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Central and Latin American Scholarship Program II

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SOCIAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS
BOLIVIA
CENTRAL AND LATIN AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIPS PROGRAM II

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USAID/Bolivia

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Table of Acronyms

ADN	Alianza Democrática Nacionalista
COMIBOL	Corporación Minera de Bolivia
MIR	Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario
NEP	"New Economic Policy" of the MNR Government, 1985-89
UDP	Unidad Democrática y Popular

I. CLASP II and the Social Institutional Framework Analysis

A. **The purpose of the present study:** This document describes the current socioeconomic realities of Bolivia as a basis for the formulation of the Central and Latin America Scholarship Program (CLASP) II. CLASP II is a \$217 million joint effort of 13 AID missions set to begin in FY1992, in which training will be provided in the United States for groups and individuals from throughout Latin America. *The Andean Peace Scholarship program is a component of CLASP.*

In preparation for this new scholarship program, various Social Institutional Framework analyses are currently being carried out throughout the hemisphere. The objectives of these studies, as outlined in the model SIF provided by the USAID/Washington Office of Education and Human Resources in the Latin America and Caribbean Bureau and as specified in the contractor's scope of work, are to ~~focus especially on the different kinds of leaders and potential leaders that exist in the country, both within formal institutional settings and in other contexts, in order to identify persons~~ from the lower and middle sectors of Bolivian society who can be invited to participate in CLASP II activities. Similar to the philosophy of CLASP I, CLASP II is designed to provide technical training and elements for career enhancement for the trainees, at the same time that it exposes them to the multicultural experience of life in the United States. The trainees will return to their home countries not only with sharpened job skills, but with a greater appreciation of the American values of democratic pluralism and the free enterprise system.

In contrast to the previous project, CLASP II focuses more specifically on leaders, on the assumption that an emphasis on leader participation will assure the greater impact of the scholarship program, since leaders are key players in the formation of opinions shared by different segments of society.

In particular, the contractor was asked:

1. To focus training on key sectors and institutions that are influential in shaping action and opinion, with an emphasis on the socially and economically disadvantaged;
2. To propose a methodology and indicators for identifying leaders and potential leaders within those sectors; and
3. To determine the appropriate type of training for each group.

Secondary objectives of the present study include a review (if not a formal evaluation) of the experience of CLASP I in Bolivia, termed there the Andean Peace Scholarship Program. Further, the contractors have made an effort to synthesize and

describe the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country in order to establish the framework for the particular economic and geographic sectors which we propose should receive both development training and experience in American democratic and economic institutions through CLASP II scholarships.

B. Organization of the report: We begin with a discussion of the country of Bolivia, focusing on its ethnic complexity, on its socioeconomic characteristics, and on the significant changes in the country resulting from the economic crisis of the last decade, changes that have shaped and limited the actions and aspirations of various social sectors in Bolivia. We then turn to several key concepts necessary to orient future planning for the CLASP II scholarship program, such as "leader" and "disadvantaged," and define them in a manner appropriate for Bolivia. We conclude this first section with a brief description of USAID's activities in Bolivia and a summary review of the accomplishments of CLASP I, the Andean Peace Scholarship Program.

Drawing on our analysis on the socioeconomic realities of Bolivia developed in the first section and on the conceptual framework established through the definitions in the second, we turn, after a brief discussion of methodology, to a discussion of Matrix One, which examines the nature of leadership in Bolivia in formal and informal settings. This analysis, combined with the goals of AID/Bolivia that were presented previously, serves as the basis for Part IV, the CLASP II program proposal. This consists of a presentation of program objectives, a proposal of training themes for the program, suggestions for the target groups within the guidelines established for the program, recommendations for contracting institutions and for training programs in the United States, a discussion of Experience America activities which should accompany the training programs for individual groups, and a final section on our view of the fundamental importance of the Follow On component of CLASP II in Bolivia. Based on these considerations, the SIF concludes with a specific proposal for the CLASP II program in Bolivia from FY1992 through FY1995, including training topics, target group selection, and Experience America suggestions.

II. Country description: Bolivia today

A. Country background

Bolivia, located in the heart of South America, is characterized by an astonishing diversity in its physical geography, its climate, and in the kinds of people which comprise its population. The country, which is about one and a half times the size of Texas and which has a population of between 6.4 and 6.8 million¹ inhabitants, is traditionally described as encompassing three main geographic and climatic areas--the Altiplano, the high valleys, and the eastern lowlands--such a

scheme barely hints at realities of ecological and human variation or at the kinds of successful adaptations which present-day Bolivians and their ancestors have made to difficult circumstances in the physical environment. Dense population centers exist at 12,500 feet in the high Andes, a pattern of human settlement not found outside this world region. On the other hand, major population movements in recent years have also transformed those parts of Bolivia near sea level, both in the eastern plains and the tropical forest of the lowlands. Bolivian peasants manage a subsistence economy in the deserts of the southern Altiplano and in colonization zones in the rain forest; peasant farmers in the high valleys and the northern Altiplano, using rudimentary technology, continue to provide the overwhelming bulk of foodstuffs to the growing cities. Yet all major social indicators continue to show Bolivia as one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Bolivia remains today predominantly an agricultural country, with between 54% and 49% of the population living in rural areas and over 42% of the economically active population involved in agricultural production (indeed, this latter figure should be considerably higher, since 71% of Bolivian women are considered to be "economically inactive"; this anomalous figure fails to recognize women's contribution to the management of the smallholder household agricultural economy in the countryside, where both men and women share work tasks with considerable equality). Yet due to the difficult physical conditions for successful agriculture in the country, as well as to a host of other socioeconomic and political characteristics to be discussed later in these pages, agriculture, in spite of the higher employment figures, only provides about 22% of the Gross National Product.

B. Demography and Health

It is hard to argue that the nearly seven million people of Bolivia represent a problem of overpopulation for the country, given the size of its territory. Indeed, in absolute terms the population density of about 15 people per square mile is relatively low compared with other Third World countries. There continues to be, however, a distinct skewing of population towards the Andean areas in spite of the recent patterns of migration to the lowlands and the development of the Santa Cruz farming belt. The Consejo Nacional de Población argues that some 40% of the population inhabits 20% of the national territory in the highlands, while only 22% of the people occupy 65% of national territory in lowland areas. Further, the low population density figures do not take into account the varied geography of Bolivia, and especially the high percentage of uncultivable lands in the Andean highlands. For example, if unarable lands are subtracted from the equation, Altiplano densities are transformed from an absolute figure of 31 per square mile to an agriculturally more accurate figure of 143 per square mile. The

latter figure suggests some of the difficulties for Andean farmers, who, as the decades pass, find themselves restricted to smaller parcels of land, short of productive resources in a severe ecological habitat.

The population growth rate has been increasing in recent decades, due not so much to larger families but to improved medical services for infants and children; it is now estimated to be 2.8% per annum. However, the Bolivian government has taken few steps to counter the overall high population growth rate via state-funded family planning and contraception. Both Church and state argue that demographic difficulties lie not in an absolute population size, but in the national distribution of population. Nevertheless, the economy must provide more than 70,000 new jobs per year to keep up with current population growth, in a decade when, in absolute numbers, almost no new jobs have been created. The high levels of fertility and growth make for a population pyramid in which about 45% of the population is under fifteen years of age (see Table .1).

Further, while half of Bolivia's present population lived in the countryside at the end of the 1980's, this represents a sharp drop from the 75% of the population that was classified as rural in 1950 census. In the four intervening decades, a quarter of all Bolivians had moved to cities, even if they had not always completely broken their ties to the rural economy. While the cities of Tarija, Potosí, Sucre, and Oruro have grown slowly in this period, there has been dramatic growth in the three cities which form the so-called "development axis," La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz. Much of this growth has come in the expansion of peripheral neighborhoods composed of rural migrants. For example, the municipality of El Alto, the spillover onto the adjacent Altiplano from La Paz, has expanded its area mightily in recent years and struggles to secure basic services for the many new neighborhoods being constructed.

Health services in Bolivia are still unavailable or only marginally available for most of the rural population and for many of those who live in the poor neighborhoods of cities and towns. The infant mortality rate continues to be quite high, estimated at about 169 per 1,000 for children under one and 192 for children under five. In some rural areas, infant mortality is much higher; and the maternal mortality rate, at 48 per 10,000, is the highest in the western hemisphere. Life expectancy at birth is estimated to be 48 years for men and 53 for women. The availability of health services has improved somewhat in recent decades due both to the expansion of the rural paraprofessional network supported by the state and to the rapid growth of private voluntary agencies (many related to the Catholic and Protestant churches).

The Ethnic Complexity of Bolivia

These

are Ethnically, a high percentage of the population of Bolivia can be classified as indigenous or Native American. ~~This~~ people is culturally and linguistically distinct from the Hispanicized urban classes which are, in general, in control of the major economic and governmental institutions of the nation. To discuss this ethnic diversity, one must begin with the ethnic categories recognized by Bolivians themselves: campesino, mestizo, and blanco. It is important to note that these groupings are more sociocultural than racial. Social mobility is possible and frequent among them (especially between the categories of campesino and mestizo, and with the passage of the generations). Nevertheless, the social hierarchy which places indigenous people--"Indians"--at the bottom of society is still deeply ingrained in the Bolivian national culture, especially among the middle classes and the elites. Andean peoples--especially rural speakers of Quechua and Aymara--suffer considerable discrimination in educational opportunities, in job opportunities, and in the possibilities for social advancement.

This ethnic dimension is most confusing among that group labeled campesinos, a rather neutral word meaning "peasant." The official adoption of "campesino" for rural smallholders and workers has served as a convenient rhetorical device to deny the existence of ethnic differences in Bolivia.^{2j} In the Andean highlands, "campesinos" are descendants of indigenous peoples who generally speak one of the native Andean languages, who may organize themselves at the local level in ways which are rooted in colonial and even pre-Hispanic forms (such as within ayllus), and who may retain certain outward symbols of separate identity, such as distinctive styles of dress or characteristic interaction styles. By definition, campesinos are small-scale agriculturalists who utilize traditional technologies in gaining a living. Most are engaged in subsistence agriculture to cover their own needs, but they are also, as has already been suggested, actively involved in the market through the provision of foodstuffs to Bolivian cities. Indeed, at least 55% of the Bolivian population speaks one of the native languages, although many now claim to speak Spanish as well.

This use of the term "peasant" for the Andean population naturally obscures the distinction between this group and the smallholder of the eastern lowlands, who is also a "peasant" but who may well not be Indian. And within the category of "Indian" are the numerous small groups of lowland peoples who continue to speak native languages and, in many cases, to practice a traditional economy based on gardening, gathering, hunting, and fishing.

The tendency on the part of the urban classes and foreign observers to identify "Quechuas" and "Aymaras" as ethnic groups is not particularly useful. The two names identify languages,

and there is no necessary link between language spoken and such factors as forms of social organization, cultural practices, receptivity to social change, or participation in the market economy; nor is there generally an ethnic self-identification using these terms.³ Ethnic identity is much more localized, centered in ritual, festive, and organizational themes. Thus Quechua and Aymara speakers of the very traditional area of the Norte de Potosí identify their ethnic identity in relation to the ayllu to which they belong, such as the Machas, Jukumanis, Laymis, or Chujllas, and not by their language. The only exception to this generalization is that of certain urban Aymara migrants to the city of La Paz, who have in the last twenty years defined an "Aymara" identity exclusive of the rural locality from which Aymara speakers may come. This new development has played, in recent years, an interesting role in providing a trans-class form of communication among urban Aymaras and new migrants, and was, through the early 1980's, a stimulus to the growth of the national peasant union movement.

Much of the population of rural towns and of the working and lower middle classes of the cities could be classified as mestizo, which implies in Bolivia an intermediate sociocultural category between the rural campesino and the cultural descendants of European culture who now form the country's elite. This is a difficult group to characterize in many ways, since in many contexts the word itself, like "Indian," can also be considered pejorative. It is only used as a term of self-identification in certain contexts.

In provincial towns, the mestizo group, often referred to as the "vecinos" ("neighbors" or "residents"), is frequently in control of local government and commerce, relying on campesinos as their clients. In many areas, local mestizos also control greater amounts of agricultural lands than the average campesino household and use their links with the local peasant population (often reinforced through ritual kinship or compadrazgo ties) as the means to mobilize labor for their own agricultural production.

In highland cities, this intermediate group makes up the bulk of lower and middle social strata, above recent peasant migrants, occupying positions as skilled laborers such as in factories or in construction, as artisans, in small-scale urban manufacture, as the owners and managers of small and medium commercial establishments, and as the group which supplies the white-collar workers at the lower and intermediate levels of the government bureaucracy, state-owned enterprises, finance, and other service industries.

Both in rural and urban areas, mestizos are likely to speak a native language, yet will prefer to speak Spanish in most social situations, especially with social superiors or outsiders. Most participate in a wide range of social institutions which

link them to the rural areas, but always in a hierarchical way; and even those who reside in rural areas nearly always have direct links through kinship to the regional city. They are likely to consider themselves Bolivians; their primary identification is a regional one, and they will deny emphatically a participation in indigenous identity.

Finally, the country's economic and political elites are those who own or are major investors in the large commercial establishments and import houses; who direct and manage the larger-scale private industry (a small sector in Bolivia); who control, in the departments of Beni and Santa Cruz, large expanses of land used for cattle raising and agribusiness; and who are the nation's recognized leaders at the highest levels of government and within the nation's political parties of all persuasions (with the exception of the indigenous parties).

One can also distinguish a "cultural elite" in Bolivia, consisting of a relatively limited number of families in La Paz, Sucre, and Cochabamba, who are descendants of kin lines of local historical significance. This group may denigrate participation in political activity as beneath them and, indeed, may not be economically prominent today (since many lost their estates after the 1953 Agrarian Reform). Nevertheless, this group plays an important role as models of culture and education for economic elite families who aspire to such ideals and such a sense of tradition.

Members of all the elites frequently have intermarried with foreigners; their children often study abroad (especially in the United States), and family members may reside permanently outside the country. Their sense of identity, while participating in an international context, is still rooted in that of being Bolivian. But among this social group there is often considerable ambivalence about their country: on the one hand, one learns of a deep sense of patriotism and love; and yet there is also expressed a kind of disappointment, irony, even shame, that Bolivia is not more economically and socially advanced than it is.

This brief and incomplete sketch of the social complexities of Bolivia suggests the appropriateness here of a concept introduced by van den Berghe and Primov in the mid-1970's for neighboring Peru, the idea of society as composed of a series of ranked ethnoclasses. That is, these groupings combine elements of social and economic class (in terms of their relation to the control of the means of production, whether it be subsistence agriculture for peasants or factories for the elites) with elements of ethnic group membership, manifest in language, forms of social organization, and symbols of identity rooted in cultural practices. To leave one's land to become a merchant, for instance, implies the simultaneous attempt to shift one's socioeconomic class and one's ethnic identity. Likewise, one

cannot, at least under the present scheme of things, be an "Indian" or a member of an ayllu and own a factory. The degree to which indigenous identity can be transferred to the city, or retained by people who leave their previous rural way of life and who gain new roles in the economic life of the nation, is still an issue to be resolved in the coming decades in Bolivia.⁴

C. The Decade of the 1980's: Crisis and Transformation

The beginning of the decade of the eighties coincided with the unleashing of a profound crisis in Bolivia, one that has affected every aspect of national life: the economy, the political system, and the conditions under which the populace live. During the 1970s, ~~the~~ Bolivia had enjoyed a period of growth, due especially to the high price of tin and the almost unlimited access to international credits. The suppression of opposition ~~to~~ the military regime of General Hugo Bánzer permitted the government to apply its economic policy with little outward resistance. The result was that between 1971 and 1978, the Bolivian economy achieved an annual growth rate of close to 5.5%.

En 1978, the military government of Grl. Bánzer ended with a democratic opening; but that opening in democracy was accompanied by an increasing bleak picture for the economy. Between 1978 and 1982 Bolivia had three presidential elections and eight governments, between military and civilian regimes. All were short lived; none had the time nor the necessary support to impose coherent policies or programs that would have responded to the increasingly difficult economic realities.

So the high, stable rates of economic growth did not make it into the new decade. The political instability and the growing social unrest created the conditions whereby a group of military officers linked to narcotics trafficking took power in 1980. This government, headed by Grl. Luis García Meza, saw a generalized corruption develop through much of society. The continuing violations of human rights characteristic of the García Meza regime led the United States to suspend development aid and assistance to the agencies fighting drug trafficking, which were themselves understood to be corrupt. The inability to control the burgeoning narcotics trade led to the unrestricted growth of coca production, a phenomenon which became known as the "coca boom" (1980-1985).

The political crisis caused by the military dictatorship thus aggravated the economic situation and magnified patterns of corruption. State investments were minimal due to the weight of the foreign debt, made more burdensome by the high interest rates of the period. Industrial production plummeted due to the social disorder provoked by repression and the consequent resistance by laborers. Eventually, the dictatorship became so

discredited domestically and internationally, and internal opposition became so vociferous and well organized, that military authorities abandoned their effort to govern and invited the civilian government which had been elected in 1980 to take the reins of power.

The crisis from 1982 to 1985

The group that did so was the Democratic and Popular Unity (the Unidad Democrática y Popular, or UDP), headed by Dr. Hernán Siles Zuazo; the UDP was a political coalition that grouped a number of center-left and leftist parties. The coalition had won three straight elections between 1978 and 1980, but had never been permitted to assume office. In 1982, the UDP symbolized the hopes of both urban laborers and peasants, who saw in it the chance for improved social conditions and a better standard of living. But the growing economic crisis, and the unresolved conflicts that existed both within the constituent parties of the coalition and in society at large, created a situation which made it impossible for this government to satisfy the hopes that had been placed in it.

State revenues dropped to a minimum while social demands multiplied. The state soon lost all control over the economy; the GDP began a precipitous drop, while the inflation rate began increasing so rapidly that by February 1985 it reached 182.77% per month. A demonstration of the magnitude of the crisis can be seen in the fact that the 1986 GDP per capita, in real terms, was equivalent to that of 1950. In other words, between 1980 and 1986, the country had reversed 37 years of economic progress.

At the same time, those managing the illicit drug economy found the hyperinflation to be a convenient incentive to incorporate thousands of people, otherwise unemployed, in the production and distribution networks for cocaine. This spectacular growth in the cocaine economy brought fundamental economic changes to the lives of peasant producers, especially those living in (or migrating to) the tropical areas where coca leaf is produced.

For significant numbers of small producers, the link between the production of coca leaf and the illegal cocaine economy meant for them the possibility of upward social and economic mobility. At one point, coca leaf reached record prices of \$300 per 100-pound carga⁵. The myth that the Bolivian peasant was destined to be mired in poverty was challenged. Nevertheless, that ascent from poverty seemed to be possible only within the narcotics framework; it continued to be impossible within the rigid socioeconomic structures that characterized the traditional Bolivian economy, in which upward social mobility is very difficult for peasant peoples. Meanwhile, for certain urban sectors linked to narcotics trafficking, the coca boom allowed

them to invest their profits in real estate, transportation, and business in general, through a process of "money laundering." All of these processes brought about major transformations in the social structure of certain regions, especially the Chapare of Cochabamba and its secondary impacts on that department capital.

On the other hand, speculation in dollars in the parallel currency market, which existed until 1985 in the period of hyperinflation, gave the higher economic levels of society an unprecedented opportunity to generate fortunes through strategic investments and monetary transactions. As is frequently the case under high inflation, those with resources are often able to benefit, while wage earners and those ~~with~~ unable to invest in speculative ventures lose out.

In sum, the first half of the 1980's saw two largely unrelated phenomena, the coca boom and high inflation, acting together to have major impacts on national life. Certain patterns that developed in that period continue to shape Bolivian socioeconomic realities:

- a) massive coca leaf production in the Chapare as one of the principal sources of income for peasant producers;
- b) the collapse of state mining between 1985 and 1986, caused by the fall in mineral prices and the mismanagement and disorder within the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL).
- c) the crisis in industrial production and in agriculture led to a rapid growth of the so-called informal economy, fed by such illegal activities as contraband and links to narcotics trafficking.
- d) the migratory flows from many agricultural regions of the highlands to new labor markets, especially in the tropical region of Cochabamba and in the Yungas of La Paz department.

