

FINAL REPORT

PN-AAN-883/62

ISN-32350

SOCIAL ANALYSIS FOR THE LA PAZ-COCHABAMBA-
SANTA CRUZ CORRIDOR

CONTRACT No. 511-0000-C-00-2020

PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AID: 511-000-03 / 62

CORRIDOR ASSESSMENT BOLIVIA

53-5

Experience, Incorporated ⁴⁸⁰

1725 K Street

Washington, D. C. 20006

U.S.A.

Ivo J. Kraljevic

6309 Tamar DR

Columbia, MD 21045

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE RURAL
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CORRIDOR

Acknowledgments

Summary

I. Settlement Patterns in the Corridor

The city or urban center

The rural town

Center of a Colony or new town

Colony

The rural community

II. Human settlement Patterns in Three Subregions of the Corridor

Yungas Caranavi Alto Beni (La Paz)

Valles (Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, La Paz)

Colonization Zones (Santa Cruz and Cochabamba)

III. Social Organization

Going to the City through the Rural Town Route

Going to the City through the Colonization Route

The Colonist and his Social Environment

IV. Formal and Informal Institutions

The traditional Rural Community

Assimilated Institutions

Institutions in new and old Towns

V. Economic Activities and the Management of Risk

Traditional Campesino

Modern Campesino

Campesino Colonist

Diversification of Economic Activities

VI. The Family

The traditional Campesino Family

The modern Campesino Family

Appendix A Concepts of Health

 B The Chapare

 C Methodology

 D Field Trip

Sibliography

Acknowledgments

This study has been carried out as part of the La Paz-Cochabamba-Santa Cruz corridor assessment currently underway in the USAID/Bolivia Mission. It is hoped that it will help plan future interventions in the rural area of the corridor.

A great number of people made the study possible. The campesinos that were interviewed throughout the corridor were generous with their time and knowledge, and as always they were courteous and tolerant of our brief, rapid, and unannounced visits. The numerous rural service personnel of different agencies were extremely helpful in sharing their knowledge of different areas within the corridor. Conversations with W. Kaschak, R. Thurston and L. Brown of USAID/La Paz were extremely helpful in organizing the field work and the topics to be covered.

Roberto León de Viviero of USAID/La Paz made all the necessary arrangements for the extensive field-trips to be successful and provided support throughout the duration of the study.

Félix Tintaya of USAID/La-Paz drove flawlessly for over 3,000 kilometers providing companionship and sharing his rich experience of Bolivian roads and places.

2.

In Cochabamba, Ing. O. Antezana of PRODES provided office space to work parts of the report. Wilma de La Zerda and Patricia Arrázola of PRODES contributed to typing parts of the report.

Ing. W. Garbizu, Ing. Carlos Hoffmann of PRODES and Luis Ampuero of USAID LA PAZ were very helpfull in clarifying many aspects of the Chapare and Valleys of Cochabamba.

Luis Rojas A. participated in the field-work and contributed to the interpretations and analysis of the report. His profound knowledge of the rural community and his numerous contacts throughout the corridor facilitated and enriched the study.

Martha Ugarte assisted with the bibliographic investigation, coordinated the work, and typed the final report several times.

To all of these I express my warmest thanks.

Nedless to say, all interpretations and analysis are my own, and only I am responsible for possible errors.

Ivo Kraljevic

SUMMARY

The hierarchical stratification of economic, social, and cultural life along the lines of city, rural town, and dispersed rural settlement is the main characteristic of the social organization of the corridor.

The convergence of all stratification factors along the same line in terms of power, rank, prestige, and status make the social structure of the corridor extremely stable and helps explain the fluidity of ever larger numbers of people moving through it since 1952.

In 1976, one out of every four Bolivians was residing in a Province different than the one in which he/she was born.

Despite the fluidity that characterizes the current social organization of the rural areas of the corridor. The social stratification system has not yet changed significantly.

The urban center and the urban dweller is still at the top of the social structure in terms of economic and political power, in terms of rank and prestige, and in terms of cultural status.

The rural dweller and the rural community is at the bottom of the social structure in terms of economic and political power, in terms of rank and prestige, and in terms of cultural status.

2.

The main characteristic of the rural dweller is his geographic mobility in the quest of upward social, economic, and cultural mobility.

The traditional upward mobility involves moving out of the peasant community, moving out of being a campesino, and moving out of being identified as the member of an ethnic group. The moves are: geographically into the rural town or city; economically into non-agricultural activities; and socially into the non-campesino world.

The modern upward mobility involves moving out of the traditional rural community, moving out of subsistence economy, moving out of a specialized occupation. The moves are: to a colonization area; to a more market oriented economy; and to a diversification of activities.

The extended family plays a key role in both processes of upward social mobility. The branching out of family members into different economic, social, and geographic niches strengthens the ties of the family and facilitates the mobility of its members through the social structure.

The social and economic processes taking place throughout the corridor indicate that if a campesino wants to increase his power both political and economic, to have higher status, and to

3.

enjoy some benefits of the urban life style, he has no option but to get out of being a campesino and eventually become a city dweller. The concentration of wealth, power, and status in the urban sector is overwhelming.

I. Settlement Patterns in the corridor

The following human settlement patterns are found throughout the corridor: the city or urban center, the rural town, the new town, the center of a colony or incipient rural town, the dispersed colony, and the rural community.

The city or urban center

Although the focus of the analysis is rural social organization, the city plays an important role in understanding social and economic processes in the rural area. There are three important categories of urban residents that are of campesino origin. The first one is made up of merchants, entrepreneurs and professionals who are of rural town origin and it is a growing category of urban residents since 1972. The second group is made up of small merchants, artesans, skilled workers, and migrant unskilled workers who predominate in the marginal neighborhoods. Finally, there is a third category of newly arrived people who move to the city from the rural area in order to get an education and/or an occupation.

2.

The rural town

The rural town is a settlement that is half way between the city and the dispersed rural community. It is also a transition point between the dispersed rural area and the urban center. Two categories of people reside in it. The first and smaller one is made up of descendants of old hacendados in zones affected by the agrarian reform. The second one, and the more important one since 1952, is made up mostly of ex-campesinos transformed into merchants, transportistas, rural teachers, and a new breed of political/administrative authorities. It also includes a smaller percentage of people from urban origins who have moved to the rural town, specially service professionals and merchants.

The rural town (both old and new) plays a key role as the transmitter of the urban ideology and urban life style to the rural area through its schools, institutes, its public and private agencies, and its administrative and service bureaucracies.

The rural town was established during colonial time as a power center in the rural area. Though there have been changes it still functions as such and if it prospers it is only at the expense of the surrounding rural population.

3.

Center of a Colony or New Town

In the colonization areas of the corridor there are what can be called new towns or the center of a colony. In colonization areas older than 10 years, emerging nucleated settlements can be found which begin as an effort to nucleate the widely dispersed colonists with the goals of providing them with services and opportunities for social life. However, they are soon, taken over by merchants, transportistas, and local level bureaucrats and transformed into the center of power and control of the surrounding area of colonies.

Colony

The settlement pattern of a colony is widely dispersed along roads and pathways with the houses built far apart from each other and on each Chaco. These settlements have as their main characteristic their precariousness, and it is only in zones that have been settled 15-20 years that one begins to see regular patterns and more permanent settlements. The population left after that period of time is generally not the one that first settled in the area except for about 20 % who have prospered, become patrones themselves, and make their principal residence the center of the colony, a nearby town, or the city.

The Rural Community

These settlement patterns refers to the traditional nucleated and dispersed community of campesino. It is found throughout the corridor in the low and high altitude valleys. Where the valleys are narrow and follow a river course, the settlement is dispersed and ribbon like. Where the valleys are wide, the settlement tend to be nucleated with the agricultural land around the community. The traditional rural community is key to understanding the diverse social processes taking place in the rural areas of the corridor. It is the traditional rural community where the migrants to colonization areas, to rural towns, and to the city originate.

It is in the rural community where native culture is maintained and where native forms of adaptation to different ecological zones can be found.

5.

II. Human Settlement Patterns in the Corridor.

What has been said of the patterns of the human settlement in the corridor applies to the entire area covered by the corridor. In each portion of the corridor that corresponds to a department, a city plays a central role. La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz are the most obvious and important cities within the corridor. However, Sucre, Tarija and to a lesser extent Potosí are just as important for the rural areas that are close to them geographically such as the llanos del Chaco and the Valleys of Monteagudo and Entre Rios in Chuquisaca and Tarija.

What follows is a brief description and analysis of the main types of human settlement in two sub-regions of the corridor: The Valleys and the Colonization Regions of the three main departments in the corridor.

I. Valleys (Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and La Paz)

In the Valleys of the three main departments and in the valleys of Chuquisaca and Tarija that are included in the corridor two main types of human settlements are found: the dispersed ribbon like settlement in the narrow valleys, and the nucleated settlement in the wide or open Valleys.

6.

Dispersed Settlement.

The Dispersed Settlement is the predominant type and it is found throughout the corridor in the inter-mountain narrow valleys. These valleys are made up of relatively flat terraces of land that follow the course of rivers. In their widest parts the flat terraces may extend one or two kilometers from the river to the mountains.

The predominant type of settlement in these narrow valleys is dispersed along the length of the Valley with houses built on each property usually in the part of the terrace close to the mountains.

The majority of these valleys are 10 to 30 kilometers long making any other type of settlement impractical. Irrigation agriculture is almost always the only agriculture possible. In some of these valleys, small rural towns were established during colonial times as administrative and control centers. These towns still have the same functions, though in general they have declined in importance since 1952 as the old hacendado group left these towns. The majority of these towns have a small permanent population and a large temporary one made-up of peasants of the surrounding area who build a second residence in the town for occasional visits and/or as a residence, which is used only throughout the school year by their

7.

children attending school with grades not available in their communities.

Because of the topography of these valleys, the settlement is unlikely to change unless motor-transportation becomes universal. It is simply impractical for people to live in one center if their properties are 15 or 20 or more kilometers down river. The most notable changes in these narrow valleys are the proliferation of dual residences; that is, a house on the property and another one in the town which is used occasionally, and the building of the dispersed houses along a road if one exists that goes along the valley.

Nucleated Settlement.

In the open Valley, such as the Cochabamba low and high Valleys and the Valley of Vallegrande in Santa Cruz, the predominant type of settlement is the nucleated one, that is the houses of the majority of the residents are built close together sometimes in the form of a town and the agricultural lands are distributed around the population center.

However, these wide or open Valleys contain many microclimates which influence the type of settlement and the type of agricultural activities found in communities only a few kilometers away from each other. For example in Vallegran-

8.

de, there are 60-70 distinct communities in three different micro regions: (Altiplano, Valle Mesotermico and Subtropical). In the Cochabamba open-Valleys the diversity is even greater. Each community tends to specialize in the production of certain crops forming a mosaic of economic and social activities. Though towns or nucleated settlements are common in these Valley, dispersed settlements are also found along roads and small rivers within the Valley.

Although settlement patterns ~~are~~ in the Valleys tend to be stable and long established, some trends are worth nothing.

The all important road is transforming or has already transformed many old type towns from the classic colonial-Spanish structure of grid streets build around a main plaza to towns that are built along the main road(s). Urban growth as well as the availability of electricity and piped water are contributing to a physical reordering of old towns and dispersed settlements in the valleys with houses being built in a ribbon like pattern along roads and electric lines. In the dispersed settlements, there is a notable trend to form agglomerations which take the shape of new or incipient towns.

