational effort among the highland indigenous peoples of the Andes. It later took a leading role in campesino organizations and formed, together with other social movements, the *Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Bolivia* (CSUTCB), which do not express the ethnic origins of the Kataristas. More than a decade later the *Confederación Nacional de Markas del Qullasuyu* (CONAMAQ) was formed rejecting the “peasants’ syndicates”. The conflict between the two organizations has caused cleavages in many social movements and also between intellectuals (Albó 2004:20-22, Healy and Paulson 2000:9). After the foundation of the CSUTCB in 1979 they succeeded to unite in a discourse of “ethnicity” while the “women’s problems” or “gender issues” were considered as a strange influence that just served to divide the organization. “Capitalism” has replaced “colonialism” as the chief cause of the gender inequities, and the image of a pure balance between men and women in the traditional indigenous culture is still today being constructed (Arnold and Spedding 2005:32).

The rise of new women’s organizations has seen progress but also shortcomings. To a great extent they have remained fragmented and often vulnerable to clientele manipulation by political parties or state organizations (Burt and Mauzeri 2004:11). There are social movements that can’t be differentiated in terms of gender (e.g. coca movements and juntas vecinales which are shared by both women and men). Some

movements do have specific demands related to some kind of female activity such as the Andean textile, but it is difficult to consider them as strategic gender demands, since the different activities can be of a subjective or cultural specific character (Arnold and Spedding 2005:39). According to Arnold the only causes that actually could bring women together in a joint effort *as women* would be those directly related to their roles as mothers and wives. In other cases women mobilize against state politics and not specifically *as being women* (Arnold and Spedding 2005:39).

Lind (2004:58) claims that “engendering” of Andean politics in a neoliberal context reflects the significant emerging of pluralistic women’s movements, including rural, urban, low-income, middle class, indigenous, non-indigenous, peasant, hetero- and homosexual women. She explains the creation of gender-based organizations as a need to address their specific needs and to challenge both sexism within indigenous movements and racism within women’s movements.

During Banzer’s government the gender concerns were institutionally linked with family concerns and separated from ethnic matters. This change has meant an ideological backlash against feminism in Bolivia (ibid 67). The external funding has contributed to the “NGOization” of women’s struggles and hundreds of women’s nongovernmental organizations were established. This shows the period’s paradox of women’s paralleled empowerment and disempowerment (ibid 58-59).

2.3 Presentation of the Case Study

The case study focuses on two women’s organizations (CDIMA and FNMCB-BS) with different histories, aims and strategies. These two are interwoven through, on the one hand, Enriqueta Huanto Ticona who has been politically active for several years in both of them, and on the other hand, through an NGO funded project (see Appendix I for definitions on different kinds of organizations).

At the age of 17, Enriqueta, who grew up with her mother and sister, started to do “cargos” in her community. “Cargo” means to assume a position of responsibility in the community to fulfil the duties as a member of that community. Since Enriqueta could read and write she got the “job” as a secretary, instead of her mother. It was not common for women to get this position. According to Enriqueta (2006) she became the “man” of the house ended up doing what normally belongs to the male role,

such as assisting the reunions of her community. This was the beginning of a political career in various organizations.

The emergence of CSUTCB (see 2.2.2) and in 1980 the Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas de Bolivia “Bartolina Sisa” (FNMCB-BS) (a national women’s peasants’ federation, hereafter *Las Bartolinas*) are two important markers of the political mobilizations of Aymara women in the last two decades (Diakonia 2006:77). They have worked primarily with gaining land rights, which for long was denied them. The majority today working with farming are women (Amorin 2005).

Through a project funded by Diakonia, a Swedish development aid NGO, an investigation was conducted which resulted in a book called “Género, Etnicidad y Participación Política”. The investigation illustrates the possibilities and obstacles there are for women’s participation in social movements, based on women’s own testimonies. Enriqueta, co-researcher of the project, conducted a fieldwork where the interviewees were women leaders, most of them Aymara, within the network of *Las Bartolinas*.

Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara Amuyt’a, CDIMA²², is a non-profit grassroots organization based in El Alto, perched above La Paz. The organization arranges activities, workshops, seminars and courses with the aim to promote and encourage capacity-building and leadership training *for* indigenous women, *by* indigenous women. One of the tasks stated by CDIMA is to engage in the informal education and to inform and stimulate the awareness (*concientización*) about the Aymara identity, human rights, women’s rights and the indigenous people’s rights in the rural areas of the department of La Paz and the Bolivian Altiplano. The organization describes their work as aiming at “women of the *pueblos indígenas originarios* to participate in the public, social and cultural spheres with their own identity being subjects of consultation and that they themselves engender proposals of increased equity empowering their values and cultural identity: and in this way being important agents within their communities, *ayllus y markas*²³ in coordination of their authorities” (CDIMA). Further aims is to put value and systematize the Aymara women’s own assessment and to manage to increase the women’s presence within the political, cultural and social realms; to empower Aymara and other peoples’ organizations through *capacitación* (capacity-building) and education, which also can be useful within the family; to convey the Aymara women’s ideas; to coordinate activities and build networks aiming at the unification of the Aymara people constituted by an active participation by both women and men. CDIMA prefers to focus on the empowerment of

both sexes rather than just emphasizing women, but that it is crucial to work with the incorporation of women at all levels of decision making through training and education (Arnold 2005:171-172; CDIMA, Enriqueta 2006).

3 Analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of the Bolivian case study, starting off with the presentation of several respondents' personal experiences (based on the Diakonia project), and co-researcher Enriqueta's testimonies on how the indigenous women's organizing has improved their social realities. The experiences include the key components of informal education, the results of identity reformation and the importance of a strategy. This is followed by a discussion of the constraints that are put on their social action and agency, on personal as well as institutional level. Additionally, it portrays the necessity of activism to bring about social change.

3.1 The Process of Organizing

People identifying themselves as indigenous will pursue a variety of tools and ways of activism depending on where, why, and when the mobilizations are taking place. Although activism is occurring in the name of "belonging" to a certain people, most definitions developed by communities in their practice of self-identification of inclusion and exclusion are interchangeable and often situational (Warren and Jackson 2002:11).

Several Aymara activists stated (in Diakonia 2006) that the quest for inclusion in community-based decision-making was a reason for group organizing.²⁴ Much of the central demands of the indigenous women coincide with those of men, and concern the right to land and self-determination, and, the respect for human rights (Diakonia 2006:14).

Nevertheless, women experienced that men of the communities recognized the presence of women as well as their demands as the “feminine angle”, hence something “apart from” or “secondary to” the rest. They felt as being treated as “sullka” (minor), something less worth (ibid:78,81). With the feeling of being treated as a “prosthetic” (Nelson in Diakonia 2006:71ff) the women saw the necessity of forming and organizing of women: “...*why don't we get organized...you (men) do not value us....I have seen a lot of abuse, in my home there was a lot of discrimination...in every reunion of the men I knew how to discuss but the men did not respect me....*”²⁵ (ibid 81,133). A similar experience was expressed by Enriqueta; “...*the woman is the secondary, she is underage...although we are older we are treated as if we were younger...they (men) always make us inferior*”²⁶ (ibid:81). A respondent continues, saying that the men questioned the women, and said that there was no need for them to organize since the men already were. Nonetheless, one was determined that; “*we have to speak even though it may not be correct...the baby who does not cry we do not give anything, let's then shout, and we will make us heard*” (ibid).²⁷ An integration of such subordination of the feminine can in worst cases lead to a self-image of being “less worth”, therefore not knowing how to speak up (Rowlands 1997:13).

The process of organizing is very much characterized by internal and external conflicts. Enriqueta remembers that the first time she experienced racism and discrimination was during the 1992' great encounters of the Columbus Quincentenary (“500 years of colonization”); “*Indigenous women and men - we asked ourselves; Who are we? Are we campesinos or are we indigenous? Until then we had been assimilated by the system making us lose our identity. That has always been the State's policy*” (Enriqueta 2006). She also remembers how they all started to question and debate in the reunions about who were actually the ones “managing the institutions”; namely “the white”. This was the beginning of a series of workshops, reunions, and courses where they meditated their situation as indigenous. Enriqueta admits that she felt as if the indigenous were “used” by the “whites” and “intellectuals”, and as if the women “from first section” (Diakonia 2006:80) underestimated and inferiorized the indigenous women's demands. Many times “white women” say they decide for “all women” when they actually just decide for themselves, because many other Aymara women, according to Enriqueta, do not always agree with “their” ideas; “*Q'aras*” (“white women”) *do not always really see what we need and want [...] we have different cultures, our way of living is different [...] the whites' and indigenous' feminisms are different because of the fact that white women live with much more commodities and have more resources*” (2006). The statements quoted above illustrate Htun's (2004:451) claim, that the experience of being

excluded from power may make women conscious of “belonging” to a group, hence, also acting as a group in order to obtain or change something.