The droughts that affected agricultural production, especially in 1983, added to this migratory tendency towards tropical areas and the cities, as is the case with many indigenous folk from the ayllus of Northern Potosí, who have seemingly left behind their home territories permanently.

These negative social aspects were reinforced by a growing crisis in political life. The growing social disorder, the closures, strikes, and demonstrations led President Siles to move up national elections one year, in the face of the failure of the UDP to govern effectively. In May, 1985, elections were held; while no party won an absolute majority, one thing that was clear was that the fragmented Left of the UDP government had profoundly

lost credibility with the electorate. After the disastrous experience of the UDP, many politicians were calling for a profound rethinking of the state capitalist model that lay at the economy's base. In August, 1985, one of those who had set that system into place, but who now challenged its viability, assumed office, Victor Paz Estenssoro.

The government of Dr. V. Paz Estenssoro, 1985-1989 and the New Economic Policy

Neither of the two front runners, Victor Paz Estenssoro and Hugo Bánzer Suárez, was able to attain the absolute majority in the 1985 election that would have elected one of them outright. Paz, along with outgoing president Hernán Siles, were both key figures in the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, or MNR) which had taken power after the 1952 Nationalist Revolution and had instituted a series of basic changes in Bolivian society which largely displaced the powerful landowning elite and the powerful miners with a greatly enlarged state. Paz had served as president from 1952 to 1956 and again from 1960 until 1964. In the latter year, he had been overthrown by the first of a string of military governments which lasted through 1982. While Siles had moved to the Left, Paz now proposed a dramatic break with the past in imposing a strict austerity plan and reducing the size of the state apparatus.

Bánzer, his principal opponent, was head of one of the last of military regimes, and had then founded his own party, the ADN (or Nationalist Democratic Alliance) in the democratic opening of the late 1970s which he had finally permitted. Although Bánzer had won a slight plurality in the 1985 voting, the two leaders and their parties joined together in the subsequent parliamentary election to choose Paz as president. Soon after taking office, Paz issued a package of political and economic measures which were designed to bring inflation under control and to reduce and rationalize state expenditures. With the formal imposition of this "New Economic Policy" of the MNR government, radical changes were introduced in the economic structure of the country. The central thrust of the policy was to "liberalize" economic structures, introducing the principle of the primacy of the market and reducing to a minimum state participation.

The two principal objectives of the economic restructuring of the NEP were to stop inflation and to reactivate the national economy. In the first instance, the goal was met; from the extremely high rates of inflation of 1985, inflation was reduced to only 10% in 1987. Bolivia is one of the few countries in Latin America that continues to control inflation.

The economic reactivation, on the other hand, has still not been achieved. Although after 1986 the absolute decrease in the Bolivian GDP ended and, since then, there has been a record of

growth in the economy, the rates of growth are still below the increase in population.

So while it reduced inflation, the stabilization model incurred a fairly high social cost. The Paz government undertook a major reduction in the size of the state work force, especially through mining (where monetary incentives were offered to workers who left their jobs), but also the maintenance of very low salaries and consequent employee attrition. The rate of unemployment grew dramatically (although what that rate was, and continues to be, a lively issue for public debate; official figures place it in 1990 at 10%, while other observers claim that 25% is a more accurate figure). As a reaction to the severe economic conditions in the formal economy, the informal sector continued to grow in the cities. Internal migration and immigration also continued at a high rate.

Within the first two years of his presidency, then, the Paz government issued a series of important changes in the rules of the game in Bolivia. These measures included a major tax reform; efforts to control the growth of salaries; an end to most subsidized food prices; a tariff reform which drastically reduced import taxes and permitted the unlimited importation of products; a floating exchange rate; and the decision to privatize a series of state-owned industries.

Interestingly, after the UDP's period of almost constant demonstrations and strikes, the imposition of the NEP did not stimulate a social reaction similar to what had taken place earlier. Labor and civic groups attacked the plan continually, but the level of mobilization in opposition to the NEP never reached that which characterized the previous government.

Instead, one of the stronger movements that developed in the Paz Estenssoro period was that of decentralization and regionalism, the effort to procure for the departments greater resources and increased autonomy, as one of the most urgent measures required to bring about a modernization of the state.

This type of movement had its base in the sharpening of regional crises due to the overall economic slowdown, the apparent reluctance on the part of regional elites to take entrepreneurial risks in an uncertain economic context, the high levels of unemployment due to the government-wide reductions as well as layoffs in industry and agriculture due to recession and mechanization; and, some observers argue, even to a relative shortage of laborers in Oruro, Potosí, and rural Santa Cruz, due to the attractiveness of migration to the coca areas of the Chapare of Cochabamba.

The present government of Lic. Jaime Paz

The present government was chosen by the Congress in August, 1989, after inconclusive elections some months before. Although the MNR candidate, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, had won a plurality of the votes, once again a political coalition was successful in seeing its man chosen. In this case, the ADN, formerly the ally of the MNR, joined forces with the MIR, the Leftist Revolutionary Movement, which, in spite of its name, had moved to the center of the political spectrum in recent years. The coalition elected Jaime Paz Zamora, nephew of the previous President and long-time leader of the MIR, as President. The two parties share the various positions in the ministries of government and in other state agencies and enterprises.

It is difficult to characterize the economic policy of the present government in terms which contrast it greatly with the previous. Many of the decisions made by the MNR government under the New Economic Policy will apparently be carried out by the MIR-ADN government now in office. Overall economic conditions have not greatly improved. State enterprises continue to founder in a long-term pattern of deficit, and the economy remains vulnerable to the fluctuations of raw material and hydrocarbon prices in the world market. While much of the private foreign debt burden has been removed through international agreements, state revenues are still inadequate for much more than covering part of the fiscal costs of administration. Resources for social investment must come from foreign aid.

The disconcerting circularity of low income for national exports and projects financed by external sources reproduces, in the eyes of many Bolivians, a kind of permanent status of economic dependence which troubles them. The private sector, from industrial enterprises to the small-scale economy of the urban or peasant household, seems to maintain a philosophy of little investment beyond that needed for subsistence. The hope for the future continues to be "economic reactivation," and while the signs for future growth are more positive than before, real improvements in the general levels of poverty which exist in the country are unlikely to take place in the near future. The state finds itself confronted with an economic situation so difficult for so many that it cannot easily change patterns of corruption in public administration, contraband in the small-scale urban economy, or the links that between a sector of the rural economy and the illicit cocaine economy.

D. Socioeconomic characteristics

As the foregoing discussion has suggested, the Bolivian economy has been characterized over the past ten years by a generalized deterioration. This has been linked to a series of conditions within the domestic economy and in the international

arena, from accumulated international debt and high interest rates, to mismanagement and deterioration of state-owned institutions, to the unpredictable fluctuation of raw material prices. The decrease in the various sectors of the GDP is eloquent testimony to the distressing overall patterns of the economic crisis. According to the National Institute of Statistics, the Bolivian GDP decreased by 12% between 1978 and 1987. After 1986, the absolute declines stopped; growth since then has been about 2% annually.

Within the GDP, the collapse of mining has had the most impact on the national economy, both for its former central role within the economy and also due to the social effects that the collapse has had. Mining has been the source of wealth and the motor of the nonagricultural economy in Bolivia for centuries, since the discovery of the Cerro Rico of Potosí in 1545.

In the present century, most export earnings have had their source in mining, especially, after 1890, in the large-scale tin mines of Huanchaca, Aramayo, and especially Patiño, which virtually controlled the economy and the state, and which were almost singlehandedly responsible for the patterns of infrastructural development and the commercial patterns which took place in the country in the first half of the twentieth century. Yet after the nationalization of the large mines in 1952, the state-run mining corporation (COMIBOL) oversaw a gradual decapitalization of the mining industry, in which, as the Bolivian Left likes to put it, the large-scale tin mines became a national "milk cow" for financing the public sector and for appeasing a politically active and powerful mining labor force. With the growth of export tin mining in Indonesia, Malaysia, and many other countries, Bolivia found itself in an uncompetitive position in which the costs of production were greater than the world market price. The ever weaker position of Bolivia in export market for tin led to an untenable situation in the maintenance of the state mining sector; this reached a climax in mid-1985 when the world market price of tin collapsed and the International Tin Market ceased functioning for many months.

The New Economic Policy of the MNR Government, supported by USAID and other international lenders, already called for a drastic reduction in the size of the public sector, and the state mining work force had been targeted as a major location for payroll reductions. The collapse of world market prices provided an even greater justification for drastic reductions in the employment in the state mines. By the end of August, 1988, 23,000⁶ workers had been "relocated," or fired.

TABLE 1. EFFECTS OF THE MINING CRISIS

	Relative part. in the GDP	Gross value Of production	Portion in total exports	Portion of state revenues
1980	100	100	100	100
1981	102	87	65	51
1982	99	66	69	61
1983	103	66	62	27
1984	83	49	52	99
1985	66	38	47	19
1986	50	18	34	19
1987	39	21	41	3
Absolute figures for 1980:				
1980	10.3%	756	89.5%	15%

Mining production, until the first six months of 1988, fell an average of 44% in quantity, value, and prices. COMIBOL, the state mining corporation, was both the largest employer in Bolivia and the enterprise with greatest sales. It also caused the greatest losses to the state: between 1981 and 1985, COMIBOL is estimated to have lost \$720,000,000. In 1986, the costs of producing a pound of tin was around \$3.86 while the price in the world market was about \$2.80.

Industrial production also decreased dramatically over the past decade, as the following chart demonstrates. Over the last decade, industrial growth had relied

Table 2
EVOLUTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR WITH THE GDP
(Base: 1980=100)

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
100	92.2	80.8	77.1	66.3	60.2	61.4	63.6	67.6

excessively on state protection, based on a policy of import substitution, tight control of exchange rates, and special tariff considerations. Bolivian industry, beyond mining and hydrocarbons, has not been able to achieve an export capacity, which leaves it subject to survival exclusively within the small domestic market.

Many observers argue that the state-supported industrial sector has generally suffered from poor planning and administration, corruption, and inefficiency; many state enterprises have continued to operate with permanent deficits. They did provide considerable employment, but the long-term effects of maintaining state-supported enterprise was negative.

Agriculture's importance in the economy has already been suggested by pointing to the large proportion of the population engaged in it. However, outside of Santa Cruz department, agriculture has received little direct investment over the last decades. Most highland producers, who often find themselves facing desperate shortages of land and other productive resources, use ancient technologies with few or no modern inputs and their agriculture is characterized by very low productivity. While such agriculture is presumably sustainable in the strict sense of having been reproduced for many generations, the great majority of highland peasants live in severe poverty. Their increasing participation in the market places even greater strains on the agricultural regimes which they practice.

In the past ten years, agricultural production has decreased regularly, in spite of a slight overall increase in the land under cultivation. For example, the rise in agricultural production noted for 1988 was due exclusively to the increase in coca production. Given the diversity of soils, climates, and the varieties of microecologies thanks to the realities of the mountain environment, Bolivia is said to have great potential in agriculture. Nevertheless, the country continues to import major proportions of certain foodstuffs (especially wheat and milk products).

One sector which has demonstrated recovery in recent years is that of small industry and artisanry. This sector is composed largely of small enterprises involved in "informal" productive activities, based on low capital and simple technologies. Many of the provisions of the New Economic Policy have favored small industry, and the latter has in turn played a role in alleviating some of the worst effects of the general deterioration of the economy.

Data over the last decade show that only the very smallest industrial enterprises, those with five or few persons, grew. These small businesses provided 5,000 new jobs from 1983 to 1987, while larger industries closed their doors at such a rate that 20,000 jobs were lost there.

Finally the informal sector--those economic activities not regulated by law (though not necessarily in themselves illegal) continues to be a more dynamic sector of the economy. These activities are frequently linked to small-scale artisan production, micro-commerce (that is, street salespeople and the like), the sale of contraband, and also activities linked to the "bottom" or local-level end of the drug trade. While accurate figures on the informal economy are exceedingly hard to compile, recent studies suggest that perhaps half of the GDP has its origin in the informal economy. If this is true, it would suggest that the informal economy now has a decisive importance in the national economy.

This review of the economy indicates the difficulties that Bolivians have faced in recent years in simply gaining a living. The challenges faced by small-scale agriculturalists continue to be quite severe, combined with the uncontrollable problems of climate, drought, and disaster, peasant farmers face ever greater obstacles in the sale of agricultural products when there are also downward pressures on the buying power of urban consumers. The grave difficulties of making a living in farming are best demonstrated by the fact that so many small-scale peasant producers attempt to augment their agricultural incomes (whether in money for products sold or simply their subsistence production) by "diversifying" their activities through seeking off-farm wage labor, whether in their home districts, in the cities, or in other agricultural areas such as the Chapare.

In the cities, wage rates have remained very low in the context of government restraint in the public sector and high unemployment. Indeed, the current minimum wage in Bolivia is only Bs.60 (or less than \$20) per month. While one assumes no one is truly living on such a small income, it demonstrates the lack of upward pressures on wages of the lower segments of society.

The National Council on Salaries of the Ministry of Labor has provided a compilation of wage scales drawn from the payroll lists delivered to them by employers; these are summarized below in Table 3 by economic sector.

The average salary among the nine sectors listed in the table presents appreciable differences, from a minimum of \$89 a month in construction to \$318 in the petroleum industry. Even though all these salaries are much higher than the \$20 minimum wage, few are high enough to cover the cost of the "family market basket," fixed for 1989 at \$235 a month;⁷ this is a figure suggested as the amount necessary to cover the basic subsistence necessities of a family of five.

Table 3.

AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES

SECTOR	Bs.	US\$	Number of workers	†
Mining	420	134.2	2.188	4.6
Petroleum	994	317.6	559	1.2
Manufacturing	285	91	7.312	15.5
Utilities	579	185	1.361	2.9
Construction	279	89	1.666	3.5
Commerce	401	128	4.277	9.1
Banks/Finance	633	202	7.209	15.3
Transp/Commun.	513	164	3.198	6.8
Services	367	117	15.665	33.3
Other indust.			3.639	7.8
Average	497	159	47.074 ⁸	100 †

Salary levels have been disaggregated by the Ministry of Labor, using their payroll information, as follows:

AVERAGE SALARIES, 1989 (in Bolivianos and dollars)
per month

		Bs.	US\$
Private mining	Executives	1294	413
	White-collar	786	250
	Workers	469	150
Y.P.F.B. (State petroleum corp)	Executives	3963	1266
	White-collar	2168	693
	Workers	868	277
Manufacturing	Executives	1521	486
	White-collar	808	258
	Workers	332	106
Utilities	Executives	3063	979
	White-collar	1234	394
	Workers	630	201
Construction	Executives	576	184
	White-collar	460	147
	Workers	282	90
Commerce	Executives	1672	534
	White-collar	772	247
	Employees	582	90

Banks	Executives	1807	577
	White-collar	932	298
	Employees	485	155
Transp/Commun.	Executives	1725	551
	White-collar	911	291
	Workers	576	184
Services	Executives	1316	420
	White-collar	725	232
	Employees	700	224
Agriculture	Large-scale	1896	606
Peasant ag.	Medium	338	108
	Small	197	63

While, as ~~has been~~ noted, the informal economy surely contributes to household income among the more economically disadvantaged Bolivian families, it is clear that incomes are generally low. The sheer number of people at work in informal selling on the street--including elderly women and children barely out of infancy--suggest the stresses that Bolivian households are encountering in the effort to meet basic subsistence needs.

E. USAID Bolivia Program

USAID's program in Bolivia has changed dramatically in the last decade. The 80's began with the attempt to support democratic institutions and, with the military coup of Grl. Garcia Meza, the essential end to development assistance for two years as a measure of pressure for a return to democratic government. With the arrival of the Siles coalition government, AID once again was able to reinitiate development activities in the country; but the political instability and the growing economic crisis led the Mission to work for the support of economic stabilization. With that accomplished after the Paz Estenssoro government entered in 1985, the Mission turned to the foci of interests which occupy the portfolio now.

In the first place, a major component of US foreign policy in Bolivia, both in development efforts and in bilateral relations in general, is related to American support for the Bolivian government's efforts to limit the production of coca leaf and to gain control of the narcotics economy that grew up in the early 1980's in the tropical areas, especially in the Chapare. In AID's case, this ~~is an~~ ^{is an} alternative development--the attempt to provide other productive outlets for small-scale coca producers, in terms of assistance in the shift to other productive crops, general development assistance, the effort to improve the conditions of life in the points of origin to

migrants to the Chapare, and the need to replace through improved marketing the income lost to coca producers when they erradicate their coca groves. In recent years, a gradual consensus has developed between AID and the GOB with respect to the general outlines of alternative development, and it now represents a major proportion of AID expenditures in the country.

Another major focus of AID's efforts in Bolivia is that of encouraging the growth of the economy through supporting the financial and economic reforms instituted after 1985 and in working to increase economic production, especially in the private sector. This implies a range of project and non-project activities, including the streamlining of bureaucratic procedures in the economy, project support for agriculture and for small business, export promotion, the development of financial markets, and through the training of a cadre of economic specialists who will eventually be in positions of influence.

Related to the growth of the economy are those concerns which address the issue of equitable growth and the standard of living of Bolivians. In the first instance, one aspect of the strategy of increased production is the idea that some of these benefits will reach the poorer classes. Issues of relative equity are also addressed in the focus on maternal and child health and in AID project support for the stability and growth of democratic institutions.

F. CLASP I in Bolivia

The Andean Peace Scholarship Program, begun in Bolivia in 1987, has as of June 1, 1990, sent some 189 short-term and 32 long-term peace scholars to the United States for training; another 156 short-term scholarships and 53 long-term scholarships are still to be awarded in the rest of 1990 and in 1991. With a small staff, and with something of a slow beginning, the APSP has accomplished a great deal in the selection, orientation, and subsequent US training of a wide range of people from various social strata. Table 4 provides a summary of the groups that have received (or will receive through this year) training in the United States:

Table 4. CLASP I in Bolivia, 1987-1990

1987: Short Term	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
(1) Hand Knitters: Weaving, knitting, marketing	--	20
SUBTOTAL.....	--	20

1988: Short Term		
(1) Journalists	24	10
(2) Mother's clubs: Organization and management	--	23
(3) Agricultural producers: farm management	19	1
SUBTOTAL.....	43	44

1989: Short Term		
(1) Town mayors: Municipal management	14	6
(2) Agricultural producers: beekeeping hogs, chickens	12	7
(3) Video producers: video techniques	13	1
(4) Medical technicians: Vector-borne	15	4
SUBTOTAL.....	54	18

1989: Long Term		
(1) Teachers: English as a second language	13	12
(2) Teachers: M.A. training in ESL		2
SUBTOTAL.....	13	14

1990: Short Term		
(1) Forestry technicians: Forestry and	17	3
(2) Health specialists: Epidemiology	18*	4*
(3) Agricultural producers: Leadership/agricultural production	12*	8*
(4) Labor leaders: US labor and leader-	12*	4*
SUBTOTAL.....	59*	19*

1990: Long Term

(1) University professors: M.A. in economics	4	1
(2) Teachers: E.S.L.	10*	10*
(3) University professors: M.A. in public administration	11*	4*
SUBTOTAL.....	25*	15*

*Estimated mix between men and women.

As Table 4 shows, by the end of 1990 some 153 men and 92 women will have gone to the United States from Bolivia for short-term training, while some 67 people will have gone to the U.S. for long-term training.

For 1991, the following is planned for short- and long-term training:

Table 5. CLASP I in Bolivia, Proposal for 1991

1991: Short Term	Number of trainees
(1) Management strategies for business entrepreneurs	20
(2) Elementary and secondary school administration	20
(3) Mid-level career ministry administrators: Public administration skills	20
(4) Agricultural production: Rural leaders	20
(5) US Court Administration for Bolivian public defenders	20
1991: Long Term	
(1) Health educators/ 10-month certificate	10
(2) Study of US legal system: Law-school graduates	8

Interviews with returnees show that most have been happy with the experience, with some exceptions. Those that have expressed concerns about the training fault not the program at AID, but rather the arrangements that have been made for them once they arrived in the States. Most notorious here was a group in 1989 of video producers from La Paz and Cochabamba, some of

whom complained that the training facilities offered by the U.S. subcontractor were inferior to what had been promised and which did not provide them with access to the new video technologies which they expected. Those who complained were also unhappy with the fact that they were restricted to a single building in downtown Miami for all training, living, and dining. Since the training period was some five months, they quite clearly began to suffer from a kind of urban cabin fever. These trainees quite vociferously suggested that Miami not be the site for future training; they felt that they did not get to know the "real" United States there. Other participants in this group were less vocal in their critique and commented that in spite of certain reservations they found the training program useful.

