

Productive Strategies for Poor Rural
Households to Participate Successfully
in Global Economic Processes



Country report for Bolivia, Central
Andes to the
International Development
Research Centre



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Country Report for Bolivia

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The document presents a review of rural poverty, the environment and global economic processes in Bolivia, which is part of a global study to identify research themes for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Rural Poverty and Environment Programme Initiative. It is intended that the study will identify action orientated research themes and potential research partners and implementers of research outputs. The country study was also aimed at validating results generated from a regional scan of the Central Andes region carried out during the early part of 2006.

The main findings of the work are as follows:

- There are large differences in poverty between the:
 - Rural and urban areas.
 - Areas with indigenous and non-indigenous populations.
- Rural and indigenous poverty is more prevalent and profound. It is related to low levels of human, natural, physical, financial and social capitals and also to isolation from global economic processes.
- Services to address the lack of human capital are not closing the gap between rural and urban areas and place a significant weakness in the ability of poor, rural people to participate successfully in global economic processes.
- There exist inequalities in land distribution and the current land rights are such that no effective open land market exists. This undermines the flexibility of the rural economy and the ability of rural people to participate in global economic processes.
- While there are official poverty data and studies on poverty, little information exists on the differences between poor people and asset transfers between these groups. There is also little information about how poor, rural people interact with local economic organisations who have links to global economic processes.
- The ability of the rural poor to articulate their demands is weak, and many development actions fail to fully engage such people in processes to improve their ability to participate in global economic processes.

On the basis of these above results the following five themes were identified:

- Human capital
- Land rights
- Asset transfers at rural level and value chain analysis
- Voice of the rural poor.
- Systematisation of past and ongoing rural research and development

The last section of the document includes a justification for these themes, with specific research questions and potential research partners.

2 INTRODUCTION

The goal of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Rural Poverty and Environment (RPE) Programme Initiative (PI) is to support participatory action-learning-research, policy and institutional innovations and reforms. RPE PI contributes to the development of networks, partnerships and communities of practice, in order to strengthen organisations, policies and practices that enhance the food, water and income security of the rural poor, including those living in fragile or degraded upland and coastal ecosystems.

In order to achieve this, RPE will support activities in four outcome areas:

1. Building effective environmental governance where all stakeholders, including marginalized groups, participate in environmental and natural resource management;
2. Enhancing equitable access and use rights to natural resources by strengthening the negotiating capacity of the rural poor to defend or expand their rights to natural resources;
3. Strengthening communities' capacity to respond to and benefit from integration within wider social and economic systems (i.e. urbanisation, globalisation and market integration); and
4. Adaptive learning.

It is in the context of the third outcome that the RPE PI is developing a programming capacity on 'Productive strategies for poor rural families to participate successfully in global economic processes'. In November 2005, IDRC invited the Overseas Development Institute in London to implement a Scoping Study in order to prepare an agenda of priority research for this RPE PI theme. The aim of the Scoping Study is to provide a conceptually robust and empirically sound rationale for the allocation of some CAD\$1 to 4m in research Calls for Proposals that will be launched each year in the remainder of the five years program cycle from July 2006 to 2010. The emphasis is on transformative research that will not just study the conditions of the rural poor – but undertake the research necessary to change them. The need was articulated for a research agenda that will be concerned with diagnosis but especially with inspiration. During the study ODI will:

1. Identify and review research directions and actors by: preparing an agenda of priority research areas; highlight critical issues regarding methodologies; identify on-going working within the scope of the theme by other donors and related institutions; and, identify potential partners;
2. Provide recommendations that enable RPE to build a coherent programme of research in this area, including possible collaboration with other IDRC programmes – such as Globalisation, Growth and Poverty (GGP);
3. Identify the policies, process and institutions that will expand the potential benefits of wider linkages to the rural poor and allow the development and dissemination of these findings with researchers, NGOs and civil society groups and policy-makers in the South; and
4. Identify ways to enhance the capacity of rural communities to develop their own indigenous capacities and define their own productive strategies to improve their livelihoods.

There are four phases to the study:

- An inception phase when the study team and members of IDRC's RPE programme held discussions and made agreements on how the study would be implemented (see Inception Report);
- Regional scans for six target regions with documents produced and distributed in February and March 2006;
- A country study for each region, Bolivia is the case study country for the Central Andean region. Results from the regional scan and country study were presented and discussed at a workshop held in La Paz on 4th April 2006; and
- Results from all regional scans, country studies and workshops will be brought together by the London based team to develop a research investment strategy which will be presented to IDRC in June 2006

The current document is the country report for Bolivia with the objective of identifying:

- Validating regional research themes that are related to how global economic processes can have a positive impact on rural poverty and the environment; and
- Potential IDRC RPE research partners and implementers of research in Bolivia.

The report is based on a methodological framework, which can be found in the study Inception report, and the document has the following structure:

- A section examining and validating the key findings from the regional scan.
- A list of potential research themes and partners.
- Annexes with country data.

The document will be circulated within the study team, to IDRC and to people within Bolivia for comment in order to improve its content and relevance.

3 VALIDATION OF KEY FINDINGS FROM THE REGIONAL SCAN

3.1 HOW CAN POOR RURAL HOUSEHOLDS ADAPT THEIR LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES TO BENEFIT FROM PARTICIPATION WITH GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROCESSES?

3.1.1 Understanding the context

The rural population has grown more slowly than the urban population in Bolivia during the 1990s reflecting a continuing process of rural to urban migration. In the rural areas poverty is both more prevalent and deeper than in the cities and towns. In both rural and urban regions there has been poverty reduction with a movement of people from the lower poverty status brackets to the categories that are either just below or above the poverty line. This change has been much quicker in urban areas and has placed more people in categories considered to be above the poverty line. However, there has been a slight decrease in the highest category, which would imply that there has been an increase in the proportion of people in the middle classes in Bolivia, with a reduction in the lower and upper classes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Bolivian population in 1992 and 2001 by region and socio-economic status¹ with an estimate of change over the time period²(based on data from INE, 2002; authors estimates).

Socio-economic status	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
1992						
Basic needs met	35,437	1.3	968,050	26.2	1,003,487	15.6
Just above poverty	92,682	3.4	764,833	20.7	857,515	13.4
Just below poverty	681,487	25.0	1,474,244	39.9	2,155,730	33.6
Poor	1,605,582	58.9	469,245	12.7	2,074,828	32.3
Very poor	310,758	11.4	18,474	0.5	329,232	5.1
Total	2,725,946	100.0	3,694,846	100.0	6,420,792	100.0
2001						
Basic needs met	32,711	1.2	956,965	25.9	989,676	15.4
Just above poverty	218,076	8.0	1,293,196	35.0	1,511,272	23.5
Just below poverty	1,063,119	39.0	1,156,487	31.3	2,219,606	34.6
Poor	1,229,402	45.1	277,113	7.5	1,506,515	23.5
Very poor	185,364	6.8	7,390	0.2	192,754	3.0
Total	3,108,443	100.0	5,165,882	100.0	8,274,325	128.9
Change between the time periods						
Basic needs met	-4.0	-4.0	-0.6	-0.6	-0.7	-0.7
Just above poverty	40.4	40.4	25.7	25.7	27.6	27.6
Just below poverty	21.9	21.9	-12.1	-12.1	1.5	1.5
Poor	-13.3	-13.3	-25.7	-25.7	-15.9	-15.9
Very poor	-25.3	-25.3	-42.9	-42.9	-26.1	-26.1
Total	6.6	0.0	16.6	0.0	12.6	12.6

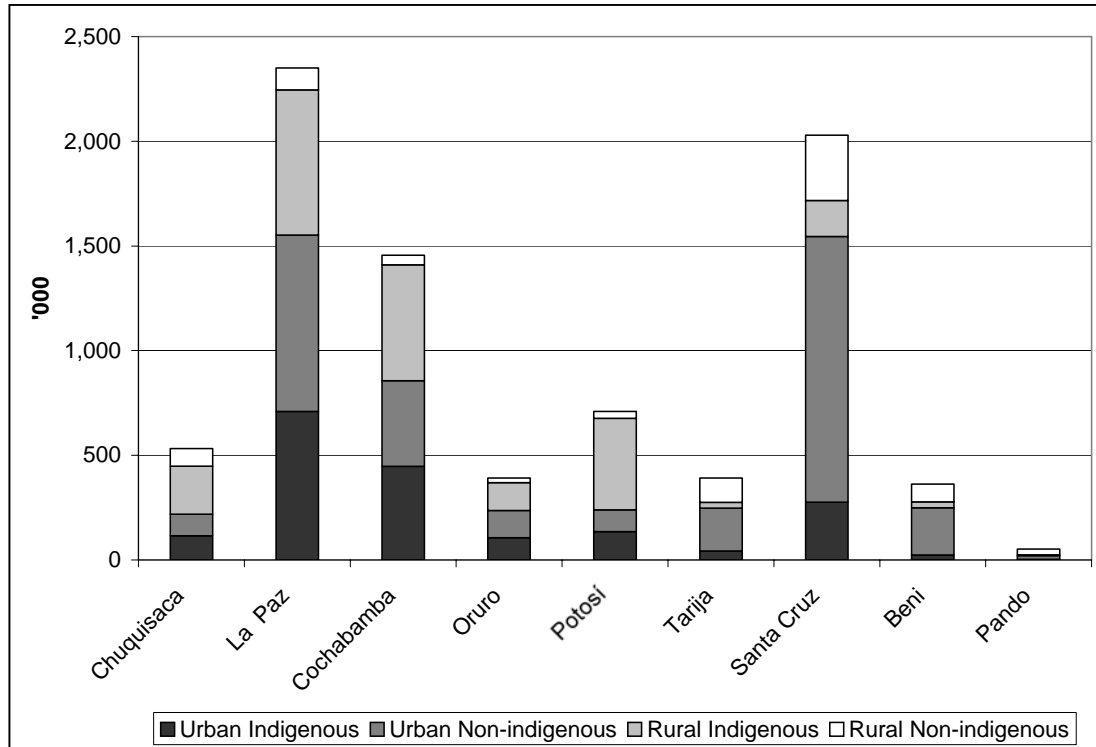
Geographically the change in poverty in the 90s has not been even with the cities of Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Sucre and Tarija being much more successful in reducing poverty even in the face of rapid population growth. The high Andes cities were less successful especially Potosi, El Alto and La Paz. What is not captured in the time period between the two census is the recent increased economic activity in the latter cities associated with the higher world mineral prices and greater activity in the mining sector. The city of Oruro was also given an important boost in the early 00s by the activities to clean up a oil spill in the areas close to this city, which involved heavy expenditure by an international oil company.