Enriqueta experienced the organizational world of women to be utterly fragmented and Las Bartolinas to be divided. She experienced discrimination by women outside the organization, but also within Las Bartolinas. At one occasion she was literally locked out of a reunion. The organizations also suffered from envy among women who had different leadership positions. This kind of experiences brought along feelings of loneliness, isolation and humiliation also within the own organization (Diakonia 2006:85-87).

Several of the respondents realized that, except from the condition to be able to write and read, the *ability to orally express* one’s right to have rights was of fundamental importance for the men to recognize them. The ability to formulate one’s demands and “right to have rights” was the way to overcome the status as “sullka” (minor), someone inferior. Enriqueta states that one of the difficulties for a woman to be a leader is her self-confidence, another being the family. She explains that the women she represents, and the ones she offers the service of capacity-building and leadership training, do not have domestic employees. They have to take care of their children, the animals, and the agricultural production. Obviously this further complicates it for women who participate in activities outside of their homes. Enriqueta’s sister also worked for Las Bartolinas but had to leave her job because of lack of resources and insufficient support from her husband (in terms of sharing the domestic work). Other women were often dependent on the permission of a father or husband to be allowed to organize (ibid 78). Enriqueta was herself elected secretary general of Las Bartolinas in 1991 (of the province), a possibility she says was related to the fact of not being able to cultivate due to bad health, thus having time to political participation and engagement. The “new” situation of getting organized and travelling implied for Enriqueta putting “*la pollera*”²⁸ aside, entering the urban sphere and meeting other women (Diakonia 2006:85). Further, fear of talking in front of big groups and being exposed to critique by men was of major concern for several respondents (ibid 80). One woman states that the educational level and the awareness of equality in the family are crucial in the process of the restructuring of property and territorial rights (ibid 105). Another obstacle found for the female leaders in the study was the lack of knowledge of the laws of the state and the fact of not being familiar with the official rules and norms (ibid 135). A concrete example of such norm is that the majority were accustomed to talk

freely at reunions of the communities while in the political organizational sphere of the state they had to ask for the word by means of a note. Many experienced this as confusing and as an obstacle to express their demands (ibid 138).

All above mentioned women, approached as human agents rather than passive objects, have in common that they realized their capacity of agency and possibility to act, taking the initiative of social action with the power to act purposely and reflectively (Holland 2001:42; Edling och Rydgren 2007:19). The organization of Las Bartolinas, a collective social action, is constituted by a collective of social agents.

3.1.1 Informal Education

Bourdieu uses the word *capital* to describe the social products resulting from human activity, such as thoughts, actions and objects (in Grenfell 1998:18).²⁹ Knowledge and skills can be such symbolic capital, which then becomes *power capital* (ibid 22). In other words symbolic capital, acquired through learning, will achieve legitimacy and recognition (Levinson et al. 1996).

The activists affirm that the great task of all women is to be educated, which in turn would open the possibility to educate their children. Most of them went to school just a couple of years and then had to start working. Several Aymara activists expressed that the most important “schools” throughout their educational and political route were the unions, associations and “cargos” (see 2.3) within the community. To learn “how to talk” was more associated with the latter experience than with the (formal) school, and to learn about rights, laws and norms (Diakonia 2006:105). They experienced informal education as something that met up with the formal school. “*In school I learnt little, and I did not know how to read, rather I learnt when becoming a leader, in school I just learnt to write and to get to know the letters*” (Diakonia 2006:105). Hence, several women put a lot of value on the processes of capacity-building, and saw the educational processes as political learning beyond the formal school (ibid).

The case study allows us to see that women’s agency and actual capabilities are dependent on the economical, material and symbolic capital. However, improvements were achieved with only symbolic capital, in terms of gaining recognition, and achieving progress in their political careers. Paralleled, the process of meeting other women and attending national reunions raised awareness about their particular condition of social and economic injustices, in relation to women “from first section” and the urban spheres.

Education, Lutterell argues; “is about establishing an identity and the cultural capital this identity entails, as much as it is about acquiring specific skills” (in Levinson et al. 1996:25).

3.1.2 Putting Aside “La Pollera”

Enriqueta expressed the experience of “putting aside la pollera” (Diakonia 2006:85) as part of the process of collective mobilization, traveling and meeting other women. The concept of “putting aside la pollera” will here illustrate the process of redefining one’s identity. Identity is constantly in the process of reformation alongside the renovation of forms of capital (Skeggs in Lawler 2004:110).

Stephan (2001) argues that women’s participation in grassroots movements is a constant process of negotiating difference. The creation of unitary names, symbols and goals, however, can result in an essentialization of notions of being “woman” or “Indian”. The projected “sameness” does not mean though that there exists a shared consciousness or identity. This confirms the complexities and contradictions emerging in the process of women’s collective action (ibid 54-55). Yet, the mere use of categories may actually shape and influence lived identities (Healy and Paulson 2000:18).

The discourse related to traditional political parties was challenged by the emergence of the issue of “originality”, “ayllu” and identity politics. The reconstitution of ayllus was followed by a confusing period around the issue of identity, whether they were *campesinos*, unionists (*sindicalistas*), “originals”, “Indians”, “ayllus” etc... The notion of territory and ethnic identity in the unionist discourse had a major impact for the leaders of Las Bartolinas. They started to talk about *rights* (Diakonia 2006:188,92).

Levinson and Holland interpret schools and education as sites of intense cultural politics. “School”, which can be defined in several ways, may be non-formal sites of learning (Levinson et al 1996:2), such as NGOs and grassroots organizations. These sites in turn become sites of identity formation (ibid 19). The “student identity” formation within schools “is a kind of social practice and cultural production which both responds to, and simultaneously constitutes movements, structures, and discourses beyond the school” (Wexler and Weis in Levinson and Holland 1996:12). Thus the schools “serve as a site for the cultural production of positive identities which may extend beyond the school as well” (Lutterell in Levinson and Holland 1996:25). Alongside the construction of new social identities Luykx states that “education is a key site [...] for new forms of political participation” (2000:151-152).

3.1.3 Capacity-Building as a Strategy

The *capability approach* is a process increasing the freedom of people i.e. the right to be or do something and the actual possibilities to be or do something, including the actual opportunities given to people in terms of tools of agency. In the absence of economic and material capital, women may invest in symbolic capital. Achieving agency or “capital” (in this case non-material), such as knowledge and skills, implies a process of developing and learning of capabilities by experience and informal education. These capabilities may bring respect and social prestige, hence enabling us to actively participate in deciding about the conditions of our collective lives and to reason together about social problems (Sen 2001).

Enriqueta herself grew up with her mother and sister under very poor conditions, not being able to go to school, since she had to help out at home with the production; “...then I got ill during a year, and became useless in the house...I couldn't do farming, neither take care of the animals... I was like “the man” of the house and had to fulfil the roles of a man...my mom told me to attend the reunions of the community...” Attending the reunions of the community, a task traditionally belonging to the man, shows how a very successful political career started. Thus, entering the organizational sphere was an empowerment process in itself. Empowerment, however, is more than participation in decision-making and access of resources: It involves “undoing negative social constructions, so that people come to see themselves having the capacity and the right to act and influence decisions” (Rowlands 1997:14), and about *control* of these resources and opportunities (ibid 139). As Castillo, in another setting, notices “through political activity they (in this case Aymara activists) also challenge traditional roles within the domestic unit as well as cultural conceptions that justify inequality” (1997:105). McWhither's (in Rowlands 1997:15) definition makes it clear that the undertaken action is not about gaining power to dominate others, but rather to gain legitimacy and equal opportunities.