9.

The Colonization Zones: Low lands and Tropical Areas of
La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz.

In the Colonization zones of the three main departments which include the sub-tropical and tropical areas, the following types of human settlement are found: The traditional town, the traditional colony, the modern colony, and the new town or center of colony.

The Traditional Town.

In the Yungas of La Paz and north of Santa Cruz, towns were established in Colonial times which can best be described as traditional. Their physical lay-out followed a plan where the town had a main plaza containing the mayor building housing administrative, political and religious leaders. A grid pattern of streets surrounded the main plaza.

In the Yungas, the rural areas were settled by the peasants working in the haciendas, and sometimes as free communities, these settlements tend to be dispersed with some agglomerations around an old hacienda house or a chapel. In Santa Cruz, all the inhabitants resided in the town.

10.

These towns have changed considerably since 1952. They are losing their classical structure and are spreading along the main roads. The composition of the population of these towns has also changed. Where before 1952 they contained the rural elite of hacendados and the administrative functionaries, today they are more heterogeneous and contain large members of "prosperous" peasants from the surrounding rural areas, increasing numbers of small merchants and artisans, and considerable numbers of land-less laborers, as well as public administrative and service functionaries.

In Santa Cruz, towns such as Montero and Mineros have benefitted from the influx of modern colonists, while others such as Saavedra, Portachuelo, etc., have resisted the invasion of the modern colonists in an attempt to preserve their identities, with the result of slower growth and in some cases stagnation and marginalization.

The Traditional Colony.

This type of settlement is found only in the mountainous part of the Yungas. The colonies remote to colonial and Inca times. They are found around the old towns of the Yungas such as Coroico, Irupana, Chulumani, etc.

11.

The settlement is highly dispersed with houses built on the agricultural land known as Sayañas.

These settlements, are also changing. Houses are being built on small bought pieces of land along the roads. Availability of electricity as well as piped water is further influencing the change with a tendency to form agglomerations of houses where the topography permits such settlement. The change is producing a concentration of the population along roads and towns with more urban characteristics than in other rural areas of the corridor, their proximity to the bigger towns as well as their easy access to the city of La Paz is contributing to the urbanization of this area of the Yungas.

The Modern Colony.

The Alto Beni area of La Paz, the Chapare of Cochabamba and the northern area of Santa Cruz are zones of recent colonization by peasants from the high land and valleys of the rest of the country. In these zones, the modern colony type of settlement is found. It is basically of two types, the "directed" and the spontaneous. The main difference among the two is that while the directed colony is settled on both sides of the main road, the "spontaneous" colony is found along small

12.

roads or pathway away from the main road and sometimes perpendicular to it.

With the exception of the San Julian Colonization project in Santa Cruz, the type of settlement in the rest of the colonization areas is dispersed along roads or pathways forming tiers until the land allocated to a sindicato or colony reaches its limits.

Insolation and difficulty of access are the main characteristics of these types of settlement if away from the main road. Both factors make for a highly unstable type of settlement, which together with the problems of land use and type of agriculture practiced make this type of settlement at best a temporary one.

The New Town or Center of Colony.

In older Colonization areas of the three departments, 10-20 years, emerging nucleated settlements can be found which begin to give the area the look of more permanence and special social and economic characteristics. However, these emerging rural towns are only stable insofar as their location is strategic to a wider zone. For example new towns at the end of roads or where the colonization frontier begins are very important points providing the arriving colonists with the only

76

13.

services available in the area. As the road is built following some of the spontaneous colonies, the town usually becomes a passing point as its area of influence decreases due to the formation of new service centers further along the road. Only towns that are at crossroads remain important as the colonization area expands.

In the spontaneous as well as the directed colonies the new and strategically located towns serve as the nucleus for commerce, education, and administrative services for a group of colonies. They are made up of colonists from the surrounding area that gradually shift their main residence from their plot of land to the new town, as well as from public service functionaries and small merchants from outside the area. The colonists usually maintain dual residence, that is the more permanent house in the new town and a provisional one on their plot of land, which often is 10-40 kilometers away.

These new towns sometimes resemble the more traditional town with designs for a main plaza, and its buildings such as the town hall, the church, etc. However, the heart of the new town is always the main street where the commercial district is located and it is the street that is part of the road out of the area.

Older new towns resemble the traditional town in the sense that local level authorities such as the corregidor, alcalde, teachers, etc., begin to play the old role of the town elite. The combination of services in the new town and the isolation of most of the colonies make these new towns attractive places to move to by the colonists contributing to their growth and importance. In the section on social organization, the phenomena of the new town will be looked at more closely.

III. Social Organization

There are a number of generalizations that can be made on principles of social organization that are applicable to the rural areas of the corridor. Differences between regions will be indicated as the rural social organization is described and analysed.

The broadest generalization and the most obvious and apparent is that of the stratification of economic, social, and cultural life along the lines of city, rural town, and dispersed rural settlement. The convergence of all stratification factors along the same line in terms power, rank, prestige and

15.

status make the social structure of Bolivian society both extremely stable and rigid and at the same time help explain the fluidity of rural social organization since 1952.

This apparent contradiction of stability and rigidity on the one hand and extreme fluidity on the other is key to understanding the rural social organization of the corridor specifically and the Bolivian society in general.

At the top of the stratification system in terms of prestige, power and control is the city or the urban world. In addition to, the urban center having most of the political economic and administrative power, it also has cultural and social power. Thus to speak Spanish and to have the cultural and social life style of the urban dweller is the principal frame of reference for the activities of the majority of rural population. To be an urban dweller is to have both economic, and political power. To be an urban dweller is to have prestige and status. To be an urban dweller is to have a set of values vaguely identified or being part of the occidental cultural, technological, and economic world.

On the other hand to be a rural dweller is to have low status and prestige; to have little economic, and political power; to be identified as having a rural culture which includes

16.

being seen as part of an ethnic group or groups that have always been at the lower end of the hierarchy in the stratification system of Bolivia society.

Although, the majority of the rural population belongs to distinct ethnic groups, being a member of one of the ethnic groups is not a necessary criteria for membership into the lower stratum of the society. The Spanish speaking rural inhabitant of the corridor areas (Valles y Trópicos of Santa Cruz) are at the lower end of the system just as their counter-part is in the Quechua or Aymara areas: though the Spanish speaking peasant fares relatively better simply because of their cultural and linguistic similarity with the urban dweller.

It has often been said that the main characteristic of Bolivian rural social organization specially since 1952 is its fluidity or its constant state of flux. Flux in the rural area of the corridor takes the form principally of geographic mobility in search of upward social mobility which may eventually lead to an urban center and the urban life style.

Going to the City through the Rural Town Route

This geographic and social mobility takes different

17.

routes. The first and the most traditional is mobility from a dispersed rural area to the rural town. This move is accompanied by a move into other occupations outside or agriculture itself. It is usually a gradual move out of the rural community and out of agriculture as the main occupation. It does not mean a sudden change, but agriculture as an occupation, becomes less and less important until it is abandoned all together. By agriculture, it is intended to mean campesino agriculture which in most cases is predominantly of the subsistence type.

The campesino that moves to town is the one who has prospered in agriculture, incorporated part or most of his production to the market economy and who uses his rural base - his plot of land and his cattle - as the launching platform for his move to town and as his main resource while he becomes established in town.

The move, however, is not explained in terms of success in agriculture, but more often in terms of seeking a "better education" and better health services for his offspring. The move is also accompanied by a change of cultural identity which includes a change of dress, especially his wife and daughters, a shift to the more frequent use of Spanish among the parents and a tendency to Spanish monolingualism among the offspring; and finally a shift to a set of values that characterize the urban world life-style.

18.

The move from campesino to townsmen is also a move from primarily being occupied in agriculture to entering into fields such as artesans, comerce and transport for the parents and occupations such as teachers for the offspring if they remain in the rural area. However it is more frequent that the offspring will move to the city and work in construction, attempt to enter the administrative bureaucracy, become comerciante, transportista, or obtain a university degree. The more prosperous of the town dweller will send their offspring to the universities in the quest to have at least one professional son or daughter.

The move, both geographic and social, from the rural area to the rural town is completed in one generation. Eventually the new townsmen may give up altogether his land base in the rural area, but more often he keeps it administering it from town and employs peones. His ties with the rural area become invaluable if he becomes, a transportista/comerciante. He also replaces the old patron in his role as an intermediary between his ex-neighbors from the rural area and the town authorities and the personnel of the Rural Service Agencies.

The process also means that there is a gradual change of cultural and ethnic identity. He moves from being a Quechua or Aymara or Camba campesino to being a vecino of the town. His

offspring, will through their education, complete the change and although they may retain cultural markings and the native language, they will identify themselves more closely with the Spanish urban culture than with their parents cultural origin.

Sometimes during the same generation, but more frequently it will be the second generation, the geographic and social mobility will repeat itself. This time, however, the move is from the rural town to the city. The more traditional move is through the education of the offspring in the city where it may include a university career. The justification for the move is expressed almost always as a search for better education, better health services and the benefits of the city "environment" in terms of opportunities for progress and betterment. The accompanying change in cultural identity is inevitable as the move to the city involves the learning of new and necessary cultural and social skills to be able to function adequately as a Spanish speaking city dweller.

This process of geographic and social mobility was accelerated after the revolution of 1952. The old hacendado category and their collaborators did set the precedent and established the lines of mobility. Newer generations of towns people of rural origins have and are following many of the paths established by the old hacendado and vecino category.

It is difficult to find a single old town in the corridor that has not undergone a complete change of the population since 1952. Everywhere, a few of the old vecinos left will talk about the great old times when the town was full of "decent" vecinos who have since left for the city and made their lives and sometimes fortune there. In the Yungas, towns such as Coroico, Chulumani, Irupana, Quime, Inquisive are good examples.

In Cochabamba, the towns of the valleys such as Capi- nota, Sacaba, Punata, Cliza, etc., are also examples of the changes since 1952. In Santa Cruz, Saipina, Valle Grande, Saa- vedra, Portachuelo, Buena Vista, and San Carlos are interesting example that illustrate the process.

Some of the towns characterize themselves for the types of occupation which their old residents have entered in their search for the urban life. For example in Valle Grande approximately 85 % of the working urban population are rural and urban teachers. The towns of Yungas at first produced a number of medical doctors, lawyers and other professionals. Later on becoming a police officers was an avenue of social mobility. In the towns of the Valle Alto of Cochabamba (Tarata, Punata, Cliza, Totora, etc.) at first the move was to the traditional professions of medical doctors, lawyers and engineers. La-

21.

ter on it was towards agricultural engineering the armed forces, economists, etc.

The type of occupation selected depends in part on the perception of opportunities for work and progress and the resource base with the family can support a university career.

This process of geographic and social mobility from rural area to rural town and the city has probably always existed and constituted an acceptable pattern of socio-economic and cultural mobility. However, while before 1952 it was open only to an upper and very small rural stratum, the changes introduced by the 1952 revolution, accelerated the process and allowed larger segments of the rural population to take part in it. Some of the most important changes were brought about by the agrarian and educational reforms instituted after 1952.