The rural population has a much higher proportion of indigenous people than the urban population (76.2 versus 36.0%). The Departments of Potosi, Cochabamba and Chuquisaca have the highest proportion of indigenous people in their populations at 80.8%, 68.7 and 64.7% respectively. It is the Departments of Potosi and Chuquisaca that have the highest concentrations of indigenous people in the rural areas. Figure 1 summarises the data on indigenous people.

¹ Based on Human Development Indices with ranges established by INE (2002).

² The difference between the time periods divided by the average of the two values.

Figure 1. Proportions of the indigenous and non-indigenous population by Department in Bolivia (INE, 2006 using data from 2001 census).



The departments with the highest proportion of rural people and indigenous populations are also the populations with the highest and most profound levels of poverty. These are the Departments of Chuquisaca, Potosi followed by La Paz, Oruro and Cochabamba. Whilst the other Departments do have rural poverty the proportions and total numbers of people in poverty are much lower than the other departments. The Departments with greatest problems of poverty are found in the central and western and southern western part of the country and these correspond to the agro-ecological zones of the high Andes (Altiplano) and the central and southern valleys.

3.1.2 Distributional issues

3.1.2.1 Human capital

Table 2 presents the gap between the rural and urban areas in terms of schooling. Illiteracy rates are much higher in rural areas and the average number of years of schooling much lower. Whilst this is being addressed, school assistance in rural areas is still lower than in urban areas so the gap is not closing.

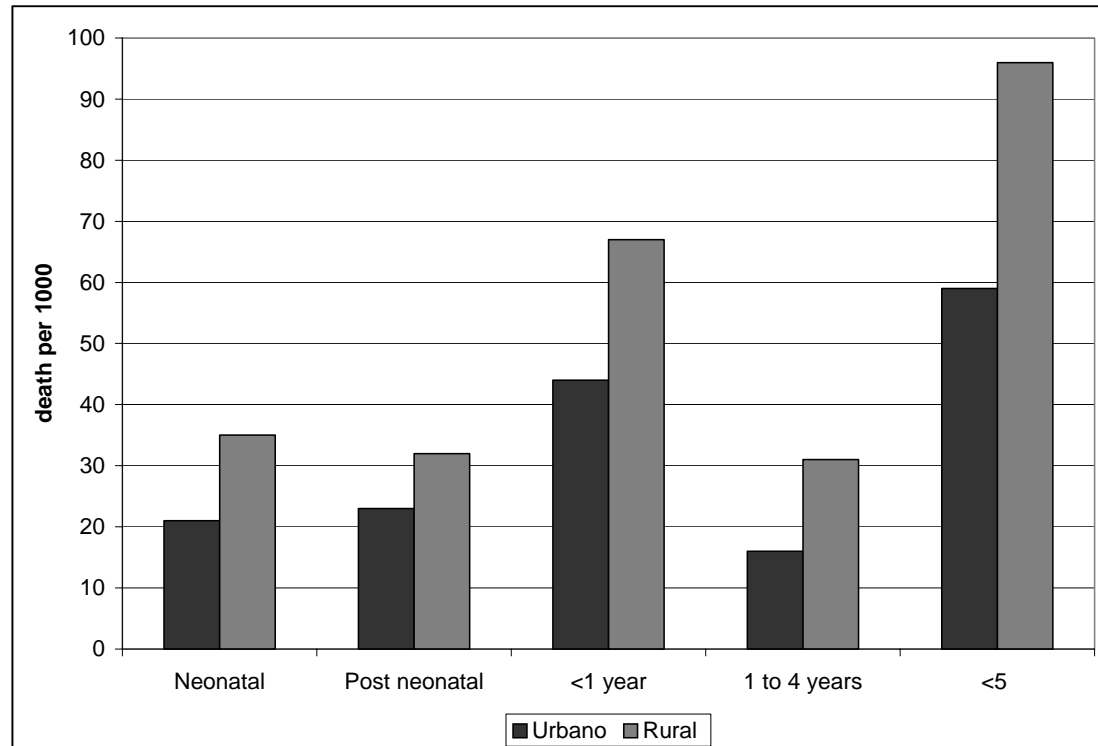
Table 2. Illiteracy, years of schooling and school assistance in Bolivia (INE, 2006 based in 2001 census).

Illiteracy (>15 years)			Years in School (>19 years old)			School assistance (6-19 years old)		
Overall	Urban	Rural	Overall	Urban	Rural	Overall	Urban	Rural
13.28	6.44	25.77	7.43	9.23	4.19	79.71	82.68	74.73

Figures from indigenous populations indicate that illiteracy is higher in indigenous populations and is much higher in the indigenous women populations, reaching 44 and 42% in the departments of Chuquisaca and Potosi respectively. One of the life impacts of lower levels of education in Bolivia is that the person will have a lower wage level (Attanasio & Székely, 1999).

In general the health services in rural areas are rudimentary and the impact is that there is high pre and post natal mortality in the rural areas and much poorer figures in terms of child mortality before 5 (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Infant mortality rates in urban and rural areas (INE, 2006 using data from a demographic and health survey carried out in 2003).



Using birth attendance as a proxy, data presented in Table 3 clearly shows that there is strong bias towards the urban areas and the non-indigenous population in terms of access to health centres, be they public or private and also to trained staff.

Table 3. Proportion of births in Bolivia by the place where they take place, the person who attended the birth and the area and culture grouping. (INE, 2006 using data from 2003).

Place or person	Area			Indigenous
	Bolivia	Urban	Rural	
Where the birth took place				
Health centre	68.1	77.3	53.8	40.9
Home	31.9	22.7	46.2	56.5
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6
Who attended the birth				
Doctor or nurse	68.4	78.2	53.2	44.6
Midwife	2.7	2.7	2.8	14.8
Family member	27.3	17.8	42.1	22.0
Other person	1.5	1.3	1.9	18.6

Martinez (2005) reports that poor nutrition of children under the age of 5 is common in Bolivia, and that it is a more common problem in families that are rural, indigenous and where the mother has a lower level of education (see Table 4). There are also more problems with child nutrition in the Altiplano than in the Valleys or tropical areas.

Table 4. Malnutrition in children under 5 according to ethnicity, geographical location and the mother's education level (data from Martinez, 2005).

Grouping	Global		Chronic	
	Poor	Not Poor	Poor	Not Poor
Ethnic				
Indigenous	13.8	5	44.8	21.6
Non-indigenous	8	3.6	33.3	13
Geographical				
Rural	10.5		36	
Urban	5		17	
Mothers education				
No education	14		45	
Primary	9		30	
Secondary	3		12	
Higher	2		8	

Poor levels of nutrition are linked with the mother of the children having poor nutrition. The level of nutrition also has implications on health, with the poor nourished children being more susceptible to intestinal infections and being more likely to be anaemic (Martinez, 2005).

The data presented above shows that access to services to improve human capital is biased towards urban and non-indigenous populations. Whilst services have improved over time the gap between these groups has not narrowed.

3.1.2.2 Natural capital

Bolivia was the first South American country to have a land reform and land redistribution. This process was more effective in the valley and Altiplano areas than in the humid tropics. There have been experiments in the colonisation of tropical regions by people from the valley and Altiplano regions. The government gave each family who moved 50 hectares of land, often covered in forest. It also developed road access and some basic services. Despite there being initial hardship, many families have succeeded in developing farm businesses and some have successfully participated in producing crops for sale such rice and soya. However, the sales of soya by smallholders have experienced a series of difficulties relating to access to markets that have only recently been overcome (see UNDP, 2005).

Since these land reform and distribution periods there has also been an ongoing process to regularise land rights. This has involved giving official title to people who had either titles that dated back to the 50s land reform or were recognised locally as being owners of land. There has also been a recognition of communal lands, owned and managed by communities or ayllus³ in some parts of the country. The issues of land distribution and use are very different in the different agro-ecological zones reflected by the need a series of studies by Fundación Tierra on land rights in the Altiplano (Urioste, 2001; 2005a; 2005b), Valleys (Pacheco & Valda, 2003) and Tropical Plains (Urioste & Pacheco, 2001). What can be said is that land distribution is less equitable in the tropical plains and it is here where there are greatest disputes between large landowners, landless people and indigenous groups. The recently elected government has made it a priority to resolve these disputes (MAS, 2006).

With so many changes and differences across the country there is a degree of uncertainty in land markets. For example land in rural areas that was given a title

³ Recognised groupings of people that correspond to a geographical area.