Along with noticing how “agency is determined by access to symbolic and material resources” (McNay 2004:182) it is important to understand the structures of domination (Castillo 1997:105), which stretch from family repression to governmental repression (ibid 113). When McNay awkwardly uses “determinism” to describe agency, she paradoxically argues that all events, including human action, are ultimately determined by causes regarded as external to the will. Rowlands reminds us that internalized oppression may also create barriers to women's exercise of power (1997:13). Due to the complex features of oppression, Young (in McNay 2004:177) advises that oppressions should be

analyzed “along the five axes of exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence”.

There may be several different implications and obstacles for social action and the achievement of significant changes. “Development” may not be understood equally by all. It is important to ask whose interests the undertaken strategies serve (IDRC 90). Taliafero defines true power as coming from within and any attempt of “outsider to give” power hides an attempt to keep control (in Rowlands 1997:16). Many organizations, in particular those composed by the popular, working class, rural and/or indigenous women, have become the “new recipients of development” (Lind 2004:61).

3.2 The “Recipients of Development”

“We always discussed about the institutions and the intellectuals, as they call them...who take advantage of their intellectuality and do whatever they want... I remember one particular workshop which was carried out, financed by an NGO, which concerned the issue of reproduction. The Aymara women who attended felt discriminated. After that I thought about it and asked myself why? Because our culture is different...the way of living is different, it is not liberal. The politics of the institutions are made in such a way that says us women should adapt to that liberal way of living” (Enriqueta 2006).

Indigenous movements as well as others operate in power relations. A variety of self-representations are created and appropriated by movements who deal with authorities, foreign donors, human rights groups, anthropologists and political interests. Power structures along with social relations influence the production and promotion of self-knowledge (Warren and Jackson 2002:23).

A progressive multicultural, pluriethnic and gender sensitive approach to identity politics was introduced in Bolivia during the second wave of neoliberal reforms 1993-1997 (Healy and Paulson 2000:2,12). “Gender” and “indigenous” concerns arose at the time as the *Katarista*-movement (see 2.2.2) increased their demands for indigenous rights (ibid). However, state women’s bureaus, such as The General Office for Gender Issues (DGAG), have since 1970s promoted and carried out significant gender-based policy and legal reforms, of which the main recipients are sectors of poor women including local women’s organizations (Lind 2004:65). Alongside the development of gender and ethnic state-policies, the same notions were incorporated into the legal, political and economic demands of grassroots groups (Healy and Paulson 2000:16). “Ethnicity”, beside

from being talked about as a relation, a process, a power relation etc., it is also a tool used by the state for specific purposes (Paulson and Calla 2000:123).

Healy and Paulson (2000:16) explore critically the processes through which identities are redefined and state-citizen relations are restructured in social movements, intellectual productions and glorified revivals of local identity. Further, they deal with the public programs made to resolve historical practices of discrimination based on gender and ethnicity. These two phenomena can become political constructs for gaining appeals and switching attention away from highly charged class-based conflicts arising in the context of neo-liberal programs.

Paulson and Calla resist conceiving social life as a technical problem, which construct the image of professionals and scientists as managers, while portraying the (ethnic, gender, class) “others” (implicitly different and inferior) as “targets” and “recipients” of our technical efforts. The constructed “target” category is most often marked in terms of class, gender and ethnicity. Thus, the policies are designed, not to “regular people” (the dominant class), but to “marginal groups” which contradictory enough constitute the majority of the Bolivian population (2000:132). Paulson and Calla criticize development policies targeting “the poor” as if it were an independent entity, and projects dealing with “gender and poverty” or “ethnicity and poverty” without promoting meaningful changes in term of opportunities (2000:134, see also Luykx 2000:161-162). So when the time of the program has run out the daughters of the “poor ethnic women” will continue to be marginalized (ibid 134-135). Power structures enjoyed and monopolized by the privileged are kept by means of focusing on the recognition of the “other’s” “unique” and “unchangeable” identity, thus avoiding redistribution of powers (ibid). Hence, discussions of identity politics, multiculturalism and otherness should take into account the actual material circumstances (Fraser in Paulson and Calla 2000:135).

To conceive “poor ethnic women” as passive exploited victims would, according to Connell (1987:58), be blind of their potential agency, activism and mobilizations. Connell stresses the actual possibility to on the one hand recognize women’s subordination and the social changes in order to correct it, while on the other recognize “the specific ways in which subordination is embedded in different cultures, the different forms it takes and the different strategies therefore required” (ibid 58-59). Hardly surprising, groups that hold power will try to reproduce the structures that give them their advantageous status (ibid 44).

The use of categories may actually shape and influence lived identities. Ethnicity and gender “organize and give meaning to countless aspects of our lives, notably the construction of subjective identities, forms of personhood, power and social positioning” (Healy and Paulson 2000:18). The fact that identities are highly relational and shaped by crosscutting differences, may explain why “considerable efforts invested in women’s programs and movements in recent decades have not resulted in the kind of political advances enjoyed by some indigenous groups” (ibid 17). Paulson and Calla believe that incorporating these two analytical categories into political programs may result in potential transformations, and possibly changing discriminatory relationships in society, as long as it is *not* carried out as paternalistic efforts (2000:112). Transformation presupposes a relational approach to gender and ethnicity (ibid 119), and efforts to challenge the stereotyped ethnic and gender “others” as victims, or as homogenous gendered but classless groups in need of “our help” would nothing but fail (ibid 135). State policies and programs convey “ethnicity” in various ways as something related to tradition and non-progressiveness, while gender theory has been linked to modern development, and consequently seen by its opponents as an imperialist tool (ibid 131,128). It may be as McNay suggests, that it is the women’s class position that generates a refusal of feminism which is regarded to be a discourse of privileged women and irrelevant to their lives (2004:187).

Connell’s approach reminds us that social structure must be seen as constantly *constituted* rather than constantly reproduced, with the condition that “theory acknowledges the constant possibility that structure will be constituted in a different way”(1987:44). Connell’s “static logic of categories” versus “practical character of politics”, where the former works in philosophy of “whatever people attempt, nothing ever changes” (ibid 61), and the latter “interweaving of personal life and social structure” (ibid), is a process being constantly transformed. One reason for the difficulty to translate the theoretical understandings of social differentiation and inequity into corresponding actions is, according to Paulson and Calla, the dominant analytical framework among the international organizations that influence and finance government administrations and many NGOs and research projects. These in turn shape the framework of development discourse (Escobar in Paulson and Calla 2000:132). In other words the actual discourse can reproduce, or *constitute* to use Connell’s term, social inequalities, which in turn may lead to subordination becoming institutionalized (McNay 2004:176).

3.3 Discussion

“Since individuals are never situated on a single axis of gender, racial or ethnic oppression then the only way in which the operations of these forces can be examined is from the level of social action” (McNay 2004:177-76). As McNay argues, the issue on material and symbolic power is after all about the type of conditions that operate upon social action and how it may be possible to overcome these constraints. The case study allows us to conclude that the process of capacity-building and social action are dependent on material and symbolic capital (although not totally dependent on one another!), but also on the intermingling of power-relations with (state or non-state) institutions. Whether poor women’s empowerment occurs on a conditional or unconditional basis, I recognize it says little about “why individuals act in some circumstances rather than others, and why it is some individuals rather than others who act in the same circumstances” (ibid). Is it about knowing the rules of the game or are there rules around who can be recognized as political actors? Lawler discusses a case in another setting where oppressed women were denied the status of full players in terms of distributive justice; “because they belonged to a group that is not recognized as having parity with other, normalized groups to whom material and symbolic goods are deemed to rightfully accrue” (Fraser in Lawler 2004:120). Is it then about a struggle for legitimate ownership of various forms of capital, including the ownership of authority (ibid)?

What puzzles me still though, is the fact that we cannot escape systems of power to exist in any social relation in people’s everyday lives: even though capacity-building services are provided by “equals” (i.e. *for* Aymara *by* Aymara or as Rowlands would have called it; “power with”, rather than “power over”), the leader does perform authority, thus having the power to put conditions on the teaching. Hence, we may see a hierarchical character of capacity-building in the relation between the speaker and the listener, the teacher and the taught, or the leader and the lead. However, I believe it is dependent on the actors’ attitude and interests if the relation becomes hierarchical or not. The concept of *concientización* (to raise awareness) is good as long as it is not carried out in an “enlightenment thinking”-attitude, which may undermine local knowledge (IDRC 2000:140).