Another comment heard from some of the trainees who were members of the first groups to travel to the United States was that they had insufficient time to prepare themselves from the moment they were notified until the day of departure (others complained of shifts in departure dates, which made planning for them difficult). A journalist in the first very trainee group noted that he was not asked to bring along samples of his work on cassette or in print, and that he was not informed ahead of time of what would be the content of his training experience. He compared this aspect of the program with the experience of colleagues who had gone to the Instituto José Martí in Havana; these latter had been asked to bring along a range of samples of their work, and they had the chance to present it to fellow participants in the course of their stay in Cuba.

For at least the past year^a, trainees all now receive details concerning their training program with as much advance notice as is possible, given the potential for changes by the American contractor. This advance notice should normally permit trainees to plan their absences with more certainty. The Andean Peace Scholarship Program manager points out that in programs subsequent to the journalists' the importance of bringing along samples of work has been impressed on trainees and requests to prepare these accompanies their notification of appointment.

Such negative comments were few among the returnees interviewed. Most were quite happy, even ecstatic, with their training experience. In the latter category were several returned English language teachers in long-term training who had been in New England. They felt they learned a great deal both about their subject matter and about the U.S. They felt well treated, and they had clearly formed a number of strong friendships.

An interesting social contrast with the teachers, the journalists, and the video producers (all from middle-class families) was that of a poor urban woman "de pollera" who lives in Potosí. This peace scholar described her training in Massachusetts with fellow mothers' clubs members as a valuable

experience in which she learned how to be a better community leader. She reported that on her return she organized a community kitchen serving 28 families in her neighborhood. The kitchen has recently closed due to the end of food donations from the Oficina Nacional de Alimentos; but this trainee saw the visit to the United States as an important contribution to her own ability to take the initiative as a leader for her community. She holds a very high opinion of her American hosts.

One area of CLASP I activities in Bolivia which has only recently received attention has been in the Follow On program. This component did not form part of the original CLASP I project in Bolivia. A full-time person is now on board and has recently prepared, with the support of the Training Officer, a proposal for Follow On, discussed later in this report. Initial activities, such as several seminars, have been successful, and plans are underway to locate CLASP I returnees in order to invite their participation in an alumni association.

The CLASP I program in Bolivia has already had many successful group training programs in spite of such obstacles as changes in personnel and varying support for the program at different levels within the Mission. It has laid the groundwork for a successful training program in the future and has, as will be described in Section V, anticipated many of the training themes that are being suggested for CLASP II.

G. Definitions:

The CLASP II Scholarship Program in Bolivia is designed to provide specialized training and Experience America activities for what will predominantly be disadvantaged trainees, with a program emphasis on leaders and potential leaders. Such a focus requires a series of definitions which will be used to the subsequent discussions.

1. **Economically disadvantaged:** Given the significant drops in economic activity and in overall salary levels in the last decade, it is plausible to argue that most of the population of Bolivia should be considered economically disadvantaged, especially in comparison to the salary levels typical of advanced industrial nations. A UNICEF study from 1984⁹ argues that 80% of the population of the country should be classified as poor, and only 5% (that is, about 320,000 people) should be classified as in "relative comfort." While no figures exist for income distribution for Bolivia, Iriarte (1989:360) also argues that only about 220,000 upper- and upper-middle class Bolivians should be excluded from the "national majorities" of the poor, among the latter of which he would include almost 3,750,000 peasant farmers, 500,000 workers, and 1,500,000 members of the "poor middle class."

Our own discussions above of current socioeconomic characteristics of Bolivia showed the very low levels of average salaries that exist today (see Table 3); in various economic sectors, average salaries of workers are below \$200 per month and of white-collar employees, \$300.

Nevertheless, it is the intent of the CLASP scholarship to reach with 70% of its funding that sector of the population which, due to its poverty, is normally not included in such training opportunities. In order to have a figure which serves to distinguish the various social groupings in terms of relative disadvantage, which allows CLASP II planners to orient their selection process more clearly towards that disadvantaged group, and yet which is generous enough to include many of the members both of the urban working class and the lower middle class, the contractors suggest that "economically disadvantaged" be defined for Bolivia as those households with a monthly income of \$300 or less for a family of five. The definition should be flexible enough to permit members of larger households to be so classified even with somewhat higher monetary incomes.

For rural populations, household income will rarely reach these levels; but it is still necessary to distinguish, even if in a very gross fashion, between the relatively affluent in rural areas and those who are poorer. For the purposes of the scholarship program, it is the recommendation of the contractors that, for the highlands, small-scale agriculturalists with 3 hectares or less of irrigated land or 10 hectares of less of unirrigated land be considered "economically disadvantaged." For the lowlands, in which agriculture is practiced much less intensively, 10 hectares of irrigated land or 40 hectares of unirrigated lands can be considered "economically disadvantaged."

2. **Socially disadvantaged:** those groups which, independent of income levels, suffer from social discrimination due to their social identity or class position. In Bolivia this would include, in the first instance, inhabitants of rural areas whose first language is not Spanish, especially Andean peasants and the members of indigenous lowland groups; this is, of course, a significant proportion of the national population. It would also include the lower urban classes who may speak an Andean language as their mother tongue or who exhibit other social characteristics which link them to indigenous culture. Educational levels are also a factor in defining the status of socially disadvantaged. In general, those who have not completed their secondary education can be so considered.

As a social category, women are socially disadvantaged, even women who are not of Andean origin or have completed more years of education than high school. We do recommend, however, that women from higher income-level households should not, in the Bolivian context, automatically be considered socially disadvantaged if their economic or class status guarantees them

certain social privileges denied to the other groups we classify under this rubric.

3. **Elite:** In Bolivia, the "elites" are those groups in control of the apparatus of government at the highest levels or who are in active competition for such control. The elites are also the owners of the principal large industrial and commercial enterprises, the large landed estates in the eastern lowlands, or the top managers of state enterprises. Income levels of the elites are the highest in the country. It is the intention of the CLASP II scholarship program that members of this group not be awarded peace scholarships. The concept of elites was discussed further in the previous section "The ethnic complexity of Bolivia."

4. **Leader:** The CLASP program generally defines "leader" as those individuals who are able to influence the opinions and actions of others. It is necessary, however, to expand somewhat on that definition in order to be able to identify different types of leaders in the Bolivian context.

Leaders are in the first place members of social groups. Typically, they are involved in several actions: they make decisions for the group (or take the initiative in leading to group decisions); they mobilize group members to action; they settle disputes; and they serve as intermediaries, articulating their or the group's views to outsiders and relaying external views to the group.

As members of collectivities, leaders must be recognized as such by group members. Following venerable sociological tradition, that recognition is a result of the form of hierarchical relationships or authority which inheres in the group, and these can be classified into three forms: (1) leaders may be such in the context of their inherent charismatic gifts, around which new, often temporary, groups form; (2) they may take on traditionally recognized positions within the collectivity and serve in a personalistic form in relation to their followers, often within a highly ritualized context; or (3) they may occupy a recognized (and more impersonal) post within a rationally organized structure, especially a bureaucracy or a commercial enterprise.

These categories are often not clear cut and mutually exclusive in real life; still, examples of these kinds of leaders in the Bolivian context will make these distinctions clearer.

Charismatic leaders are most apparent in the founding of new Protestant religious sects and movements, a process which is taking place in many rural areas of Bolivia today. But this kind of leadership is also characteristic of political life, especially the charismatic political or union leader who articulates a view of society and the future which moves others

to follow him or her. In this case, then, the role of leader is based on the personal qualities of the person, himself. If the group institutionalizes itself, such as in, a political party, and if the leader is able to pass on the leadership position to another without the dissolution of the group, then the type of leadership is transformed from that based on charisma to that based on rational organization.

Traditional leaders take on a variety of forms in Bolivia. Perhaps most notable are the leaders of Andean peasant communities, in which the communal authority posts--such as kuraka, jilango, jilagata, or alcalde--are taken on in a rotational form and through which community leaders serve consensually for a delimited period of time. The legitimacy enjoyed by such leaders is rooted in ritual, in the sponsorship of festivals, and in the continued strength of community or regional social organization.

Another kind of traditional leader in the past was the hacendado, who, through personalistic ties with the indigenous subjects who resided on his lands, controlled their actions and their economic destinies, and who often served as a miniature state, with police, administrative, and judicial functions imposed on the hacienda populace. This pattern of leadership, based on hierarchical and exploitative social relations, has not fully disappeared, but still exists on large estates in the eastern lowlands and in parts of Chuquisaca. In highland provincial towns, the pattern often continues with the important vecinos of the town, who, while now bereft of their haciendas, still attempt to control the local indigenous population through credit, ritual kinship, or the management of the local positions of the state.

Finally, "modern" leaders are those who are recognized through the leadership qualities they display or the posts they occupy in rationally organized groups; examples of these are state bureaucracies, cooperatives or producer associations, technical assistance organizations, commercial enterprises, labor unions, clubs, and political parties. Clearly, both the elements of charisma and paternalistic leadership may enter into the totality of the modern leader, but recognition by the group and the holding of a post are also basic to this kind of leader.

5. **Potential leader:** a concept tailored to youth, the "potential leader" is one judged by his/her peers as a person who already reveals some of the qualities that are required of a leader as described in the previous definition, and who is considered likely to be able to occupy posts of leadership in the future.

III. Study objectives and methodology

The methodology adopted drew on the previous experience and knowledge of Bolivia possessed both by the North American anthropologist and the Bolivian sociologist contracted to formulate the study. The first week was spent in La Paz, in which the anthropologist reviewed project documents and conducted extensive interviews with AID personnel; and in which both contractors interviewed representatives of a range of state and private institutions in order to accumulate relevant statistical information and to determine varying views about key sectors and training opportunities. The contractors provided the AID Training Division an outline of the study and began work on the first matrix.

In the second week, the anthropologist travelled first to Potosi; previous contacts and experience there promised to permit a rapid survey of sectors and key training needs outside the national capital. The sociologist returned to his base in Cochabamba and arranged meetings with APSP participants in that city. The team, once in Cochabamba late in the week, carried out interviews with returnees and with other institutional representatives, and began as well the task of processing the information accumulated for a draft report.

At the beginning of the third week, at the request of the AID Training Division, a preliminary draft of the study was presented for the Office's review and comment. Based on initial comments and the original outline, most of the rest of the third week was devoted to the analysis of field notes and writing. The fourth week was devoted to completing the draft and incorporating suggestions from the Training Officer.

IV. SIF Conclusions: General leadership patterns in Bolivia

Our approach to a presentation of patterns of leadership is to specify the range of leadership and authority characteristic of different kinds of leaders: whether leadership is primarily expressed on the national scene, within the arena of one of Bolivia's nine departments, restricted to the sphere of a single province, or ~~whether it is~~ exercised largely at the local level, in a face-to-face context. We further indicate whether in each instance leadership is best classified as having to do with urban realities or rural ones. To order our presentation, we have chosen a "sectoral" approach; in this, however, the areas are not strictly related to the formal sectors of the economy but rather to important realms of social and economic activities. Chosen to be highlighted are government and politics, the judicial system, the private sector, the labor movement, agriculture, health, education, civic associations, and non-governmental organizations. The matrix is clearly far from exhaustive in its

conceptualization of leadership in Bolivia and is only meant to be indicative of the areas and kinds of institutions in which leaders and potential leaders are likely to be found.

The following tables have a number of shortcomings. In the first place, there is a certain repetition due to the fact that the sectors are not mutually exclusive. For example, given the traditional importance since 1952 of the peasant union organization in the countryside, in which the sindicato virtually became the recognized government of the rural community, it is appropriate to place sindicato leaders in at least three categories: under rural local government, as leaders in the peasant community in the agricultural sector, and as local-level leaders in the countryside within the national union movement. Other examples of this sort appear in the following pages.

Second, we cannot include the degree of detail that might be useful for some readers. For instance, in the Private Voluntary Organization table (Matrix 11), we have attempted in broad terms to introduce order into what is a complex organizational reality. Some 398 PVO's are listed in a recent catalog compiled by the Ministry of Planning and Coordination as operating in Bolivia. Some experts suggest there may be a hundred or more PVOs that escaped the attention of Ministry officials. In the matrix, we only group the PVOs by broad rubrics--those working in health, education, and so forth--and have not attempted to list more than a few names of particular organizations.

Third, our matrix does not reveal the relative power or capacity to mobilize resources and people among the different sectors; nor does it provide us a means to determine the relative power or authority of different leaders within those sectors. Common sense would tell us that those who operate with broader scope (such as leaders of the national parliament or top authorities of the labor confederation) have more power than those who work closer to the community level; but one can imagine situations in which this may not be the case. Unfortunately, the present study was not able to delve into that level of political complexity, given the limited time and resources at our disposal.

Finally, leaders are not always to be found in the institutionally recognized positions that this matrix is designed to reveal, as was suggested in the discussion of the definition of leader above. While leadership implies both recognized authority and a group of followers, sometimes the authority is difficult to characterize and the groups that form around leaders are informal and situational. A table such as the one accompanying this text is not well designed to depict the interstitial, charismatic leader, or one who calls upon a range of different constituencies for support. As with any chart, the reality it depicts is incomplete.

In spite of these shortcomings, the matrix does permit us to review the main institutions in which leadership is expressed in Bolivia across a broad range of human activities. Certain noteworthy conclusions can be drawn from such a review. In the first place, the matrix demonstrates clearly that the existence of social institutions which respond to socially determined interests, and the consequent availability of leadership positions within those institutions, is related to the socioeconomic hierarchy that characterizes Bolivia. That is to say, both leadership and institutions are more highly elaborated in the upper strata of Bolivian society, while the opportunities for acquiring leadership skills within institutions are considerably more limited for the poorer segments of the society, both rural and urban.

Another conclusion that the institutional review confirms is significant if not surprising. That is, the scope of leadership is also clearly related to the income of the groups in question. With few exceptions, the leadership of low income peoples tends to be restricted to the local level, while those of national and departmental scope are related to higher income. Partly this is a result of the opportunities open to those of lesser resources; it also reflects the fact that achieving a leadership position of greater scope is rewarded with higher wages. Still, while income is an index of this, class and ethnic factors are at work here, as was discussed in an earlier section of the report. The main exception to this link between income levels and scope of leadership is to be found in the labor union movement.

Urban folks also have available a greater range of institutions and more opportunities for leadership than rural folk. Again, most institutions, even those with rural constituencies, have their center of operations in cities and attempt to influence events there--in the local or national governments, for instance--on behalf of their rural members or supporters. This is clear in Matrix 1E, Agriculture, in which many organizations for small and large farmers are actually located in urban areas.

MATRIX ONE: LEADERSHIP IN BOLIVIA BY SECTOR

Matrix 1A.

SECTOR: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	President		Political party leaders	
	Vice President			
	Advisers to President			
	Senators			
	Representatives			
	Congressional staff and advisers			
	Ministers and Sub-secretaries of 15 Ministries			
	Heads of the Central Bank and of other state banks: Banco del Estado, Minero, Agrícola			
	Director of the National Police			
	Comptroller and senior staff			
	Directors of National Councils and Ministerial Institutes: Agrarian Reform, Security, Solidarity and Social Development, Food Assistance			
	National political party leaders of principal parties	National party leaders of peasant-based minor parties		

Departmental level	Prefecto		Political party leaders	Party leaders
	Dept. Comptroller			
	Ministerial representatives			
	Presidents of the Dptl. Development Corporations			
	Dptl. Chiefs of Police			

(Departmental capital)	Municipal mayor	Leaders of municipal workers' union		
	City council members			
	Heads of divisions of urban government			
	Political party leaders at dptl. level			
Provincial level	Subprefect		Subprefect	Town mayors
	Town mayors	Town mayors	Town mayors	Local party organizers
	Representatives of selected ministries Provincial-level party organizers	Representatives of selected ministries and government employees (teachers, etc.)	Representatives of selected ministries and government employees (Serv Mac de Caminos, etc.)	Low-paid rural government employees
	Town council members	Town council members	Party organizers in provinces	Traditional ayllu authorities
			Town council members	Town council members
Neighborhood/community level	"Alcalde de barrio" in wealthier neighborhoods	"Alcalde de barrio"	Wealthier rural party organizers	Corregidor Local party organizers
	Party organizers	Civil registrar		Corregidor auxiliar
		Party organizers		Sindicato leaders
				Traditional ayllu authorities

Matrix 1B.

SECTOR: JUDICIAL SYSTEM

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Court officials of the Superior Court of Justice			
	Court official of the National Electoral Court			
	Leaders of National Colegio of Lawyers			
	Leaders of National Colegio of Judges			
	National officials of the civil registry			
Departmental level	Court officials of the District Court of Justice			
	Leaders of Dptl. Colegio of Lawyers			
	Leaders of Dptl. Colegio of Judges			
	Dept. officials of the civil registry			
Provincial level	Judges of <u>mínima cuantía</u> or justices of the peace	Rural lawyers	Judges of <u>mínima cuantía</u> or justices of the peace	
	Notable lawyers	Tinterillos	Lawyers	Tinterillos
		Tramitero	Civil registry official	
Neighborhood/ community level	Civil registry official	Tinterillo		
	Judges of <u>mínima cuantía</u>		Civil registry official	Tinterillos
	Lawyers			

Matrix 1C.

PRIVATE SECTOR

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Owners and officers of large import houses: Automobiles, heavy equipment, consumer goods of all kinds		Leaders of various producers' associations (See 1B, Agriculture)	
	Owners of large industries and large and medium-sized mines			
	Owners and directors of principal banks and financial institutions			
	Directors of national trade associations: Chambers or National Associations of Industry; of Textile Industries; of Commerce; of Medium-sized Mines; of Mining;			
	of Banks; of Customs Dispatchers; of Pharmaceuticals; of Private Entrepreneurs; of Cooperatives of Savings and Credit (FENACRE); of Travel Agents; etc.			
Departmental level	Presidents and directors of Dptl Chambers of Industry; Mining; Construction; Hotels	Leaders of association of small industry and small artisans; some small businessmen and women	Directors of various associations of large-scale agricultural producers	Leaders of small-scale agricultural producer associations
	Directors of associations: small businessmen; milk producers; chicken producers; flower producers; customs agents; accountants; chicha producers			
	Directors of Dptl. Federation of Private Entrepreneurs			

	Directors of Chamber of Consultants			
	Directors of Federation of Cooperatives			
	Leaders of small retailer groups			
	Leaders of unions of <u>transportistas</u> (buses and trucks)			
Provincial level	Large-scale retailers	Small-scale retailers	Merchants/bulkers of agricultural products	Managers of agricultural cooperatives
	Local associations of small industry or mining		<u>Prestamistas</u>	Small restaurant owners
	Transporter associations		Transport owners	Small shop owners
			<u>Chichería</u> or restaurant owners	
Neighborhood/ community level	Shop or business owners in wealthier neighborhoods	Shop, business, or workshop owners in markets and poorer neighborhoods	Wealthier land-owners, often with dairy, slaughterhouse	Small shop owners
	<u>Transportistas</u>	<u>Transportistas</u>	<u>Transportistas</u>	Makers of artisan products
	<u>Prestamistas</u>	Money changers	Chicha makers	Small cooperative leaders

Matrix 10.