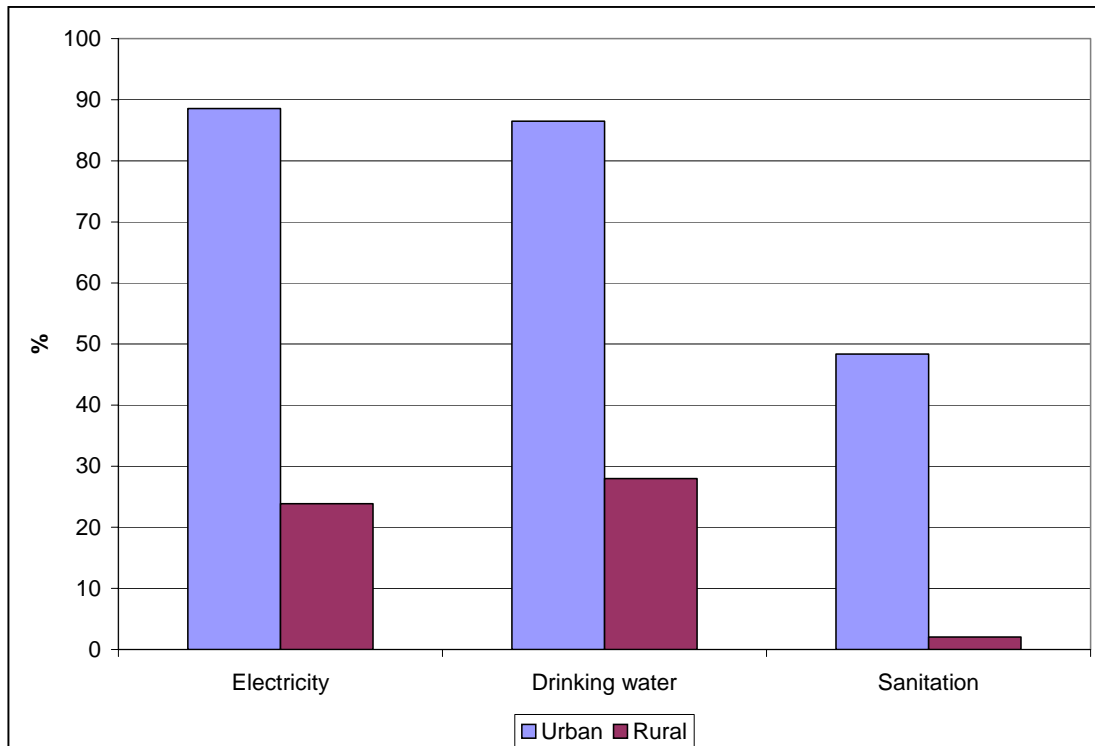
during the 50s land reform cannot be sold or transferred to people outside the immediate family. The response to this has been local arrangements of land use and ownership (see Urioste, 2005a). In addition to restrictive private land title and much land under communal land title, there appears to have been an increase in family investments in livestock. Urioste (2005a) reports that families have retained a similar amount of land per family, but greater population pressure have reduced fallow periods and increased their investments in dairy cattle. The sum change is that the number of livestock units per family has increased significantly, but there has been little change in the land owned and farmed. The only conclusion would be that families are making greater use of communal pasture areas, which potentially could lead to overgrazing and environmental damage. Given the importance of livestock as both a means to invest money and as a route out of poverty in the Altiplano (personal communication with Judith Kuan, CONDESAN and Joachim Otte, FAO) there is a need to understand if these potential pressures create vulnerabilities for poor rural people. In the tropical areas, the uneven land distribution, the low price paid for land by many large landowners and uncertainty about the possibility of further land redistribution has perhaps promoted a mentality of monocrop systems that “mine” land rather than a long to medium term view of land investment. Urioste (2001) worries that such monocropping systems will in the end lead to environmental damage, which ultimately will lead to uneven generational distributions.

In all cases the changes in land laws and title have been biased toward the male population, with few women receiving land title. In a recent experience of registering land of a couple in a rural area close to La Paz, only the name of the man is required and the woman is registered as his “Senora” without the need to include her name.

3.1.2.3 Physical capital

The basic services for households are also very different between rural and urban areas. Only a small proportion of rural households have electricity, drinking water and sanitation (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Proportion of the urban and rural population with electricity, drinking water and sanitation (INE, 2006 based in 2001 census).



3.1.2.4 Financial Capital

On discussing the problems of cost with micro finance organisations there are large costs in terms of reaching clients and also risks in terms of clients repaying their loans. The authors also discussed these cost aspects to producers in an area in the south of Bolivia and they freely admitted that the last loans they had taken out were largely unpaid. Here there was a problem with previous government policy of forgiving loans, which sets a precedent of why repay if the government is going to pay it for us.

In a study of microfinance and poverty, Mosley (1999) observes that 40% of all lending in Bolivia is through microfinance organisations that were originally based in urban areas, but are slowly spreading into rural regions. He comments that the lending tools of the Bolivian microfinance organisations are very innovative and are aimed at reaching people without collateral, but they do not purposively target the poor. In this study he found that very small loans from organisations such as NGOs had an impact of moving people across the poverty threshold, whereas the larger loans from banks, such as PRODEM and Bancosol, had an impact on poverty through stimulating employment. However, it is not all good news, Mosley adds that credit can lead to pushing borrowers into poverty and that microfinance for people in extreme poverty is a poor and expensive means to help these people improve their livelihoods. He recommends that expansion of social and physical infrastructure and the expansion of the job market are more effective mechanisms to help people at the very bottom.

3.1.2.5 Social Capital

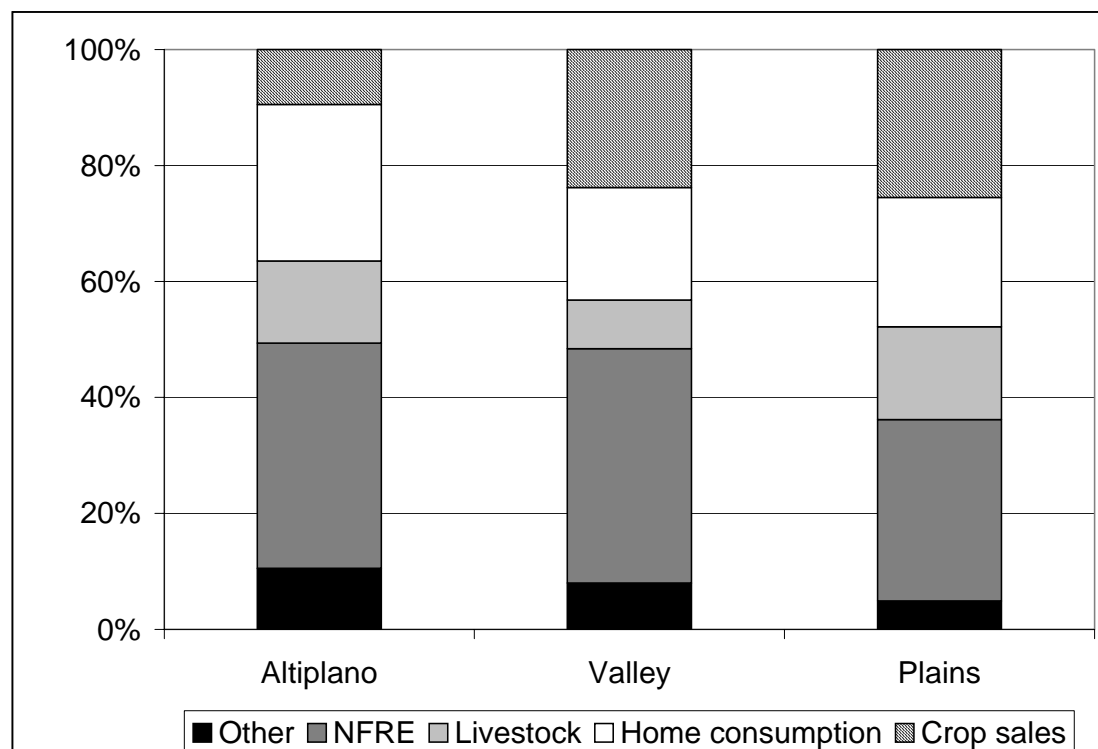
Social capital is generally viewed with importance and recent studies have shown that social capital in Bolivia is a very important aspect of opportunities and development. What is not clear is whether this social capital relates to nepotism and

corruption or whether it is related to developing a network of like minded people or groups focussed on particular trade or profession. It is well known that the “sindicatos”, indigenous groups and political parties hold much power in how people receive benefits and work opportunities to the point where it could be questioned that these organisations distort trade and impede development. Little information is available on how these groups control and manipulate markets.

3.1.3 Household livelihood strategy options

In the Altiplano and the valleys half of the income comes from agricultural activities, whereas it is slightly above 60% in the tropical plains (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Proportion of income from different activities in the three main agro-ecological zones of Bolivia (Jiménez & Lizárraga, 2003).



The predominant agricultural systems in the wetter high Andes with reasonable market access which correspond to the eastern and southern region of this area tend to be based on potato and broad bean with the growing of vegetables where irrigation and good market access is available. In the southern region there is also a concentration of milk production for the La Paz market that has become increasingly important over the last 15 to 20 years (Urioste, 2005). The latter has in part been stimulated by investments in dairy technology and marketing with help from DANIDA. In the areas around the Salar Uyuni in the central western region of the Altiplano there are important areas of quinoa cultivation, a native grain crop that has high levels of protein. Quinoa has become an important export from Bolivia over the last 10 years with the help of international agencies and NGOs. The impact of this market access has been increasing areas sown with quinoa and a tendency to use mechanisation. In the western region of the Altiplano there are a mixture of sheep and llamas with very little crop production.

In the south western part of the Altiplano the climate is very harsh with low rainfall and extreme diurnal temperatures. In this region, llamas are one of the few strategies

for people's livelihoods, but their access to global markets is limited. Llamas were important in Bolivia as pack animals, but with the introduction of mechanised transport this role has become less important. The predominant llama breeds have poor quality wool production due to the high levels of fibre in their coats⁴. Traditionally the animals were slaughtered for their meat, either fresh or as dried meat. Interest has been shown to the possibility of exporting llama meat to Europe with aid assistance from Swiss Contact. However, there are problems with accessing international markets due to Bolivia's FMD status, and the high prevalence within the llama herd of a parasite disease, sarcocystiosis. In addition there have been constraints on export possibilities due to the poor quality of slaughtering facilities and also the lack of adequate cold chain facilities of high quality. The possibilities of live exports to pet animal markets have been better exploited in neighbouring countries. Llamas have seen little use so far in the tourist trekking routes.

In the valley regions, economic activity is related to the quality of the land available and access to markets. In the fertile valleys close to the urban centres of Cochabamba, Sucre and Tarija there is much activity in the production of vegetables, fruit and milk. Therefore, there are very strong linkages between rural production areas and urban markets, which are related to the sale of relatively high value products. In more isolated regions of the valleys production is of less perishable but also less valuable products, but these areas are linked to market and respond to changes in prices. An example is the pig-maize system in the valleys of Chuquisaca where maize is sold when prices for this product are high, but when the price falls, due to greater supply of maize to the markets, maize is fed to pigs and live pigs are sold to the market.

Improved road systems in some valley areas have provided better market opportunities for producers in previously isolated areas. For example in the Department of Santa Cruz, cheese from Valle Grande has become available in the major cities. There are also examples of producers becoming involved in the production of high value products for export that are less perishable. In the southern valleys there is garlic production, part of which is exported to Brazilian markets, in the Chuquisaqueño valleys there has a successful initiative to grow and process herbs for the markets in Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina (Cespedes and Paz, 2005) and in the south-eastern valleys there is anecdotal evidence that Argentines arrive to buy whole plots of lentil crops and Brazilians of potato crops, but these are in areas of relatively high potential⁵. In addition the alternative development projects have attempted to find international markets for pineapples, bananas and palm hearts.

