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Citizen Views of Counter Narcotics in Bolivia: Results of a 2005 Survey

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This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by Mitchell A. Seligson, of Vanderbilt University; Rosario Queirolo, of the University of Pittsburgh; and Sergio Diaz-Briquets, of Casals & Associates, Inc.

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I. Introduction

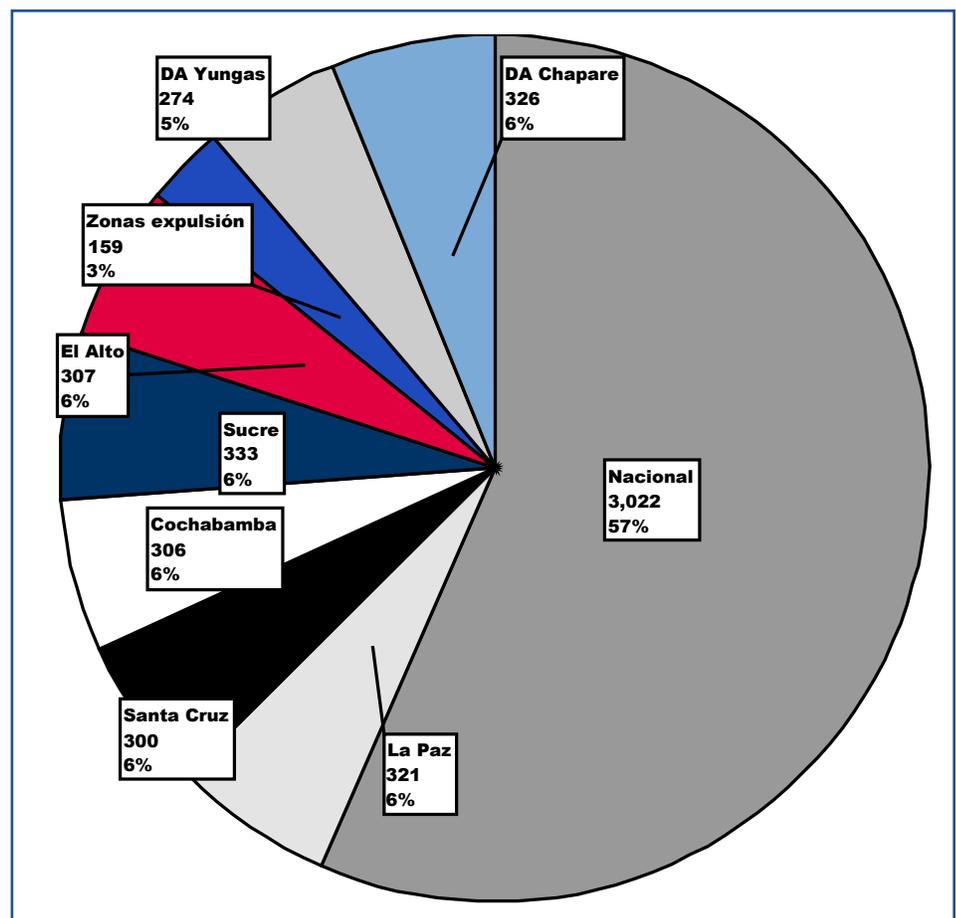
As a major component of its comprehensive strategy to deal with the illicit production and traffic of drugs, the Government of Bolivia (GOB) is developing a far-flung communications strategy designed to inform the people of Bolivia about counter narcotics issues in general, what the national strategy seeks to achieve, and other related issues. The GOB would like this strategy to clarify the purposes, means and communication activities that governmental institutions and the international cooperation involved in the counter-narcotic struggle carry out; identify the set of actions, products, and messages that express the interest and strategic objectives underlying the campaign against narcotics; and maximize exchanges among different communications units of the various ministries within the *Consejo Nacional de Lucha Contra el Trafico Ilicito de Drogas* (CONALTID), while placing a premium on reaching well defined audiences with strategically defined messages. The results of the survey presented are intended to serve as important inputs for the design and eventual implementation of the campaign. The survey was designed to assess Bolivian's knowledge, attitudes and perceptions regarding counter-narcotic initiatives and associated issues.