SECTOR: LABOR UNIONS

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Leaders of National Confederations of professionals; Press, radio & T.V.; printers; petroleum; transport; communications; bank workers; state workers; national health workers	Leaders of the Central Obrera Boliviana		Leaders of the Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (C.S.U.T.C.B.)
	Certain leaders of the Central Obrera Boliviana	Leaders of blue-collar national confederations: Factory workers; construction; urban schoolteachers; artisan trades; metalworkers; municipal workers; National Road Service workers		Leaders of the National Confederation of Colonizers
				Leaders of the National Confederation of Rural Schoolteachers
Departmental level	Leaders of departmental Federations and unions: Press, radio, & TV; bank workers; printers; petroleum workers; transport; communications; government workers; university professors; airline workers; teamsters	Leaders of Dept. Labor Federations: Factory workers, construction, urban schoolteachers, artisan trades, metalworkers, municipal and national Road Service workers; musicians		Leaders of Federation of Rural Schoolteachers
	Leaders of public utility unions: telephones, water, electricity	Leaders of workers in departmental development corporations		Leaders of Federation of Peasant Producers
	Leaders of professional colegios: Lawyers; economists; architects; agronomists; doctors;	Leaders of small merchant unions		Leaders of special peasant federations: cane cutters, colonists
	pharmacists; nurses; accountants; sociologists; secretaries; topographers			

Provincial level		Leaders of <u>Centrales</u> of various trade unions		In some regions, leaders of local peasant federations, including coca producers of Cochabamba
		Leaders of <u>Centrales Obreras Regionales</u>		Leaders of peasant <u>Centrales</u>
Neighborhood/ community level	Leaders of local unions in above areas	Leaders of trade <u>sindicatos</u> in above areas		Leaders of multi-community <u>Subcentrales</u>
				Leaders of community <u>sindicato</u>

Matrix 1E.

SECTOR: AGRICULTURE

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Minister, Subsecretaries and top advisers of MACA	Leaders of the C.S.U.T.C.B.	Leaders of national large-scale producers' associations	National Union of Small Cattlemen (UNAPEGA)
	Heads of departments and direcciones of MACA	Leaders of small-scale producers associations:	ANAPO (Soybean/wheat); Ganaderos (cattlemen)	Leaders of the C.S.U.T.C.B.
	Heads of MACA institutions: IBTA, IDRA, INBA, SENARB, SNDC*	Nat. Assoc. of Coffee Producers; Integrated Assoc. of Camelid Livestock Raisers;		
	Chief of National Irrigation System			
	Directors of the Agrarian Bank of Bolivia (BAB)			
Departmental level	Dptl. head of MACA		Leaders of dptl. producers' associations:	Leaders of dptl. producers' associations:
	Dptl. head of IBTA		Federation of Cattlemen of Beni and Pando	Potato producers; rice producers; fruit producers;
	Directors of the departmental branch of the Agrarian Bank		SC: Cámara Agropecuaria del Oriente (CAO)	small-scale milk producers
			(In different departments:) Producers of cotton (ADEPA); Chicken; Pork; Beef; Milk; Rice.	Leaders of peasant federations
			Directors of experimental stations of MACA or the Universities	
Provincial level	Representatives of the Agrarian Bank	Managers of cooperatives	Leaders of provincial producers' associations:	Leaders of peasant <u>centrales</u>
	Commercial suppliers of agro inputs	Directors of provincial IBTA offices	Wheat, soybean, etc.	Leaders of small cooperatives, associations

Neighborhood/ community level			Wealthy landowners	Leaders of subcentrales
				Leaders of community sindicatos
				Extensionists
				Agricultural promoters

IBTA: Instituto Boliviano de Tecnología Agropecuaria

IDRA: Instituto de Desarrollo Rural del Altiplano

INC: Instituto Nacional de Colonización

INBA: Instituto Nacional de Biología Animal

SENARB: Servicio Nacional de Control de la Fiebre Aftosa, Rabia, y Brucelosis

SNDC: Servicio Nacional de Desarrollo de la Comunidad

Matrix 1F.

SECTOR: EDUCATION

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Minister and 4 Subsecretaries of Education and Culture	Leaders of MINED salaried employees' union	Directors of the national normal school system	Leaders of National Confederation of Rural Schoolteachers
	Heads of Institutes: Culture; Archeology; Literature, History and Anthropology; Music; Artistic Patrimony	Leaders of National Confederation of Education Workers		
	Directors of Museums of Art, Natural History, Archeology, Ethnography, etc.	Leaders of the Bolivian University Confederation		
	Directors of Literacy (SENALEP) and Technical Education			
	Heads of <u>direcciones</u> : urban, rural education; nonformal education; technical education; etc.			
	Influential college professors			
Departmental level	District head of urban education	Leaders of Federation of Urban Schoolteachers	Administrators of departmental rural education	Leaders of Federation of Rural Schoolteachers
	Dptl. head of rural education			
	University authorities: rector, deans, heads of faculties and programs	Leaders of the Local University Federation (FUL) of university students		
	Leaders of Federation of College Professors	Leaders of Federation of Secondary School Students		
	Leaders of associations of private schools			
	Directors of training centers			

	Director of dept. network of Fe y Alegria schools			
	Directors/owners of private schools			
Provincial level	Provincial-level urban school officials	Directors of public schools	Provincial-level rural school officials	Public school teachers in provincial capitals
	Directors of private schools in larger provincial centers	Teachers		Student leaders
		Student leaders		
Neighborhood/ community level		Directors of public schools		Directors of núcleos escolares
		Leaders of local teachers' unions		Leaders of rural teachers' union
		Teachers		Teachers
		Educational promoters working in non-formal education		Educational promoters working in non-formal education
		Student leaders		Student leaders

Matrix 1G.

SECTOR: HEALTH

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/middle income	Low income	High/middle income	Low income
National level				
	Minister/Subsecretaries of MPSSP	Leaders of National Association of Nurses		
	Heads of Ministry departments and direcciones			
	Heads of Institutes (of Blindness, Social Security, Thorax, Ophthalmology, Laboratories, Occupational Health, Gastroenterology)			
	Heads of other ministry offices			
	Directors of the national Health Plans: for Railroad workers, Teamsters, and the national Caja de Seguros Sociales			
	Directors of national health networks of NGO's working in health and maternal health			
Departmental level	Heads of Colegios (professional associations) of doctors, dentists, etc.	Leaders of Departmental association of nurses		
	Leaders of Federation of doctors and odontologists			
	Influential doctors: directors of clinics, hospitals, etc.			
	Directors of University social security plan			

	Heads of departmental <u>Unidad Sanitaria</u> of Ministry			
	Influential medical school faculty			
Provincial level	Heads of provincial hospitals (large towns)	Small-town doctors ET	Heads of provincial hospitals (small towns)	Health workers in Church- or PVO-sponsored health centers
	Directors of provincial offices of <u>Unidad Sanitaria</u>	Health workers in Church- or PVO-sponsored health centers		Nurses
				Regional <u>aysiris</u> or <u>jampiris</u>
Neighborhood/community level	Heads of clinics in wealthy neighborhoods	Nurses		
	heads of <u>Centros de Salud</u> of the <u>WSSP</u>	Health promoters for urban poor	Storeowners providing pharmaceuticals	Medical students in <u>año de provincia</u>
		Heads of Church- or PVO-health centers for urban poor		Health promoters in health projects
		<u>Jampiris</u>		<u>Sanitarios</u>
				<u>Jampiris</u>

Matrix 1H.

SECTOR: CIVIC AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (excluding labor organizations)

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Leaders of national service organizations: Lions' Club, Rotary Club, Cámara Junior, Boy Scouts, Women's Clubs, etc.	Leaders of service organizations: Federación de Juntas Vecinales; Fed. Democrática de Mujeres, Fed. de Juventudes de Barrios Marginales	Rural residents who are leaders of national service organizations and private clubs	Leaders of Federación de Clubes de Madres
	Asamblea de Derechos Humanos			
	Leaders of Sociedad Filarmónica			
	Local directors of friendship societies: Alianza Francesa, CBA, Goethe Institut			
	Directors of Asociación de Artes Plásticos			
	Directors of national sports federations: soccer, basketball, racing, etc.			
	Leaders of national organization of Comités Cívicos			
	Leaders of national Automobile Club			
Departmental level	Leaders of range of private clubs: Country clubs, social clubs, etc.	Leaders of service organizations: Fed. Democrática de Mujeres, Juntas vecinales, Juventudes de Barrios Marginales	Rural leaders of departmental service organizations: Rotary, Lions', etc.	Leaders of Dept. Federación of Clubes de Madres
	Leaders of department capital service organizations: Rotary, Jr. Chamber, Lions, Boy Scouts, etc.	Leaders of residents' centers of migrants from rural areas		
	Leaders of departmental sports federations and of Instituto Departamental de Deportes			

	Leaders of Comité Cívico Departamental			
	Leaders of Centros de Residentes from other departments and provinces			
	Leaders of social clubs of expatriates: Club Yugoslavo, Casa de España, Casa Argentina, Soc. Italiana de Beneficencia, Club Arabe, etc.			
Provincial level	Leaders of provincial Comités Cívicos	Leaders of provincial Comités Cívicos		Leaders of provincial sports leagues
		Leaders of Fraternidades Folklóricas-- festival dance troupes		Leaders of Fraternidades Folklóricas (festival dance troupes)
Neighborhood/ community level	Leaders of neighborhood sports leagues	Leaders of neighborhood sports leagues		Leaders of community sports leagues
	Leaders of Juntas Vecinales of wealthier neighborhoods	Leaders of Juntas Vecinales of poor neighborhoods		Leaders of artistic and folkloric groups
	Leaders of school support committees	Leaders of Fraternidades Folklóricas		Leaders of local health, school support committees

Matrix 11.

SECTOR: NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Directors of international PVO's with projects in Bolivia: CARE, CCF, CRS, Save the Children, etc.			
	Directors of national-level PVO's: Caritas			
	Coordinators of PVO networks: UNITAS (social development), ASONGH (health), ERBOL (education), other PVO networks			
	Directors of Bolivian PVO's with branches in several departments: ACLD, CIPCA, CERES.			
	Heads of La Paz-based Bolivian PVO's with interest in affecting national policies			
Departmental level	Directors of department level PVO coordinating committees	Directors and staff of smaller PVO's in department capitals		
	Directors of PVO's in department capitals			
Provincial level	Heads of provincial town-based PVO projects	Heads of provincial town-based PVO projects	Heads of rural-based regional PVO projects	Leaders and community activists in provincial-level projects
		PVO staff <u>promotores</u> in town-based projects: health workers, community organizers, educators		
		Grass-roots leaders mobilized by PVO town projects		

Neighborhood/ community level	Leaders of urban neigh-borhood PVO projects	Leaders of urban neigh-borhood projects		Heads of rural com-munity PVO projects
		Community leaders in barrio projects		Community leaders in rural projects
		PVO staff <u>promotores</u> in <u>barrio</u> projects: health workers, community organizers, educators		PVO staff <u>promotores</u> in rural projects: extensionists, health workers, community organizers, educators

Matrix 1j.

SECTOR: CHURCH

	URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	RURAL
	High/medium income	Low income	High/medium income	Low income
National level	Cardinal			
	Conference of bishops			
	Papal nuncio			
	Directors of major orders and institutions of priests, nuns, other religious (Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, etc.)			
	Conference of bishops staff			
	CEPROLA (Center for Promotion of the Laity)			
	Opus Dei		Members of Opus Dei	
	Acción Católica			
	National boards of Protestant churches: Iglesias Evangelicas Unidas, Iglesia Metodistas, Iglesia de Dios, etc.			
Departmental level	Bishops	Leaders of diocesan committees	Bishops (of rural dioceses)	Church workers of rural dioceses in health, education, organization
	Directors of diocesan CARITAS	Leaders of Catholic Youth Movement		
	Bishops' staff			
	Directors of church-sponsored school systems (Fe y Alegría, Escuelas de Cristo)			
	Members of dept. synods and councils of Protestant bodies			

Provincial level	Parish priests	Members of parish committees in larger towns	Parish priests	Members of parish committees in rural areas
	Members of parish committees	Regional church workers	Wealthier members of parish committees in rural areas	Church workers in health, education projects
		Leaders of church schools		
Neighborhood/ community level	Parish priests	Members of parish committees in poorer parishes	Parish priests	Members of parish committees in poor rural parishes
	Active members of parish committees in wealthier parishes	Local-level church workers		Local-level church workers in clinics, schools, mothers' clubs, etc.
		Local youth leaders		Local youth leaders

The matrix reviewed

Matrix 1A, Government and politics, highlights the degree to which formal leadership positions are the prerogative of urban, higher income groups. While administrative decentralization and the liberalization of government control has been a goal both of the last government and the present one, Bolivia retains a centralized governmental apparatus. Matrix 1A sketches the structure of leadership and authority in the national administration, which is one of the principal areas for the struggle for leadership in the country.

Again, the matrix only hints at the number of urban leadership positions in the national government. The sixteen ministries, for example, are each subdivided into Subsecretariats, Institutes, Councils, Directions, and other administrative units, in which the posts are stepping stones to higher positions in government. In the past decade, these positions have been awarded to the party supporters of the victors in national elections.

This does not mean that the posts are filled by unqualified persons; incumbents are usually experts in their field. But Bolivian law does not shield government workers within a national civil service, such that qualified people must decide to cast their fate with one of the contending parties in the hopes of appointment if their candidate wins. Naturally enough, this activity is centered in La Paz, and most people with aspirations to ministry positions or, similarly, to staff positions in the Congress find it necessary to spend some time in the seat of government to build networks of contacts there. For this reason it is appropriate to list the leaders and full-time activists of political parties in this context, even those out of power. Their leadership activities are largely focused on the eventual control of state institutions and the ability to assign their supporters to positions within the ministries.

At the departmental level the centralization is reflected in the leadership positions appointed by the central government, especially the prefect and ministry representatives. The department development corporations, while nominally autonomous of the central government, are nevertheless controlled by the parties in power. In all these cases there may be many leadership positions within the institutions not described here; for example, the DDCs may employ several hundred people and provide a wide range of services to the populace.

Since 1987, however, there have also been elected municipal governments in Bolivia, and this is reflected in the new leadership positions in local government throughout the country, both in urban and rural settings. Thus, subprefects and corregidores continue to be appointed down to the canton level;

but local mayors and town and village councils are now chosen at the ballot box. Political party organizers (obviously at the local level usually a part-time occupation) take on an even greater importance in this context.

At the local level in rural areas we have also included the traditional authorities of highland communities (the titles of these posts vary, but kuraka, jilaqata, alcalde, jilango, cacique, and mayor are probably most common). These posts are tacitly recognized in many areas and serve to link indigenous communities with state institutions in the payment of traditional taxes, in assisting the corregidor, in road maintenance, and in other tasks. In many areas of Potosi, Oruro, and Chuquisaca these posts continue to be filled. And the sindicatos are also a form of local government in many other rural areas, both in the highlands and in newer colonization areas of the tropics.

The judicial sector, Matrix 1B, is a much smaller one than the foregoing, reflecting the subordination of the judiciary to the legislative and executive branches. Law is a highly respected profession in Bolivia, and, as in the United States, many national leaders in the political realm were trained as lawyers. The professional association of lawyers is considered a powerful institution. But salaries are low in the court system, and many young people trained in law look to the national governmental administration rather than to the courts for career advancement.

For many poor rural peoples, the professional assistance of lawyers is out of the question; they turn to self-taught (or partially educated) scribes who have some skills in filling out forms or writing legal documents; the pejorative term tinterillos is often applied to this group. Tramiteros practice yet another specialty characteristic of the bureaucratic state: they take charge of the many steps of having documents and petitions wend their way through various state offices. For many rural poor, their only access to the judicial system may be through these roles; or through contact with the civil registry officials or rural justices of the peace.

Matrix 1C, the private sector, presents a wide array of different leadership positions which are associated with non-governmental enterprises organized for profit. At the national level are to be found, in the urban, high- and medium-income sector, the owners and officers of Bolivian private industry, of large import houses, and of the private financial institutions. (Most of these are physically located in La Paz, Santa Cruz, or Cochabamba.) Here also are the leaders of the principal trade organizations which represent private sector interests.

These kinds of organizations are repeated at the departmental level in most departments of the country; and in most departments are another layer of entrepreneurs in small

industry, importing, and banking as well as the trade organizations that entrepreneurs have founded to improve marketing and the sharing of information. In the rural areas, similar leadership opportunities have grown in associations which have been founded in some areas--Santa Cruz, the Beni, Cochabamba--to serve the needs of medium- and large-scale farmers. The department of Santa Cruz may have the most highly developed set of large-scale producers' associations, with organizations supporting the production of wheat, cotton, soy, cane, beef, fruit and vegetables, and chicken, among other products.

Some trade organizations and cooperatives have been founded to serve poor farmers in marketing and in the purchase of inputs in various areas of the country. And in both rural and urban areas, transport owners have grown in importance and power over the past decade, represented through their unions. Many transporters also undertake the marketing of agricultural products of peasant farmers.

At the local level are small-scale merchants; in rural communities and poor urban neighborhoods this may consist of the owners of the ubiquitous tiendas. These independent merchants, operating as small family businesses, are often not organized into organizations. In contrast, most full-time merchants of the urban markets, even those with low incomes, are organized into associations and unions.

Matrix 1D reveals that the labor movement is perhaps the most highly elaborated social sector on an organizational level after the central government. As a legacy of the 1952 Revolution, Bolivia continues to have a work force which is surprisingly well organized at all levels. This complexity of organization is apparent both for medium-income professional groups who are organized into unions and for low-income groups. Indeed, to stress a point made earlier, if we look at the possibilities for leadership within Bolivia for the rural and urban poor, the labor movement remains the principal "school" for the development and expression of leadership skills. The union movement has been able to offer leadership training opportunities in the practical experience of union action, but also in training programs in Eastern Europe and Cuba.

This fact is of special importance for the CLASP II fellowship program, which has the goal both of offering trainees the opportunity to experience the United States and to establish friendships there, and of recruiting disadvantaged trainees. The labor movement, rooted in an ideology of the Left, has tended to see the United States as a negative force in Bolivian life and in the international arena. Many young people who gain their training in this context are not well disposed towards the U.S.; on the other hand, their participation in programs related to

their training or field of expertise could help to soften their antagonistic views.

As Matrix 1D shows, professional and blue-collar workers are organized in a hierarchical structure from the factory floor to the national confederation of their trade. Further, most all of these confederations are joined together in the Central Obrera Boliviana, which acts as a national-level congress of unions and which has been a powerful player in Bolivian political life. Since the late 1970s, the national peasant confederation, the Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB), has also been a constituent of the COB. As suggested, the peasant union movement is quite distinct from the model of the industrial union, since what is called a "union" is in reality simply all the households of the local hamlet or village. Nevertheless, the Confederation's participation in the COB has potentially brought into organized labor's purview a major proportion of the rural population. While the local level may at times be unaware of the positions taken by the national leadership, the nature of solidarity at the community level as well as the pyramidal organization of sindicatos, provincial centrales, and regional or departmental federations, have lent a certain weight to the decisions of the Confederation's spokesmen.

In recent years, due to the economic crisis, the rise in unemployment, and the weakening of organized labor in the state sector under the New Economic Policy, the ability of the union movement to mobilize the populace has declined. Some argue that the rank and file now find the political agenda of the COB leadership less relevant at a time when they are more concerned about economic and income issues. (Still, the COB carries great weight among many working class and middle class Bolivians.) Further, the COB, the CSUTCB, and the peasant federations of the tropical areas have been the principal adversary of the Bolivian government in the alternative development debate over the last several years, and they continue to play an important role in setting the parameters for the issues of coca substitution and eradication.

Agriculture, Matrix 1E, focuses on leadership roles both in government institutions and in the private sector in agriculture. Here, the urban/rural distinction becomes more difficult to specify: agriculture is usually an activity of rural areas; but as with most institutions in Bolivia, the principal organizations and leadership positions are often located in the cities. Most of the leadership roles within the Ministry of Peasant and Agricultural Affairs presented in the table are in La Paz, departmental capitals, or provincial towns, with the exception of the directors of experimental stations. Agricultural extension agents are the main group of government employees in agriculture actually to reside in the countryside. Unfortunately, the extension service of MACA suffered a dramatically reduced budget during the period of runaway inflation and has not yet recovered.

Much of the role formerly played by the government extension service has been taken over by PVO's which are working in agriculture.

As a result of the 1953 Agrarian Reform, high- and medium-income farmers and ranchers are only to be found in certain areas of Bolivia, such as the Cochabamba Valley, the departments of Beni, Santa Cruz, and parts of Chuquisaca and Tarija; elsewhere (and in Cochabamba as well) larger farms and estates were broken up and the land granted to the small producers resident on the estates. The higher income sector has exhibited growth in recent years in trade organizations and in leadership positions, especially in the formation of producers' associations. These organizations have shown some success in protecting their members' interests and in providing them with technical services and credit.