What had been a trickle before 1952 became a flood after 1952. The exit of the hacendado category and the people who worked for them as administrators etc., from the rural towns, left a vacuum that was quickly filled in by town merchants, public administrators, and a new breed of politicians. The new rural elite did no longer control the land and labor of the camoesino, but through its control of capital and the commercial system was just as able to "exploit" the rural population on the old hacendado group was. It is in this sense that one can state that the social structure of the rural area has not really

22.

changed that much. The positions in the overall structure remain the same. It is only the actors that are different and some of the methods used by them.

During the 50's and 60's the move from rural area to town and to city increased and gained momentum becoming an avalanche in the 70's. (x)

The opening of schools in the most remote areas, and the entrepreneurship of the comerciante/transportista to reach the most isolated areas and to quickly become "rich" with his trades are certainly important factors in not only accelerating the trend, but also, in introducing new and faster routes from being a campesino to becoming at least a city dweller if not a professional with higher status.

Though the route to the city through the rural town is still a viable and secure way of social economic and cultural mobility, increasing numbers are moving directly to the city and taking their chances with finding a job - any job.

(x) See Population tables

23.

NOTES:

- 1) In 1976 in the Cities of La Paz, Cochabamba 38 % of their inhabitants were born elsewhere in the country. In Santa Cruz 46 % were born elsewhere.
- 2) Of the total immigrants in the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, the percentage of the immigrants of rural origin from the same departmente are as follows.

La Paz	64 %
Santa Cruz	35.7 %
Cochabamba	41 %

Source: Alho, Greaves, Sandoval. 1982. La Paz. Chukyawu.

La cara Aymara de La Paz. CIPCA No. 20. pp. 43 - 44.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN COCHABAMBA CENSUS OF
1900, 1950, 1976

	1900	%	1950	%	1976	%
RURAL	247.848	75.9	346.659	76.7	448.853	62.3
URBAN	78.315	24.1	105.486	23.3	272.100	37.7

NOTE: Urban includes city of Cochabamba and provincial capitals.

FUENTE: C.E.R.E.S. 1982. (Calderón, Rivera) Based on INE publications

POPULATION IN THE CITY OF SANTA CRUZ AND REST OF THE DEPARTMENT1900, 1950, 1976

	1900		1950		1976	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RURAL			203.197	83.05	456.042	64.2
URBAN			41.461	16.95	254.682	35.8
TOTAL	171.592		244.658		710.724	

FUENTE: Boletín demográfico departamental de Santa Cruz. Vol. 7
INE. La Paz, 1980.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN SANTA CRUZ TOWNS OF 2000 OFMORE INHABITANTS

	1900		1950		1976	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RURAL			167,281	68.37	336.119	47.3
URBAN			77,377	31.63	374.605	52.7
TOTAL	171.592		244.658		710,724	

FUENTE: Resultados del Censo Nacional de Población y vivienda
1976. Vol. 10. La Paz.

POPULATION CITY OF LA PAZ AND REST OF THE DEPARTMENT CENSUS 1900, 1950,1976

	1900		1950		1976	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RURAL	308.169 (3)	36.5	681.392 (3)	71.8	829.796(1)	60.6
URBAN	66.331 (2)	13.5	267.008 (2)	28.2	635.282(1)	43.4
TOTAL	446.500 (3)		948.400 (3)		1.465.078(1)	

FUENTE: Resultados del Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 1976.

(1) INE: Vol. 10. La Paz

(2) ALBO, GRAVES, SANDOVAL. p. 43

(3) INE. Cochabamba Office

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LA PAZ 1900, 1950, 1976URBAN INCLUDES CITY OF LA PAZ AND TOWNS OF 2000 OR MORE INHABITANTS

	1950		1950		1976	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
RURAL			555,616	65.5	765.815	52.4
URBAN			298,463	34.5	697.263	47.6
TOTAL	446.500		948.400		1.465.078	

FUENTE: Resultados del Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 1946. Vol. 2.10. INE. La Paz

TABLE 4

PROYECCION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION
 1975 to 2000

Y E A R	R U R A L		U R B A N	
	No.	%	No.	%
1975	2.873.015	59.7	2.021.388	41.3
2000	4.335.506	44.1	5.501.859	55.9

NOTE: Urban - towns of 2000 or more inhabitants

Source: INE. 1980. La Paz. Bolivia: Proyecciones de la Poblacion for areas urbana-rural, segun sexo y edad: 1975-2000. pp. 43 - 44.

Going to the City Through the Colonization Route

An alternative route to the city and the accompanying life style is that route which is becoming established and can absorb greater numbers of people than the town ever could: It is the colonization route or a rural to rural to urban center mobility process.

Briefly, the campesino leaves his native highland or lowland community for the colonization frontiers of La Paz, Cochabamba or Santa Cruz with high hopes of a better life and often with promises of a great future. Whether the colonist starts his odyssey with the ultimate goal of ending in the city is not known, but what is known is that soon after he settles down in a colonization zone, his actions show that at least his offspring will move to the city.

To practice subsistence agriculture in the colonization area does not even begin to fulfill the hopes and expectations which moved the colonist to migrate. This is true even though the colonist may have 50 hectares rather than 1 hectare. He may have a slightly higher income, but, his costs are higher and living conditions worse than in his home community.

29.

Life in the colonization areas does not in any way come closer to what the campesino may have aspired. Thus, it becomes a struggle to survive; to accumulate enough resources to move out of being campesino; to move out of being occupied in agriculture; or to at least work so that the offspring may move to the city and to other occupations.

The reasons for the relatively little success of the colonization programs have been amply documented. (x) The predatory and nomadic type of agriculture, the lack of infrastructure, the lack of markets, etc. , have all been studied and analysed. It would seem that despite all the talk of the promise of opening the agricultural frontier of the low-lands, the net result has been a holding action to stem the tide of campesinos to the city. Does a campesino family really have a future if they move to the low lands to practice a modified form of subsistence agriculture? Was it the purpose to convert the campesino colonists into farmers? Is there a practical solution to this. is there a realistic government strategy? What role do, donor agencies play?

In the Yungas of La Paz, there are colonization areas such as Taipi Playa where nearly 90 % if not 100 % of the colonist have purchased a lot in the city of La Paz and built a house to

(x) See the C.I.A.T. PRODES, D.E.R.E.S. studies

38

30.

which the family gradually moves. The colonies of Taipi Playa are about 20 years old.

The process is being repeated in the newer colonies, specially in the Alto Beni. The process begins with the arrival of an individual or groups of individuales from the highlands. He obtains a plot from the Instituto Nacional de Colonización usually in an area that has only a path or not even that. He brings enough resources from his home community to allow him to stay up to one month to cut down the trees of one hectare (desmonte) in the months of June to August. He returns to his home community and comes back 2 - 3 months later to burn and clear up his plot (Chaco) and to plant rice and corn. He returns once again to his home community in the highlands. He returns again in December or January to weed his plot. He makes again another trip back to the home community and returns to harvest in April or May.

If he has a good harvest, he returns the following year and clears another hectare. In the first hectare he may have planted bananas and cacao. Towards the third year, he may bring his family down with him and build a simple house. He continues to clear the forest and to diversify his crops with the planting of citrus, cacao and coffee. The crops he plants are in part based on what he sees around or near him. However, almost every

31.

crop planted is an experiment until through trial and error he reaches a satisfactory degree of diversification and production.

✓ Once the colono has reached a certain point in his career - his plot (Chaco) is well established and he is "prosperous" - his family begins to disband. His wife and older and very young kids move to La Paz, where they have bought a piece of land and built a house. He remains in the Chaco with some of his kids who are still attending rural school. The wife becomes a comerciante selling the produce of their land directly in La Paz in one of the Tambos (Markets).

• The older kids go to high school or learn a trade and when finished take a job in construction, transport, in a factory or become employed one of the state bureaucracies. A small percentage of the colonists may send a son to the university.

In any event, once the older kids have begun to work, the father and rest of the family move to La Paz. The colono rents his chaco, or more often leaves it with peones. He administers it by visiting the area from time to time and his wife continues to market the produce in La Paz.

The colono himself may attempt to work in construction or in a trade. He may also start a comercial venture in his community of origin, or if he did buy a truck become a transportista-together with one of his sons who drives the truck. More

often, however, the colonist spends his time traveling between his chaco and La Paz.

While the first years are the years when the family is together establishing the chaco, the family soon begins to disband and it is unlikely that they will live together in one place again. The members of the family move continuously after the first move to town or the city. At first between the colony and the city, and later when the sons and daughter have grown up, over a wider area in search of work and the formula that will allow them upper social economic and cultural mobility.

Part of this process is also the change in cultural identity. Breaking with the community of origin leaves the colonist floating for a while. Although still a campesino Aymara or Quechua, he most often sees himself as a colonizador (colonist). That identity, however, is vague and serves only to create a sense of being part of a group. When asked where they come from, they often respond first with the departament, example La Paz. Less often they respond by naming the province where their native community is located; only when pressed, will they tell the name of their native community.

The responses to the question of where do you come from are similar to the self-identification as a colonizador to say that they come from a departament is to use a broader category that

33.

maximises the chance of finding people who at least share something in common.

The names chosen for the colonies, specially spontaneous colonies, reflect the attempts to find a new identity and the composition of the colonies. The directed colonies have impersonal and bureaucratic names such as Faja A, B, C, D, or Faja Norte lote 312. Spontaneous colonies with a predominant group of families from the same community of origin have names which in some way reflect their origin such as Ingavi Ira., or Uyunense, or Chorolque, Tarija, etc. Finally colonies made up of people from diverse origins have nationalistic names such as Abaroa, 5 de Agosto, etc.

The Colonist and his Social Environment.

The process of settlement described above was in terms of the colonist and his immediate family. The family, however, is involved in a wider social environment.

The first and most important social context is the community of origin. The whole venture is financed by the resources of the colonist in his native community. It is also almost always the case that the decision to migrate is made in a group context. In the Alto Beni, for example, one often finds that

34.

groups of young men from the same community settle together in a colony. Mechanisms for surviving the first years include active use of social institutions such as Ayni and Minka which are reciprocal exchanges of labor and goods and forms of mutual aid.

In the colony itself the sindicato plays a very important role during the establishment of a colonization settlement. Though a sindicato can be a complex organization, in the colonization areas it is a form or action-group. That is a group of colonists get together for a series of specific purposes. The sindicato as an action group is effective only when there is a common goal and a felt need.

The first one, of course is to get the land and the title. All sindicatos were born for this purpose. Sindicatos are almost synonymous with land ownership and titles. Once the colony is settled with the sindicato delimiting the area and the distribution of plots, it becomes activated for other specific purposes such as the attempts to get anykind of the all important road built to the colony, which allows them easier access to a main road. Later on it will be the school, and the Posta Sanitaria. Only in the older colonies, sindicatos may begin to play a different role, such as attempt to get better prices for their products or other types of services.

35.

Each time a colony through their sindicato attempts to get a road, a school or a posta, it must spend an incredible amount of time and resources soliciting the different bureaucracies to carry out the job. Since one agency may do only one thing, colonies will often get one agency to build a school years before the Ministry of Education can or will assign a teacher. To get any kind of assistance will involve innumerable trips to the provincial capital, or the departmental capital, or even the country capital.