Further, the process of organizing and empowerment is conditioned by a simultaneous process of inclusion and exclusion, which is illustrated by the feeling and experience of “belongingness” to identity-groups. Luykx (2000:164) maintains that

indigenous as well as non-indigenous actors must work to avoid reproducing “the other” in a discriminating manner.

How to translate goals of gender and ethnic recognition and rights into effective actions at the local level may be the greatest challenge in the struggle towards social change (Albro in Healy and Paulson 2000:19). “Just as sexism itself is not one, but many, so are the strategies for combating it” (Luykx 2000:163). This must then also count for the combating of classism and racism. Important to point out is that national and international anthropologists, sociologists, intellectuals, indigenous leaders etc contribute to identity discourses through scholarship and activism (Healy and Paulson 2000:13). Sjörslev, however, means that the theoretical issues of the use and significance of the concept of culture, and much of the modern Western feminism on difference and identity, seem to have little relevance for the majority of those women who self-identify as indigenous and their actual day-to-day lives (in IWGIA 296ff).

Nevertheless, local women’s organizations, both urban and rural, have provided important networks for channelling resources and confronting the economic crisis on various levels (Lind 2004:61. see also Diakonia 2006; Arnold and Spedding 2005). The construction of networks made by state, unions, churches, and NGOs has played a crucial role in providing a basis for indigenous mobilizing (Yashar 1998:38). Healy and Paulson state that all local initiatives are vital in the process of generating more equitable respect, recognition and power for the diverse groups interacting in Bolivia (2000:20).

4 Conclusion

Rather than providing “straight answers” my chief intention was to problematize and illustrate the complexities and contradictions relating to the matter. Initially I asked how the process of capacity-building had influenced the Aymara activists, what constraints that are put on their agency and what potentialities activism inheres. The contextualization in chapter 2 demonstrated, considering the conditions under which the great majority of the “multicultural and pluriethnic” population in Bolivia lives, why so many massive mobilizations and internal conflicts have taken place. As another counter effect to the social injustices we see the formation of hundreds of grassroots organizations.

The restraining factors for the women to enjoy equal opportunities were to be found in the cultural, social and physical conditions in which they live; the respondents felt oppressed as “women”, as “indigenous” and as “poor” people. Nevertheless, they gained capacity of agency and control by the mere fact of entering the organizational sphere, becoming leaders and assuming responsibilities. The process of organizing turned out to be a process of capacity-building in itself, hence a process of relative empowerment. Symbolic capital is powerful capital because it brings power with it (Skegg 2002:10). Further more, actual social change was achieved when the women challenged the existing traditions and norms that legitimate male authority, and was partly relieved from gender stereotyping. Alongside this process several women expressed the experience of “re-gaining” an identity. Being able to convey and express one’s identity was felt as an

affirmation and an act of self-esteem. The identity was redefined in relation to the people they met and the new knowledge and awareness of their social situations and positions. As stated by Johnson “empowerment may be a slow process, involving self-discovery and the development of a collective identity (in Rowlands 1997:18). In relation to the strengthening of a collective identity as a marginalized social group, a topic worth further exploration is the possibility of how the women who have been denied social power and justice appropriate terms from the dominant discourse and resignify them in order “to rally a political movement” (Butler in Lawler 2004:122).

As the case study reveals there are constraints put on women’s opportunities. Implications for policy and action are to be found on various levels. I have portrayed this partly by looking at how the “manager-recipients” relationship and attitude may look like. Depending on the contents of policies and action it may either facilitate or hinder women’s well being and opportunities. The process of labelling and normalization may be very harmful. Even at the personal level “power and hierarchy may reassert themselves” (IDRC 2000:81).

Enriqueta experienced the “women of first section” as blindly deciding for “all” women. This expression may show the necessity for local knowledge of the needs and socioeconomic conditions of indigenous women in order for policy makers to design relevant measures to meet those needs. Therefore, I argue that grassroots organizations, such as CDIMA, *do* make a difference. CDIMA shows the capability and potentialities of strategic actions created and carried out by the women who are aware of the multileveled reality of racism, sexism and classism of the “target” women. It also shows, I would argue, the need for researchers to approach these women as political actors and not just as victims of systems of domination, since this would underemphasize their social agency (Castillo 1997:102). Then, we need also to ask, is there an “indigenous women’s reality”? One thing is clear; there is no universal “gender”, “ethnic”, or “class” group. The multiple-dimensional oppression facing indigenous women interacts in complex ways, leading to countless modes of consciousness and action (IDRC 2000:131-132). Is it then possible to be a feminist without being racist or classist? Can feminist thought and practice incorporate the experience and worldviews of indigenous women (ibid 136)? Yashar affirms that individuals are plural subjects, and power is diffuse, and therefore nongeneralizable (1998:29). Seen from a post-structural feminist perspective allows us to recognize the relationship between language and subjectivity and their connections with other aspects of

material life, and at best “provide a perspective in which we can celebrate differences and ambiguities without sacrificing the search for a broader, richer, more complex and multilayered feminist solidarity” (IDRC 138).

To summarize, women need to organize in order to empower themselves and to bring about long-term change. CDIMA’s collective agency does achieve social change on a small scale. The organization’s promotion of informal education and power capital to marginalized people is a crucial first step to overcome social injustices and the accomplishment of positive peace. Radical social change seems to be very difficult to achieve however, no matter how much capacity-building is being provided. I believe this illustrates the harsh reality of how it is to be deprived and subordinate.

Notes

¹ Popular class (*clase popular*) is very much used description in Bolivia. *Popular* means in this case being part of the majority of the general public, but also something particular for the less favourable social classes (Biblioteca de Consulta Microsoft® Encarta® 2005. © 1993-2004 Microsoft Corporation. Reservados todos los derechos).

²“A term used mainly in international health meaning development of health systems in low-income countries. It includes activities directed at upgrading technical and professional skills and establishing and/or strengthening infrastructure in the health, education, and social sectors, usually with financial, as well as technical and professional, assistance from donor nations and nongovernmental organizations” (*A Dictionary of Public Health*. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Malmö högskola. 19 December 2007 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e583>).

³ In Cohen (2001:358) one can read that “the term “informal education” has been used to describe such widely varying phenomena as school-sponsored field trips, literacy programs for adults in developing countries, certain aspects of social work, alternative classrooms, and learning which occurs in daily experiences and interactions”.

⁴ “Knowledge” is a certain interpretation about certain relationships or a combination of factors that individuals store in their memory. Often knowledge is the result of studies (Nationalencykpedien 2006). Also it is “information and skills acquired through experience or education [...] and awareness or familiarity gained by experience”(Oxford Reference Online 2006).

⁵ Bourdieu’s theory of practice human action is constituted through a dialectical relationship between individuals’ thought and activity and the objective world. Bourdieu further represents these two as habitus and fields respectively (14). “Fields are bounded spheres identifiable in terms of shared areas of Activities” (Grenfell 24).

⁶ Development; “the process of developing or being developed; a specified state of growth or advancement; an event constituting a new stage in a changing situation” (*The Oxford Dictionary of English*).

⁷ Intersectionality is a culture theoretical term coined by Kimberly Crenshaw, relating to postmodern feminist theory, afroamerican theory and queer theory. This term replaced her previously coined term black feminist thought, which increased the general applicability of her theory from African American women to all women (Eriksson-Zetterquist och Styhre 2007).

⁸ “Poor” lacking sufficient resources or money to live at a standard considered comfortable or normal in a society (*The Oxford Dictionary of English*).

⁹ Altiplano is the name of the geographical area of a high plateau in the Andes.

¹⁰ According to UNDP (2003) 41,3 percent of the total population (approximately 9,1 million inhabitants in 2006) live under extreme poverty.

¹¹ Above from the demographic components of Indians and *mestizos* there is also a significant presence of European-descendants, followed by minority groups of afro- and Asian- descendants. (Garcia Linera, 2003:178-180,188).

¹² mestizo means to be descendant from indian and white

¹³ In 1982 the Working Group for Indigenous Populations was created, which has grown to be the largest forum within the UN dealing with human rights issues (Niezen 46). The debate concerning the terms “populations” and “peoples” have been significant. The resistance by governments towards the expression “peoples” in ILO Convention no. 169 to identify its subjects has been due to its association with self-determination, and consequently associated in international law with a right of independent statehood (Anaya in Niezen 2003:38)

¹⁴ “La Nueva Bolivia” is part of the title of MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo) government’s political program of 2006-2010 called “Una Nueva Bolivia con Progreso y Paz”.