In many highland areas there are essentially no well-off farmers, only small peasant enterprises based on family labor. In these regions--La Paz; Oruro; Potosi; parts of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca and Tarija; and tropical colonization zones throughout the country--the principal new forms of organization in agricultural communities have been the sindicato structure and cooperatives. The former has already been discussed; the latter, usually fomented by PVOs, have had mixed success and are clearly not an across-the-board solution to the situation of small farmers. Both kinds of institutions have provided valuable opportunities for the development of leadership capacities among the rural poor.

Another major area of leadership development for smallholders in rural Bolivia, mentioned here only as "promoters" at the local level among the rural poor, has been through the expansion of the activities of private service organizations in the countryside. These are most often PVO projects, sometimes church-related, sometimes not, which attempt to provide technical services or guidance to peasant farmers. These organizations, which have proliferated in recent years, often incorporate local community members as facilitators and provide these people with some technical training in agriculture as well as in community organization. These young people are a key group in developing new leaders whose activities are not exclusively linked to the successes or failures of the union movement.

Matrix 1F. Education, also highlights government and private educational leadership positions. As in agriculture, the Ministry of Education provides a nexus of formal posts in education, from top positions with national scope to the local school districts. At positions closer to the local level, salaries are very low, both in supervisory positions and in teaching itself. Many people have either left education in recent years or have developed strategies to hold more than one post. As the table indicates, alternative and supplementary

systems, private schools and the church-sponsored systems, have developed alongside public education. Each of these networks has developed its corresponding hierarchy of leadership positions. Finally, teachers in both the urban and rural public schools have active union organizations at the local, departmental, and national levels; the unions have been a springboard for many labor leaders.

The health sector, Matrix 1G, presents the range of health-related leadership positions at different levels of inclusiveness. Again, the Ministry of Social Security and Public Health provides the institutional framework for much of the formal structuring of health services in the country, especially when the various sectoral Cajas or health plans are taken into account. Professional associations and health-related networks of PVOs are two other areas where leadership roles are expressed. The table reveals the degree to which access to health services is an urban phenomenon in Bolivia. Rural peoples, especially the rural poor, have few options in health care. This group relies most on health paraprofessionals and traditional healers, since the costs of urban medical assistance is often beyond their means.

Matrix 1H, Civic and social organizations, provides a view of leadership positions in a range of voluntary associations, both those with civic and charitable ends and those with purely social and recreational goals. It is striking in this table the degree to which such organizations are related to income levels. Many more opportunities of this sort exist for upper-income Bolivians than for the urban poor. The latter have participated most in the growth of the juntas vecinales of the early 1980s, but these neighborhood organizations have lost much of their capacity to mobilize their constituents. For the rural poor, such civic and social organizations, beyond festival-related and sports groups and committees to support the local schoolteachers or sanitarios, are apparently quite limited.

Matrix 1I, Non-governmental organizations, sketches what has become a major institutional sector in recent years in Bolivia. The figure cited above of some 500 such entities suggests the significance of this group of organizations; the amount of money dispensed each year through such agencies is unknown but clearly massive. NGOs in Bolivia function at different levels. At the national level are the Bolivian branches of several major international donor PVOs, a number of large national institutions with branches throughout the country, and several NGO information and coordination networks. At the opposite end of the scale are the local projects of small Bolivian institutions which finance their work through donations or project support from foreign donors and which may operate on a very limited budget. In between are institutions which attempt to address the social problems of most sectors of Bolivian society, especially the disadvantaged. NGOs typically work in health, education,

organization, and technology transfer, and in these areas extend services that the state would itself offer if it had the available resources. They typically do not deal with the construction of basic infrastructure, although there are some exceptions to this generalization. With their size and proliferation, the PVOs have become a major arena for the development and expression of leadership skills.

Finally, some of the institutions and leadership roles of the churches are examined in Matrix 1J. While it is not expected that CLASP II in Bolivia will directly recruit church personnel for its fellowship activities, it is worth indicating the social significance of the church in development activities and in leadership formation. (Another area of leadership formation not touched upon in this report is the military.) Many of the NGOs mentioned in Matrix 1I are church-related, and a significant proportion of the foreign financing for the NGOs comes from churches, either the Catholic Church or from various Protestant bodies. The churches work quite consciously in the formation of leaders, both for their own pastoral needs but also in training for different kinds of development activities related to projects and to the schools. Matrix 1J suggests some of the range of activities supported by these institutions.

In sum, this sectoral review shows that leadership takes on a wide array of forms in Bolivian institutions, related closely to class position and to the particularities of the Bolivian social order. While the urban elites control many of the main leadership positions at the national level in government and in the private sector, there remain a number of key areas for leadership training of disadvantaged peoples, both rural and urban. Much of this training has come in the past through the labor union movement. Our analysis shows that there are other areas of importance in which the rural and urban disadvantaged are playing important local-level social roles with the potential for expanding their leadership capacities: as paraprofessionals in health, as extension agents in agriculture, and in the support of small-scale projects sponsored by PVOs in a wide range of activities.

V. CLASP II Program Focus

A. Proposed objectives and special considerations

In general, the objectives of CLASP II are a continuation of those of the first CLASP program: that of supporting the social and economic development of Latin America through the promotion of democratic institutions and democratic pluralism, as well as the encouragement of a free enterprise economy. Both CLASP programs are also designed to reach levels of the society which generally do not have access to the kinds of training and experience that the peace scholarships offer, through the requirements that 70% of the peace scholars be from disadvantaged groups and 40% be women.

While CLASP I had as a goal the training of persons who would return to their society and share both their newly acquired skills and their broader understanding of American society, CLASP II takes as a starting point the importance of selecting leaders, actual and potential, as program trainees "in order to maximize the impact of U.S.-based participant training by concentrating on individuals with the potential for influencing the direction of their communities and societies."¹⁰ Thus, the purpose of CLASP II has been described in project documents as the effort to equip a broad base of leaders with technical skills, training, and academic education, as well as with an appreciation and understanding of the peculiarly American values supporting a free enterprise economy in a democratic society.

CLASP II attempts to join together elements which may not be easily combined: in the first place, the goal of training leaders who will be effective in transmitting a positive view of American society at the same time that they receive specific and delimited training in their fields of economic activity; and, on the other hand, the need to extend the peace scholarship program largely to disadvantaged groups. As administrators of the CLASP I program in Peru have argued, this poses something of a contradiction: disadvantaged groups may spend most of their time in rural areas, removed from the decision-making process over regions and the nation; and by definition leadership in rural areas, under normal conditions, implies less impact than in the cities, where the most important and powerful societal institutions are concentrated. This concern for the impact of the program is heightened by the fact that funding for CLASP II in Bolivia will only permit the sending of some 220 trainees to the United States, a figure that represents .003% --that is, three thousandths of one percent -- of the population.

Two basic priorities of the CLASP II program are to take advantage of limited resources for the best possible technical training for the peace scholars, and yet also to create a broad base of friends for the United States among leaders throughout

the various strata of Bolivian society. As we have outlined in the previous country discussion, training needs are especially acute in a country like Bolivia, where the level of poverty and the lack of skills and technical specialization are so great. Thus, the proposals for training that accompany this section of the report focus on recruiting leaders from areas of particular development needs in Bolivia. This should maximize the program's impact on important development priorities in Bolivia through the technical expertise gained, and still offer, through focusing on leaders, a valuable spread effect in terms of communicating a broader understanding of American society.

In designing a proposal for the CLASP II Andean Scholarship Program in Bolivia, we felt it was important to shape it in relation to a complementary training program that USAID/Bolivia has within its portfolio, the Training for Development Project. The latter provides advanced and graduate training for students of public and business administration, economics, and management, with a mix of long- and short-term instruction. A six million dollar undertaking (after an upcoming amendment is approved), the Training for Development Project is designed to reach the highest levels of public administration and the private sector. Past participants have already been appointed to important positions in the national administration. Training for Development has no explicit goals concerning the recruitment of disadvantaged groups or of women. The strict requirements in educational accomplishments, as well as the standardized tests which aspirants must successfully complete both in English and in general knowledge, essentially ensure that successful long-term candidates will come from the upper socioeconomic levels of society.

Given these characteristics in the TFD Project, it is appropriate that the Andean Scholarship Program under CLASP II redouble its efforts to ensure that an ample majority of the leaders chosen to participate come from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds, and that they come from institutional bases which assure that their experience and training in the United States will be shared widely on their return.

The following principles should guide the design and selection of trainees in the CLASP II program in Bolivia. Each will be expanded in turn.

* In terms of training themes, these should focus on five areas which extensive interviews with a wide range of representatives of Bolivia society have suggested are primary for the future, and which are especially in need of leadership development:

- (1) agricultural production techniques for small farmers;

(2) small business and cooperative management skills as well as related local and regional marketing techniques;

(3) infant and maternal health;

(4) non-formal education and communications ("popular education," literacy training, the creation and dissemination of pedagogical materials for adults);

(5) natural resource management and environmental concerns.

Within these five general areas of training, the following suggestions should orient CLASP II recruitment and training:

* While government institutions are one obvious means of recruiting candidates, the large number of PVO's in Bolivia working in the fields cited above should be called upon consistently as partners in identifying and recruiting candidates at the local level.

* The contractors recommend an area focus which complements (rather than repeats) those zones where USAID is already most active with large projects. This implies a preference for those departments that have received less attention from project activity, and which more rarely receive fellowship opportunities, i.e., Oruro, Potosí, Chuquisaca, Tarija, Beni, and Pando.

B. Program themes

The topics selected for training themes reflect both the general goals of the FY1991 Action Plan and a range of issues and interests which specialists in development suggest are of central importance to Bolivia. With respect to agricultural production, small farmers, both in the highlands and in the tropics, continue to be the largest single identifiable economic group in Bolivia; and agriculture is still the largest productive sector within the Gross Domestic Product. The drastic reduction in the mining sector in recent years has led planners to look to agriculture as a future source for economic growth in Bolivia, both for the local markets and for export; this training focus endorses the idea that agriculture is a central area for future investment and expansion in support of economic reactivation. This theme also reinforces the priority that USAID has already placed on alternative development in Bolivia both in tropical and highland areas.

The CLASP II preference for the disadvantaged suggests that training should be oriented to specific problems confronting (and to particular opportunities to be found in) small-scale agriculture and livestock production, taking into account the peculiarities of Bolivian peasant and small production systems.

(Specific training suggestions for this and the following themes are to be found in Section VI, "CLASP II Program Proposal").

A second priority for the training of leaders is to be found in the general area of organization, management, and marketing. This focus should emphasize especially the specific skills related to the management of small and medium private enterprises as well as such other kinds of organization as cooperatives, producer associations, and service organizations. The marketing of products (especially agricultural commodities, animal products, and handicrafts) produced by members of organized groups is of extreme importance in Bolivia today, and is naturally related to the first theme of agricultural production. Such training and development in marketing is important to the alternative development initiative in tropical areas of Cochabamba; but the marketing of small farmer products is also a bottleneck in most other attempts to raise smallholder household income through small-scale development initiatives throughout the country.

Similarly, the training of leaders in organizational issues and the management of human and financial resources is of utmost importance as the lower strata of society attempt to move from the indigence of subsistence agriculture or daily wage work to a more entrepreneurial model of production. Here, too, the preference for leadership training should be realized through choosing leaders from organized groups which have already gained some expertise in these areas.

The problems of the health sector in relation to maternal and child health are still very grave in Bolivia, as the discussion earlier in this report showed. The conflicting figures around infant mortality do not hide the fact that only through increasing the number of community and organizational leaders who are trained in the health dangers facing mothers and infants, and who can introduce and spread improved health practices in both rural and urban areas can major strides be made in improving the status of these social groups.

A focus on the environment and on natural resource management allows the CLASP II program to sponsor the training of a group of leaders at an advanced level who will be sensitized to both issues of the sustainability of production systems and to more general issues of conservation, natural resource management, and occupational health. Natural resource professionals in Bolivia will be in a position to join in debate on the most effective forms of social forestry, on the appropriate management of grazing regimes, and the agricultural uses of local and regional ecological zones. This theme is also an avenue for the introduction of new ideas in integrated pest control management (an endeavor already supported by AID in Bolivia), on occupational health for small farmers (which will permit for a

more rational use of agrochemical products), and on environmental pollution and conservation issues in the lowlands.

Leaders from each of the preceding themes have considerable influence in the specific areas in which they work; both the techniques they learn in training and the experience of American life will be diffused through the specific groups with which they work. The final area of focus involves the training of those whose very occupation specialization will place them in a leadership position in Bolivia as the debates around the environment take a more central role in national life.

The CLASP I Program in Bolivia has already adopted a number of these training topics in the various groups that have traveled (or will travel) to the United States between 1987 and 1992, as Table x demonstrates:

Table 6: CLASP I Training Themes in Relation to the CLASP II Program Proposal in Bolivia

Agricultural production techniques for small farmers

1988	20 Agricultural producers: farm management
1989	19 Agricultural producers: beekeeping, hogs, chickens
1990	20 Agricultural producers: Leadership/agricultural production
1991	Agricultural production: 20 Rural leaders

Small business and cooperative management skills; local and regional marketing techniques

1987	20 Hand Knitters: Weaving, knitting, marketing
1988	23 Members of Mother's clubs: Organization and management

Infant and maternal health

1989	19 Medical technicians: Vector-borne diseases
1990	20 Health specialists: Epidemiology

Non-formal education and communications

1988	34 Journalists
1989	14 Video producers: video techniques

Natural resource environmental concerns

1990 20 Forestry technicians: Forestry and environmental issues

C. Target groups: Each of the training proposals that follows in Section VI identifies the particular target group which would be appropriate for that program. Here, several considerations can supplement what is detailed there. In the first place, the target groups are narrowed through the combination of the requirements for CLASP II participation (that 70% of the trainees be disadvantaged, 40% women, and that the participants be leaders) and the sectoral foci of the proposal for Bolivia. The groups identified in the accompanying proposal fill those requirements. Further, many of the groups come from a particular segment of society: young people who have taken on a role which places them in a public context, often as a teacher or as a disseminator of knowledge and values; people who come from what in Bolivia would be called a "humble" background; and people who have, through their choice of profession, already demonstrated a desire to improve their life situation and that of those around them.

We have oriented the proposal towards participants in organizations with some previous work experience; we discourage, for the most part, the idea of recruitment at the individual level. In general, the target group should consist of leaders or potential leaders who already have a commitment to a formal organization of some sort and who will return to that group to work at the end of their training experience. The first forum which will receive the benefits of the peace scholar's training will be the entity where s/he works, and the clients with whom s/he works.

With some exceptions, the proposal places less emphasis on sending the very poorest of the poor, such as Quechua- or Aymara-speaking peasants or the street sellers of the cities. Rather, the proposal favors, as the prime target group, younger people who work in various intermediary institutions among the peasant population or among the poor populace of marginal neighborhoods in the cities. This decision has not been one lightly taken, and there are good arguments for focusing on the very poorest members of Bolivian society as peace scholars. Nevertheless, a number of considerations convinced us to focus on the intermediary groups.

Many observers with long experience in rural highland Bolivia (the contractor included) feel uneasy about the potential impact on the most traditional Andean folk of the drastic changes that they would experience upon arrival in the United States.

Many of the poorest of the rural population, especially peasant women, have had little or no exposure to what many Americans consider the most basic necessities of life, including piped water, restaurants, mass media of communications, or packaged products. Given the short-term nature of the program, most of that time may be lost in making basic adjustments to daily life in the United States, and the training itself would become secondary to these efforts. (If language difficulties intervene (and while conducting training in Spanish in the US is not difficult, finding trainers with a mastery of Quechua or Aymara may be somewhat more complicated), the experience will only become more problematical.)

We are not arguing that these potential obstacles cannot be overcome. Andean groups of rural background have traveled to the United States and excelled in their ability to respond to the environment in which they found themselves (for example, recently a group of peasants from the Altiplano of Potosí went to San Francisco to identify valuable traditional weavings held by the US Customs Service which had been taken from their community, and the trip was judged successful). Nevertheless, given the very small number of people who can be sent to the US under CLASP II, our conclusion is that such groups would not maximize the spread effect of the training investment.

Indeed, it is precisely those community members who have had some experience in La Paz or other cities, who have dealt with government authorities, and who have taken the initiative to improve their community--that is, leaders--who would benefit from this experience. Many of these will be working, at least seasonally or part-time, in the local-level intermediary organizations which are highlighted in the following proposal. Many of the people who would be recruited for training under the proposal--extensionists, health trainers, managers of cooperatives or producer associations, or leaders of the small-scale merchants in urban food markets--are representatives of this group who have previously played a leadership role in their home communities; or they may be their sons and daughters.

The focus on what we call intermediary groups should also strengthen the overall impact of the program in terms of the spread effect. By program definition, we take identification as a leader as a prerequisite for all trainees, and clearly such leadership is also expressed on the local level of the community. Those working in intermediary institutions, however, are likely to have more contact with a greater number of people over time than people drawn directly from the community level. For example, a young extensionist or health worker may already work with fifty families. In the course of moves over a period of years, that number will grow at least to several hundred. If a rural worker such as this advances in the institution and gains in authority, the direct impact may be even greater.

The proposal does weigh highly experience in an institution which works directly with the very poorest strata of Bolivian society. To the degree that most who may do this will also come from relatively disadvantaged sectors ensures that the 70% goal for disadvantaged participants is easily met. There is less emphasis in the 1992-1996 plan than in the CLASP I program on university-trained groups, such as doctors, lawyers, and English teachers. In that sense, this proposal attempts to push the fellowships down several notches in the Bolivian social hierarchy, such that the typical participants may only be high school graduates, may have been born in rural villages or in poor urban neighborhoods, and may have acquired most of their practical knowledge on the job.

Finally, we recommend that special emphasis be placed, in terms of the geographical distribution of the scholarships, on those departments which have received relatively fewer benefits from project implementation by USAID. Up to the recent past, there has been a decided preponderance of peace scholars from the department of La Paz and, to a lesser extent, from Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. The present Training Officer and the person in charge of the APSP have made a concerted effort this past year to recruit from all over Bolivia, and this is a laudable goal. Given the traditional AID focus in the "development axis" of La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz, and the fact that scholarships from other Western donors often never get beyond the city of La Paz, it is important that the CLASP II program reach segments of the Bolivian population that normally do not have access to such opportunities. This wide recruitment should be maintained; and we would further argue that preference should be shown for the departments of Chuquisaca, Potosí, Oruro, Tarija, Beni, and Pando, when choices have to be made between trainees from these and candidates from the "big three" departments.

D. Nature of training and contracting issues: Specific thematic suggestions for training related to the various trainee groups are incorporated in Matrix Two which follows. Several general considerations should be made here, however, in relation to contracting issues in training.

One complaint heard from some returned trainees was that the training program itself did not live up to their expectations. Forestry technicians and video producers both argued that the training program in which they participated did not take well into account the knowledge that they brought with them to the program and proved to be too "basic" or "simple." This is not an observation aimed at the AID Training Program in Bolivia, but rather at the contracting agency in the United States. This is a complaint frequently heard in teaching: one must always judge how much the students or the trainees already know, and decide how to begin from there in a way that is intellectually challenging but not confusing or obscure. Acknowledging the difficulty of the

issue is not enough, however. The final contractors which carry out the training must in every instance be prepared to be flexible; they must be able to modify the program in terms of course content if they find that their projections about the trainees' knowledge are inaccurate or misplaced. (The option to reformulate the content of the training program to better suit the trainees' needs should be part of the contractual arrangements with the training institution.)

This provision for flexibility implies that the contracting institution must know a great deal about Bolivia; for example, about educational and health conditions, about the peculiarities of the wide range of productive regimes that exist in agriculture, about the dynamics of environmental change in the tropics. If such fundamental knowledge is not at the disposal of the training institution, it is obviously less likely that the training experience will be successful. This only reinforces the need for considerable flexibility in the content of the training program once the trainees are in situ in the US.

Within the technical component of training, the most suitable approach is that of very precise, delimited topics which respond to the real work situations of program participants. Part of the complaints that arise about a program being too "basic" is apparently that it may try to cover too many topics in the short time scheduled. This implies a concern with simpler, labor intensive technologies, concrete problems and solutions, and yet with a recognition of the respected position and practical skills that participants bring with them.