Farmers, who have successfully participated in herb production and sales, commented that the money generated by this activity was a useful generator of cash, but their main business was still potato, which in a good year allowed them to make money.

In the forest areas of the country there are a number of examples of the success in non-timber forest products (NTFP) as a livelihood strategy for poor rural people (Marshall et al. 2005). Some of these successes relate to individual entrepreneurs developing, stimulating and maintaining a value chain that reaches better national

⁴ The wool itself is of equal quality to alpacas

⁵ Personal communication with a technical assistant working in the Santa Cruz valleys.

markets and also tourist markets, which would be the case for jipi japa products⁶ (te Velde et al, 2005). In the cocoa chains, a company has been established that is exporting chocolate to Europe and through traders has contacts with poor rural people. For incense and copal collectors there are linkages to markets in neighbouring countries. In the set of NTFP products studied by Marshall et al (2005) rubber collectors and processors had systems where there was a division of labour in the household. In general men were more active in the collection of the rubber, whereas women were more involved in processing. Analysis of the different activities suggested that returns to labour were high for collecting than processing the rubber (Rushton et al., 2004). In one rubber chain studied, the latex was taken from the forest communities and processed in El Alto factories, which obviously has implications for employment in the rural communities and in particular for women. Neither rubber value chains reached international markets.

Migration is an important strategy with seasonal migration for agricultural activities, particularly the sugar cane harvest in the Department of Santa Cruz and the fruit harvest in Argentina. There is also movement to the major cities, but largely to Santa Cruz and a movement of people to neighbouring countries but in particular Argentina where it is estimated that 1 million Bolivians live. International migration outside the neighbouring countries, while being an important strategy for people in general, tends to be limited to better educated people based in urban areas. However, this may be changing with better airline connections particularly to Europe and the growing Bolivian network in the European countries.

3.1.4 Constraints to participation

There appear to be important lessons in the success stories in that the small scale projects have been very successful where they have been able to provide skills and expertise in organisation, marketing and sales. However, in the successful cases of value chain development not all poor rural people are involved and there is a large degree of exclusion (CIOEC,2003; Rushton et al forthcoming). These comments are supported by fieldwork carried out over the last five years within different regions of Bolivia and in a number of isolated areas (Rushton & Viscarra, 2006; Rushton et al, 2001a; 2001b).

The NTFP studies indicated that the value chains often had important traders or entrepreneurs. In the copal and incense value chain the traders exploited their position, offering relatively low prices to collectors. It was felt that this was not only having a negative impact on the income for these poor rural people, but was also leading to environmental damage as the incense and copal was being undervalued at collection level. In the cocoa chain, the strong power of one cooperative has been good for the development of the chain and the export of products, but a lack of commercial vision of the cooperative appears to be limiting its role in both national and international markets (Personal communication Erick Arancibia).

Migration has proved in many cases to create serious hardships for people, particularly those that move to neighbouring countries. There have been recent reports of slavery type conditions for people working in factories in Argentina and Brazil and the decision to allow free movement of people between MERCOSUR countries does not seem to have resolved these problems significantly. It is

⁶ A palm that is weaved into attractive products such as baskets.

suggested that even though people can move freely, completing paperwork and administration to be officially recognised in a new country could be very costly in terms of time and money especially for poor people. This view is supported by DHL offering services to families who have relatives living illegally in Argentina. For US\$20 they will send documents necessary to obtain legal residence in Argentina. Here it would appear that the private sector is filling a role due to government failure.

3.2 HOW CAN THE ENABLING ENVIRONMENT BE ENHANCED TO SUPPORT THE SUCCESSFUL PARTICIPATION OF THE RURAL POOR?

3.2.1 Overarching issues

There is an ongoing discussion about which is the best approach to government: the free market and small government versus State control and large government. This discussion, and which government structure dominates at any time, appears to be less about a vision of development for Bolivia, and more about power of the leaders at the time. In Bolivian political arenas driven by patronage, political leaders with a weak power base in the private sector have opted for State control and large government in order to influence their control over the job market. This model has led to job market distortions, and when prices for primary products are high, inefficient management of important sectors of the economy. Leaders with strong private sector interests have adopted small government and increased the role of the private sector, through the sale of State assets, using this as a means to have greater influence from this sector. There are also reports that political influence by the private sector has distorted markets so large businesses can exploit national markets. Neither system has been successful in developing strong government organisations that support socio-economic development, and limit corruption. The result has been stuttering economic growth, which some have estimated have left Bolivians as poor now as there were 50 years ago (Schejtman, A. & Wiggins, forthcoming).

The poor rural populations have been excluded from much of the discussions on what are the best development policies. Information about the rural sector rarely reaches the headlines in the national press, and when it does it is normally concerning export of products. Hardly any information is published in the press on rural poverty and the problems faced by the rural poor. Even within the present government, which was strongly supported in the elections by campesino⁷ groups, it is reported that of the four main groupings within the Cabinet the campesinos have little power or influence.

Despite these public sector weaknesses the Bolivian agricultural sector has had successes (PNUD, 2004), but these have been concentrated in a limited number of already successful value chains, which have left behind the rural poor (Rushton et al, forthcoming, CIOEC, 2003). The poor distribution of economic growth within the rural sector is related to inequality of distribution of human capital (education, health and nutrition) and physical and natural capitals and the lack of social capital of the poor rural people. The latter problem means that poor rural people have great difficulties in voicing their problems and needs to public and civil society organisations.

Figures from Castillo (2003) also indicate an ever growing importance of migration as an issue in terms of the proportion of GDP and exports coming from remittances. However, there were no data presented for Bolivia, despite it being well known that a

⁷ Small scale farmers, generally from the indigenous populations

large number of Bolivians are found in neighbouring countries and many are now migrating to Europe.

A lack of economic progress for many poor people, weak representation of their needs and a greater awareness of their exclusion in economic processes have contributed to the continual social unrest in the country.

3.2.2 Access to factor markets

The 1950s agrarian reform helped to reduce some of the most serious aspects of land distribution inequalities in the Altiplano and the Valley regions of Bolivia. The land distribution during the 1970s which gave land in the tropical plains to farmers in the Valleys and Altiplano has also been successful in alleviating land pressures. However, there are still problems of access to land and there is group of people who belong to “Movimiento Sin Tierra” who are pressing for land redistribution in the tropical areas. In the Valley and Altiplano regions, poor rural families own only small amounts of land and most of what they have access to either as their own property or through communal ownership is of low quality.

In isolated areas of the country, which are numerous, access to both input and output markets is severely limited. Transaction costs of obtaining inputs and new technologies can be as high as three times the price of the product (Rushton & Viscarra, 2006). The combination of difficulties of access to markets with weak government service coverage (see later) and patchy coverage of rural areas by NGOs means that a significant proportion of rural people are excluded from global economic processes. However, figures on this are not available.

3.2.3 Process

Poor rural people face a hostile environment in which to change and improve their livelihoods. They have low levels of natural, physical and financial assets and are in areas where services to improve their human capital are of low quality and quantity. In the poorest areas this is combined with poor infrastructure and where there are high levels of indigenous populations. If they manage to overcome this capital asset poverty, the business environment they face is limited by weak government support to establish and run businesses and a private sector support organisations such as input, service and financial organisations that are focussed on the large scale agricultural sector. These markets failures may be addressed by NGOs, but their coverage is not complete. Finally the poor rural people have very limited social capital outside their own communities and therefore very weak political influence.

3.2.4 Government support

Fairfield (2004) identified that Bolivia requires proactive public policies if poor rural people are to fully benefit from agricultural systems. However, neo-liberal policies since 1985 have reduced the government and have constrained grassroot action (Fairfield, 2004). Reduced government has included:

- Tendering and private sector implementation of infrastructure.
- Creation of agricultural research foundations that identify problems, put out tenders and finance 85% of the research. The remaining 15% has to be contributed as cash by farmers.⁸

⁸ Compare this to the situation in Europe after World War 2.

- Creation of a government animal and plant health and food safety service that charges: levies on the movement of goods, for the certification of systems, inputs and outputs and exports. This function was in the hands of the Prefectures during the early stages of decentralisation, but since 2001 has been the responsibility of a national organisation.
- Capitalisation of government companies, a form of privatisation where government shares were reduced to 49%. In the case of the milk sector, milk plants constructed with aid money were sold to the private sector. In the last three years the milk plants have become concentrated in the hands of Gloria, a Peruvian company which is a subsidiary of Nestle. This company, has expanded markets and product ranges, but has also lowered farm gate milk prices (Rushton et al. 2004).

These actions have meant a reduction in government support for agricultural production (Rushton et al. 2004). Some local level activities have been filled by NGOs, but these are rarely coordinated. The government actions that have been financed are focussed on successful value chains, which tend to be export orientated.

There was some change in the neo-liberal process with the participatory development of the poverty reduction strategy (Government of Bolivia, 2001), but as Booth et al (2006) observe the following government led by Goni returned to top-down policy setting processes for social development. The recently elected government has stated that they are interested in changing the “rules of the game” and intend to be more directly involved in rural development implementation (MAS, 2006).

An aside to these general government changes and contra to the emphasis of reduced government is the Alternative Development Programme. This Programme has been aimed at creating opportunities for farmers in regions that grow coca. The main region supported was the Chapare, the tropical region of the Department of Cochabamba, but recently there has been an expansion of activities to the Yungas. In budgetary terms and in comparison to the Ministry of Agriculture the Programme is massive. Its actions are part of a strategy within the coca eradication campaigns and are backed by USAID. The Programme was a very strong element of both Banzer and Goni governments (1997 to 2003) and was continued by both Mesa and Rodriguez (2003 to 2006). However, there will be changes with the new Morales government as he would like to see the legal trading of coca, but a continuing ban on cocaine.

The other big experiment in Bolivia has been the decentralisation of government in the mid 90s with more power and financial support being given to the Prefectures and Municipalities. In the case of Ministry of Agriculture there was a complete change in roles from having normative and executive powers to being only a normative organisation. The executive powers went to the lower layers of government (Prefectures at Departmental level and Townhalls at Municipality level). The initial stages of the implementation were poorly coordinated between the three tiers of government and services to rural areas probably suffered. There was also a power struggle, with the Ministry intent on retaining some executive function. Hence in 2001 centralised research foundations and animal and plant services were created.