¹⁵ The 1967 Constitution made no reference to indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities, referring only to community lands and campesino syndicates (Van Cott 2000:135).

¹⁶ The objectives of the LPP (Nr. 1551, 20th of April of 1994) are stated in its first article: “The present Law recognizes, promotes, and consolidates the Popular Participation process by articulating the indigenous, *campesino*, and urban communities to the juridical, political, and economic life of the country. It strives to improve the quality of life of the Bolivian woman and man with a more just

distribution and better administration of public resources. It strengthens political and economic instruments necessary to perfect representative democracy, facilitating citizen *participation* and guaranteeing equality of opportunity of women and men in the levels of *representation*” (cited in Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000 Part II “The Friendly Liquidation of the Past. The politics of diversity in Latin America”, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. p. 169)

¹⁷ Each municipality has an oversight committee (Comité de Vigilancia) composed by unpaid representatives, chosen annually according to local customs, by the OTBs of each municipal district. This committee is a crucial actor in the popular participation, since it allows the civil society to articulate with the state, and the civil society to control over the actions of government. The *Comité de Vigilancia* has the right to obtain access to all information regarding the receipt and expenditure of municipal co-participation funds. This “actor” also transmits the priorities of community organizations to the municipal government (Van Cott 2000: 171-172). The municipality was the core base for the LPP and the subjects of the law were the OTBs *Organizaciones Territorial de Base*, covering an estimated 12,000 campesino and indigenous communities and between 4,000 and 8,000 neighbourhood committees. 311 municipalities were created.¹⁷ The new system of state-society relations were organized around existing authorities and structures, thus, the state gained the substantial legitimacy of indigenous and campesino community organizations and authorities (Van Cott 2000:170). The juridical personality granted on OTBs empowers these social organizations to receive donations or loans from governmental or non-governmental entities or to enter into legal relationships with national or international development agencies. OTBs are required to participate in the execution and administration of public works, to inform their members of their progress and to assume responsibility for promoting the equitable representation of women (Van Cott, 2000:170).

¹⁸ At least two thirds of the 280 rural municipals are placed in areas highly deprived economically and with ecological and productive conditions of high risk (draught, floods, erosion, deforestation among others) (Urioste, 2002:177-178)

¹⁹ The participation is limited by closed organizational structures of the very rural federations and unions, and by the fact that women’s associations and organizations are not given the status as other OTBs (Salguero 1999:64). Additionally it has been demonstrated that the investments on gender politics in the country’s municipals do not reach 1 % of the budgets assigned by the municipals. This means that only 1 % of the total programs made by PDM (municipal development plans, which are a five-year strategic plan consisting of the demands from OTBs aggregated by oversight committees) are particular for women. It should be mentioned that 97 % of these programs are projects in relation to the SUMI (Seguro Universal Materno-Infantil) (Arnold 2005:117).

²⁰ A high number of women are not registered and do not have basic documents and can therefore not exercise their right to vote, and thus difficult the advancement in political participation. The National Institute on Statistics (INE) calculate that between 7,33- 9,58 % of the national population are not part of the national registration, and those who do not have access to birth certificate are mostly “elderly, women and ethnic groups” (Arnold, 2005:113). It is estimated that 66 percent of the non-registered are women, especially from rural areas. Women also constitute the least educated of the population and the rate of illiteracy is high. According to a Census from 2001 the population older than 19 years of age, women in average reach 6,65 years of school, and men 8,24 years, however, in rural areas women reach only 3,14 years of school in average, and 5,18 years for men. In rural areas of the population older than 15 years, the level of illiteracy of women reaches 38 % in comparison to 14 % in the case of men (Albó and Anaya in Arnold 2005:117). Important to mention in relation to the LPP is the 2004’s Law nr. 2771, which include in its 8th article the demand of the citizen associations and indigenous peoples to establish no less than a 50 percent of female representation. The *Ley de Partidos Políticos y Código Electoral* of 1999 establishes a quote on no less than a 30 percent of women’s participation in the political parties. As many surveys prove, these quotes are not being fulfilled (CIDEM. 2005. p 5-13).

²¹ see Appendix I for definitions on different kinds of organizations.

²² The activities and actions concerning the capacity-building of Aymara women out of their necessities were consolidated in 1993, and did thereof take an ideological stand to develop their work in favour of women. In 1995 the organization gained the juridical recognition as an NGO and changed the name to Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara (CDIMA) without altering its ideology. The project called “Formación y capacitación de la Mujer Aymara” reached 149 women. The “schools” of education and capacity-building of the Aymara woman in leadership and organization have awarded diplomas to 295 women only in 2004. The organization has in the last decade expanded its activities from only

involving the closest provinces annexed to La Paz, to also work with women and NGOs in districts far away from its headquarters.

²³ Traditional kin-ship organization and authority.

²⁴ The women's quotations will be presented in the text in italic, in order to easily distinguish their words from the rest of the text. The quotations in English are my own translations from Spanish. The original citing is to be found in a footnote after each statement, except from the quotes from the interview which is to be found in its whole in Appendix.

²⁵ por que no nos vamos a organizar, ustedes no nos dan importancia [...] yo era joven inocente, veía muchos atropellos, en mi hogar habia mucha discriminación [...] por qué no nos vamos a organizar las mujeres, en cada reunion de hombres se plantear, es que soy la vinculación femenina pero los hombres me saben faltar el respeto, (the men say:) para que quieren organizarse las mujeres, nosotros ya estamos organizados, nosotros somos dirigentes con derechos" (81,133).

²⁶ "...la mujer es la secundaria, es menor de edad, [...] aunque somos mayores pero somos menores de edad, siempre minoria nos quiere dar" (81).

²⁷ ..aunque no sea bien pero tenemos que hablar, asi tambien tenemos que sacarnos ideas, porque si no vamos a hablar [...] la wawa que no llora no le damos nada pues, entonces gritamos, vamos a hacernos escuchar" (81).

²⁸ "Pollera" is a gathered and a layered skirt, inherited from an ancient form of dress used by Creole women (Gruzinski and Wachtel 2004;190).

²⁹ Bourdieu's theory of practice human action is constituted through a dialectical relationship between individuals' thought and activity and the objective world. Bourdieu further represents these two as habitus and fields respectively (14). "Fields are bounded spheres identifiable in terms of shared areas of Activities" (Grenfell 24).

References

- Adkins, Lisa and Beverley Skeggs (2004) *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Oxford; Blackwell.
- Albó, Xavier 2004. Ethnic Identity and Politics in the Central Andes in Burt, Jo-Marie and Philip Mauceri *Politics in the Andes. Identity, Conflict, Reform*. University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburg.
- Alvesson, Mats and Kaj Sköldberg *Reflexive methodology: new vistas for qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London : SAGE, 2000
- Amorin, Carlos, 2005. *La Rebellion de las mujeres*. Secretaria regional de latinoamerica. Februari 2005:www.rel-uita.org/agricultura/foro_justicia-social/lidia mamani.htm
- Ardaya Salinas, Gloria “*Participación política y liderazgos de mujeres en Bolivia*”. La Paz: CIDEM, 2001, 52p (42,45)
- Arnold, Denise and Spedding, Alison. “*Mujeres en los Movimientos Sociales en Bolivia 2000-2003*”. CIDEM e ILCA, La Paz. Bolivia, 2005.
- Ayo Saucedo, Diego.1999. “*Los desafíos de la Participacion Popular*”CEBEM Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios. La Paz: CEBEM.18p, (92).
- Babb, Florence E. 2007 “The future of Feminist Anthropology/the Feminist future of Anthropology” *Anthropology News*. November 2007 page 4-5.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1996 [orig. 1969]. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." In *Ethnicity*, Hutchinson, John and Anthony d. Smith (eds.), pp. 75-82. Oxford & New York: OxfordUniversity Press. (7 s)
- Burt, Jo-Marie and Philip Mauceri. 2004 *Politics in the Andes: identity, conflict, reform*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburg

Canessa, Andrew 2006 Todos somos indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Volume 25, Number 2, April 2006 , pp. 241-263(23)

Castillo, Rosalva Aída Hernández. 1997, Between Hope and Adversity: The Struggle of Organized Women in Chiapas Since the Zapatista Uprising. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Jan 1997, Vol. 3, No. 1: 102-120.