One strategy for molding each training program to the knowledge of the trainees is for each group to be accompanied by a senior person who works in the field of the trainee group. This person can then act as a kind of advocate for the group before the American host institution. This is not to argue that the trainees cannot defend themselves. However, younger trainee groups of a técnico medio status may be very reluctant to challenge the US professors concerning the content of the course, and may remain silent while they learn things they have known for years or which they know are not appropriate to their experience in Bolivia. An accompanying senior person (an agronomist, health worker, or educator) could more easily communicate to an American colleague the need to reformulate the training program for the particular group.

It should go without saying that the contracting institution must provide the kinds of specialized equipment that they promise to supply in their proposals. This has not been a generalized problem for the Bolivian trainees; but the lack of equipment and facilities that were expected has marred the training program of a few Bolivian participants. The responsibility here lies, of course, with the American contractors to ensure that subcontracting institutions are fulfilling their obligations.

Aguirre International is available to support the concerns of the American contractor and the AID Mission Training Offices on this point.

Whether the groups go with a senior acompañante or not, all trainees should clearly understand the procedures by which they can have their voice heard if they feel the training program is not as they expected or is otherwise not meeting their needs. An underlying goal of the APSP is to create friends for the United States. If trainees find themselves confronted by activities or situations which are for them confusing, insulting, or which they feel are unfair, these must be cleared up as quickly as possible with grace, good humor, and courtesy.

Two further points about the human dimensions of the training program for Bolivians should be made. In the first place, something of a national tradition exists around the concept of a negociado, that is, the idea that it is typical and expected for institutions and for individuals in posts of authority to divert moneys intended for some social purpose (such as funds intended for trainees) to their own private benefit. At the risk of overgeneralizing, all strata of Bolivian society are liable to believe that funds designated for a public good are being misused (whether they are justified in that belief is beyond our present purposes). The contracting institutions should be very aware of this cultural bias. One strategy is to make very open and regularly updated accounting, to the degree that this is feasible, with the funds designated for per diems and spending money. More complete accounting may not be called for; but if rumors of misused funds reach the contractors ears, they should be prepared to respond quickly and candidly in order to forestall misunderstandings.

Secondly, Bolivian social interaction patterns are characterized by considerable politeness and warmth both among social equals and, if the relationship is to be ongoing, even across class lines. Bolivians are often deeply offended by displays of anger, impatience, or brusqueness, whether these emotions are expressed by North Americans or other Latin Americans. While there are some regional differences in these patterns, the contracting institutions should be prepared to instruct its employees to take this interactional style into account.

We include one final suggestion of a different kind in relation to the contracting agency. A number of interviewees have suggested that a video be made of each group's training experience. Such a video should not add much to the cost of the training program: the subcontractor would include in its budget funds for the rental of a standard Beta video camera (if it does not already own one) and wages, at a minimal rate, to hire a local college student to serve as cameraman. The video would focus on the technical aspects of the training; but it could

include other aspects of the group's trip as well. Upon leaving the US, each trainee would receive a copy of the video. Video technology is increasingly available throughout the country; even rural villagers occasionally have the opportunity to see a video, powered by a portable generator, brought by a local PVO or priest. The video would serve to aid the trainee in the dissemination of the technical aspects of his course, and at the same time would serve as a "legitimator" of the trainee's leadership position and a concrete example of US support of training in Bolivia.

E. Selection and recruitment considerations: Specific considerations for recruitment accompany the attached program proposal and will not be repeated here. In the body of the preceding report--in the definition of socially and economically disadvantaged and in the considerations about the target groups above--we have also addressed a number of issues relating to selection and recruitment. Our recommendation has been to place considerable weight on income criteria, especially that of defining disadvantaged as those with household incomes of less than \$300 per month for a family of five or those of Andean or other indigenous ethnic origins. Women are also generally socially disadvantaged. This may be especially true in such priority fields as agricultural production, management, and marketing. For women in those areas, the income criterion could be made flexible but should not be discarded completely.

The efforts to notify a wide public about the availability of the scholarships has generally been successful to date. It is our recommendation that the Training Division adopt a practice of "mixed" recruiting; specifically, public and private entities should be notified about the possibility of participation in the program. PVO's should consistently be invited to participate, since many of the future leaders of Bolivia, rural and urban, will have work experience in PVO's.¹¹ As we have argued in the section on leadership, the "common knowledge" about the political stance of a particular PVO is often incorrect. This is all the more frequent today, in the changing alliances that characterize politics in Bolivia. The supposed affiliation of a PVO should not perforce be a determinant of the PVO's inclusion in invitations to participate. Indeed, if a regional or local-level PVO is thought not to be particularly friendly to US interests, that may be all the reason actively to pursue its participation.

In sum, then, we do not generally recommend, ~~then~~ an open convocatoria for candidates since it is our opinion that peace scholars should be actively involved in organizations that are working in the areas selected for emphasis. For most of the training programs described we recommend that the initial advertising be through relevant ministries, through networks of PVO's (such as those working in health), and through direct mailings to the PVO's themselves (here, the use of the Ministry of Planning's registry of non-governmental organizations would be

useful). Public advertising--through newspapers and radio--can continue; but it should specify that candidates will be nominated by the institutions where they work. An individual who is interested in participation can then take the initiative to seek nomination by convincing colleagues and superiors where he is employed to support him/her.

If the proposed calendar of training 1992-1996 is accepted, then contacts can be made with government and private agencies with many months of anticipation (one solution to the complaints that trainees were not given sufficient time to prepare themselves for their scholarship experience). Selection could even be completed three to six months before departure, such that the trainees can have adequate advance knowledge about the climate where they will be studying and even begin some short-term study of English.

One of the dangers in the selection process for those outside the capital city is the difficulty of knowing to what degree candidates are presented by institutions due to merit and to leadership capacity, and to what degree they are named due to personal friendships, party affiliations, or other less relevant factors. We recommend the continuing use of questionnaires of the sort used by the Development Planning Office in its Small Projects area, as well as letters of recommendation from colleagues, superiors, and, if possible, clients or community members.

This local-level selection process could be made somewhat easier by establishing in the different department capitals what could be termed "inter-institutional pre-selection committees" (although we hope a more euphonic title can be coined). This would consist of representatives of both public and private organizations in the area which would review and rank the applications before the arrival of AID Training Division personnel for interviews. (That is, AID would send copies of the applications from their areas with some anticipation, including with them the criteria for selection.) The committee should be balanced in terms of a broad spectrum of institutional participants, such that more flagrant examples of political or personal favoritism could be revealed. The Training Division would meet with the Committee at the time of the interview visits to sound out again their thinking in the rankings.

In all instances where this is feasible, the selection interviews should be carried out in the homes of the candidates. A home-visit interview can demonstrate a great deal about the socioeconomic status of the candidate, characteristics which may not be revealed on paper, in letters of recommendation, or even in a hotel interview. This may be impossible in some cases; but if the "inter-institutional pre-selection committee" has acted well, the Training Division interviewer may decide only to interview some of the applicants from the area.

F. Experience America activities: It is clear that Experience America activities are central to the success of the CLASP II program. While the training courses may engage the peace scholars intellectually, it is through the formation of human relationships which ideally underlie the EA component that the emotional attachments to the American people and to the United States will be formed. As is the case with the previous topics, specific Experience America activities tailored to the various trainee groups from Bolivia accompany the attached program proposal. In this section, we will only add some general observations.

Experience America for short-term groups should combine "micro" and "macro" activities. On the one hand, the possibility to meet Americans who are colleagues in their fields and to spend some time in American homes is very important to help the trainees move past the frequent stereotype of North Americans as cold, mechanical, and completely individualistic. Family relations and values are extremely important in Bolivia; the opportunity to experience American family life should be a part of every group's time in the United States. This is especially important for those groups which will be housed on university campuses, in dormitories, where the fact that many American students have little contact with their families during the semester may lead to the impression that Americans, in general, discount the importance of family ties. The suggestions that have been made for other countries: homestays, mentor or host family ties, and American roommates, would all be suitable for Bolivian trainees. If homestays are not feasible for some groups, at least the chance to have dinner in the homes of American families should be arranged.

At this personal level, it is also very important that the trainees have the chance to describe and explain their own reality, their work experience and the nature of their country. Opportunities should be created in which this is possible in informal, non-threatening situations. Trainees should be encouraged to take along photos, if they can, of family, of their work place, and of the rural and poor urban clients with whom they work.

At the "macro" level, trainees should have time set aside to see some of the sights of the United States, in such a way that their tourism serves to reinforce ideas about American democratic values and practices. A visit to Washington is perhaps the most obvious way to do this: the trainees could pay the standard visits to see the Congress in session, the White House, the Museum of American History, and the National Archives, with the appropriate commentary in each place.

These kinds of experiences can also be fostered on a more local level as well: visits to city councils in session, to

volunteer organizations working in inner cities, to local educational institutions. Trainees might learn about the way that the private sector supports social programs; the idea that a large corporation finances job training for disadvantaged Americans might be quite surprising to many. Trainees should also have the opportunity to experience the real ethnic and racial diversity that exists in many areas of the United States today, through visits to Black neighborhoods and institutions, to Chinese and Vietnamese neighborhoods, or to multicultural centers established in many large American cities. Many trainees will have had the chance to experience Black educational institutions, as a result of the requirement that 10% of the peace scholars receive their training at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

One suggestion for an EA activity that was mentioned a number of times in interviews may not seem a priority to many; but if we recall that Bolivia is a landlocked nation, it takes on a greater priority. That is, to the degree possible, Bolivian trainees should have the chance to visit the ocean. A day or two at the seashore would be a memorable experience for many young Bolivians.

Finally, there is the issue of the degree to which trainees should be exposed to the negative aspects of American life. Our own feeling is that it is an error to try to ignore the difficulties that exist in the United States, especially in urban areas.

Indeed, we recommend that one special emphasis be incorporated into each training group's itinerary: that is, the chance to see the negative impact of cocaine, especially crack cocaine, on American life in recent years. In the program proposal, for instance, we suggest that some groups go to DC General Hospital (or its equivalent) to visit the "boarder babies," those infants left in the care of the hospital by addicted mothers. Here they will see part of the tragedy of drug use among the poor, and yet also the pattern of volunteerism which brings people of all social backgrounds to comfort these children. Similarly, trainees might visit an inner-city police district to be instructed about the rise in street violence in recent years associated with crack use. (We need to create a group of people in Bolivia who have seen with their own eyes some of the devastating impact of crack on American urban life, in order to lead them (and those with whom they communicate on their return) to understand why the substitution of coca production in Bolivia has taken on the priority it presently has in US-Bolivian relations.) Yes!

G. Follow On Activities: The goal of Follow On activities is the attempt to reinforce the experience that peace scholars have had in the United States through ongoing contact with fellow trainees and with AID after their return to Bolivia. Follow-On

is essential to the idea of assisting trainees as they move into leadership positions and of creating a base of people who are essentially friendly to the United States. In Bolivia, Follow-On activities for CLASP I were not part of the original program and have only recently begun in the last six to eight months. Nevertheless, a coherent proposal for Follow-On activities for the rest of CLASP I period has been formulated by the person in charge of this component, and we found there many of the recommendations we were prepared to make for CLASP II.

One key to maintaining contact among Follow-On participants is that of physically bringing them together on a regular basis. The best means to do that is through the sponsorship of regular seminars on topics related either to the fields of expertise of the trainees or on topics which are of general interest to all people in positions of leadership. This has already begun in Bolivia, with workshops scheduled on several themes throughout the coming year. A seminar for local mayors was held in late 1989, another on public speaking recently, and a women's conference is planned for later in the year. The public speaking session was especially successful, bringing together groups of very different social backgrounds; participants have eagerly expressed interest in future gatherings of this sort.

For CLASP II, we recommend that every peace scholar have the chance to participate in an annual seminar on a topic of interest. Given the themes proposed for the coming years, one way of organizing this would be to offer quarterly seminars which, throughout the year, touch on the main themes of training: agricultural topics; on management and marketing; on infant and maternal health issues; and on education, communications, and leadership. Upon the return of the M.A. students in environment and natural resource management, a fifth seminar could be added. Outside speakers should be brought in, with a design which introduces participants to new information. That is, the technical side of the seminar should be such that participants feel it is worth their while. Expenses should be paid for the participants. We would recommend also that the site of the seminars and other gatherings be moved around the country; it should only occasionally be held in La Paz.

Other Follow-On activities that will soon be adopted and should be continued for CLASP II are the founding of an alumni association; the publishing of a quarterly newsletter; and the organization of a mechanism by which technical literature is made available to returnees in their field of expertise. The master mailing list, which should be computerized and which will be kept up to date via the newsletter and the alumni association, should be made available to the Technical Offices for the latter purpose.

The importance of the alumni association cannot be overemphasized. In Central America such organizations have

apparently been quite successful in reinforcing the training experience in the US and in creating a base of people who maintain ongoing ties with colleagues and with people from other fields. The alumni association can serve a variety of purposes, not the least of which is creating a network of professionals in a range of fields who can help returnees in job searches and in general orientation. The association can be an extremely important basis for evaluating the ongoing program, and of course for locating a core of people who are familiar with and generally friendly towards the United States.

One Follow-On activity which has been successful elsewhere has been the creation of a technical "book of the month club." If this were not feasible, a related possibility for facilitating ongoing contact between trainees and US institutions is to place returned trainees on the mailing lists for publications on development and related fields that come from the US, usually with no charge. For example, every extensionist returnee could benefit from a subscription to the Inter-American Foundation's Desarrollo de Base, which is free and in Spanish. Publications in Spanish from VITA on appropriate technology projects are also available. Similar publications must exist in health fields, education, or small business management.

One benefit of Follow-On is that of creating a continuity between the training experience in the US of the peace scholar and his/her subsequent professional career. A second is the chance to learn of ways to improve future training experiences. The Training Division presently makes the effort to determine what complaints or criticisms the returnees bring with them in the debriefing of returned volunteers. In the future, that information should be systematically used as a mechanism to link the criticisms of the returnees with programming for future groups. It might be appropriate to question returnees again on complaints and criticisms at some more distant point after their return, in order to see if the criticisms have sharpened or, if after returning to their work, they see other areas in which improvement could be sought which did not occur to them during the debriefing.

While exit interviews are important for getting an initial reaction to the training experience, occasional follow-up questionnaires, which should be simple and easy to process, should also be carried out, perhaps at an interval of two years and four years after participating. This will give an ongoing sense of the impact of the program both in terms of returnees' career paths and in the attitudes they are willing to express.

The importance of Follow On must be reflected in the budget allotted to these activities. For the remainder of CLASP I some \$25,000 has been assigned from project funds to Follow On. It is our judgment that considerably more funding will be necessary to support the kinds of undertakings described here and in the

Follow On proposal developed in the Training Division for CLASP II; immediate needs include a computer to manage the returnee files and continued funding for seminars and the alumni association. A realistic budget for CLASP II should be developed, and the possibility of using local currency funds for these in-country activities should be investigated.

* * *

What follows is a proposal which develops in more detail a training plan for Bolivia. The first table gives a summary of training themes in the 1992-1996, then Matrix Two expands the different training themes with a more specific view of how they should be carried out.

Section VI. Proposed Training Programs for CLASP II - Bolivia

Matrix 2: Leadership Training under CLASP in Bolivia.

PRODUCTIVE SECTOR: AGRICULTURE

(June 1992: 20 Short-term Trainees)

Target Group	Twenty extension agents from state and PVO agencies from the Altiplano and highland valley departments of Bolivia--Potosi, La Paz, Oruro, Chuquisaca, non-central valley Cochabamba
Income Level	Low
Leadership	Such agricultural extensionists serve as change agents in rural areas, in direct contact with peasant producers, who introduce improved technologies, organize meetings, and are frequently consulted for assistance and guidance by rural producers.
Selection criteria	For this first of three groups of extensionists, it is recommended that this group be chosen from candidates working in <u>similar ecological zones</u> , thus ensuring <u>some homogeneity in working conditions and background</u> . They should be nominated by local MACA/IBTA offices as well as by participating regional PVO's which have an emphasis in agriculture. Young candidates with several years of practical field experience should be recruited from the <u>técnico medio</u> category. Through recommendations by superiors, colleagues, and, if feasible, peasant clients, it should be determined that the candidates <u>exhibit leadership qualities in transmitting new technologies</u> and in mobilizing people towards accepting positive social change. This group should easily fulfill, through social background and income, the criteria for "disadvantaged" status. More women are now working in agricultural extension; a goal of recruiting five

at least

women trainees in the total group of twenty should be set.

Place and contracting considerations

The training should be conducted in one of the participating land grant or agricultural institutions which can offer specific and easily transferred technological packages. With the highland specification having been made, we would argue that a training center that shares some of the characteristics with highland Bolivia be chosen; for example, at least a relatively dry climate in an area of irrigation agriculture would be appropriate, such as in the US Southwest or Great Basin. The contracting institution should be well informed about the peculiarities of agriculture in the Andean highlands; technologies considered should be appropriate to low capital, labor intensive forms of agriculture and should be based on principles of low investment. The principal contractor should make an ongoing follow-up to assure that the subcontracting institution has available the equipment needed for the training program, and participants should be contacted regularly during the eight-week period to ensure that the course material is relevant to their needs.

Type of training

Training should be only partly classroom-based; much of the training time should be spent in the field. Topics which could be covered in this program should include integrated pest control, plant diseases and pests (for example, biological methods to control the spider mite, which is devastating southern Bolivian fruit production), and fruit trees. It could address some of the new issues of farmer organization in US extension practices. It could also include practical training in appropriate grain and potato production (small-scale, with traditional varieties), and touch on

water control and management or small livestock.

Experience America activities

Attendance at local county fairs; contact and experience with 4-H and other agriculture organizations for younger people; spending a weekend with a US farm family; visits with the County Extension Service. The chance to hear about American farming in general terms should also be included in their visit. However, all EA experiences should not be strictly agricultural; visits to one or two major American cities--as tourists--should be a part of their stay; and the drug awareness component should be included as well.

Expected results

- 1) Improved technical skills and familiarity with new, appropriate technologies and improved crop varieties.
- 2) Improved capacity to pass on new technical approaches and information to clients.
- 3) Through the EA activities, broader awareness of American agricultural practices and its relevance (or irrelevance) to the Bolivian situation.
- 4) Better organizational and communicational skills with small farmers
- 5) Through the overall impact of the training process, once spread through trainees' extension activities, in increased agricultural production in the areas of the extensionists' work.
- 6) Broadening, through the training experience, of extensionists' view of the possibilities of local-level action, including, perhaps, the design of small projects.

Follow On

AID/Bolivia should maintain contact with participants through regular mailings; and once a year trainees could attend an agricultural seminar in rotating department capitals. Such seminars should be related to the general experiences of the trainees. One means of maintaining

contact with AID and fellow trainees would be for the Training Office to make available the short-term use of video players for extensionists' use.

SECTOR: EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS

(~~June~~ 1992: 20 Short-term trainees)

Target Group

Non-formal educators with demonstrated leadership qualities working in rural and periurban development projects or institutions, working in the production of didactic materials and in literacy promotion.

Income Level

Low

Leadership

Non-formal educators by definition influence the young people and adults who take part in their programs. The very nature of nonformal education--speaking before groups, planning their activities, leading discussions and challenging opinions and attitudes--provides a base in leadership which is especially developed in certain individuals, who should be identified for this training program.

Selection criteria

Most important in the selection process should be demonstrated participation for at least 2 years in a "popular education" or nonformal education program. Experience in the production of educational materials for NFE is also important; one would expect age to be under 35 for most of this group. This group should meet the "disadvantaged" criteria as discussed earlier in the report. We have suggested a preference for women trainees in this experience, with an approximate mix of 6 men, 14 women. The primary groups that work in these areas are often small PVO's with an

explicit political content. The goal of the project combines direct training in these techniques with a better understanding of American values and institutions.

Place and contracting considerations

Training should be carried out in Spanish at an institution (preferably at a university like the U. of Massachusetts-Amherst) with strengths in nonformal education. A focus on the preparation of appropriate didactic materials implies that the institution is well equipped in library and practical resources to demonstrate work done elsewhere and to assist the trainees in their work.

Type of training

A requirement stated in many interviews is that of improved techniques in education for reaching non-literate (and often non-Spanish-speaking) students. Many have mentioned the need to create didactic materials that respond to the experience of the nonformal student. While that experience will be brought to the training program by the participants, they will benefit from an active period of studying new methods of creating stimulating and pedagogically effective materials, and from the chance to learn about new approaches in nonformal education for an underprivileged audience. It is our recommendation that this training emphasize paper-based materials, not requiring the use of electronic media (computers, videos, and the like), which remain out of the range of daily use for the great majority of those involved in popular education for the foreseeable future.