Castillo (2003) reports that State support for migrant workers has been either absent or limited, with the main interest in assuring that remittances continue to flow. Recent

examples that have come out in the Bolivian press indicate that a proportion of Bolivian migrants work in slave like conditions in neighbouring countries, with their illegality making their working rights difficult to apply and making them open to abuse from unscrupulous employers. This is despite the MERCOSUR⁹ agreement of November 2002 which allowed people to live and work in member states with equal worker rights in each country. At the time of this agreement it was estimated that 2.5 million people lived in other countries in the region illegally. The agreement allowed these people to “regularise” their situation without fear of deportation. However, given the bureaucracy common in many South American countries it is likely that such procedures were not easy and had very high transaction costs.

In general the last twenty years in Bolivia has seen many experiments in government structures and support for rural areas. Some of the changes have been created by international public debt crisis and management (adoption of neo-liberal policies in the 1980s, poverty reduction focus through HIPC in 90s), and in the case of the large Alternative Development Programme a very strong international demand for cocaine.

3.3 SUMMARY

Bolivia has some successes of agricultural production systems and rural areas participating in global economic processes. Policies for poverty reduction have also had some success. But these successes have in general failed to close the gap between levels of urban and rural developments and the discrimination towards indigenous groups and women. The successes also need to be tempered by an understanding that government has not been successful in curbing the negative aspects of corruption, nepotism and bureaucracy. Big business still holds too much power in dictating the institutional environment in a way that is often to the advantage of the owners, but at the detriment of the population and Bolivian development. These problems have produced a number of years of social unrest that culminated in two Presidential resignations and re-elections in the last three years. The new government has entered with policies to nationalise important industries, increase government, improve education and health levels and change the economic structure of the country through the greater influence of the State. There is also a very strong possibility of further land redistribution. It is too early to say if these changes will have benefits in terms of poverty reduction and in particular improvements in rural development.

4 PROPOSED RESEARCH ISSUES OR THEMES

4.1 PROBLEMS, PHENOMENA AND GAPS

To examine further the issues for research within the subject of rural poverty and the environment and their links to global economic processes a simple model was developed after the Bolivia workshop¹⁰. This model identifies three important layers:

- Rural poor – divided into
 - Working poor with assets
 - Working poor without assets

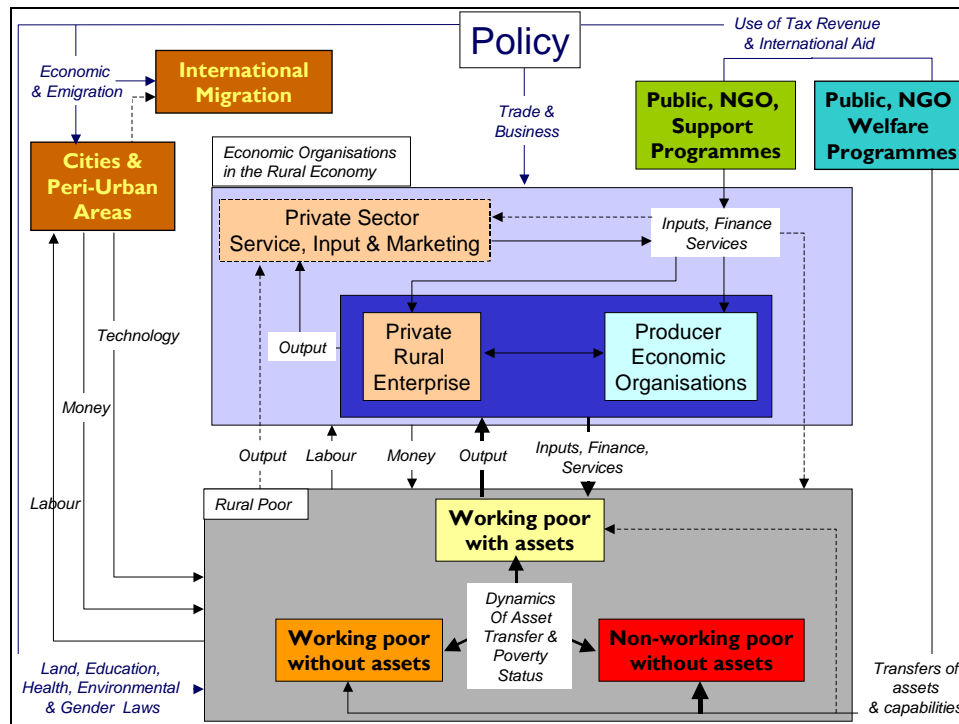
⁹ Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay

¹⁰ The model was developed by the authors in coordination with Steve Wiggins who helped to facilitate the workshop in Bolivia.

- Non-working poor without assets
- Economic organisations in the rural economy
- External environment involving job opportunities and policy

Implicit in this model is that the majority of the poor access input, output and service markets through economic organisations working within the rural economy and do not in general access organisations external to this environment, i.e. there is little direct contact with global economic processes. A simple representation of the model is presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Model for assessing the problems, phenomena and gaps in research for the rural poor and global economic processes.



The model was then broken down to examine key issues at the different levels and the interactions between the different levels. The ideas that came out of this analysis are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.1.1 Poverty

Official data exist on different levels poverty (presented above), and the dynamics of asset exchange and poverty status are partially understood (Fundación Tierra, FAO-PPLPI, Imperial College). Use of tools to differentiate and target poor seem to be less apparent and not widely used in interventions by the State for all layers of government.

4.1.2 Economic Organisations in the Rural Economy

Producer economic organisations and rural enterprises have been investigated by IIED (Muñoz, 2003) and ODI-WCMC (Marshall et al. 2005). Development projects have also supported such rural organisations in reaching new markets e.g. Fundaciones, PASACH. Within these initiatives there are often strong negative suspicions about the role and motives of the private sector.

4.1.3 Linkages between economic organisations and rural poverty

Direct linkages with the rural poor with private sector input, service and marketing providers are poorly developed. Exceptions are areas with strong commercial possibilities, e.g. soya producers in Santa Cruz, horticulture producers in Cochabamba.

4.1.4 Links of the rural poor to external job markets

Urban areas have been relatively successful in reducing poverty in Bolivia (53.1% in 1992 to 39.0% in 2001). Urban areas have also grown at relatively rapid rates - average annual growth rate of 3.7%. The contrast between rural and urban areas is stark where there have been small changes in rural poverty rates and very slow annual rural population growth rates (1.5%). Impact of remittances and technology transfer from urban to rural areas appear limited. Most positive impact is on the quality of life from people who migrate and stay in urban areas. Geographical differences between rural areas require further investigation to examine poverty dynamics where there are:

- Strong commercial agricultural processes and opportunities such as regions around cities of Tarija, Cochabamba, Sucre and Santa Cruz and the plains in the Departments of Santa Cruz and Beni
- Strong contacts with neighbouring countries – Cobija, Desaguadero, Patacamaya, Pisiga Bolivar, Villazón, Bermejo, Yacuiba, Puerto Suárez, Guayanamerin.
- Strong market towns such as Punata (Cochabamba) and the Altiplano market circuit of Belén (Potosí), Challapata (Oruro) and Caracollo and Lahuachaca (La Paz)
- Strong local tourist processes and opportunities. For example Samaipata, Cotoca & San Javier (Santa Cruz city); Río Abajo (La Paz city) & San Lorenzo (Tarija city)

4.1.5 Policy and the rural poor

4.1.5.1 Use of tax revenue and international aid

Accurate information on the balance between support and welfare programmes is not available. However, the majority of the government actions in the recent past have been based on support programmes that work with economic organisations in rural areas. Very few support programmes have focussed directly on the rural poor, with a justification based on the:

- costs of working directly with the rural poor being too high; and
- idea that stimulating change in economic organisations will lead to economic growth.

Discussions whether this growth will also lead to rural poverty reduction are limited to intellectual circles and rarely reach national press or political debate. Money used in welfare programmes, that transfer assets and money to the rural poor, are not well monitored or evaluated.

Given the importance of NGOs in providing support and welfare programmes there is a need for better coordination of actions between government and the NGO sector. NGOs often seek to work with the government, but there is a weakness with

government seeking to work with NGOs. Coordination with NGOs needs to be embedded in government structures at Municipal, Prefectural and Federal levels

4.1.5.2 Land

Land law reform has failed to stimulate open land markets and is still in the process of implementation (Urioste, 2005). This gap has been filled by communal arrangements, but it is questioned whether these are sufficient to create strong rural economy dynamics. Land laws are not addressing potential environmental issues such as:

- over use of grazing areas in the Altiplano where there is communal land rights; and
- and misuse of forest resources in the tropical regions where land rights are often very unclear.

4.1.5.3 Education and Health

Education services in rural areas lag behind urban areas in terms of quality and quantity. Health services are also limited in terms of their coverage and innovativeness in providing services. Rural nutrition levels, in part, reflect that both education and health services are relatively poor.

4.1.5.4 Environmental

Environmental laws and their implementation have been helped by the inaccessibility of natural resources, but have rarely:

- stopped overexploitation; and
- taken into account social and economic dimensions.

In some areas population pressures are creating changes in land management such as increase in livestock numbers and reductions in fallow periods with the potential for soil degradation. In other areas commercial agricultural opportunities are leading to greater mechanisation e.g. soya, rice and sugar in tropical areas, quinoa in the Altiplano

4.1.5.5 Gender

Gender policies have failed to address issues such as lower attendances in schools by rural girls. This is in part because of a poor understanding of the private benefits of schooling to poor rural families and how to address such a public-private good issue. There is a need to recognize that making rules is necessary but not sufficient with regard to resolving gender problems in rural areas.

4.1.5.6 Infrastructure

Rural infrastructure still creates a range of problems such as:

- Rural road network has and is improving but vital roads are in poor condition.
- State postal system is totally inadequate, with the gap partially being filled by a network of private bus deliveries.
- Telecommunications are inadequate and would appear to be adopting technological advances very slowly.
- Marketing and processing infrastructure is being guided by export orientated goals.
- Access to drinking water and irrigation is improving, but access to sanitation is still poor.