CDIMA 2007; www.cdima.org

Cohen, Erik H. A (2001) *Structural Analysis of the R. Kabane Code of Informality: Elements toward a Theory of Informal Education*, Bar-Ban University
Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 71, No. 3, Summer 2001, 357-80

Connell, R. W. (1987) *Gender and Power. Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford University Press, Cambridge 352 pp. ISBN-10: 0804714304. ISBN-13: 9780804714303

Diakonia 2006 “*Género, etnicidad y participación política*”, Diakonia, La Paz, Bolivia.

Domingo, Pilar, “Party Politics, Intermediation and Representation” in: Crabtree John and Laurence Whitehead. 2001. “*Towards Democratic Viability. The Bolivian Experience*”. Chapters 2, 4 and 8. Oxford: Palgrave

Edling, Christoffer och Jens Rydgren 2007, *Social handling och sociala relationer* Natur och Kultur, Falun.

Enriqueta Huanto Ticona 2006. *Interview* at CDIMA Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara "AMUYT'A", El Alto, Bolivia 16 de Noviembre de 2006.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, 1996. *Historia, myt och identitet* Stockholm Bonnier Alba.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, 2002. *Flerkulturell förståelse* Oslo : Universitetsforlaget, 2002. 2. uppl.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, 2004 [orig 1995] *Små plateser, stora frågor; en introduktion i socialantropologi*. Nya Doxa. Falun.

Eriksson-Zetterquist, Ulla och Alexander Styhre, 2007. *Organisering och intersektionalitet*. Malmö: Liber

Fjärde Världen 2007 "Organisering i Bolivia" nr 3, 2007, page 10-13.

Galtung, Johan, 1969. Violence, peace and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research* 3:167-191. (24p)

García Linera, Álvaro, 2003. 3)Autonomías regionales indígenas y Estado multicultural. Una lectura de la descentralización regional a partir de las identidades culturales. En: *La descentralización que viene. Propuestas para la (re) constitución den nivel intermedio*, pp 169-210. La Paz: FES-ILDIS y plural editores. Decentralización participativa No. 6.

Gray-Molina, George, "Exclusion, Participation and Democratic State-building" in: Crabtree John and Laurence Whitehead. 2001. *"Towards Democratic Viability. The Bolivian Experience"*. Chapters 2, 4 and 8. Oxford: Palgrave

Grenfell, Michael. 1998. *Bourdieu & Education: Acts of Practical Theory*. Florence, KY, USA: Taylor & Francis, Incorporated, 1998. p 22.
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/malmo/Doc?id=2004201&ppg=28>

Gruzinski, Serge and Nathan Wacketl 2004, Cultural Interbreeding: Constituting the Majority as a Minority in Burgiere, André and Raymond Grew *The Contruction of Minorities*. The University of Mishigan Press, USA.

Healy, Kevin and Susan Paulson 2000, Political Economies of Identity in Bolivia 1952-1998. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Jul 2000, Vol. 5, No. 2: 2-29.

Holland, Dorothy et al. 2001 *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*. Harvard University Press, USA.

Htun, Mala 2004, Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups *Perspectives on Politics*, 2: 439-458

IDRC 2000, *Theoretical perspectives on gender and development* / edited by Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly, and V. Eudine Barriteau. Ottawa : IDRC: International Development Research Center.

IWGIA .1998. document no 88 / published by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. 88 : *Indigenous women : the right to a voice* / editor Diana Vinding. Copenhagen : IWGIA,

Jönsson, Henrik, 2007. "Oppositionen i Bolivia utropar självstyre". *Sydsvenskan* 22 december.

Lawler, Steph 2004. Rules of engagement; habitus, power and resistance, in Adkins, Lisa and Beverley Skeggs (2004) *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Oxford; Blackwell.

Levinson, Bradley A Douglas E. Foley, and Dorothy C. Holland, eds.1996 *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 338 pp.

Lind, Amy, 2004. "Engendering Andean Politics: The Paradoxes of Women's Movements in Neoliberal Ecuador and Bolivia" in Burt and Mauceri *Politics in the Andes; identity, conflict, reform*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.

Luykx, Aurolyn 2000, Gender Equity and Interculturalidad: The Dilemma in Bolivian Education. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. Jul 2000, Vol. 5, No. 2: 150-178.

McNay, Lois 2004, Agency and Experience; gender as a lived relation in Adkins, Lisa and Beverley Skeggs (2004) *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Oxford; Blackwell.

Meluccci, Alberto 1996 *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. Univeristy of Milan, Cambridge Univesity Press, Cambridge.

Miles, Robert. 1993. "Nationalism and Racism: Antihitesis and Articulation." In "*Racism after 'race relations.'*" Chapter 2, pp. 53-79. London and New York: Routledge. (26 s)

Molina Rivero, Ramiro. 2001. "*La Pluralización del Estado: Autonomía y Participación Indígena en el Proceso Democrático*". La Paz

Morales, Evo 2006, "El Cambio esta en Marcha", *El Diario*. Jueves 23 de febrero de 2006, Bolivia.

NE *Nationalencyclopedia*;

http://www.ne.se.support.mah.se/jsp/notice_board.jsp?i_type=1

Niezen, Ronald.2003 *The Origins of Indigenism, Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. University of California Press 291 sidor ISBN 0520235541

Paulson, Susan and Pamela Calla 2000. Gender and Ethnicity in Bolivian Politics: Transformation or Paternalism? *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2000 5:2, 112-149

Rowlands, Jo 1997. *Questioning empowerment : working with women in Honduras*. Oxford : Oxfam.

Salguero Carillo, Elisabeth. 1999 "*Mujeres rurales en Bolivia; juntas por la dignidad de nuestras vidas*". La Paz:CIDEM. 127 p (p.62):

Sen, Amartya 2001[1999] *Development as freedom* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001[New ed.]

Sierra, Teresa 2000. Human Rights, Gender, and Ethnicity: Legal Claims and Anthropological Challenges in Mexico. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*. Nov 2001, Vol. 24, No. 2: 76-93.

Skegg, Beverly 2002, *Formation of Class & Gender*. Sage Publications, London

Stephen, Lynn 2001. Gender, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity. *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 28, No. 6, Power, Policy, and Neoliberalism (Nov., 2001), pp. 54-69 16 pages.

The California Wellness Foundation 2001. Definition of capacity-building. (http://www.tcdf.org/pub_reflections/2001/april/pages/definition_of_capacity_building.htm) hämtad 2007-12-19

The Oxford Dictionary of English (revised edition). Ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2005. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. Malmö högskola. 19 December 2007
<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e60873>

UNDP.2006. *Informe sobre las metas del desarrollo de la Cumbre del Milenio: Progreso en Bolivia*. (hämtad 2007-12-14).

Urioste, Miguel “*Desarrollo Rural con Participación Popular*” La Paz; Fundación Tierra. 2002. 300p. (157)

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000 Part II “*The Friendly Liquidation of the Past. The politics of diversity in Latin America*”, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. p. 169

Warren, Kay B. and Jean E. Jackson. 2002. *Indigenous movements, self-representation, and the state in Latin America* Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Whitehead, Laurence, “The Emergence of Democracy in Bolivia” in: Crabtree John and Laurence Whitehead. 2001. “*Towards Democratic Viability. The Bolivian Experience*”. Chapters 2, 4 and 8. Oxford: Palgrave

World Bank (2007) Poverty and Social Impact Analysis (PSIA) [2006].
<http://go.worldbank.org/32JMUV85A0> hämtad 2007-12-19

Yashar, Deborah J. 1998, Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1. (Oct., 1998), pp. 23-42.