Though the colonists contribute with money and labor to the long process of extracting aid from the government, the leadership effort is expected to be a service to the community following traditional community traditions of leadership. A leader may spend time and money well beyond what the colony will recognize. These leadership roles are not sought but imposed by a general assembly on the most appropriate person who may resist but ends up taking the job often with little enthusiasm. It is not surprising then that frequently a leader will take advantage of his position in an attempt to get what he thinks is just reward for his efforts. A situation that inevitably ends in conflict and division as the leadership may be accused of inappropriate use of funds.

It is also not surprising that sindicatos become inevitable involved in politics, since it is through politics and politicking that most schools, postas, and roads are built. The colony that gets infrastructure is usually the one that can best manipulate patronage ties with officials at the departmental and/or national arenas.

Finally the sindicato constitutes the only organization to which the colonist belongs with any regularity that goes beyond the extended family. However, a sindicato which plays the role of authority of the colony as well, is not and can not make up for the ties that make a community. Sindicatos often attempt to play many roles, such as organizing sports event, which are important and popular mechanism for community building, but also too frequently fail because of the mixture of goal oriented behavior and politicking.

Another organization that is important in the colonization areas for a great number of people is the church. The loss of a sense of cultural identity, the lack of multiple ties that make up a community, and the need to have an ideology that helps explain his situation and gives him a sense of belonging are all important factors in the proliferation of churches. All of these, of course aside from the religious or theological factors which may move people to embrace a religion. However positive it may

37.

be for an individual to belong to a church, the proliferation of churches is one of the greater obstacles to community action.

For example in Palos Blancos, Alto Beni, with approximated 700 families, there are nine different Protestant churches and one Catholic and though the growing town needs to repair and expand its water distribution system, the churches were cited as the main constrain to getting the community to get together for communal action or at least communal decision over the water problem.

In most of the colonization areas, ethnicity is also seem as a constraint to community or group action. The division, however is not so much between Aymaras and Quechuas as between native Spanish speakers and, as both ethnic group are called in Santa Cruz, the collas, where there are very few or no native residents, the conflict may be between Aymaras and Quechuas. In any event other than a strong cultural prejudice of the Spanish speakers towards the collas, ethnicity as a constraint to communal action is less important than religious, local political factors, or the emergent and growing socio-economic differentiation among the colonists.

A number of factors make socio-economic differentiation an important phenomena of the colonization areas. The most impor-

tant is the ubication of the lot (chaco) along a road. Where one sees a degree of prosperity, stability and signs of permanence is along the roads and specially in the incipient towns with few of the original colonists left in them.

In a colonization area, there a number of stages in its development. Nelson, Henkel, Wiggins and more recently CERES (1982), have descri ed the settlement process of a colonization area in similar ways.

During the first stage of the process, the pioners are subsistence farmers. Infractrutere is poorly developed or non-existent. In the second stage there is more participation in the market economy and some infrastructure such as roads, school, health posts may have been developed and nucleated settlements begins to develop. During this stage some of the colonist may achieve relative prosperity. However, most of then after exhausting the soils will move further in and start the process again. The abandonned farms may be taken over by remaining colonist or ortsidere and a process of consolidation of land starts along with a shift from subsistence to a more capital intensive agriculture or cattle rising.

In the fourth stage the colonization area begins to replicate traditional settlement pattern with the growth of the

nucleated settlement, the diversification of activities, and increasing socio-economic differentiation.

In terms of social organization the stages evolve from a relatively homogeneous group of colonist with a participatory organization such as a sindicato to an increasingly hierarchical organization where socio-economic and cultural factors of differentiation replicate the national social stratification system. A few of the original colonist who have "succeeded" and not left the area for the urban center become the emergent town elite. They would have normally branched out to other activities such as commerce, transport, and public posts. They become employers of poorer or recently arrived campesinos, the size of their land holding would have expanded considerably.

For the majority of the colonist the settlement is temporary and they replicate the first two stages along the frontier of the colonization area or become unskilled migrant laborers in the rural and urban centers.

Factors in the socio-economic differentiation process include at the time of arrival, the size of the family, the age of the head of the family, the size of the family labor force, and the ties with the home community as a source of economic, as well as social and emotional support.

In the area north of Santa Cruz C.I.A.T. studies describe and analyse the basic pattern of agriculture in the colonies as the "descent into and escape from the barbecho crisis" (C.I.A.T.: 1980 - 1981)

The colonist practices slash and burn agriculture in virgin forest in plots of land that he can work with his family's labour force which may reach up to five hectares a year. During the first 1 to 2 years he has high yields and relatively low costs. The land is then abandoned for a new plot within his farm where he repeats the process. The plot is abandoned after about two years to natural second growth or barbecho. When he finally clears all the high forest, he must begin in fallow with higher costs and lower yields. Cropping periods become longer and fallow rotations become shorter and with time his farm enters what C.I.A.T. has called the Barbecho crisis. (C.I.A.T. 1980. Maxwell and Pozo No. 22)

The fact that only 25 % of the farms in the area surveyed had escaped the "barbecho crisis" illustrates the strong differentiation process taking place in the colonization areas. Though the process is evident in North of Santa Cruz, a similar process is taking place in the Chapare and Yungas areas. The details of how the process works in these areas might be different to the one observed in Santa Cruz because of the different ecological conditions.

41.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND ESTIMATED POPULATION IN THE
COLONIZATION ZONES OF BOLIVIA UP TO 1978

ZONE	No.Families	Estimated Population
La Paz Caranavi-Alto Beni-Yungas	17.533	65.788
Cochabamba Chapare - Chimoré	9.622	37.992
Santa Cruz North and East	20.678	89.765
Tarija and Beni	13.134	52.536
TOTAL	60.967	246.081

NOTE: (Number of families refers to the ones given a parcela by the Instituto Nacional de Colonización)

Source: C.E.R.E.S. 1980. La Paz. Migración Rural-Rural en Bolivia: El caso de las Colonias. Estudios Poblacionales No. 2. pp. 14 - 18

41. b

NOTES

- In 1976 migrators movements affected 1.092.000 persons. One out every four Bolivians were residing in a province different than the one in which they were born.

- Urban centers account for 70 % of all migratory movements. That is Rural to Urban and Urban to Urban migration. Half of which is to La Paz and Santa Cruz.

- Between 1950 and 1976 the yearly growth the rate for the faster growing cities was:

Montero	7.2 %
Santa Cruz	6.7 %
Cochabamba	3.8 %
Trinidad	3.8 %
La Paz	3.7 %

- Colonization areas did absorb only 17 % of the total migrants (1976) approximately 185.640 persons.

Albo, Greaves, Sandoval. CHUKIYAWU. La Cara Aymara de La Paz. I
El Paso a la ciudad C.I.P.C.A. No. 20 La Paz 1982 p

IV. Formal and Informal Institutions

The Traditional Rural Communities

The Ayllu found in some of the most isolated communities is organized as a territorial unit and has an authority structure that includes offices that are occupied on a rotative basis. Every member of an Ayllu is expected to occupy an office through a career that starts at the bottom of the hierarchy successively moving up the hierarchy as the individual acquires experience and becomes a respected elder of the community. The top office is that of the Jilacata or Cacique who is assisted by alcaldes who in turn are assisted by Regidores or Aguaciles. The hierarchy may have up to six levels. The functions of the Ayllu authority system are mainly religious and symbolic and are closely tied to the fiesta system.

Other traditional informal institutions are the ayni, minka, wuayco, and the associations of water users. All of them serve to organize social and economic groups for reciprocal aid and for communal work. In communal institutions, leadership roles are assigned to individuals who have the required wealth and prestige and who are expected to service the community without reward other than added prestige. The naming of persons to leadership roles and the taking of group decisions are based on the consensus of the majority.

52

43.

Assimilated Institutions

Institutions that are foreign to a native community, but that have been assimilated and given a new meaning are the local representatives of the national political and administrative authorities and the sindicato.

The corregidor and the agentes municipales represent the national authority system. They are elected to office by the consensus of the community, and are only effective if they have the tacit support of the members of the community. However, these local authorities can also become arbitrary and exploitative if they represent outside interests rather than the interest of the community.

The sindicato is the second institution that has been assimilated by the traditional community, but only in areas where there was a need for it. The need and the birth of the sindicato is in the agrarian reform and in the colonization areas where land ownership was the mobilizing issue. In communities that did not have haciendas, such as Valle Grande, sindicatos never did prosper.

In communities where there are no national authorities, the sindicato plays the role of authority. This is especially true in newly established colonies.

57

Institutions in New and Old Towns

The towns have a larger number of representatives of the national authorities. In provincial capitals, they are headed by the Sub-Prefecto and the Alcalde. In cantones, the list of authorities is as follows:

- Corregimiento del Cantón
- Central Agraria Campesina
- Agente Municipal
- Junta de Vecinos
- Registro Civil
- Jueces de Mínima Cuantía
- Guardia Nacional
- Junta de Autoridades - (includes all of the above)

Frequently, the town elite of non-campesino members occupies each and everyone of the offices except the sindical ones.

A large and ever growing number of para communal agencies, both private and public must be added to the town authority hierarchy.

45.

These Are:

- Public schools
- Private schools
- Cooperativas
- Churches
- Banco Agricola
- Health Services (Postas, Hospitales)
- Non-formal education centers
- Mothers Clubs
- Private development Institutions of social organization
and community development ✓
- Specific projects (Sponsored by Internacional Donor
Agencies)
- National Service for Community development
- Agricultural extension
- IBTA

The list is not exhaustive. Each one of these institutions is in town to help develop the area, to provide services. Although all institutions seek the same goals, their work is often done in isolation and without the participation of the beneficiaries who are the reason for their being in the area in the first place. The cultural differences between the beneficiaries

55

46.

and the people of the support institutions is perhaps the main obstacle to the realization of their projects or the delivery of their services. Finally, even in the cases of the best intentioned agency, the net result is the transmission of the urban culture to the detriment of the rural community culture, and way of life.

56

V. Economic Activities and the Management of Risk

Economic activities of the population of the corridor can best be understood if one looks at subsistence type activities of the campesino and market oriented activities of the city dweller. The difference, which is of interest for this paper, between the two types of activities is that while the market activities are mediated by cash, subsistence type activities do not involve cash.

As was said before, the campesino is at the lower end of the stratification system while the city dweller is at the upper end. Among the defining characteristics are not only the control and use of economic power, but also the overall economic system in which each category is involved.

Between the campesino subsistence economic activities and the urban dweller's market oriented economic activities are a combination of the two types of activities in different degrees that characterize the economic behavior of the majority of the rural population in the corridor.

Traditional Campesino

The campesino engaged exclusively in subsistence type

48.

activities are a minority and can be found only in the most isolated communities of the corridor such as the highlands off the Cochabamba valleys, some isolated valleys in La Paz and Santa Cruz, and in areas of the llanos del Chaco.

This campesino can be called a traditional campesino. His economic activities are oriented to his subsistence and self-sufficiency. The technology that he uses is well known and transmitted from father to son without the need of formal schooling. The crops that he plants have long been adapted to the ecological niche in which he lives.