Experience America activities

The EA activities appropriate for this group should be tailored to an exposure to the range of new teaching

techniques that are being developed in elementary and secondary schools in the US and in informal or innovative educational techniques. Trainees could perhaps have the chance to spend time with young public schoolteachers in informal interchange, even home visits with those who might speak Spanish. Visits to literacy programs, to vocational schools, to educational fairs, to a Head-Start program, and to the college classroom might be appropriate. A visit to Washington--to the Congress, the Library of Congress, the White House--would be especially appropriate for this group: ten minutes with the Secretary of Education would be a life-long unforgettable experience. Also, this group could benefit greatly from some contact with the drug control and education program in the US, or some contact with the impact of illegal drugs on American society.

Expected results

- 1) Improved skills in the development of educational materials for the purposes of nonformal education.
- 2) Exposure to new skills in non-formal education techniques, and their dissemination by the trainees on their return to Bolivia.
- 3) Creation of stronger ties with greater cooperation among groups working in popular education via the varied representation in the study group.
- 4) Reinforcement of leadership skills.
- 5) General improvement in performance in nonformal education skills

Follow On

USAID should maintain contact with these education workers through the kinds of methods described in the body of the report, such as mailings, both through the newsletter and of events related to the field, and through annual seminars which bring together specialists in the field of

education. These educators should be encouraged to play an active role in the alumni association as well.

SECTOR: HEALTH

(March 1993: Short-term group of 20 women trainees)

Target Group	<u>Young rural and poor urban health workers at an intermediate level of skills (nurses, health promoters, advanced sanitarios)</u> with special emphasis in child and maternal health and nutrition.
Income Level	Low
Leadership	These workers are the primary contact that poor women have with medical services in their neighborhoods or communities. They are in a position to <u>instruct indigent mothers in improving health, hygienic, and nutritional practices</u> for their children, and in organizing these mothers to work for improved medical services at the local level. These workers are also key players in the national vaccination campaigns.
Selection criteria	Candidates should have received basic training in community health services through a program of the Unidad Sanitaria or through a PVO working in CMH and should have at least 2 years of volunteer work experience. We suggest that ten candidates be chosen through the various Unidades Sanitarias; they would select ten geographic areas where their health promotor program has worked well. However, each candidate should actually be nominated by communities or neighborhoods from which they come (with provision made for alternates). The other ten candidates should work in similar programs, with 10 PVOs which are working in child and

maternal health selecting local programs where their clients can name their candidates.

Place and contracting considerations

This group would benefit from some exposure to Hispanic health programs in the United States, given similar (though less severe) problems among this population group; however, a university or urban setting (besides Miami) should be a priority. The contractor should be prepared to adapt the training to the level of experience of the trainees. The public health focus of certain public and private institutions in large cities (e.g., Johns Hopkins U) would be especially appropriate.

Type of training

The course of study to be followed by these health workers should focus on infant and maternal health: nutrition, vaccination campaigns, prenatal care, dangers and prevention of low birth weight, diarrhea in infants and ORT, importance of water and sanitation, and principles of family planning.

Experience America activities

In spite of being leaders and potential leaders, these young health workers will be of a fairly humble background. Home visits in middle class households would be especially valuable for these women, in order to have some chance of learning about US family life. Another priority would be visits to clinics specializing in female health and in children for different social strata in the US, including those run well by churches or municipalities for the poor. The opportunity to visit American Catholic or Protestant churches and possibly participate in the services should be offered to these young women. The chance to tell their stories--in groups--to a sympathetic

American audience should also be arranged. In terms of a drug awareness focus, this group would profit from a visit to a large public hospital (such as DC General Hospital) to speak with the volunteers who care for the "boarder babies" left by addicted mothers.

Expected results

- 1) The training will provide trainees with new skills to be used in communicating to their communities and neighborhoods methods to improve child and maternal health.
- 2) The contact with other trainees, both from the public and private voluntary sectors, should create the basis for future exchanges among training group members.
- 3) The training will reinforce the current AID focus on maternal and child health.

Follow On

As described in the general section on Follow On activities, health workers should meet in a yearly seminar sponsored by AID; their experience at the local level could be useful for members of the HHR Office at AID as another point of contact and reference for future planning.

SECTOR: AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

(May 1993 Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target group

Extensionists from tropical areas to study alternative crops and marketing of nontraditional crops

Income Level

Low

Leadership

As described above in the case of the first extensionist group, these agricultural extensionists serve as change agents in rural areas, in direct contact with peasant producers. They introduce improved technologies, organize meetings, may organize permanent groups around productive ends, often give cursillos, and are frequently consulted for assistance and guidance by rural producers.

Selection criteria

For this second of three groups of extensionists, it is recommended that this group be selected from candidates working in tropical areas, especially in the tropical areas of Cochabamba, Beni, Pando, La Paz, Santa Cruz, and perhaps southern Tarija. This homogeneity of background will make it easier for the contractors in the United States to design an appropriate training course in tropical areas. They should be nominated by local MACA/IBTA offices as well as by participating regional PVO's working in agriculture, perhaps 10 from each of these two categories. Young candidates with several years of practical field experience should be recruited from the técnico medio category. Through recommendations by superiors, colleagues, and, if feasible, peasant clients it should be determined that the candidates exhibit leadership qualities in transmitting new technologies and in mobilizing people towards accepting

positive social change. The group goal should be fifteen men and five women.

Place and contracting considerations

Here, a university or training center with considerable experience in tropical agriculture is called for, such as the University of Florida. Given the importance of alternative development to AID's program in Bolivia, the training agency should be familiar with developments in this area, in terms of crop recommendations and marketing experiences and plans. The contractors should have the facilities available to provide direct experiential training as well as more formal classroom training.

Type of training

The training to be provided this group should focus on (1) agronomic topics such as alternative tropical crops, tropical soils, silviculture, pests and biological controls, (2) the marketing of tropical crops (ideally, with some attention to the simple transformation or agroprocessing of tropical products for export), and, if time permits, (3) the issue of farmer training, organizing farmers in associations or cooperatives to improve access to services. For some trainees, a discussion of the elements involved in training migrant farmers from the highlands in the new ecological situation they encounter in the lowlands would be useful.

Experience America activities

Many of the EA activities suggested for the Altiplano/highland extensionist group would also be appropriate here: Attendance at local county fairs; contact and experience with 4-H and other agriculture organizations for younger people; spending a weekend with a US farm

family; visits with a County Extension Service. The chance to hear about American farming in general terms should also be included in their visit. However, all EA experiences should not be strictly agricultural; visits to a major American city as tourists should also be included. For this group, who may be in the southern US, a weekend on the ocean or the Gulf of Mexico would be very memorable. A component for drug awareness should be included, stressing the negative impact of cocaine on American society.

Expected results

- 1) Experience in new developments and crop varieties in tropical agricultural research
- 2) Familiarity with US institutions working in their field
- 3) Greater awareness of alternative development projects in their own country
- 4) Through the EA activities, broader awareness of American agricultural practices and its relevance (or irrelevance) to the Bolivian situation.
- 5) Better organizational and communicational skills with small farmers
- 6) Through the overall impact of the training process (once spread through trainees' extension activities), increased agricultural production in the areas of the extensionists' work.
- 7) Broadening, through the training experience, of extensionists' view of the possibilities of local-level action, including, perhaps, the design of small projects.

Follow On

As with the first group of extensionists, AID/Bolivia should maintain contact with participants through regular mailings; and once a year trainees could attend an agricultural seminar in rotating department capitals. Such seminars

should be related to the general experiences of the trainees. One means of maintaining contact with AID and fellow trainees would be for the Training Office to make available the short-term use of video players for extensionists' use.

SECTOR: MANAGEMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND MARKETING of AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

(July 1993 Long-term group of 10 trainees)

Target Group

This training program is aimed at the managers (or at young people who are adjudged to demonstrate potential leadership as future managers) of small private enterprises, cooperatives, public sector enterprises, producers' associations, and other entities involved in the bulking and marketing of agricultural, dairy or livestock products. Senior managers may not be able to take part in a long-term program such as this; it is therefore suggested that this group be considered in terms of the "potential leader" category. This group is not being defined as "economically disadvantaged," and the best applicants may be university graduates. Nevertheless, candidates who appear highly qualified through on-the-job experience should be considered with favor.

Income Level

Medium

Leadership

These trainees, in their role as managers of the institutions mentioned above, have considerable influence with respect to the farmers, merchants, townspeople, and authorities with whom they do business. The trainees will also play a critical intermediary role in the future growth of the Bolivian

agricultural economy, to which government planners are assigning much greater significance in light of the decline of economic sectors. Of the various trainee groups described in these plans, this is the one that most clearly will demonstrate entrepreneurial initiative and which should have already developed some skills in management and commerce.

Selection criteria

This group of peace scholars should be identified through a general call to organizations, public and private, working in the organization of marketing networks or which offer services to large numbers of farmers; in this case, a public announcement through the newspapers would be appropriate. The AID Agriculture and Rural Development and the Private Sector Office might also have useful suggestions for specific institutions to notify. Given the long-term nature of the training, the Training Office may wish to orient this towards youth, generally, people under thirty. This trainee group has not been designated as economically or socially disadvantaged in program planning; however, women should be actively recruited and should ideally form at least 30% of the group.

Place and contracting considerations

The contracting institution should have considerable experience with training in the marketing of agricultural products from the tropics. The contractor should also be aware of the nature of Bolivian production systems, including their low capitalization and technological base and their labor intensive modes of organization, in order to be able to design a program which is appropriate to the limited possibilities of productive innovation that exist in the country. While the trainees should be offered English as a study subject during

their training period, the program should be offered in Spanish to avoid the inevitable inequality of progress in substantive issues due to differences in language ability.

Type of training

This group will require a specially designed training program which reflects the peculiarities of the Bolivian economy today. Many experts agree that marketing is a principal bottleneck in the Bolivian economy. Such a program should respond to the need for vastly improved skills in marketing, including specific training in the current range of possibilities for entering the international market in agricultural goods. Also to be included in this training are such topics as the management of financial resources (accounting, budgeting, planning), worker relations, the organization of small farmers into commercial networks, and new developments in low-capital agroprocessing.

Experience America activities

These candidates will as likely be urban in origin as rural; nevertheless, some experiences which demonstrate how US agriculture and food processing works would be interesting. They might be taken to local livestock auctions, to tours or discussions which address the marketing practices of US food processing corporations and even of supermarket chains. A visit to specialized food processors which purchase Bolivian or tropical products (e.g., MacCormack's in Baltimore) would be valuable. A well-planned tour of a commodities futures market (as in Chicago) would also be appropriate, as would some opportunity to see how the farmers' cooperative movement functions in the US. While lengthy home stays are not universally suggested for long-term trainees, this group should have the

opportunity to spend at least several weekends with different US families. Contacts with local business groups, both of men and women, would also be appropriate. A drug awareness component which focuses on the distortions of the local urban economy introduced by drugs might be the best approach for this group.

Expected results

- 1) Trainees will return to Bolivia with greatly improved management skills for the marketing of agricultural products in the domestic and international markets.
- 2) They will have a much deeper understanding of how the US free enterprise system works.
- 3) Trainees will have increased skills in business or enterprise management.
- 4) By virtue of coming from the public and private sector, and, in the latter case, from such organizations as cooperatives and producer associations as well as private businesses, trainees should gain a greater understanding of the range of economic forms which function in the Bolivian rural economy.

Follow On

While participating in the general Follow On activities described for all programs, this group should also be kept informed of the activities and seminars of the IDEA. As for the other foci, a yearly seminar through the end of the project should be offered on topics of management, marketing, and organizational issues.

SECTOR: ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

(August 1993 Long-term group of 10 trainees for the M.A.)

Target Group	<u>Young people with degrees in the fields of economics, who have already demonstrated, through their professional work or through volunteer activities, an active leadership role in environmental studies.</u>
Income Level	Medium/High
Leadership	The management of natural resources, conservation, and the control of environmental degradation and pollution are topics which will increasingly provoke public debate in Bolivia in the coming years. Examples include the export of tropical hardwoods and the consequent harvesting of the tropical forest, accelerating at an astonishing pace; most observers feel present practices are not sustainable. The transformation of coca into cocaine paste, and fluvial gold mining with the use of mercury, have both led to the pollution of lowland rivers, but little research has been done to determine the extent of that pollution. In the highlands, the debate about overgrazing and deforestation and its impact on localized climate changes continues. These peace scholars who specialize in environmental studies will be in a position to take a leading role in such debates in the future.
Selection criteria	These students should be recruited through announcements in the major newspapers, in contacts with university departments in the sciences and social sciences, in government agencies related to the environment (e.g., the Centro de Desarrollo Forestal or the Subsecretaría within MACA charged

with environmental issues), through the departmental development corporations, and through contacts with PVO's, professional groups (such as the Academy of Sciences), and with the various environmental groups that have recently formed in Bolivia. They should have the licenciatura; however, previous proficiency in English should not be an absolute prerequisite if adequate language training can be guaranteed for the candidates either before they leave or in their first months in the U.S. While women should be actively recruited for this group, low income level as a criterion for participation should not be applied to these trainees.

Place and contracting considerations

This training will necessarily be university-based, and the trainees will be expected to enter into a regular M.A. program. The contractor in the U.S. should be attuned to responding to the normal problems that occur with long-term students in a regular university program.

Type of training

M.A. training in ecology, environmental studies, or natural resource management at a suitable U.S. institution.

Experience America activities

These students should have the opportunity to become familiar with the wide range of institutions working in environmental issues in the US, as an example of volunteerism and of organizing around issues of social concern. A visit to Washington could include visits to the World Wildlife Fund, Conservation International, the National Wildlife Federation, and many of the other organizations working on environmental topics. Interviews with officials at the Environmental

Protection Agency and with staff of the Congressional committees that oversee environmental legislation would also be valuable as a means to see the public sector's role in environmental issues. They should also meet with USAID/ Washington environmental specialists. Opportunities should be afforded to attend professional meetings of ecologists or natural resource managers. The possibility to address in professional terms the environmental impact of cocaine processing should be included in the EA component for these students. As the group with the longest US stay in the CLASP II proposal, this group should have an Experience America component which permits them to have a broad sense of the social impact of their chosen field.

Expected results

- 1) The trainees will return with professional-level skills in environmental studies and natural resource management, familiar with US resources and research, to apply to Bolivian realities.
- 2) The trainees will be equipped to enter the national dialogue relating to the use of the tropical forests, pollution control, conservation, and resource management.
- 3) These peace scholars should be in a position to take a leading role in future activities relating to environmental issues.

Follow On

The returnees could be asked to conduct a seminar for other returnees; perhaps funds could be allotted to organize a national conference on environmental issues in which these trainees could play a central role.

SECTOR: MANAGEMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND MARKETING

(March 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target Group	<p><u>Base community leaders involved in the management of small community projects (communal stores, small irrigation projects, water systems, small cooperative enterprises, and the like). To maintain a certain heterogeneity of experience and background of the group, we propose that the 20 trainees be drawn from highland departments of La Paz, Potosí, Oruro, Chuquisaca, and Cochabamba.</u></p>
Income Level	Low
Leadership	<p>These local leaders have an influence over fellow community members in the first place; we are also suggesting that they be involved in some small project, which increases the range of activities in which they act as community leaders.</p>
Selection criteria	<p>The recruitment of this group should attempt to assure that they are recognized as leaders within the community and that they participate in <u>some small-scale development project.</u> Leadership could take the form of a formal leadership position (jilaqata, corregidor auxiliar), or a recognition of leadership capacity as confirmed by a community meeting which chooses them as candidates. The SDA Project in the Development Planning and Evaluation Office of AID can serve as a useful source for identifying local leaders involved in small-scale projects. Local-level PVO's could also be asked to nominate community leaders.</p>
Place and contracting considerations	<p>This group will encounter many of the same problems and novelties that</p>

characterized such CLASP i groups as the weavers and the agriculturalists. Most of the kinds of problems that arise are minor and can be easily resolved through a sensitivity to the new world of goods, artifacts, etc., that these trainees will be experiencing. The particular place is of less importance than that the contracting agency be sensitive to what might be perceived as a drastic change of climate for the trainees; March in the Midwest or Eastern Seaboard should cause no great problems for highlanders.

Type of training

The goal of training here would be to strengthen leadership and management skills for these community leaders. Topics to be covered should include small enterprise accounting at a basic level, the management of moneys for public purposes, budgeting, and planning, relations with the community, principles for organizing community members and other groups around project activities, and general leadership training. Planning small projects and the writing of proposals could also be covered.

Experience America activities

We would expect that this group will find that the experience in the United States contrasts most with their daily life. Short home stays would be valuable for this group, although the hosts should be prepared to allow a certain latitude of action. Visits to community-level projects in rural and urban settings could be useful if accompanied by someone who can suitably interpret the American project in Bolivian terms. This group will be impressed by the wealth of the United States, and it would be desirable to try to let this group get below the surface differences of wealth to a contact

with families, children, and community-level institutions. With the group, the impact of drugs on American life should probably focus on the problems of family disintegration and crime that drugs have brought.

Expected results

- 1) This group should return to Bolivia with sharpened skills in the leadership of groups and in the management of small projects.
- 2) The trainees should have a broader--and hopefully a positive--view of the United States and the range and complexities of peoples there.
- 3) The self-confidence gained should lead many trainees to attempt new activities at the local level in mobilizing their communities around social goals.

Follow On

Beyond the general considerations of Follow On listed in the body of the report, this group should participate in the annual seminars on marketing and management that will have been established prior to their journey. These trainees will be interested in learning about the SDA project and about other opportunities for bringing small projects to their communities.

SECTOR: MARKETING AND MANAGEMENT

(April 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target Group	<p><u>Leaders of the small merchants' associations and union of the urban markets throughout the country.</u> This group, composed of women who are often native speakers of Quechua and Aymara, are often referred to as "cholitas." They are responsible for the greater portion of the marketing of foodstuffs in urban Bolivia. Many recruited herein will be economically disadvantaged; even those who receive a medium income from commerce will qualify as socially disadvantaged, given their ethnic origins.</p>
Income Level	Low/medium
Leadership	<p>Market women in the larger central markets of Bolivian cities are usually organized into associations or unions, in which they choose their leaders who represent them before municipal authorities and in other contexts. These leaders are responsible for organizing their fellow merchants and for establishing and maintaining market regulations. They act as the voices of the small merchants in the process of negotiations with outside officials, such as in the move for physical improvements in the markets.</p>
Selection criteria	<p>The women marketers chosen as trainees should be recognized leaders of the marketing associations; they should be nominated or confirmed by the associations in each case. These organizations can be identified in each of the department capitals through inquiries in the markets themselves and with municipal officials and PVOs working with this group. This trainee group should, within the commonality of choosing</p>

market women, attempt a certain heterogeneity by selecting candidates from each of the major cities of the country. This group has been identified for planning purposes as "disadvantaged"; each trainee should qualify through income or through social origins as such.

Place and contracting considerations

This trainee group will generally be more accustomed to urban amenities than the group just described. The contracting institution should have had some experience with this kind of dynamic urban leader and be prepared to provide a challenging but flexible program. This training should avoid emphasis on the classroom, and should adopt group techniques which maximize each trainee's participation and the opportunity for all to discuss the topics at hand.

Type of training

Specific topics to be covered in the training should include the marketing of foodstuffs to consumers, hygiene, accounting, the establishment and improvement of product bulking and distribution networks, leadership skills, methods for attracting more clients and expanding business, and possibly the issue of formal and informal credit.

Experience America activities

EA activities for this group should combine a consideration of the possibilities open to small entrepreneurs with a focus on the American family. These women would appreciate seeing how working mothers manage in the United States, and would benefit from exposure to innovative methods which ease the burden on the family when women work. The drug awareness focus should also examine the impact of drug use by young people on the family.