Appendix I

List of Abbreviations and Concepts

CDIMA	Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara Amuyt'a
CONAMAQ	Confederación Nacional de Markas del Qullasuyu
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Bolivia
FNMCB-BS	Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Bartolina Sisa
GDAG	General Office for Gender Issues
IDRC	International Development Research Center
IWGIA	International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs
LPP	Ley de Participación Popular
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

- Discourse: “An historical, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs (IDRC 2000, *Theoretical perspectives on gender and development* / edited by Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly, and V. Eudine Barriteau. Ottawa : IDRC: International Development Research Center).
- Indigenous people: “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system” (United Nations 2004, Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Workshop on data collection and disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples, New York, 19-21 January 2004).
- Movement: A group of people working together to advance their shared political, social, or artistic ideas: e.g. *the labour movement*; a campaign undertaken by such a group: *a movement to declare war on poverty*, a change or development: *the movement towards greater sexual equality* (*The Oxford Dictionary* <http://www.oxfordreference.com/>)
- Organization: A classical definition is “a system of coordinated conscious personal activities or forces” (Bernard cited in Eriksson-Zetterquist 2007:16). To get organized, i.e. a process where people collectively coordinate their activities.
- Grassroots: The most basic level of an activity or organization: ordinary people regarded as the main body of an organization's membership (*The Oxford Dictionary* <http://www.oxfordreference.com/>)
- Popular: *Popular* means in this case being part of the majority of the general public, but also something particular for the less favourable social classes (Biblioteca de Consulta Microsoft® Encarta® 2005. © 1993-2004 Microsoft Corporation. Reservados todos los derechos).

Appendix II

Entrevistada: Enriqueta Huanto

Lugar: CDIMA Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara "AMUYT'A", El Alto, Bolivia

Fecha: 16 de Noviembre de 2006.

(see English summary below)

Yo trabajé en CDIMA del 2003 al 2004, después me retiré pero volví a trabajar en agosto de este año. Liderazgos e iniciativas económicas son unas de las áreas con que trabajamos. Iniciativas económicas es el trabajo de artesanía. Es para que las mujeres Aymaras en las comunidades tengan ingreso económico, lo cual es posible a partir de sus productos laborados. Trabajamos principalmente con mujeres Aymaras en las provincias. Por el momento somos 13 personas que trabajamos en CDIMA, y cada área tiene su equipo. Yo estoy en "formación y capacitación" que significa promover y fortalecer el liderazgo de la mujer, con visiones de potenciar. Esta área ha sido expandida al incluir mujeres quechuas de Cochabamba. Autoridades de cada municipio y organizaciones ven si necesitan ayuda y solicitan nuestro apoyo, se hace un convenio y bajo ese convenio se trabaja. El trabajo en si es formando y organizando a las mujeres. Tenemos siete modelos establecidos. Una de las dificultades para una mujer de ser líder es la autoestima, otro es la familia. Nosotras no tenemos personas en la casa que disponen de servicios. Es nuestro propio trabajo de atender nuestros hijos, los animales, la producción. Esto dificulta, sobre todo a las mujeres que participan en actividades fuera del hogar. El varón también busca trabajo e ingreso para la familia, grandes o pequeños trabajos.

Investigaciones muestran que las "q'aras", mujeres blancas, tienen mayor facilidad de ejercer liderazgo. Esto ha llegado a la conciencia de varios varones indígenas que hoy dicen que "tenemos que apoyar a nuestras mujeres para que ellas también ejerzan liderazgo". Pero siempre hay el machismo que fue una imposición colonial, y que hoy ya es parte de costumbres y valores. Hay machismo y también celos de la líder mujer, como se pudo ver en la presentación del libro el 17 de Noviembre, hombres que hablaban en contra de la mujer. Es el resentimiento que lo hace pero algunos son muy sinceros en lo que dicen.

Yo personalmente siempre he sido sola. Con 6 años mi madre me dejó en donde sus familiares. He estudiado todo lo que he podido y mis tíos me han apoyado. He vivido en La Paz, Santa Cruz y en el campo. Hasta los 14 años he estado rondando lejos de mi madre. Después volví a vivir con mi mamá y ella me dijo que siguiera los estudios pero en el proceso yo me di cuenta de que ella no podía apoyar más para que yo estudiara. Por eso yo con mi hermana, voluntariamente nos retiramos del colegio para ayudar a nuestra madre que sufría.

Mi madre hacía "cargos" en la comunidad y nos dijo que nosotras como ya éramos grandes deberíamos empezar de hacer "cargos". Yo empecé con los 17 años haciendo "cargos". Yo era secretaria de acto de la comunidad. Es por afiliados que se hace "cargos". Como yo sabía leer y escribir asumí el trabajo en vez de mi madre. Mujeres normalmente nunca llegan a esos cargos. Nuestra madre brindo por nosotras y decía que podíamos hacer el cargo como habíamos estudiado. Al principio no supe como redactar, pero fui aprendiendo. Después me enfermé un año. Entonces era inútil en casa, como no podía hacer nada, no podía hacer chacra, ni cuidar ganado. Yo era como el "varón" en la casa y

tenía que cumplir los roles como varón en la casa. Como era inútil en la casa; mi madre me dijo que fuera para asistir en las reuniones de la comunidad. Ese año hubo conflictos en la comunidad. Así que yo iba a las reuniones para escuchar. Mi comunidad se llamaba Quiascapa.

Hoy tengo 37 años. En el año '85 me retiré del colegio que fué el año cuando el presidente Estensoro re-localizó a los mineros. Me acuerdo que estaba muy triste y lloraba por mis compañeras. Debe haber sido en el '88 cuando estuve en cargo como secretaria del acto. El 91 volví al cargo después de mi enfermedad. En el -91 llegó una dirigente de las Bartolinas y dijo en una reunión grande:- que teníamos que organizar el movimiento de mujeres de nuevo, por que había tenido una crisis. Mi hermana mayor trabajaba con las Bartolinas pero tuvo que dejar su cargo por problemas en su familia y con su marido. Ella no tuvo apoyo por parte de su marido, y no tenía recursos. Yo no quería entrar pero mi madre me dijo que debía. Al final tomé el cargo como secretaria general de la Bartolinas de la comunidad. Las Bartolinas es una organización nacional que existe en los 9 departamentos. Después me metieron en Las Bartolinas departamental y en ese proceso como dirigente venía e iba a congresos y conocí a otras dirigentas. A mi me gustaba. Mucho antes, también era parte de un grupo juvenil que era una dinámica distinta. Cuando entré a Las Bartolinas ya eran señoras mayores. Algunas rigurosas, algunas buenas, algunas madres. A veces se notaba la discriminación de parte de la mujer blanca.

El -92 hubo un gran encuentro de 500 años de colonización. Fué en ese encuentro que me dí cuenta de que el racismo y la discriminación era fuerte. ¿Mujeres y varones indígenas nos preguntábamos; quienes somos? Hasta entonces habíamos sido asimilados por el sistema haciendo perder nuestra identidad. Eso era la política del sistema de perder la identidad indígena. ¿Entonces nos preguntábamos; somos campesinos, somos indígenas, quienes somos? Era la pregunta sobre la identidad. De ahí se inició un proceso. En las reuniones se cuestionaba sobre quienes manejan las instituciones. La mayoría es la gente blanca. Los financieros son los que manejan. Me parecía que a nosotros nos utilizaban. Siempre manejan el formato de trabajo adecuado a su favor. Nosotros nos pusimos hacer talleres, debates, cursos y así reflexionábamos sobre nuestra situación como indígenas. Siempre discutíamos frente esas instituciones y personas intelectuales, como les llaman. Aprovechan de su intelectualidad y de lo que ellos quieren. O sea la gente blanca, sea profesional o no profesional era intelectual. Así se veía; pero ahora ha cambiado un poco. Yo me acuerdo en un taller que se hizo, financiado por una ONG, que se trataba del tema de reproducción. Las mujeres Aymaras que llegaron se sintieron discriminadas. Después de eso reflexioné y me pregunté porqué. Porqué nuestra cultura es distinta. La forma de vivir es diferente, no es liberal. La política de las instituciones es que nosotras nos adecuemos a esa forma de vida liberal.

En ese tiempo me gustaba mucho participar en los eventos, debatir y discutir. El -96 hubo un gran movimiento sobre el tema de la tierra cuando se aprueba la Ley INRA el 18 de octubre. La mayoría de nosotros no éramos intelectuales, habíamos solamente avanzado cierta parte en los estudios. Los que manejaban el conocimiento era la gente blanca. Aunque no sabíamos bien como adecuar y estructurar las ideas; sabíamos lo que era y que queríamos de la ley.

El -97 me invita THOA a trabajar.