He has two main occupations and a number of complementary ones. The two main occupations are agriculture and live stock raising. The complementary ones are the manufacture of clothes, tools, and other needed utensils for the house and the farm, and the processing of produce such as dehydrated potatoes, fruits, elaboration of chicha, etc. The entire family participates in these activities with specific roles assigned to each member of the family. He has little or no need for cash.

Modern Campesino

A non-traditional type of campesino in these some valleys and specially in the lowlands or colonization areas, while still

involved in subsistence activities will also sell for cash part of his production and branch out other economic activities such as commerce, transport, and unskilled non-agricultural labor. This campesino predominates in the corridor and may be called the modern campesino to contrast him from the traditional campesino. The modern campesino while retaining many of the characteristics of the traditional campesino life, begins to participate in market oriented activities in order to obtain the cash he needs to satisfy his and his family's growing needs. While still being oriented by the traditional way of life of the community, he begins to turn his attention to the urban center and the urban life style.

The size of his agricultural land is too small and the technology he uses not productive enough to allow him to satisfy his increasing need for cash or to allow him to achieve a higher social and economic status. Faced with that problem he may attempt a number of strategies that will allow him upward social and economic mobility.

First he may attempt to intensify his production through the use of a new technology which involve improved seeds, the use of chemical inputs, and/or the specialization in highly rentable crops. Everywhere in the corridor, there are dramatic example of modern campesino trying parts of the new technology in an attempt

to increase their production and their incomes. Everywhere there are stories of constant failure. In Saipina (Santa Cruz) for example, campesinos tell about how for over thirty years they have tried new crops, have taken credit, have "followed" the agricultural extensionist advice, etc. in a continuous effort to find a crop or the crops that would provide them with higher incomes.

They mention stories of projects that were initiated which induced everyone to try a new crop only to end in failure, debts, and a conviction that agriculture "does not pay".

The main problem is that the new agricultural technology is a systems that has not been fully transmitted to the campesinos. Only parts of it are known and even then most of the time they are known incorrectly. Examples of the misuse of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, etc. are common in every community. Partially implemented programs of improved production are even more common. A common example of why campesinos "do not want to change" begins with the projects that provided the campesino with credit, technical assistance, and inputs which result in an abundant production which can not be marketed and leave the campesinos not only with their harvest in their hands but deep in debt.

51.

After having been "persuaded" to participate in a number of these kinds of projects where one component was not planned or failed to work, the campesinos became reluctant to try new crops or techniques, if he can not control or understands what he is involved in. He seems reluctant to change to outsiders who may not know the long history of failures the campesinos have survived.

The modern campesino apparent resistance to change is related to his lack of self-reliance. To do almost anything related to using the new technology, he depends on others. They usually are government services agencies, but with increasing frequency one finds private development agencies. The inputs he needs are normally provided by merchants/transportistas.

If the campesino plants a new and unknown crop, he depends on the extensionist to tell him the proper techniques, on the Banco Agricola to give him credit, and on merchant/transportista to pay him a price he does not negotiate. If he runs into problems, the extensionist is unable to help or tells him to get a product the campesino has never heard of, or knows where to get. If he manages to produce a good crop, he usually gets a price for it lower than his production costs.

It is not surprising, then, that the modern campesino wants to get out of being a campesino and attempts to branch into other activities such as construction work, paid agricultural labor, small commerce, transport, artesan work, etc.

There is no better evidence of the modern campesino willingness to take risks than the innumerable development projects "that have failed" to change him from a campesino to a modern farmer. Where there are no projects, the campesino continues to experiment with new crops, with new technologies, not as enthusiastically as he did with the first projects in which he became involved and failed, but with more caution and a fragile sense of self-reliance. If he fails again, he at least wants to know that it was not because he believed and followed the instructions or the "engineers" without really understanding what he was doing.

Although in almost every community of the corridor one can hear modern campesinos disillusioned talk about projects, "engineers" (agricultural extensionists), and all the rural government services, yet, they still depend on them and hope they will help them change their lives. The feeling of dependency has become the principle obstacle to change since they do not feel they have control over their destinies, but must wait until they are helped.

62

Campesino Colonist

The second strategy is to become a colonist. To have 50 hectares in a colony seems to hold the key to a better life since he had been subsisting on 1 or 2 hectares in his home community. Once he moves to the colonization area, he soon realizes that although he now is the owner of 50 hectares, he is not much better off than before and in fact he knows that he is worse off. The unfamiliar environment with all the new risks to his well being, the new technologies he must quickly learn to survive, and the fact that he only has his and his family's labour force quickly convince him that the 50 hectares alone will not make a difference.

By 1970, the largest colonization effort undertaken by the government (Corporación Boliviana de Fomento CBF) registered the following desertion rates by zone: Alto Beni 52 %, Chapare 46 %, Yapacani 32%. (x)

(x) Source. Steve Wiggins. Colonización en Bolivia.
Acción Cultural Loyola. Iglesia Metodista
Sucre, Bolivia 1976

The desertion rates cited above are for "directed" colonization efforts. There is agreement that spontaneous colonization efforts show lower desertion rates and more stability.(x) However, no studies exist that have documented the commonly held belief that spontaneous colonies have lower desertion rates.

Even if spontaneous colonies have lower desertion rates and are more stable, the fact remains that spontaneous colonists are not better off. They do practice the same type of agriculture as the colonists do and are involved in other activities just as the directed colonists are.

It is still basically a subsistence type of agriculture with higher participation in the market. In contrast to the stable subsistence agriculture practices of the home community, the colonist is involved in a predatory and nomadic form of agriculture. The "barbecho crisis" already mentioned is the breaking point for a colonist. If he survives it, his chances of becoming a modern farmer are very high.

(x) Migracion Rural en Bolivia. El caso de las Colonias.
C.E.R.E.S. Estudios Poblacionales No. 2.
La Paz 1980. p. 25

Though it is difficult to estimate what percentage of the people who survive the "barbecho crisis" and become farmers (Probably less than 1 %), the majority use their agricultural base to branch out into other activities. The most common of these activities is commerce, followed by transport and a salaried occupation. Ironically it is the "success" in agriculture which allows a colonist to stop being a full-time farmer and eventually get out of agriculture all together.

For the approximately 75 % of the colonists who do not survive the "barbecho crisis" the options are: to move to virgin land and start again; or to enter the fringe urban areas in search of a job. A percentage become paid agricultural labores for the more prosperous farmers.

The colonist, unlike the modern campesino of his home community, is constantly taking risks. The fact that he moves to the colonization area with insignificant resources and no knowledge of the environment or the skills needed to survey are as big a risk as he will ever take again. Every crop and everything he does in the colonization area involves experimentation and risk. In effect it is through the colonist constant experimentation that areas in a colonization zone are classified as being appropriate for particular crops. Every colonist, specially the pioneer ones are in a sense agricultural experimental stations. All of course, at the cost of the colonist.

65

Diversification of economic activities

The modern campesino and the colonist strategy for survival and eventual upward social mobility is diversification, not only of the economic activities of the head of the family, but of the entire family.

In the zone of the corridor with traditional communities such as the valleys around Cochabamba, diversification of activities includes small domestic industries, specialized crops, commerce, and migrant labor. What is more each community in the valleys specialises in one mayor activity in addition to agriculture.

For example in Salinas (near Punata, Cochabamba) where the salinity of the soil is so high that nothing can be produced, the 25 families that make up the community extract salt which is used for the manufacture of cheese. Nearby in San José the community is involved in the manufacture of roof tiles, and bricks.

In effect the communities of these valleys have adapted themselves to the ecological niches forming a mosaic. In most of them, handicraft production is an integral part of the family's economy.

Each member of the family has specific activities that contribute to the overall family economy. Very young and very old females spin the wool that is used by young women to weave the sweaters, and ponchos sold either to a cooperative or directly to the consumer in the market. The male head of the family works in the fields in the heavy agricultural tasks as well as in a complementary activity, such as the manufacture of ceramic, roof tiles, bricks, etc. The younger sons help the father, while the older sons migrate in search of new skills, work, or business opportunities to places as diverse as the North of Argentina, the city, and the colonization areas. Young campesino women also migrate, but not as far as the men, and get involved in marketing locally produced crops and eventually consumer goods.

Live stock is also very important and constitutes not only a source of income, but a cash reserve for any eventuality.

In the valleys of Santa Cruz, the family farm is bigger and even more diversified. The size of his livestock herd is also considerable bigger. Thus while a Cochabamba campesino may have 7 head of cattle, a Santa Cruz campesino will have up to 70. Processing of produce is also common in the Santa Cruz valley - cheese - sugar molasses, etc.

In the colonization areas, the trend is also to diversification of production, though the colonist often depends on one or two crops as his source of cash - for example - rice and sugar in Santa Cruz, coca in the Chapare, and coffee and citrus plants in the Yungas.

In all areas, however, the most important diversification is to activities outside of agriculture. As it has often been said commerce and transport are the most common choices. Commerce can range from marketing the family's production to becoming a rescatista and marketing the produce of an entire area. Work in construction as unskilled labor is also a common activity. Education as the means to jobs outside agriculture is the predominant trend among modern campesino children.

Even when a family has partially moved to town or the city, they maintain their land and ties with the home community, which allows them extra sources of income. The search for diversification of economic activities continues in the town or city.

The ownership of agricultural land is crucial to the modern campesino whose family is in the process of moving to the city. It is only the second generation, which may have attained well-paid urban occupations that will sell the piece of land in his parent rural community.

An interesting new phenomena is taking place in many places of the corridor. It is the return to the rural area by urban dwellers to exploit the land as modern farmers. In the Yungas the proliferation of poultry farms around Coroico is due to urban dwellers returning or branching out to other than urban occupations. In the Cochabamba valley, there is also a considerable number of urban dwellers involved in poultry production and dairy farms. In the Comarapa-Mairana area of Santa Cruz, highly technical and specialized farms are not a rarity any more.

In the majority of the cases the urban dweller who returns to the country does it as a part-time activity and an extra source of income. However, he does it with an understanding of the technology needed to make it a highly rentable operation. He is no longer a campesino, but a modern farmer, or an agroindustrialist.

If the trend increases it will accelerate the depopulation of rural areas of campesinos and the change from a self-sustained and self-sufficient type of agricultural to a modern agroindustrial type of production.

It would seem that the campesino has little chance of becoming a modern farmer if he first does not become an urban dweller. In the meantime the campesino is doing all he can to move up the social stratification system geographically, socially, economically, and culturally.

60.

Notes to Economic Activities:

Cochabamba

- In Cochabamba, there were in 1978 a total of 12.585 selling posts in the Markets and Fairs of the city, both fixed posts and mobile ones. (x)
- In 1976, there were 3.69 families for each selling posts in the Markets and Fairs of Cochabamba. The numbers of families in 1976 was estimated to be 46.559. (x)
- There is no data on the number of selling posts in the provincial towns and Fairs.
- Selling posts includes those that sell from agricultural produce to consumer goods.

La Paz

- See Albo, Graves and Sandoval, CHUKIYAWU. La Cara Aymara de La Paz. Vol. I. II. CIPCA, La Paz, Vol. 20 - 21
For detailed analysis and Description of the Results of Survey on occupations of the rural immigrants in the city of La Paz.

(x) Source: Fernando Calderon G. y Alberto Rivera P. Jatun Llaqta: Vendedoras y Ladrilleros en Cochabamba. C.E.R.E.S. Cochabamba 1982 pp 33 - 34

61.