How the regulation of the telecommunication sector is affecting the development of rural communications systems is not adequately understood. Methods to strengthen rural postal systems and the impact of such processes deserves further research. Water laws and management are under review and in part being guided by previous IDRC research.

4.1.5.7 Economic and Migration

Economic policies have created a stable macro-economic environment for more than 15 years. However, various major changes in micro economic management have failed to stimulate sustained economic growth. Emigration, either seasonal to neighbouring countries or permanent or semi-permanent to Europe and North America, does not appear to have any policy.

Business policy and regulation place Bolivians at a disadvantage. Present government has stated that corruption will be targeted, but a systematic process of identifying unnecessary regulation, which create corruption opportunities and stifle formal business, has not been discussed. Trade policy has been to have open markets until the present government. Lack of negotiation experience and skills has affected Bolivia's position in soya exports.

4.2 RESEARCH THEMES

4.2.1 Human capital

How can discrimination in services for the development of human capital be reduced?

What skills and knowledge are needed in the development of local economic organisations in order to encourage them to be sustainable and competitive?

4.2.2 Poverty

Are there dynamics of human capability transfers between different poor groups?

4.2.3 Land and Institutional Environment

What are the reasons behind land use, agricultural production systems and investments in rural areas, particularly where investments in livestock could have negative environmental impacts? Potential issues:

- Increased economic opportunities for the sale of a specific product
 - milk and milk products, vegetables and fruit in national urban centres that have grown due to participation global economic processes,
 - soya, cotton for export markets.
- market distortions for land due to out of date land laws that restrict land investments; and/or
- lack of other financial investment options due to an absence of financial organisations offering alternative saving instruments.

4.2.4 Economic Organisations in the Rural Economy

Understanding of the weaknesses and constraints of the private sector participation in the rural economy is poorly understood and could be improved.

4.2.5 Linkages between economic organisations and rural poverty

There is a lack of understanding of the impact of links between rural poor and economic organisations in the rural area on:

- Poverty status dynamics;
- Asset transfers between different poor groups; and
- Use of human capabilities.

4.2.6 Policy and the rural poor

How to ensure that research results are used to influence policy makers and policies with links to many different experiences both in Bolivia and in the region:

- ODI – Civil Society Partnerships Programme
- ENDAR - DFID funded project that will be coordinated by CIP/CIAT and probably PROINPA
- FAO's Pro-Poor Livestock Policy Initiative – coordinated regionally by CONDESAN and nationally by CIPICA
- IFAD – work with camelid sector, and innovative supply of agricultural services
- Colombia – work on improving planning and investments coordinated by Rogelio Pineda, CIAT.
- Honduras – IDRC's potential project on the systematisation of research and its use in priority setting

4.2.6.1 Use of tax revenue and international aid

Differentiation of the rural poor and the need for different tools for each identified group could be better understood.

A better understanding of the balances required between human capacity building versus asset and money transfers is required.

4.2.7 Comments from Steve Wiggins

From the notes on the workshop three topics emerged strongly:

1. Finance
2. Information on market opportunities, standards required, plus the development of commercial outlook and a focus on competitiveness
3. Skills for small-scale producers, including management and entrepreneurship

This agenda is limited but it is clear, relevant and important. It is unlikely that IDRC will be able to cover a range of topics and for some Bolivians this agenda represents the way forward¹¹. Many are impatient and tired of continuing analysis, they want to make a difference today.

A suggested structure would be as follows:

¹¹ Comment from Jonathan Rushton – it perhaps also needs to be recognised that a focus on successful value chains which is what this list implies has had limited success with the working and non-working poor without assets, so my suggestion here is to be cautious. This limited agenda does ignore the needs of this latter group and has been an ongoing agenda since the late 90s (Rushton et al, forthcoming). Note this is not just my view see also CIOEC-Bolivia (2001, 2003).

1. Learn from what has already been done. There are many experiences in the Andean region of promoters working with communities to improve their capacity to do business with the outside world. This information should really be collected, distilled and disseminated. It is recognised that there are regional networks, for example CONDESAN and RIMISP, so perhaps a starting point would be to synthesise the syntheses. Such work needs to cover the review of the value chains.¹²
2. Three sub-questions
 - a. How can governments and donors help foster such local level efforts to improve the capitals of the poor and positively change the institutional environment in which they are found? What is it that prevents them helping replicate the successes en masse, so that rural Andean economies grow at 10% a year?¹³ What does decentralisation imply: can Municipalities succeed in some things that central government cannot?
 - b. Is there potential to link such efforts to the investment strategies of formal private enterprise? Is this the missing link for finance, skills and information? Why in East Asia is it that internationally competitive corporations with excellent commercial links can apparently reach back into the countryside and sub-contract manufacturing to small units in villages – something that seems to happen rarely in Latin America?
 - c. What is the role of civil society and the NGOs in all of this? Is their job to kindle the fire and then form links to government or private enterprise? At what point do NGOs need to recognise their limitations and turn to other actors?

The first point¹⁴ is very valid and fits with how local and regional researchers are moving and seeing the need to engage with policy makers. The latter points are of less relevance, particularly 2 (b) and (c) in this moment, because of the change in government and how the present government views the private sector¹⁵, private property rights and private investments. Again it is suggested that these all need to be treated with caution at this stage of government.

¹² Comment Jonathan Rushton. This fits with the work that is being proposed by Raul Zelaya in Honduras and would also fit with the INIS project that will be financed by DFID Central Research Department and will be implemented by CIP, CIAT and a Bolivian partner.

¹³ A couple of simple answers here. First the Washington consensus is about small government. The measures undertaken by NGOs and consultancy groups to help poor rural people are about medium to long term presence in the field. Therefore the methods require having committed fieldworkers, something that is difficult if not impossible to achieve with small government. The other answer is perhaps less obvious, successful projects are not all that popular in government circles, as they provide a power base. When success appears there are many people who will try and reduce its impact. The latter cannot be proved, but the institutional environment of government bureaucrats is not easy.

¹⁴ Comment from Jonathan Rushton

¹⁵ Including the NGO sector

4.2.8 Prioritisation of Research Themes

A priority list was developed from the above analysis that covered five broad themes:

- Human Capital
- Land rights
- Asset transfers at rural level and value chain analysis
- Voice of the rural poor
- Systematisation of past and ongoing rural research and development

Table 5 presents specific research questions within these themes, an assessment of the theme and identifies potential research partners.

Table 5. Emerging Bolivian research themes with specific research questions, an assessment and potential partners.

Research Theme	Specific Research Questions	Assessment	On-going Research & Potential Partners?
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How can discrimination (urban & non-indigenous bias) in services for the development of human capital be reduced? ○ What are the appropriate skills and knowledge needed for the rural poor to participate in global economic processes? ○ What are the appropriate mechanisms to develop knowledge and skills in rural areas? ○ How can business and negotiation skills be improved? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identified in regional scan ○ Confirmed in country report – very clear data on rural people having lower education levels, poorer health and nutrition than urban populations ○ Confirmed in country workshop ○ Based on the information that most rural poor have very poor access to financial, natural or physical capital. ○ Human capital is their main asset, but is poorly developed due to high private costs and poor public service provision ○ Education and health have been highlighted as key elements of the government strategy on development. ○ Without improved human capital the chances of poor rural people participating successful in global economic processes are much reduced. 	Links to government strategies on improving education and health care
Land rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Within the current land laws and their application what are the social, economic and environmental impacts of poor rural people participating in global economic processes? ○ Within the context that opportunities created by global economic processes produce land conflicts, how can these conflicts be better understood and resolved? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identified in regional scan ○ Confirmed in country report ○ Fundacion Tierra research highlight that informal land transfers and local recognition of land ownership have become common in the Altiplano. There research has also highlighted that while average land size has remained the same per family, fallow periods have shortened and livestock numbers have increased. In tropical areas monocropping is reported to have negative impacts. ○ No environmental impact has been estimated, even where land use changes are related to new opportunities provided by global economic processes (quinoa, dried broadbeans, onions, potato, soya exports) ○ In tropical areas opportunities in global economic processes are making land more valuable and creating conflicts between indigenous, landless and large landholders. 	Government policy on land distribution Fundacion Tierra – they have recently completed research for IDRC Susana Hecht, University of California Potential implications for land rights problems in the Brazilian Amazon

Research Theme	Specific Research Questions	Assessment	On-going Research & Potential Partners?
Asset transfers at rural level & value chain analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What are poverty dynamics between different poor groups? ○ What are the weaknesses and constraints of private sector participation in rural areas? ○ What are the impacts of links between rural poor and rural economic institutions that participate in global economic processes? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identified in regional scan ○ Confirmed in the country report ○ Work by Imperial College indicates that the social structure of communities has important impacts on knowledge use and technology transfer. ○ Work by ODI on NTFP value chains and IIED studies on local economic organisations indicate the importance of entrepreneurs and private enterprise in rural economic development and access to global economic processes. ○ Much of the focus of previous government interventions has been on successful value chains with little information of the impact of the interventions on rural poor. 	Imperial College – Andrew Dorward & Rodrigo Paz University of Indiana, UDAPE & SNV - Diego Pacheco IIED - Diego Muñoz Regional support programmes such as PASACH, PRODISA National programmes such as SIBTA and the research Foundations
Voice of the rural poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How can public policy be more receptive to the rural poor? ○ How can research results on rural poverty be used to influence policy? ○ How can tax revenues and international aid be used more effectively to ensure that poor rural people participate freely in global economic processes? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identified in regional scan ○ Confirmed in the country report ○ Based on research by ODI on PRSP (see Booth et al, 2006) and its implementation the fight against poverty and in particular rural poverty has been well analysed but weakly implemented. ○ There is also a general absence of political discussion on rural poverty and how to bring the rural poor into contact with ongoing economic processes. 	IDRC project looking at the use of input-output models for local government resource allocation CIPICA, CONDESAN & FAO-PPLPI Potential links with DFID's INIS project ODI's RAPID
Systematisation of past and ongoing rural research and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Focus on local level projects that transfer skills for the participation in global economic processes. ○ Focus on existing work on value chains. ○ The need for dissemination of the synthesis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identified during discussions with DFID (Diego Muñoz), CIP (Graham Thiele) ○ Discussed in detail after the workshop between Jonathan Rushton, Rommy Viscarra and Steve Wiggins ○ Linked to the "Voice of the Poor" theme 	Potential links with DFID's INIS project CONDESAN and/or RIMISP as a means to take this forward on a regional level Potential links with work in Honduras (Raul Zelaya) and Colombia.