Expected results

- 1) Improved skills in marketing and management, in serving the consuming public in the urban markets
- 2) A spread effect to fellow market women, as these leaders impart their knowledge and ideas to their fellow marketers
- 3) Improved hygienic practices within the markets
- 4) More dynamic marketing organizations as these leaders expand their leadership roles
- 5) Greater understanding of the free enterprise system and of small businesses in the US among a key marketing group

Follow On

Beyond membership in the alumni association, these women marketers would be invited to participate in the marketing and management annual seminars. At some point after their return, they might be asked to lead a seminar for other market women in order to demonstrate some of the innovations they have made.

SECTOR: AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

(July 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target Group	<u>Extensionists from the Beni/Pando plains, and from the dryer livestock-producing areas of the Chaco of Santa Cruz and eastern Chuquisaca and Tarija, to focus on small-scale livestock for small producers in dryer tropics.</u>
Income Level	Low
Leadership	As is true of the other extensionist groups, these agricultural extensionists serve as change agents in rural areas, in direct contact with peasant producers. They introduce improved technologies, organize meetings, may organize permanent groups around productive ends, often give cursillos, and are frequently consulted for assistance and guidance by rural producers.
Selection criteria	Our recommendation has been that these trainees should be nominated by local MACA/IBTA offices as well as by participating regional PVO's working in agriculture, perhaps 10 from each of these two categories. The number of PVOs working in the two northern departments are fewer; but combined with the Chaco area of southern Santa Cruz and eastern Chuquisaca and Tarija, there should be sufficient institutions from which to recruit the 10 PVO workers. Young candidates with several years of practical field experience and with training as <u>técnicos medios</u> should be selected. Through recommendations by superiors, colleagues, and, if feasible, peasant clients, it should be determined that the candidates exhibit leadership qualities in transmitting new technologies and in mobilizing people towards accepting positive social

change. The group goal should be fifteen men and five women.

Place and contracting considerations

A university or training center with considerable experience in small-scale livestock for small producers in dryer tropics would be most appropriate. Given the importance of alternative development to AID's program in Bolivia, the training agency should be familiar with developments in this area, in terms of crop recommendations and marketing experiences and plans. The contractors should have the facilities available to provide direct experiential training as well as more formal classroom training.

Type of training

With the concurrence of the AR&D technical office at AID/Bolivia, the focus should be on livestock in the dry tropics; new breeding techniques, appropriate feeding strategies, pasture land management, and disease control should be covered. The extension agents from the Chaco may be most interested in small ruminants (sheep, goats, etc.), while the Beni and Santa Cruz agents may express greater interest in cattle.

Experience America activities

Many of the EA activities suggested for the earlier extensionist groups would also be appropriate here: Attendance at local county fairs; contact and experience with 4-H and other agriculture organizations for younger people; spending a weekend with a US farm family; visits with a County Extension Service. The chance to hear about American farming in general terms should also be included in their visit. However, all EA experiences should not be strictly agricultural; visits to a major American city--as tourists--should also be included. This group, like

the last extensionist group, may also be in the southern US. A weekend on the ocean or the Gulf of Mexico would be very memorable. A component for drug awareness should be included, stressing the negative impact of cocaine on American society.

Expected results

Essentially the same set of results predicted for previous extensionist groups apply for this one as well:

- 1) Experience in new developments and crop varieties in small- and large-livestock research for the dry tropics
- 2) Familiarity with US institutions working in their field
- 3) Greater awareness of alternative development projects in their own country
- 4) Through the EA activities, broader awareness of American agricultural practices and its relevance (or irrelevance) to the Bolivian situation.
- 5) Better organizational and communicational skills with small farmers
- 6) Through the overall impact of the training process (once spread through trainees' extension activities), increased agricultural production in the areas of the extensionists' work.
- 7) Broadening, through the training experience, of extensionists' view of the possibilities of local-level action, including, perhaps, the design of small projects.

Follow On

As with the earlier groups of extensionists, AID/Bolivia should maintain contact with participants through regular mailings; and once a year trainees could attend an agricultural seminar in rotating department capitals. Such seminars should be related to the general experiences of the trainees. One means of maintaining contact with AID and fellow trainees would be for the Training Office to make available the

short-term use of video players for extensionists' use.

SECTOR: EDUCATION

(January 1995) Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target Group	<u>Educators, public and private, working in administration and in program planning, from throughout the country, who would be interested in studying formal and nonformal educational programs in the United States which stress innovative methods for disadvantaged students, such as minorities, immigrant groups, speakers on other languages.</u>
Income Level	Medium/high
Leadership	<u>This group should be recruited from educational leaders, as persons from different segments of the Bolivian educational world who already fill higher planning positions or who are judged by their colleagues and superiors as likely to do so.</u>
Selection criteria	This group of educators should be recruited from throughout Bolivia, and while Ministry officials should naturally be included, the group should be kept geographically mixed. Local district officials in public education could be included, as well as planners in church-supported and private schools, especially when these belong to broader networks of institutions, such as the Fe y Alegría schools. Ideally, the trainees should work in adult education (as in the state-run SENAEP or in church-sponsored nonformal education), from the rural education system, and from poor urban

areas. In terms of CLASP II-Bolivia programming, this group is not categorized as "disadvantaged" and household income should not necessarily determine eligibility. However, it may be that due to low salaries in the education sector some participants may meet the "disadvantaged" criteria and should be counted as such for statistical purposes.

Place and contracting considerations

The contracting institution should be prepared to provide a substantive survey, in Spanish, on recent developments in US education with respect to educating the disadvantaged.

Type of training

The goal of this training program is to examine the relevance for Bolivia of innovative educational techniques used for various disadvantaged populations in the US: minority subcultures and speakers of languages other than English. The training should focus on training techniques and methods for imparting them to colleagues, on experimental programs for creating incentives among students, on bilingualism, and on education outside the classroom and on the job. The goal should be to provide the trainees with a series of examples that can be converted into concrete proposals for action on their return to Bolivia.

Experience America activities

The EA activities for this group, like those for the earlier group of nonformal educators, should expand on their training program by emphasizing an exposure to the range of new teaching techniques that are being developed in elementary and secondary schools in the US and in informal or innovative educational techniques. Trainees should have the chance to spend time with young public

schoolteachers in informal interchange and in home visits with those who might speak Spanish. Visits to literacy programs, to vocational schools, to educational fairs, to a Head-Start program, and to the college classroom might be appropriate. As with the first group, a visit to Washington, D.C. would be appropriate for this group. Also, these trainees would benefit greatly from some contact with the drug control and education program in the US, or some contact with the impact of illegal drugs on American society.

Expected results

- 1) The training program would provide an injection of new ideas and techniques in education planning for the disadvantaged in Bolivia, for rural children, for low-income adults, for speakers of Quechua and Aymara.
- 2) Trainees would return with a fuller understanding of the educational system of the United States and the challenges that face educating a heterogeneous citizenry.
- 3) The joint experience of the various trainees, each from a different institutional background, will create stronger ties and greater potential cooperation among various agencies and organizations working in nonformal education and training for low-income or disadvantaged groups in Bolivia.
- 4) The experience will reinforce leadership skills among participants.
- 5) As a long-term result, the training should lead to some improvement in policies and techniques used in nonformal education.

Follow On

These trainees can likely be motivated to be active participants in the CLASP II alumni association. They should quickly be incorporated into the association's activities,

and kept in touch with association officers. These education workers should be kept in touch with through the kinds of methods described in the body of the report, such as mailings, both through the newsletter and of events related to the field, and through annual seminars which bring together specialists in the field of education.

SECTOR: HEALTH

(August 1994 Long-term group of 20 trainees for 10-month certificates)

Target Group	<u>Twenty public health specialists from throughout Bolivia, with a preference for trainees from the poorest departments. Training goals will focus on the structuring of child and maternal health services in rural and periurban areas.</u>
Income Level	Medium; this group is not designated in program planning as <u>"disadvantaged."</u>
Leadership	Public health issues related to child and maternal health continue to be of prime importance in Bolivia, and AID and other donor agencies provide considerable resources to lower the high rates of infant and maternal mortality and morbidity. Those working in this aspect of public health will play an important role in future improvements in general health standards in the country. The credentials gained by the trainees in this long-term program should aid them to enter into more influential positions of leadership in the health sector, where they can take on additional responsibility in the various programs in CMH already underway in Bolivia.
Selection criteria	<u>Trainee candidates--physicians, clinic and health plan administrators, and other public health specialists--can be identified through nomination by the Ministry of Health as well as through selection by private voluntary organizations working in health issues. In the latter case, the PVO health network (Asociación de ONG's en Salud) would be a suitable mechanism for</u>

advertising the availability of the scholarship. Again, a mix of 10 private sector and 10 public sector trainees is recommended. In the case of each candidate, it would be advisable to require nomination not only by supervisors but also by co-workers and clients. In program planning for CLASS II, we have suggested a mix of 10 men and 10 women for this group.

Place and contracting considerations

The public health focus of certain public and private educational institutions such as Johns Hopkins in Baltimore or teaching hospitals in other large cities, would be especially appropriate for this group. The contracting institution should offer training which addresses the problems of infant and maternal health among disadvantaged populations at risk in the United States, and mold the applicability of current health practices to the possibilities of the Bolivian situation, in which highly technological responses for health crisis management are not possible.

Type of training

Given the economic realities of health care in Bolivia, in which most rural and urban poor have very limited access to medical services, this training should be oriented heavily towards the creation of low-cost preventive health programs which can be reproduced with few resources once trainees are home. One focus could be the strengthening in Bolivia of maternal and child health information networks among group members and efforts to impart to target groups the appropriate ways to avoid the problems of low birth weight children, of misconceptions about health in early infancy, and to control infectious disease. Suitable for these professionals would be

training in techniques of improved social marketing of what could be called "appropriate hygiene," simple and cost-effective ways to improve control of disease through modest improvements to housing, changed hygienic practices, and vector control.

Experience America activities

The long-term experience that these trainees will have gives them many more opportunities to come to know the Americans and the United States on a more personal basis. Their work in public health in the United States, especially if they are placed in a large metropolitan area, will give them ample exposure to the less positive side of American life. As part of their work, they will no doubt see the impact of cocaine on families and individuals, a theme which we have attempted to incorporate into all these training programs. Even so, the chance to reflect on that impact, perhaps through a week-end seminar at some point during their training, would be useful. But this group will also need considerable reinforcement in the more positive sides of American life. Home visits in middle class households will be especially valuable for them, in order to have some chance of learning about US family life. This group should also have the chance to visit research-oriented institutions, perhaps a top-flight university campus not in an urban setting as well as the National Institutes of Health or the Center for Disease Control. Visits to clinics specializing in female health and in children from different social strata in the US will be part of their training, but it should be made explicitly possible for these trainees to come to know a range of such institutions, from those serving the inner-city poor which are well operated by churches or

municipalities, to those more typical of middle-class suburban communities.

Expected results

- 1) Trainees will be provided with specific training in the latest public health techniques relating to infant and maternal health, which can be applied in Bolivia.
- 2) The expertise they gain will strength the USAID/Bolivia focus on child and maternal health through a larger group of trained personnel in this area in Bolivia.
- 3) The additional training and credentials awarded the trainees will advance their own career goals.
- 4) The provision of long-term training to this level of professional, with the explicit goal of creating a CMH information network, should have a measurable effect on local-level health goals.

Follow On

As described in the general section on Follow On activities, health workers should meet in a yearly seminar sponsored by AID; their experience at the local level could be useful for members of the HHR Office at AID as another point of contact and reference for future planning.

SECTOR: PRIVATE SECTOR

(March 1995 Short-term group of 20 trainees)

Target Group	Managers, both men and women, of small enterprises, <u>of producer associations in agriculture, and of cooperatives.</u>
Income Level	Low/medium; for planning purposes, this group has been considered to be <u>approximately 50% disadvantaged and 50% who do not meet the disadvantaged criteria.</u>
Leadership	These trainees, in their role as <u>managers of small businesses, producer associations, or cooperatives, have considerable influence with respect to the farmers, merchants, townspeople, and authorities with whom they do business.</u> As with the earlier group of trainees in this area, they will also play a critical intermediary role in the future growth of the Bolivian agricultural economy. This group, like their predecessors, should demonstrate entrepreneurial initiative and should have already developed some skills in management and commerce.
Selection criteria	This group of peace scholars should be identified through a general call to private organizations <u>working in the organization of marketing networks or which offer services to large numbers of farmers;</u> in this case, a public announcement through the newspapers would be appropriate. The AID Agriculture and Rural Development and the Private Sector Office might also have useful suggestions for specific institutions to notify. Women should be actively recruited and should ideally form at least 25% of the group.

Place and contracting
considerations

The contracting institution should have considerable experience with training in the marketing of agricultural products from the tropics and should be able to provide a solid training program, adaptable to the needs of the trainees, in Spanish. It should also be aware of the limitations of Bolivian production and marketing systems.

Type of training

This group needs a training program which reflects the peculiarities of the Bolivian economy today. As we have argued previously, many experts agree that marketing is a principal bottleneck in the Bolivian economy. Such a program should respond to the need for vastly improved skills in marketing and in management of small and medium-sized enterprises. Also to be included in this training are such topics as the management of financial resources (accounting, budgeting, planning), worker relations, the organization of small farmers into commercial networks, and new developments in low-capital agroprocessing.

Experience America
activities

As will also have been the case with the July 1993 long-term group, these candidates will as likely be urban in origin as rural. Still, some familiarity with how US agriculture and food processing works would be interesting for them. They might be taken to local livestock auctions, to tours or discussions which address the marketing practices of US food processing corporations and even of supermarket chains. Visits to specialized food processors which purchase Bolivian or tropical products would be useful. Short home stays should also form part of their experience in the United States. Contacts with local business groups, both of men and women, would also be

appropriate. A drug awareness component should also be included.

Expected results

- 1) Trainees will return to Bolivia with improved skills for the marketing of agricultural products.
- 2) They will have a much deeper understanding of how the US free enterprise system works.
- 3) Trainees will have increased skills in business or enterprise management.
- 4) By virtue of coming from the public and private sector, and, in the latter case, from such organizations as cooperatives and producer associations as well as private businesses, trainees should gain a greater understanding of the range of economic forms which function in the Bolivian rural economy.

Follow On

While participating in the general Follow On activities described for all programs, this group should also be kept informed of the activities and seminars of the IDEA. As for the other foci, a yearly seminar through the end of the project should be offered on topics of management, marketing, and organizational issues.

Appendix 1. Persons interviewed.

In La Paz

At AID/La Paz, discussion and interviews were conducted with:

Oscar Antezana, Program Officer, PD&I, USAID
 Sonia Aranibar, Program Specialist, Training Office, USAID
 Marcos Arce, Civil Engineer, USAID/DP
 Jorge Calvo, Program Officer, USAID/ARD
 Deborah Caro, Program Analyst, USAID/DP
 John Cloutier, PD&I, USAID
 Lance Downing, Deputy Chief, USAID/DP
 Francisco Fernández, Economics Office, US Embassy
 Charles Hash, Chief, Chapare Rural Development Project, USAID
 David Jessee, Chief, Private Sector, USAID
 Robert Kramer, Deputy Director, USAID
 Darrel McIntyre, Chief, A&RD, USAID
 Wayne Tate, Chief, USAID/DP, La Paz
 Beatriz O'Brien, Senior Training Officer, USAID/DP, La Paz
 Eduardo Sfeir, APSP Coordinator, Training Office, USAID
 Eduardo Mendiola, TFD Coordinator, Training Office, USAID
 Jaime Viscarra, Program Officer, PD&I, USAID

Elsewhere in La Paz

Xavier Albó, CIPCA, La Paz
 Gonzalo Delgado, Head, Christian Children's Fund, La Paz
 Oswaldo Jauregui, Director, Consejo Nacional de Salarios,
 Ministerio de Trabajo, La Paz
 Rolando Jordán, Secretario General de la Asociación de Minería Mediana.
 Hernando Lizarrabal, Researcher, CEDLA
 Francisco Otero, Executive Director, PRODEM
 Sra. Loyda Rodríguez, Assistant Director, UNITAS

In Potosí

Ing. Guillermo Benavides, Director, Centro de Investigación y Acción
 Campesina (CIAC)

Elizabeth Guisell, anthropologist, CIAC
 F. Francisco Dubert, director, Juventud Estudiantil Católica
 Marcos Castro, Director, Investigación Social y Asesoramiento Legal Potosí.
 Carlos Derpic, Attorney, ISALP
 Miguel Cárdenas, Staff member, ISALP
 F. Jaime Bartoli, Director, Acción Cultural Loyal-Potosí
 Ing. Carlos Alarcón, Agronomist, ACLO-Potosí
 Sr. Juan Fajardo, Educator, ACLO Potosí

Appendix 2. Proposed training calendar for CLASP II, 1992-1995

The following is a suggested calendar for scholarship themes for the CLASP II project in Bolivia.

- June 1992 Short-term group of 20 trainees:
Extensionists from Altiplano region,
to work in specific problems of
integrated pest management,
biological controls in highland
agriculture
(15 m/5 w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- August 1992 Short-term group of 20 trainees:
Informal educators, with focus on the
production of innovative educational
materials in various media
(6 m/14 w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- March 1993 Short-term group of 20 trainees:
Health workers to focus on infant and
maternal health: nutrition, prenatal
care, dangers of low birth weight,
diarrhea and ORT, principles of
family planning
(20 w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- May 1993 Short-term group of 20 trainees:
Extensionists from tropical areas to
study alternative crops and marketing
of nontraditional
(15 m/5 w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- July 1993 Long-term group of 10 trainees for
10-month certificates: Management of
microenterprises, small commercial
firms and cooperatives: marketing,
organization, agroprocessing, with
urban/market town focus. Potential
leader focus with young trainees is
appropriate here, since many
experienced managers would be unable
to leave their posts for long-term
training.
(7 m/3 w; "Advantaged"; 10 LT)
- August 1993 Long-term group of 10 trainees for
the M.A.: Environment, conservation,
and natural resource management;
ecological focus to deal with

- expansion of lumbering, agriculture-related pollution.
(6 m/4 w to 8 m/2 w; "Advantaged"; 10 LT)
- March 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees: Base community group, in leadership training within peasant communities, small enterprise and community project management, from highland departments (15m/5w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- April 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees: Female leaders of the comerciantes minoristas of the principal urban markets throughout the country, for study in process of marketing to consumer, hygiene, product buling and distribution, small-scale accounting, commercial principles. (20w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- July 1994 Short-term group of 20 trainees: Extensionists or agricultural leaders from Beni/Pando plains, Santa Cruz, and Chaco, focusing on small-scale livestock for small producers in dryer tropics (15m/5w; Disadvantaged; 20 ST)
- August 1994 Long-term group of 20 trainees for 10-month certificates: Public health, focusing on structuring of infant and child health information networks and services in rural and periurban areas, establishment or expansion of CMH clinics, relation of CMH issues to wider public health issues (vector-borne diseases, water and sanitation, parasite control, etc.) (10m/10w; "Advantaged"; 20 LT)
- January 1995 Short-term group of 20 trainees: Educators working in non-formal education among disadvantaged, to study innovations in educational methods of minorities, immigrant groups, educational incentives, etc. (10m/10w; "Advantaged"; 20 LT)
- March 1995 Short-term group of 20 trainees: Managers of small enterprises,

cooperatives, and producer associations in agriculture, for management and marketing focus. (15m/5w; Disadvantaged/"Advantaged"; 20 ST)

Percentages

Disadvantaged	(150)	68%
"Advantaged"	(70)	32%

Long-term	(40)	18%
Short-term	(180)	82%

Women	(106)	48%
Men	(114)	52%

Disadvantaged 20

NOTES

1. This and other demographic and economic figures in the following paragraphs are derived from the 1988 Encuesta Nacional de Población y Vivienda, conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, from Economic and Social Indicators of Latin America 1988 of the U.S. Agency for International Development, and from various Boletines informativos of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística of Bolivia.

2. The word "campesino" was adopted by the MNR government after 1952 as a replacement for "indio," which in Bolivia had taken on a highly pejorative meaning.

3. For example, Quechua speakers are much more likely to refer to themselves as quechuistas, "specialists in the Quechua language," than quechuas.

4. The fact that women can apparently retain an indigenous identity of sorts in the city--as is evident among domestic workers who wear the pollera or among the famous cholita market women--is probably related to a parallelism in the subordinate status both of women and of "Indians."

5. The price currently stands at between Bs.60 and Bs.100, or from \$20 to \$32.

6. The figure is from a study by ILDIS and is cited in Iriarte (1989:427).