VI. The Family

Through the corridor, the predominant family is the extended family. It plays a key role in the social, economic, and cultural processes already analysed.

The Traditional Campesino Family

Clusters of homes in rural dispersed traditional communities usually house the parents of a family and their married offspring. Each unit houses a nuclear family within the same compound. Nearby clusters are related by blood and marriage. All the activities take place within the context of the extended family. When a member of a family sponsors traditional fiesta, all members of the extended family contribute with resources and labor. When he organizes an Ayni or a Minka, it is also expected that members of the family will contribute. It is through these religious, symbolic, and economic activities that extended family ties and membership in the group are constantly reinforced. However, in every day life given the size of the plot of each member, there is little need for aid; and it may seem that the basic unit is the nuclear unit.

The Modern Campesino Family

The importance of the extended family becomes dramatically clear when the traditional campesino family begins to enter into market oriented activities. The geographic mobility that characterizes the population spreads members of the family over a wide area on social, economic, and cultural niches. Family ties are maintained, since the initial resources came from the rural community and the plot of land. The native community, in effect, finances all the moves out of it.

For the majority of the families, the colonization of new lands constitutes a diversification of the family economy. The interchange of goods and services between the native community and colony is constant, specially during the first years (Blanes, Flores, 1982). The branching out into other activities is also done within the extended family context and on the basis of the native community and/or colony.

The diversification of economic activities is achieved through members of the family. The wife becomes a comerciante, of agricultural produce and sometimes a comerciante-rescatista. The son becomes a transportista, the daughter enters domestic service as a way to becoming comerciante of consumer goods in the city. Uncles and cousins are, or some other distant relative.

53.

play an important role in taking a newly arrived boy whether in the city or the colony. Sons and daughters sent to school in town or in the city stay with relatives. When documents must be obtained from the national authorities, a relative who works in the bureaucracy no matter how low his position, will be asked to help.

After thirty years of flux, the extended family has retained and perhaps become more important than ever; for what is one to do without relatives who help to cope with the many social and cultural worlds the campesino faces when he leaves his native community?

APPENDIX A

HEALTH CONCEPTS

The concepts of health and illness among the rural population of the corridor are complex and related to all other aspects of campesino life. Concepts of health and illness are not easy to explain, but must be seen in the symbolic and ritual context of campesino life. The following very broad generalizations are derived from conversations with peasants throughout the corridor. The explanations of illness and health are remarkably similar whether the campesino is Aymara, Quechua, or Spanish speaker.

Illness in a person is ultimately related to an external force such as the earth, wind, lightning, specific places, and to supernatural forces such as malignant spirits and persons with super-human powers.

Illness has to do with norms of behavior. When the norms are broken a person is "punished" and becomes ill. Cure is then related to the purification and cleanliness of a person who is ritually cured with the use of herbal remedies or with some frequency a combination of herbal remedies and drugs.

An individual must live in harmony with his environment, to do this he must observe certain norms of behavior and certain

2.

rituals. If through his behavior he breaks a norm or does not this he must observe certain norms of behavior and certain rituals. If through his behavior he breaks a norm or does not perform a ritual, he will become ill.

The mother earth (Pachamama) is the most common cause of illness. The Spanish speaking Vallegrandino peasants says that he is ill because "le agarró la tierra", his Quechua or Aymara counterpart explains his illness or Jallp'a . In each case to be ill with Jallp'a is to say that the soul or spirit of the Pachamama, (mother earth) has entered into the body because he/she was in a forbidden place or because he/she did not perform a customary ritual of veneration and respect to the earth the new house, a special river etc. The earth, the river, the mountain, the tree, etc. all have souls that can be good to one can harm one. The appear them, one must offer them food, drink and other presents.

Similar explanation of health and illness are related to other natural and supernatural forces such as the wind, lightning, and malignant spirits. In each case, the cure is a ritually performed application of remedies to purify the body, the recover the soul or to expel malignant spirits that have taken over a person.

Each illness is associated with a cause, a remedy and a native health practitioner who can help an ill person recover his health and well being.

15

APPENDIX B

THE CHAPARE

Socio-Economic characteristics of the Chapare Colonist

The following paragraphs describe the Chapare colonist in consistently similar terms: "Una característica del tipo de asentamiento en esta zona, es su inestabilidad, es decir que podría llamarse colonización esporádica. Hemos visto que el 80 % de la población viene de la región de Cochabamba, la mayoría de estos tenían y conservan su propiedad en esta misma región, en particular Colomi y Sacaba. En consecuencia no viven a "tiempo completo" en el Chapare, sino que van y vuelven regularmente de un lugar a otro, cuando el trabajo o la cosecha lo requieren. No intentan permanecer en el Chapare y cuando se sienten viejos, venden su lote en el Chapare, para volver definitivamente a su tierra de origen". (x) (Emphasis added)

"Actos tan importantes como el matrimonio religioso, que implica un momento intenso de relación y de legitimación social, no se dan sino en el lugar de origen De todos modos el matrimonio sigue celebrándose fuera de la colonización, lo que indica que la base familiar sigue estando fuera. Es una familia en si-

(x) Delaire, Bernard y Hoffmann Carlos, Factores Sociales y Economicos del cultivo de la coca en una micro región del Chapare. PRODES, La Paz 1978. p 6

2.

tuacion permanente de ruptura! p 126

"Este fenomeno persiste durante muchos años ya que una de las metas de muchos Chapareños es hacerse una casita fuera del Chapare! ... p 126

"La historia del asentamiento (en el Chapare) es fundamentalmente una historia migratoria, una historia de desarraigo y de búsqueda de afirmación. En esta dinamica los parientes y los amigos juegan un papel muy importante". p 126

La familia que emerge en el Chapare tiene su base, como ya se indicó, en otro lugar. En este sentido es una unidad familiar "nueva". Ella tiene que improvisar nuevas formas insercion en el escenario economico del Departamento; ha perdido las bases sociales del lugar de origen y ahora tiene que adoptar nuevas formas de organización social. (pag 120)

"Finalmente, es importante incorporar entre los cambios importantes, la movilidad espacial de esta fuerza de trabajo (los colonos). El caracter provisional e inestable del asentamiento, obliga al colono a desplazarse permanentemente tanto dentro del Chapare como fuera hacia fuera. El colono esta permanentemente sobre el camino. Se reproduce como un minero que trabaja por temporadas en una mina. El Chapare tarda mucho en aparecer como un asentamiento definitivo".

(emphasis added) p 125

Blanes José J. y Flores Gonzalo C. Campesino, Migrante y Colonizador. Reproducción de la economía familiar en el Chapare Tropical. C.E.R.E.S., La Paz 1982 pp 120-126

3.

"Finally, another factor should be mentioned to help explain why so few were over 60 years of age, apart from the low life expectancy. Many colonists do not plan to spend their whole life in the Chapare, when they reach old age, they prefer to return to their place of origin, where they usually kept some property, and where they can spend their remaining years with relatives!" (x) (pp 75-76)

"Their movement to the Chapare is a kind of sporadic migration, since few of them intend to reside there permanently. Moreover there is a general tendency for teenagers and older people to leave the area. The young to study in Cochabamba or find a job in the city, the old to return to the place of origin, among relatives and friends". "The younger generation seems to find life in the Chapare dull". p 129

"Muchos se extrañan del poco espíritu empresarial del Chapareño, otros dicen que en el Chapare no se puede hacer nada porque los campesinos no respetan la propiedad privada o que no se encuentra trabajo en el Chapare. Además, dicen otros, cobran sueldos más altos que en Cochabamba. Es decir no están cambiando las relaciones de producción. Están cambiando los modos de inserción en la economía que tiene su asiento

(x) Delaine, Bernard L.: Coca Farming in the Chapare. A form of Collective innovation, University of Saint Louis PhD dissertation, 1979

4.

en el Valle pero lo demás sigue igual. Muchos empresarios se han regresado frustrados del Chapare o se quedaron en permanente aislamiento frente al mundo que los rodea".

Emphasis added p II (Example: Salazar's Pig Farm)

"Por no comprender esta realidad se han estrellado muchos planes y proyectos de desarrollo en el Chapare. Generalmente estos últimos han sido concebidos con la mentalidad de investigadores de los E.E.U.U. o Europa que tienen una larga experiencia sobre la transición de campesino a farmer y/o a empresario capitalista. De sus economías parcelarias de hace dos décadas hoy ya predominan "campesinos" empresarios agrícolas, que han acumulado tierras, que han conseguido capital, que han invertido, que se han especializado en su producción, etc.

Por que no sucede esto en el Chapare?

Si se incentiva, la producción y comercialización de un producto, porqué no van a surgir pequeños farmers como primer paso a la emergencia de un empresario Agrícola... ?

Con esta mentalidad se formularon la mayor parte de los proyectos y no encontraron acogida ni de parte de los

5.

campesinos ni de parte del estado. Aquellos (los campesinos) porque no está dentro de sus intereses, y este último (El Estado) porque no puede distraer capital en la agricultura mientras los campesinos puedan producir alimentos baratos como lo han hecho siempre."(x)Emphasis added)

The studies of the Chapare, from which the paragraphs cited above were taken, show in a consistent way that the colonization of the Chapare by a campesino is a strategy which aims at diversifying and strengthening the peasant family economy and not a strategy aimed at the development of "modern" farming enterprises.

The strengthening and diversification of the peasant family economy has its origin in the quest for upward social, economic, and cultural mobility to which the campesino family dedicates all of its efforts in dramatic ways. Colonization is often only a part of a wider strategy of strengthening the peasant family economy, and as such, it is not the most important effort. It is a means to something else: the getting out of agriculture as the main occupation of its members and the breaking into other fields of economic activity which lead the city and the city life style.

(x) Blanes y Flores, P II

5.

Blanes and Flores (1982) state that the peasant family in the Chapare has a great degree of autonomy in organizing its productive activities. It is through the demand for food (cheap food) by the urban population that the market of agricultural products is organized and not through the requirements of industrial or commercial capital. (x)

The following paragraphs show the relationship between the Chapare, the campesino colonist production activities, and the markets for his produce.

a) "Si el capital industrial tuviera una gran relación con la agricultura-abastecimiento de insumos- crearía mecanismos para asegurar tales abastecimientos, dando origen de esta manera al desarrollo de empresas capitalistas capaces de introducir grandes modificaciones en la tenencia de la tierra y la tecnología y la estructura productiva. El abastecimiento de estos insumos se originaría a través de la inversión del capital, al crearse economías de escala." (Emphasis added)

b) "La estructura del ingreso está íntimamente relacionada a lo señalado. Dada la concentración del ingreso en sectores minoritarios, principalmente urbanos, el Departamento de Cochabam-

7.

ba, que es predominantemente rural y de urbanización intermedia,
se caracteriza mas bien por sus bajos ingresos. Este bajo nivel
de ingresos determina las características del consumo y las for-
mas y niveles de abastecimiento. El consumidor promedio del De-
partamento prefiere al pequeño distribuidor en lugar del gran
distribuidor, que podria ser requerido mas bien por los sectores
de altos ingresos. En esta opcion, el consumidor promedio sacri-
fica una serie de características de la calidad del producto en
función de su abaratamiento. El sector productivo no genera la
capacidad suficiente de empleo como para absorber las masas mi-
grantes a las ciudades. Se genera de esta manera un sector de
auto-empleo principalmente terciario que tiene su mejor espacio
en la distribución y preparación de alimentos, compitiendo de
esta manera con un capital comercial en la línea de alimentos.
(Emphasis added.). See number of selling posts in Markets and
Ferias in the report p 60.