El MNR y la derecha siempre han manejado la política para asimilar y adecuar a los indígenas. Las comunidades, Ayllus lo convirtieron en OTB, Organización Territorial de Base. La gente entonces dijo: “tenemos que organizarnos en OTBs” y otros dijeron “nosotros las comunidades no queremos las OTBs”, pero el problema era que estos Ayllus o comunidades eran los OTBs. Esa imposición del sobrenombre provocó una confusión. Lo que hizo Goni fue distribuir a su gente que se agarró en los municipios. También han distribuido dinero y las personalidades jurídicas gratis. Pero no hay control sobre ese dinero.

El Estado no ha promovido realmente la participación de la mujer. Hoy hay mujeres indígenas en cargos pero éstas son objetos. Los partidos de derecha siempre han agarrado y manipulado la gente que quieren. Eso mismo ha pasado con las mujeres. ¿Quién es más subordinado al partido? ¿Quién puede ser fiel sirviente al partido? Sin que se rebelen. Así que cooptaban a esos tipos de líderes, tenga conocimiento o no. Si no tienen conocimiento mejor para ellos porque así siguen “bajo”, y no siendo competitivos en su liderazgo.

MAS fue construido por el pueblo mismo y las organizaciones. Hay valientes hermanas y también valientes varones.

Cuando llegó el sindicalismo a Bolivia y la formación de CTCUB los varones se preguntaron; ¿porque solo somos los varones que somos lideres en el sindicalismo? ¿Porque no las mujeres también se organizan? Así que varones pusieron la iniciativa de que las mujeres debieran organizarse. A veces los varones no son totalmente machistas. Es malo satanizar el varón indígena y generalizarlo como machista.

Por el momento es la rivalidad entre las mujeres blancas y las mujeres indígenas que tiene más espacio en el debate. Yo he visto muchas mujeres racistas contra las indígenas, pero esas mujeres también están dentro del MAS. Ellas no saben valorar nuestras decisiones y demandas, siempre subestiman e inferiorizan a la mujer indígena. Eso es el problema. Las mujeres blancas deciden por las indígenas, como que hablan por todas aunque en algunas ideas no concordamos con ellas. A veces no ven lo que nosotras queremos.

Hubo una época que el feminismo entró a las comunidades, a los Ayllus, los ONGs y las instituciones, después que se ratificó la CEDAW. Había casos en que mujeres se rebelaron con violencia contra sus maridos. Hubo enfrentamientos. Ya no se habla tanto del feminismo. A muchas mujeres llegaba la palabra del feminismo al corazón, cuando muchas estuvieron en una situación de discriminación de parte de los padres y hermanos, y sintieron falta de derechos. Después cambió las actitudes y los valores. Hoy se puede divorciar en cualquier momento. Yo pienso que no ha mejorado. Para buscar libertad tenemos que buscar de otra forma y no haciendo lo que hacen los varones. Aplicamos lo mismo. Los varones hacen la violencia. Si seguimos los varones empeoramos la situación y la violencia aumentará.

El feminismo “blanco” y el feminismo indígena es distinto porque las mujeres blancas tienen comodidades a partir de sus recursos. Tienen sus empleadas mientras la gente indígena no tiene. Tanto el hombre como la mujer se tienen que complementar para vivir bien.

A respecto a La Ley de Participación Popular algo si ha mejorado pero en su momento con el gobierno de Goñi y otros después de él, la política era para asimilar y distraer a la gente y

nada más. Por ejemplo, ellos robaban una gran cantidad del Estado. Y en los municipios entraban la gente mestiza y sacaban dinero. Nuestros recursos los han desviado. Las mujeres siguen siendo objetos. La Participación Popular no es adecuada. Hay que adecuar la forma de ejercicio y de decisiones.

A summary in English:

Enriqueta Huanto is 37 years old, Aymara, and works and lives in the city of El Alto, perched above La Paz. She works for CDIMA; “*Centro de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Aymara Amuyt’a*”, which work for a larger participation of Aymara and Quechua women in public spaces. Leadership and economical initiatives are some of the areas that CDIMA works with. Handy-craft is such an economic initiative. In this way Aymara women in the communities can have their personal income. Enriqueta work with the section called “*formación y capacitación*”, which consist of promoting and encouraging women’s leadership. Mostly they work with aymara women from the provinces. Authorities from each municipal or organization can solicit their help. The work is practically training and organizing the women.

One of the difficulties for women to be a leader is her self-confidence, another is the family. Enriqueta explains that the women she represents do not have domestic employees. They have to take care of their children, the animals, and the agricultural production. Obviously this complicates it even more for women who participate in activities outside their home.

According to Enriqueta, surveys have shown that “*q’aras*”, white women, exercise leadership easier. Indigenous men have taken notice of this and have increased their support for “their women” so they also can become leaders. Enriqueta points out though, the widespread machismo as a colonial imposition that have become part of their cultural values; “*usos y costumbres*”. Enriqueta has also noticed jealousies from part of both women and men on female leaders.

Enriqueta tells that she has practically all her life been alone. At the age of 6 her mother left her with Enriqueta's relatives. Her uncle supported her and let her go to school. She grew up in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and on the countryside. Until the age of 14 she lived away from her mother. When she than went to live again with her mother, she was told to continue her studies, but Enriqueta soon noticed that this was impossible. Her mother couldn’t pay more for her studies. This is why Enriqueta together with her sister decided voluntarily to quit the studies and to help their suffering mother. She remembers how much she liked studying and how sad she was leaving her classmates and friends from school.

At 17 years old, Enriqueta started to do “cargos” in her community. “Cargo” is a sort of unpaid work for the good of the community to complete the duties as a member of that community. Since Enriqueta could read and write she got the job of secretary, instead of her mother. It was not common that women got to this position.

Enriqueta says she became the “man” of the house, and ended up doing what normally belongs to the male role, such as assisting the reunions of her community.

In the beginning of the 90’s se entered “Las Bartolinas”, a national women’s organization, of which she later became departmental leader. During this time she had the opportunity to

travel and meet other women and leaders from other parts of the country. Enriqueta's sister also worked for Las Bartolinas but had to leave her job because of lack of resources and support from her husband.

Enriqueta has had personal experiences of white women discriminating indigenous women. It was first in the 92's great encounter of "500 years of colonization" where she noticed that the racism and discrimination was strong: "*Indigenous women and men asked ourselves; Who are we? Are we campesinos or are we indigenous? Until then we had been assimilated by the system making us lose our identity. That has always been the State's policy.*" In the same period Enriqueta remembers how they all started to question and debating in the reunions about who were actually the ones managing the institutions; mostly the white. This was the beginning of a process of workshops, reunions and courses where they meditated their situation as indigenous. Enriqueta admits that she felt as if the indigenous were "used" by the whites and "intellectuals" who had all power. In that time they could be professionals or not, but just the fact of being white made them into "intellectuals". Enriqueta remember one particular workshop where many Aymara women had felt discriminated. She asked herself why, and came to the conclusion that their culture is different. The state's policy is based on a liberal way of living and the Aymara culture does not correspond to this. The institutions' policy is to assimilate indigenous women to live according to the liberal codes.

In many occasions, many of the indigenous were not intellectuals and some had only reached a certain level of education, but even so, they always knew *what* they wanted even though it was more difficult for them to present and formulate their demands.

With the Law of Popular Participation the communities, the ayllus were transformed into "OTBs". People started to say they had to organize themselves in "OTBs", while other said "we, the communities, do not want the OTBs", when in fact they *were* the OTBs. This implementation causes a lot of confusion.

Enriqueta thinks that the State has not really promoted women's participation. Today there are indigenous women working on governmental level, but according to Enriqueta these women are only objects. The right winged parties have many times co-opted and manipulated the people they wanted. Many people, including women, who are most subordinated and the most "faithful servants" to the party, are the ones reaching significant positions within the political parties.

Today's principal debate is the rivalry between the white and indigenous women. Enriqueta feels that many white women sub estimate and inferiorize the demands of the indigenous women. Many times white women say they decide for "all women" when they actually just decide for themselves, because we do not always agree with their ideas. She continues saying that white women do not always really see what we need and want.

The "white" and indigenous' feminism are different because of the fact that white women live with much more commodities since belonging to higher social classes with more resources.

Enriqueta believes that there has been a slight improvement with the LPP but does still see the law as a tool to assimilate the indigenous peoples, and that the women continues to be objects within their representation and participation.