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6 ANNEXES

6.1 POVERTY DATA

Figure 6. Poverty in the rural areas of Bolivia in 1992 and 2001 (Data from INE, 2002).

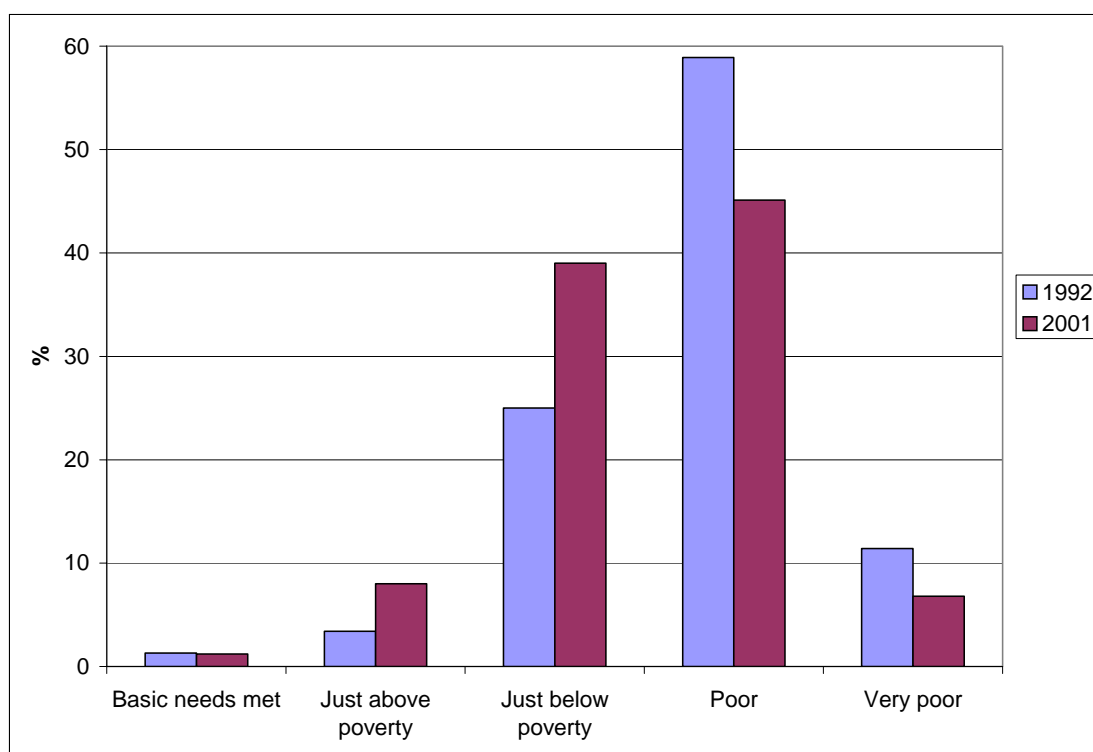
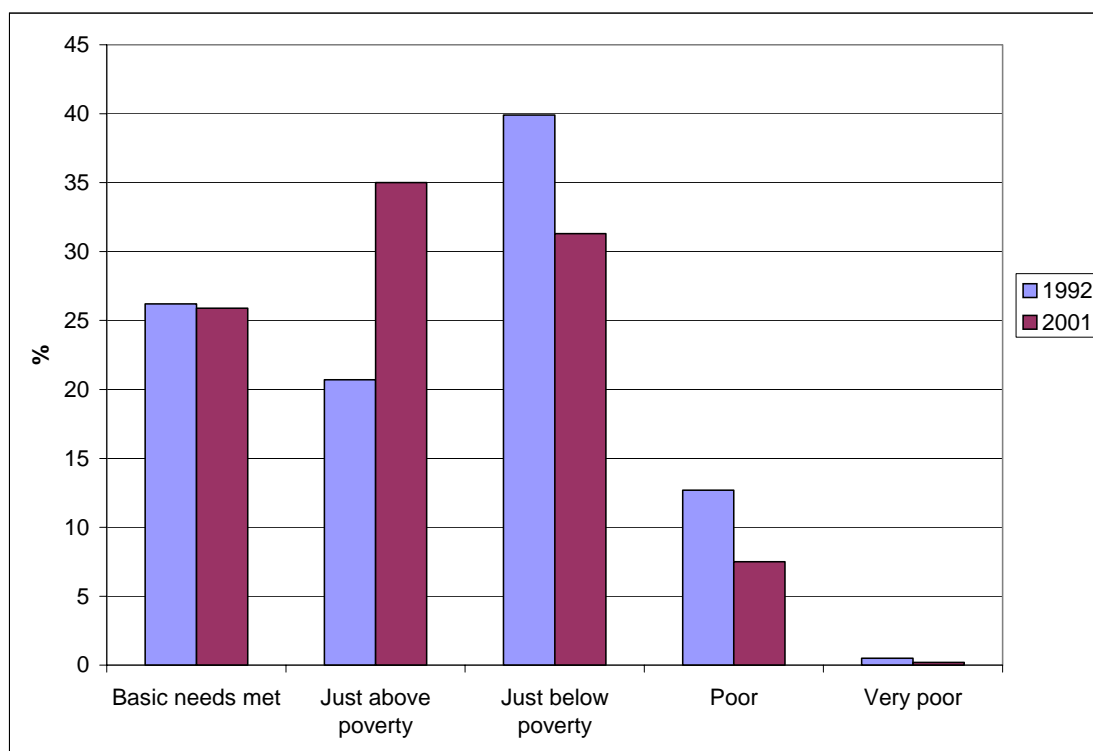


Figure 7. Poverty in the urban areas of Bolivia in 1992 and 2001 (Data from INE, 2002).



6.2 REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS WORKING ON RURAL POVERTY AND THE ENVIRONMENT WITH THEIR INTERESTS

Please see below for the list of organisations invited to the workshop

6.3 PEOPLE CONSULTED

Group	Person	Issue(s) raised and discussed
Fundacion Tierra	Jaime Burgoa	Importance of land rights in the general ambit of rural development
FAM	Mike Bennet	The use of input-output models in municipality planning
CIPICA	Mario Enriquez	Importance of different livestock species in livelihood Changes in government policy in the support of the livestock sector
Ministry of Agriculture	Roberto Arteaga	Government policy on support for agricultural research
FIT-DFID	Miguel Angel Pedregal	A new phase of the DFID support for agricultural research
Independent researcher	Diego Pacheco	Importance of NTFPs as a livelihood strategy in the humid and sub-humid tropical region of Bolivia Grassroot based research on household livelihood strategies in developing policies and policy actions (this will potentially be supported by SNV and coordinated with UDAPE)
Independent researcher	Rodrigo Paz	Community structure and dynamics and how these can influence the dynamics of the rural economy.
CONDESAN	Judith Kuan	Livelihood strategies in the high Andes to escape from poverty, and the problems that push people into poverty. The comments are based on a study by ILRI How to use data and information to influence policy
DFID	Diego Muñoz	Importance of national government and donor coordination in order to have constant and consistent development actions Developing strategies where research generates results that are appropriate to poor people and where the results are useful for setting policy agendas
CIP	Graham Thiele	Designing research programmes to work in a policy environment
IFAD	Roberto Haudry	Improving local service provision

6.4 WORKSHOP REPORT

6.4.1 Workshop programme

The Bolivia country workshop was held on 4th April 2006 in La Paz. A total of 75 people were invited from a range of public and private sector organisations, NGOs and local community groups. In total 72 people confirmed that they would take part in the workshop, but unfortunately there was a public transport strike on the day of the workshop and only 35 people took part. The workshop programme involved presentations from the scoping study team and presentations from producers, private and public sector organization. In the afternoon the participants split into working groups and presented reports at the end of the afternoon.

Time	Subject or activity	Presenter or person responsible
8.30-9.00	Registration	Rommy Viscarra, CEVEP-ODI
9.00-9.15	Welcome, workshop objectives and format	Jonathan Rushton, CEVEP-ODI
9.15-9.45	Study background, objectives and methodologies	Steve Wiggins, ODI
9.45-10.00	Smallholder experiences of global economic processes	Producer, Antolin Salazar – Opoco, Potosi
10.00-10.30	The central Andean Region – rural poverty, the environment and global economic processes	Jonathan Rushton, CEVEP-ODI
10.30-10.45	Coffee break	
10.45-11.05	Private sector experiences with global economic processes	Ing. Mario Enriquez, CIPCA
11.05-11.25	Experiences of the development project with global economic processes	Ing. Víctor Hugo Román, PASACH, Camargo, Chuquisaca.
11.25-11.45	Results of studies on rural poverty and policy influencing in the Andean Region – FAO-PPLPI	Judith Kuan, CONDESAN, Lima, Peru
11.45-12.05	Strengthening the agricultural research system in Bolivia	Diego Muñoz, Coordinador Nacional DFID-CRD
12.05-12.30	Emerging study themes and a proposal for the working groups	Steve Wiggins, ODI
12.30-14.00	Lunch	
14.00-16.00	Working groups	Jonathan Rushton, CEVEP-ODI
16.00-16.15	Coffee break	
16.15-17.00	Group presentations	Group leaders
17.00-17.30	Summary and close	Steve Wiggins and Jonathan Rushton, ODI

The agenda covered issues such as the balance between advocacy to change the terms of incorporation of the poor into globalised markets versus finding ways to react to those terms. Specific issues raised by Steve Wiggins and used as a basis for the working groups were:

- whether the poor could be assisted directly as producers, or only indirectly as workers for others or as straightforward recipients of transfers;
- for those poor producers, the issues of the skills and technology, access to finance, marketing skills and land;
- and spatial questions of where urban-rural links may help.

Two cross-cutting themes were introduced which were:

- Gender differences and issues; and

- Environmental concerns.