It is in this context (the Chapare Colonist and his
familiar production system on one side, and the low-income urban
inhabitant on the other side) that it is easy to see that the
establishment of five or six highly sophisticated processing
plants will have only minor impact on the economy of the colonists
family.

8.

The role the colonist can play is only a minor one. He may provide the raw material to be processed by the plants. What he can provide will be only one or two of the many crops he produces. It could be an additional and secure source of income, but it will not replace his basic strategy of diversification, and if he can sell his crops at a higher price, he will do it regardless of the formal compromises he may have entered into.

It will not be surprising that the plants faced with the major problems of obtaining the produce they need from thousands of independent and unpredictable producers, of improving the quality of the produce, and of insuring themselves of low cost produce will seek ways to obtain the raw materials they need through their own production or through contracts with a small number of specialized non-campesino producers. The plants as well as the specialized producers will tend to become isolated inland within the Chapare. The isolation of the plants from the colonists may generate hostility on the part of the colonists.

9.

The Chapare

The Chapare is one of the colonization areas briefly described and analysed throughout the text of the report as part of the colonization zones in the corridor. Unlike the other two zones, the Yungas and Santa Cruz, the Chapare has been the object of numerous studies that tend to emphasize two main characteristics of the Chapare: The instability of the population and the temporary nature of the Chapare as a place of residence for the colonists.

Both characteristics are as true for the Chapare as they are for the other two colonization zones. The visibility of both characteristics may, however, have obscured other social-economic, and cultural processes taking place in the Chapare. It is also possible that the nature of the studies and their time-frame of reference may have influenced their findings. In the following sections some of the findings are examined critically and suggestions are made to view the phenomena of the Chapare from a different perspective. A perspective that it is hoped will allow a better understanding of the colonization of the Chapare.

Best Available Document

Colonization: The first steps

The move to the Chapare has been described as part of a strategy of socio-economic mobility for a campesino family. Ties with the community of origin are important during the first years. Goods and labor are exchanged between the colonists and members of his family and others in his community of origin.

In the colony itself, the colonist enters into new social and economic relationships with other colonists. The colono starts his life by reproducing his subsistence economy, but as he clears more land in his chaco, he produces a surplus for the market.

It is at that point that the colonist begins to widen the sphere of his actions and relationships. Part of the new relationships he enters into are with people in the commercial sector.

His orientation begins to shift from a narrow focus on his community of origin and his fellow settlers in the colony to a wider one that includes the urban market.

This process, as it has been so often documented, is an unstable one. Perhaps a better word is that it is a dynamic process in the sense that many colonists will move not only through the colonization area but beyond it in search of a

11.

satisfactory solution to problems that induced the first step; that is to become a colony.

It is this phase of the colonization process the one that has attracted the attention of researchers who have characterized the entire colonization process as one of instability and who have described the colonist as a temporary resident in the Chapare.

Part of the problems with this type of description and analysis of the colonization process are the scope of time used by the researchers, and their bias implicit in the search for stability, permanence, and community where none exists.

Communities in the Chapare ?

The nature of the colonization process where individuals are allocated land along a road or pathway does not necessarily result in a community. However, the framework for analysis of this settlements sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly is always the community. The result is almost invariably a description and analysis of the colonies as much less than communities. They are unstable; it is difficult if not impossible to achieve "community" participation or action; their residents are always on the move, etc.

12.

The mayor problem in the use of the concept of community as the frame of reference in the analysis of the colonies in the Chapare or elsewhere in the colonization areas is that it implies a clearly delimited geographical, social and economic entity. The actions of the residents of a community are expected to take place within this entity.

The actions of the colonists in the Chapare, as the same studies show, take place within a context that includes their colony but is in no way limited to it. The community of origin, the city, the entire colonization zone, are included in this wider context. The best way to conceptualize a colony in the Chapare is to see it as made up of individuals involved in socio-economic networks over a wide arena.

Within this arena the colonization of the Chapare by a campesino is a strategy which aims at diversifying and strengthening the peasant family economy. The strengthening of the peasant family economy is in turn directed to a strategy of socio-economic mobility, which given the structure of the society means very often geographical mobility as well.

Instability of the Chapare population and the fact that for many if not the majority of the colonists the Chapare is only a temporary residence should not be surprising. In fact, the Chapare seems to be fulfilling its role as a

13.

place from which enough resources are obtained to allow the colonists the socio-economic mobility they were aiming at when they first took the risk of becoming colonists. It should also be noted, however, that some of the instability of the population is due to "failure" of the colonists which leads them to move further into the colonization frontier to try again.

One other factor that contribute to the fluidity of the Chapare is its relatively good communication through stable roads with the Valleys and the city of Cochabamba. The ease of communication makes the social and economic networks over this wide area feasible. Frequent trips back and forth reinforce the ties with persons in and out of the Chapare. In fact, to develop and maintain socio-economic ties throughout this area is an integral part of the strategy of diversification and strenghtening of the family economy. Social and economic ties between a colonists and persons outside it are mutually rewarding in that it diversifies and strenghtness the economy of both.

The Colonist and his immediate environment.

Actions of the colonist in the Chapare are goal oriented. His immediate reference is

14.

much wider than his colony or the Chapare. However, to obtain his goals the need for collective action is often necessary. Thus, the sindicato becomes an important institution in his immediate environment. First, he must obtain access to land. Second, he along with the others in the colony need a good road, a school, some health services, etc. All of these goals are common goals and the colonists form action groups to achieve these goals. The sindicato is the mechanism which allows them to get organized and work as an action group to achieve a series of specific goals.

Often, after these goals have been achieved and a minimum of services exist, the need to get together for common action is less important as the need to achieve individual or family goals. These goals are almost always related to a wider context than the immediate environment of the colony, and consequently, the actions of the colonist take place in these wider context. The social organization and institutions of the Chapare are to be found in these wider context, in which the Chapare itself is only a part.

The Chapare. Does it have a future?

It would seem, from the analysis above, that the Chapare has only a limited role and not much future.

15.

However, to reach this conclusion about the Chapare is to commit the same type of errors which have been criticized before. The conclusion implies again that what is seen at the present -instable population- is what will be seen in the future.

For the current generation of colonists, the Chapare is a place which allows socio-economic mobility. It helps them break the ties with the community of origin and enter the regional if not national arena. It is one more resource which strengthens their economy and helps them achieve social and economic goals. Although it is true that a great majority of the colonists of the Chapare move out of it eventually, it is also true that very few of them break all ties with it.

Their Chaco in the Chapare continues to be a resource in their economies. Although it is no longer as important as when it was used to build an economic base to branch out of it, it remains a resource that is likely to become important again since their new socio-economic positions open up new perspectives for the use of it. The new perspectives of the ex-colono of the Chapare are likely to include a strategy of maximization of his resources to consolidate and advance his newly obtained non-campesino status.

16.

Are there any Chapareños ?

Since all of the socio-economic studies emphasize the temporary nature of the colonization process, an effort was more to find permanent settlers and/or second generation peasants during the Chapare field trip.

An old settler (over 80 years old) with fifty-four years in the Chapare and the son of a colonists in Colonia Km. 24 were interviewed. Both represent very different adoptive responses to the challenge of the Chapare, both adoptive responses are in the minority since the majority either do not stay that long as in the case of the old colonist or leave the Chapare as soon as they are finished with basic school as in the case of the son of the Colonist.

The old settler is still practicing a modified form of subsistence-agriculture and works part of his 20 hectares with the help of partidarios. (arrangement through which the owner puts the land and the partidario his labor. Harvest is split between the two in equal parts). His sons and daughter live in Sacaba and Oruro, all are employed in salaried occupations and seldom visit him. The old settler has no close relationship with his family and claims his chaco is his home. However he

17.

identifies himself as a Sacabeño (town near Cochabamba). The old settler has a long migratory history that includes work in the coast of Chile, South of Perú and throughout the Chapare in the construction of roads and in sawmills (asserraderos). He has been living in his current chaco for twenty-four years. He moved to the present location after the first Chaco was destroyed by the change of the course of the nearby river.

The second generation chapareño (about 30 years old), identifies himself as a chapareño, though he mentions that his parents came from Valle Grande. He only has 6 hectares, as part of his inheritance. He left the Chapare when he was young and has worked in numerous activities. He drove a tractor in the cotton fields of Santa Cruz during the boom period for this crop. He has worked as a transportista throughout Bolivia. He did work as a salaried peon in the Okinawa Colony in Santa Cruz for Japanese Colonists. His wife was a comerciante in the places where they lived, which included the cities of Santa Cruz and Cochabamba.

Because of the current economic situation, in the cities, they decided to return to their chaco in the Chapare where "at least they can always eat." He is working his chaco in the traditional way and deriving some income from his efforts. Other than agricultural labor, in the dry season, he complements his income by fishing in the river and selling fresh fish.

18.

He and his friends have talked about starting a small industry-canning fish. However, he lacks the appropriate knowledge or the technology needed and has no capital to start his venture. One of his friends who was also born in the Chapare but whose migrations took him to Brasil where he worked in a fish canning plant, assures him that they can do it with very simple technology and not much capital. They feel confident that the low income areas of the city are their natural market since they can produce low-cost canned fish to compete with imported sardines.

Like the second generation chapareño who dreams of starting his own small industry, there are a considerable number of Chapareños and colonists who dream of industries. Lack of know-how and some capital are the main constraints for the implementation of these dreams, many of which perhaps contain the real seeds that can change the face of the Chapare.

The development of small scale appropriate technology industries by familiar or small group enterprises that satisfy domestic low income markets could be a strategy of development that has wider impact in the Chapare without replacing the development of highly sophisticated agro-industries oriented to domestic high-income and foreign markets.

q²

METHODOLOGY

The principal techniques used were interviews, both structured and open ended, and participant observation.

Since all visits were unannounced, it was not always possible to interview persons of different social categories. However an effort was made to interview not only campesinos, but mechants, transportistas, local authorities, and service agencies personnel.

Aproximately 30 % of the interviews were 2 - 3 hours in lenght where all topics of research were thouroughly discussed. The remaining 70 % of the interviews ranged from brief exchanges with campesinos waiting for transport at crossroads to long discussion in their homes, fields, or meeting places. The number of persons contacted during the fiel trip is over 150.

The interviews followed the topics listed in the terms of reference. However not all topics could be covered by one informant; therefore, the interviews with each informant were about those topics in which he/she was more outspoken. It was not possible to cover all topics in each place. Thus, an effort was made to interview persons with different backgrounds and experience to try to cover all topics in each area.

The brief time in which such an extense area of the corridor was covered made it unfeasible to attempt to quantifv findings. The findings are presented as broad social, cultural, and economic generalization first for the corridor and where important for areas within the corridor.

The findings are intended to provide a socio-cultural framework to help understand the social organization of the rural population of the area that may help design future interventions in the areas of agriculture, education, and health.

The bibliography consulted to complement the findings of the field trip deals in more specific ways with the population of different areas whitin the corridor. The studies by C.E.R.E.S. of Cochabamba, CIPCA of La Paz, and C.I.A.T. of Santa Cruz are specially valuable contributions to undestanding the current social organization of the corridor.

Fiel Trip

The corridor was divided into four zones for purposes of the fiel trips. There are:

1. Valleys, Yungas and Alto Beni in the Department of La Paz.
2. Valleys and lowland north of Santa Cruz in the Department of Santa Cruz.
3. Valleys and Chapare in the Department of Cochabamba.
4. Llanos del Chaco in the Department of Santa Cruz, Chuquisaca and Tarija.

The first 3 were covered as planned. The fourth one was reduced to a visit to Tarija since road and time conditions made it imposible to travel.

In the first three zones, two areas were visited. There are traditional communities in the valleys with settlement dating back centuries, and the colonization areas with recent settlements (back to 40 years ago).

The communities visited in the zone of the Department of La Paz are:

Nov. 10	La Paz	
	Unduavi	Control - post on the road.
	Cotopaxa	
	Chuquipata	Road bifurcation to Coroico and Caranavi.
	Sacramento Central	Dispersed community.
	Yolosa	Nucleated settlement on road bifurcation to Coroico and Caranavi - New nucleation.
	Coroico	Traditional town and Nor Yungas Provincial Capital.
	Padilla	Dispersed community. Settled 40 years ago.
	Santa Ana	Dispersed community. Settled 30-40 years ago.
		IBTA Station and road bifurcation to Caranavi and Taipi Playa.
Nov. 11	Caranavi	New and growing town. Roads to Alto Beni and Tipuani start here.
	Taipi Playa	20 year old colonization area. New town and center of 21 colonies.
	Ingavi I	Dispersed colonization area.
	Ingavi II	Dispersed colonization area.
	Palos Blancos	20 year old colonization area. Center of colony. New town.
	Sapecho	New Town and center of colony. Central authorities and principal rural schools (nucleo) are found here. Center of 40-50 dispersed colonies.

Nov. 11	Brecha F. ; Caranavi	Dispersed colony near Palos Blancos.
Nov. 14	Caranavi Coroico Santa Ana	Dispersed traditional colonization 100 years old.
	San Agustin	Nucleated traditional colony over 100 years old.
	Chulumani	Traditional old town and Sud Yungas Provincial Capital.
	Irupane	Traditional old town.
Nov. 15	Siquiljara	Dispersed settlement traditional colo- ny over 50 years old.
	Plazuela	Incipient new town and seat of Nucleo Escolar for the zone. Over 50 years old.
	Mejillones	Nucleated colony over 40 years old. Half way between La Paz and Oruro.
	Villa Khosa	Nucleated colony over 40 years old. Valley.
	Inquisivi	Old Traditional town and Provincial Capital. High Valley.
	Quime	Old traditional town and transition point between agricultural zone and mines.
Nov. 16	Quime-Cochabamba	
Nov. 17	Cochabamba	
	Mojon	High valley on road to Santa Cruz - Dispersed traditional settlement.

Nov. 17	Comarapa	Old nucleated town communication point to wide agricultural area. Crossroad.
Nov. 18	Canal	Traditional dispersed settlement.
	Bado	Valleys with irrigation agriculture.
	Las Carreras	
	Saipina	Traditional old town in Decline-Irrigation. Agriculture and local small industries.
Nov. 19	Valle Grande	Traditional old town. Provincial Capital and Center of wide traditional agricultural area of over 40 communities.
Nov. 20	Guadalupe	Nucleated traditional agricultural settlement. Irrigation agricultural and small reservoirs.
Nov. 21	El Bado	
	El Trigal	Traditional dispersed and nucleated agricultural communities.
	El Chaco	
Nov. 21	Santa Cruz	
	22	
Nov. 23	Comando or Villa Bush in Yapacani area -	Road town - center of colony.
	Faja 9 Norte	Dispersed colony
	Faja 9 Sud	Dispersed colony 15-25 years old.
	San Carlos	Traditional cama town founded 1792. Remains traditional.
	Buena Vista	Old traditional cama town on crossroad to Waytu colony.

Nov. 23	Waytu	Oldest colony in the area dispersed settlement.
Nov. 24	Saavedra	Old traditional town in decline off the main road.
	Mineros	Old town in process of change - Center of colonization zone.
	San Jose	Emergent nucleation center of colony. 20 years old.
	Sagrado Corazon Same as San Jose	
	Chane Independencia	Declining nucleated center of colony. Important only on weekend fairs.
	Puesto Fernandes Alonso	Declining new town or center of colony.
	Faja Chorolque	Dispersed colonies perpendicular to town road. 20-30 years old.
Nov. 25	Santa Cruz	
	Lomitas	Old dispersed settlement. Cattle rising area.
	San Miguel	
Nov. 26	Santa Cruz	
	27	
	28	
Nov. 29	Cochabamba	
Dec. 01		
	02	
Dec. 04	Capinota	Old traditional town - Surrounding dispersed settlement.
Dec. 05	Tarata	Old traditional town in process of change surrounding dispersed communities - (Salinas, San José)

Dec. 12 Villa Tunari

Main town in the Chapare

Puente Vinchuta

Sunday Fair, three weeks old and emerged as the bridge was damaged by water cutting off traffic to area beyond.

Eterazama

Center of Colony. Sunday Fair

Litoral

Dispersed colony

Chipiriri

Dispersed colony

Agropecuaria
Copacabana

Private specialized enterprise

Dec. 13 Colonia Km. 24

Old dispersed settlement 40 years old colony.

Villa Tunari

Oct. 30 Tarija

Asociación Sachapera-Villamontes

Nov. 01

Data on Llaons del Chaco

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBARRACIN M., JUAN. Sociología Indígena y Antropología Telurista. La Paz, 1982.
- ALBO, JAVIER. Lengua y Sociedad en Bolivia 1976. INE. La Paz.
- ALBO; GREAVES y SANDOVAL. Chukiyawu. La cara Aymara de La Paz. I. El paso a la ciudad. CIPCA N° 20. La Paz, 1981.
- ALBO; GREAVES y SANDOVAL. Chukiyawu. La cara Aymara de La Paz. II. Una odisea: buscar "pega". CIPCA N° 2. La Paz, 1982.
- BLANES J., JOSE y FLORES C., GONZALO. Campesino, migrante y "colonizador": reproducción de la economía familiar en el Chapare Tropical. C.E.R.E.S. La Paz, 1982.
- BRAVO, JAIME; BENCHT, JAMES y RIVERA, GERMAN. Resultados de las encuestas y escrutinios de los documentos. Tomo II. Evaluación del programa de orientación para nuevos colonos en San Julián. INC. CIU. Santa Cruz, 1981.
- BOJANIC, ALAN y MAXWELL, SIMON. Yunca, descripción de prácticas culturales y sus costos de producción en las áreas de colonización en el norte del departamento de Santa Cruz - Bolivia. C.I.A.T. Documento de trabajo N° 21. 1981.
- BOJANIC, ALAN y McCANN, GARVAN. Arroz, descripción de prácticas culturales y de sus costos de producción en las áreas de colonización al norte del departamento de Santa Cruz. C.I.A.T. Documento de trabajo N° 29. 1982.
- CALDERON G., FERNANDO y RIVERA P., ALBERTO. Jatun Llajta: vendedoras y ladrilleros en Cochabamba. 1982. C.E.R.E.S.
- CARTER E., WILLIAM y MAMANI P., MAURICIO. Irpa Chico. individuo y comunidad en la cultura Aymara. La Paz, 1982.
- CIPCA. Coripata tierra de angustias y cicales. N° 15. 1977.
- CIPCA. Yungas: los "ctros" Aymaras. diagnóstico económico-socio-cultural de sud Yungas. N° 11. 1976.
- DESEC. Estudio socio-económico del Chapare. Cochabamba, 1979.
- DELAINE L., BERNARD. Coca farming in the Chapare-Bolivia a form of collective innovation. 1979.

- FIGUERAS J., ANTONIO. El Chapare. Sus recursos y sus usos. PRODES/UFLA. 1979.
- GALLEGUILLOS F., ADOLFO. Aspectos sociales de la colonización en Bolivia. INC. La Paz, 1975.
- INC y CIU. Conclusiones y recomendaciones. Tomo III. Evaluación del programa de orientación para nuevos colonos en San Julián. 1981.
- IRIARTE G., y CIPCA. Sindicalismo campesino. N° 21. La Paz, 1980.
- LEONS B., MADELINE. The political economy of agrarian reform in the Bolivian Yungas. s.f.
- LESGARDS, PATRICK. Environmental et development rural: le cas de la colonization du Chapare Tropical - Bolivie. 1979.
- LOZA M., GUSTAVO y DELAINE, BERNARD. Estudio de necesidades sentidas. Tomo I. El Chapare. PRODES. La Paz, 1979.
- LOZA M., GUSTAVO. Estudio de necesidades sentidas. Tomo II. Yungas de La Paz. PRODES. 1979.
- MCK y UGL. Studies in comparative international development. Wallersteint. Rural economy im modern society. Vol 12. N° 1. 1977.
- McEWEN J., WILLIAM. Changing rural Bolivia. Final antropological report for the peace corps. 1969.
- MAXWELL, SIMON y POZO, MELVIN. Farm systems in the colonization crescent of Santa Cruz, Bolivia: Results of a survey. Vol 1: Text. Working Paper N° 22 C.I.A.T. 1981.
- MAXWELL, SIMON y POZO, MELVIN. Sistemas de producción en la zona de colonización al norte de Santa Cruz. Vol. II Cuadros. Documento de Trabajo N° 22 C.I.A.T.
- MAXWELL, SIMON y POZO, MELVIN. Sistemas de produccion en la zona de colonización al norte de Santa Cruz Bolivia: Resultados de una encuesta. Vol. I. Documento de Trabajo N° 22. C.I.A.T. 1981.
- MAXWELL, SIMON; STUTLEY, CHARLES y BOJANIC, ALAN. Report on a case study programe in San Pedro. Working Paper N° 27. C.I.A.T. 1982.
- MAXWELL, SIMON; STUTLEY, CHARLES y BOJANIC, ALAN. Informe sobre un programa de estudio de casos en San Pedro. Documento de Trabajo N° 27. C.I.A.T. 1982.

- MOORE J., E y ASOCIADOS. Protección de cultivo en el departamento de Santa Cruz. Investigación y desarrollo .C.I.A.T. 1980.
- POZO, MELVIN y MAXWELL, SIMON. Encuesta agroeconómica en las áreas de colonización. Informe sobre control de malezas en arroz. Documento de Trabajo N° 7. C.I.A.T. 1979.
- QUITON D., JOSE. Estudio regional del Chapare (Bolivia). Holanda, 1973.
- WEIL, CONNIE y WEIL, JIM. Government, campesinos, and business in the Bolivian Chapare: A case study of amazonian occupation. 1982.
- WIGGINGS, STEVE. Documento sobre el Chapare. Colonización en Bolivia. Acción cultural Loyola. Iglesia Metodista. PRODES. 1981.
- DELAINE-BERNARD, HOFFMANN E. CARLOS. Factores sociales y economicos del cultivo de la Coca en una micro región del Chapare. La Paz, Bolivia 1978 PRODES.