The presentations were focussed by the private sector and project support groups on working in rural areas to stimulate agricultural and livestock production that was focussed on good national markets and where possible international markets. Given that most development projects in Bolivia have focussed on value chains and in particular export value chains, this was hardly a surprise. However, as commented by other researchers such as CIOEC, Rodrigo Paz, Rommy Viscarra and Jonathan Rushton this focus is not inclusive of all poor rural people and a large majority of people are simply not involved in the value chain focus development efforts. The explanation for this can be found in the above document and clearly relates to poverty in human, physical, natural, financial and social capitals.

In addition to the value chain focus a producer (Antolin Salazar) from an isolated and poor area of Potosi (high Andes) presented how he and his family coped with their circumstances. He described his activities as a llama herder and a temporary building worker in cities close to his area. He described discrimination and exploitation in his work in the city, where he was paid between 25 to 30% less than other workers. It needs to be recognised that Don Antolin is from one of the better off families in his community, in that region many other families are much worse off and less able to participate successfully in markets, be they or products or the general job market.

Finally, a presentation was made by Diego Muñoz, which set out a new project that involves bring rural research closer to a policy making environment. This project has now been approved for funding by the DFID Central Research Department. It will be implemented by CIAT and CIP and also involve a local partner. It is understood that the management team of this project would be very interested to collaborate with IDRC in future research efforts.

6.4.2 Working Groups

The participants were give the following choice of groups and associated questions. Each participant was given the liberty to choose which group he or she wanted to participate in.

6.4.2.1 Group A: Abilities, skills and technology generation

- What are the key abilities and skills required to participate in global economic processes?
- How does one generate technology to the such participation in global economic processes?
- How easy and to what point it is possible to obtain technology from other countries?
- Will the majority of the poor people participate in global economic processes as producers or as workers?

6.4.2.2 Group B: Investment and commercialisation

- What are the difficulties when making investments?
- How can one create conditions to encourage more investment?
- In the agricultural sector, what land rights are needed to stimulate investment, in particular in the smallholder sector?

- How can one improve the value chains so that the activities associated with them benefit poor rural people?
- Will the majority of the poor people participate in global economic processes as producers or as workers?

6.4.2.3 Group C: Favourable geographic growth for the rural poor

- Where are the best options for poor rural people to be found – local, national, regional or domestic markets?
- What are the roles of the urban economy and links between urban and rural areas in rural development?
- How can links between rural areas and cities be improved and stimulated to create benefits for poor rural people?
- What is the role of the non-farm rural economy in rural development and how can it be stimulated?

Cross cutting questions:

When answering the above questions the participants were request to think about:

- Gender - What are the gender differences and dimensions that need to be taken into account?
- Environment and natural resources – Are there environmental implications that need to be taken into account?

6.4.3 Working group reports

6.4.3.1 Group A: Abilities, skills and technology generation

1. Organisation
 - Skills in management and implementation particularly in
 - i. Use of capital
 - ii. Marketing
2. Information
 - Education
 - TIC
3. Competitive production with an emphasis on:
 - Comparative advantages
 - Quality
 - Volume

In general the need for a favourable public policies

Roles and common objectives of:

- Public and private institutions
- Public and private Universities
- Foundations
- Institutes and centres supporting rural development
- Standards and Norms – emphasis on the national body for setting these IBNORCA
- Policies and incentives – institutional framework

This requires policies that are

- Appropriate for each environment
- Help in promote inputs and competitiveness
- Utilise to the full comparative advantages
- Assure food security

There is a need to coordinate and articulate these issues and the suggestion to satisfy technology by demand. The suggestion was the need for a

Network of Suppliers of Technology

The ideal is that the poor rural people participate in global economic processes as **PRODUCERS**

6.4.3.1.1.1 Environment

- The State should apply and enforce laws and regulations
- The role of the state is the protection of natural resources both non-renewable and renewable
- Policies are required that provide incentives to productive and conservation regions
- Development of regulations and directives for the management of resources and inputs

6.4.3.1.1.2 Gender

- Need for the recognition of the role and productive skills of women
- The wide differences between the different groups within the rural poor
- Policy of equality in education between these different groups
- Differentiated training for women in subjects that are important and of interest to them
- Facilitate and enable women's participation and identify specific roles for ethnic groups
- Work in raising awareness and self esteem

6.4.3.2 Group B: Investment and commercialisation

What are the difficulties when making investments?

1. High interest rates that are not competitive
2. The need for adequate financial tools
3. The need for credit technologies such as risk capital

In the agricultural sector, what land rights are needed to stimulate investment, in particular in the smallholder sector?

1. Need for improved access and rights to land in order to stimulate commercial and productive activities

How can one improve the value chains so that the activities associated with them benefit poor rural people?

1. Participation of the producers during the identification of the chain
2. The need for a market focus and a recognition of the importance of the consumer
3. The need for better:
 - Information

- Negotiation capacity

A problem highlighted was the general lack of good information and data on the agricultural sector.

6.4.3.3 Group C: Favourable geographic growth for the rural poor

Where are the best options for poor rural people to be found – local, national, regional or domestic markets?

- The product should determine the strategy, with an analysis by product required. This would allow strategy development on a case by case basis that will include which markets the products will be targeting.

What are the roles of the urban economy and links between urban and rural areas in rural development?

- It is important to recognise that there are geographic differences with poverty in the high Andes (Altiplano) being different from that in the valley tropical regions of the country.
- There is a need to create a receptive environment for the formation of technical skills (mechanics, bakers, chefs, etc). There are no studies on what is demanded by poor rural people in terms of such skills.
- There should be analysis of the regions in the country that are attracting people and those that are losing them. For the latter group there is a need for policies to improve the urban areas in these regions.

How can links between rural areas and cities be improved and stimulated to create benefits for poor rural people?

- It is necessary to respond to the following question – Are rural links always needed between the capital city, large urban centres or only to the local urban populations?
- To stimulate links public finance should support families and offer health coverage

What is the role of the non-farm rural economy in rural development and how can it be stimulated?

- There is a need to improve rural infrastructure, particular basic services and have policies that encourage investment. Tourism is an important aspect for NFRE.

Gender: Generally programmes that involve women have a better impact

Environment: Revision of land laws and title. Better education on environmental protection and conservation

6.4.4 Comments from Steve Wiggins and Jonathan Rushton on the working groups

The agenda set out was only partially answered or dealt with. Steve felt that rural-urban links were not a important discussion point in the workshop. This perhaps reflects perhaps that these issues are not seen as that important in the types of work the participants are involved in, or it is a new subject. However, it was a subject mentioned by group C.

The participants focussed on messages based on their experiences. There was relatively little discussion about how the conditions set at international and national levels affecting the poor might be changed. This is probably related to how the

participants see their own roles in development as passive actors of implementation rather than movers and changers of the institutional environment in which they are found. Personal experience of this environment and at times trying to fight it, would suggest that there is little to be gained from fighting the systems in Bolivia, unless you want to make enemies. This type of insight is difficult to appreciate as an outsider.

The idea that perhaps creating jobs was likely to be more important to the poor was not explicitly seen as a main way to alleviate poverty. The consensus was that the poor should be encouraged in small-scale farms and businesses. This would probably relate to the types of project that many of the participants are involved in where the work is with the poor with assets and not with the working and non-working poor without assets. A conclusion from this is that many of the poor are left behind by the strong government and internationally funded initiatives because they do not fit within the development and value chain approaches. Alternative methods of reaching these poorer groups are available, but are not that popular because they involve medium to long term field commitment and large investments in staff. Returning to big (or bigger) government is still not a popular idea, despite the relative lack of success of current approaches in reducing poverty in countries such as Bolivia.

6.4.5 Organisations invited to the workshop

Organisation invited	Assisted
CAADI Centro Andino Amazónico de Desarrollo Indígena	No
PRO RURAL	No
AGRO DATA	Yes
CATIE Bolivia	No
REDES	Yes
FAM Bolivia	Yes
Federación de Asociaciones Municipales Bolivia	
Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Bolivia	No
Superintendencia Agraria	No
INRA (Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria)	No
Institut de Resercher pour le Development IRD	No
Mancomunidad de Municipios de Los Yungas de La Paz	Yes
Mancomunidad de Municipios del Norte Paceño Tropical	Yes
CIOEC	No
UDAPE (Unidad de Políticas Económicas y Sociales, Viceministerio de Hacienda)	Yes
ANAPQUI (Asociación Nacional de Productores de Quinua)	No
ACRA	No
IICA	No
CEPROBOL (Centro de Promoción Bolivia)	Yes
AOPEB (Asociación de Organizaciones de Productores Ecológicos de Bolivia)	Yes
USAID Departamento Oportunidades Económicas	No
Proyecto MAPA – USAID	No
COSUDE	No
SNV	No
CARE Internacional	YES
Proyecto Piloto Camélidos	No
FOBOMADE Foro Boliviano sobre Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo	No
Unidad de Productividad y Competividad	No
DFID	Yes
Relieve the Hunger	Yes
Fundación PUMA	No
Proyecto Cebolla Dulce FDTA Valles	No
FDTA Valles	Yes

Organisation invited	Assisted
FDTA Tropico Humedo	Yes
Fundación TIERRA	No
Secretaría PL 480 título II	No
SIBTA	No
Unidad de Coordinación del Programa de Servicios Agropecuarios	No
FUNDA PRO	No
PADER Promoción al Desarrollo Económico Rural	Yes
FIN RURAL	No
PIEB	No
AFIPC Asociación Federativa Integral de los Productores de los Cintis	Yes
DELACH Desarrollo Economico Local Agropecuario de Chuquisaca	Yes
CIPCA	Yes
Consejo de Salud Rural Andino CSRA	No
UTS Unidad de Tecnología y Sanidad	No
FIT	Yes
FONDESIF	Yes
INASET Instituto de Asistencia Social, Económica y Tecnológica	No
PRODEM	No
PROFIN COSUDE	No
PROINPA Altiplano	No
REMTE BOLIVIA	Yes
Red Mujer y Economía Bolivia	Yes
Organización de Mujeres Aymaras del Kollasuyo OMAK	No
Ministerio de Salud	Yes
Servicio Nacional de Caminos	No
Viceministro de Asuntos de Género y Generacionales	No
UCB Unidad Académica Campesina Tiahuanacu	Yes
ANED	No
ECOBOL (Empresa Boliviana de Correos)	Yes
SENATER (Servicio Nacional de Telecomunicación Rural)	Yes