The survey questionnaire, presented as a separate attachment to this report, was designed by Casals and Associates, Inc. (C&A), in conjunction with Encuestas & Estudios (E&E), its Bolivian partner, in close consultation with CONALTID staff, USAID/ Bolivia and other interested parties. Qualitative input for questionnaire design was gathered through extensive

documentary review, as well as more than 20 in-depth interviews conducted with key stakeholders in La Paz, field interviews with 32 farmers in the Chapare and Yungas coca producing regions, and focus groups convened in La Paz, El Alto, Santa Cruz and Tarija. Several drafts of the survey questionnaire were developed and subsequently modified as feedback was received from CONALTID reviewers and in light of field pre-test results. A complex sampling strategy (described in a separate appendix to this report) was devised to obtain the perspectives of various Bolivian constituencies, including the country's population as a whole, residents of the country's

major cities, farmers of coca producing regions, and inhabitants of migrant-sending departments to coca producing regions. Specifically in total, 4,636 people were interviewed for the study. The sample was weighted to reflect the national population distributions, and the weighted results are shown throughout this report.¹ The largest portion of the data set, with over 3,000 interviews, is the national sample. The oversample of cities² is the next largest group, and consists of respondents from La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Sucre. The last two samples are the ones representing the Alternative Development and Expulsion zones samples. The

Figure I.1 Sample distribution



¹ Since the weights produce fractions of cases, the weighted sample can be different by a few cases up or down, depending on the statistical breakdowns shown.

² The oversample of the cities consists of 915 interviews that were added to the national sample, plus an additional 652 that are drawn from the national sample itself. In this way, the sample of the major cities of Bolivia is large enough to produce a confidence interval of less than $\pm 3\%$.

distribution of the samples is shown in figure I.1. A detailed description of the sample design is provided in Appendix I. Here it is sufficient to note that we consider each of the above four areas to be separate “domains of study,” each with its own characteristics. The samples were drawn based on the most recent census data and census maps. Furthermore, it is important to stress that since the sample sizes vary from one domain to the other, the confidence interval for each sample is different; the larger samples have narrower confidence intervals. These intervals are shown on many of the charts in this report. The

Expulsion zone sample is the smallest, which gives it the widest confidence intervals; in terms of key variables, such as its urban-rural composition, it has the widest standard deviation of any of the domains of study, and therefore we must interpret the results obtained in that sample with caution.

Data collection began at the end of April as 32 teams of field interviewers were deployed across Bolivia, with most urban interviews being completed by mid-May. Timely completion of the interview process was hampered, however, by severe disruptions

produced by road blockades and other disturbances following President Mesa’s decision - which eventually led to his resignation - to return unsigned to the national Congress the draft Hydrocarbon Law. As a result, and only as the remaining interviews were conducted in Tarija, did the last of the interviews was completed. What effect, if any, these disruptions had in response patterns is unknown, but they are unlikely to have appreciably changed popular perceptions.

II. Perceptions of National and Local Problems and the Importance of Drug Trafficking for Bolivia

This chapter examines the perceptions of Bolivians toward the problem of drug trafficking, but does so in the context of the perception of both national and local problems. The questionnaire was carefully designed so that the drug trafficking problem could be placed in its appropriate national context. To do that, it was important not to “contaminate” the respondent’s answers by signaling to him/her that this was going to be a survey on that problem. The introduction to the questionnaire was entirely neutral, stating the survey was going to ask about the “national situation.” Only once the respondent’s initial views were obtained, did the questionnaire shift to its specific focus on the drug trafficking problem. The analysis in this chapter, therefore, follows the same order as the questionnaire, looking first at respondent-defined problems, and then shifting to the drug issue.

Perception of the most important problems faced by Bolivia

The first question in the survey (PN1) asked, “In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country?” This was an open-ended question in that no list of problems was read to the respondents. It is important to stress that even though the list of problems was printed on the questionnaire, that list was not read, but was merely placed there to facilitate coding of responses.

When asked this general question about problems faced by Bolivians, narcotics, drug addiction and drug trafficking is of virtually no salience. For the national sample as a whole, only 1% of respondents mentioned drug trafficking as the most important national problem,

and .6% mentioned drug addition, for a total of only 1.6% among those respondents who mentioned some problem. As four percent of the national sample did not mention any problems, when the results are recalculated excluding these 4%, the results remain the same as a proportion of those who did respond to this question.

The survey allowed respondents to specify a second national problem, and in this case, the proportion who mentioned the drug issue increased, but only slightly. Drug trafficking was mentioned by 1.3% of all respondents in the national sample and 1.2% mentioned drug addition. In short, compared to other national-level issues, drug trafficking was considered a major problem by only a handful of Bolivians.

Let us examine the major national problems mentioned by the respondents. Eighty-six percent of them chose seven answer choices, while all others were scattered among a very long list (including drugs and drug addition). In Table II.1 below, this scattering of problems were grouped into an “other and don’t know” category, so that the list could focus on the seven most

frequently stated reasons.

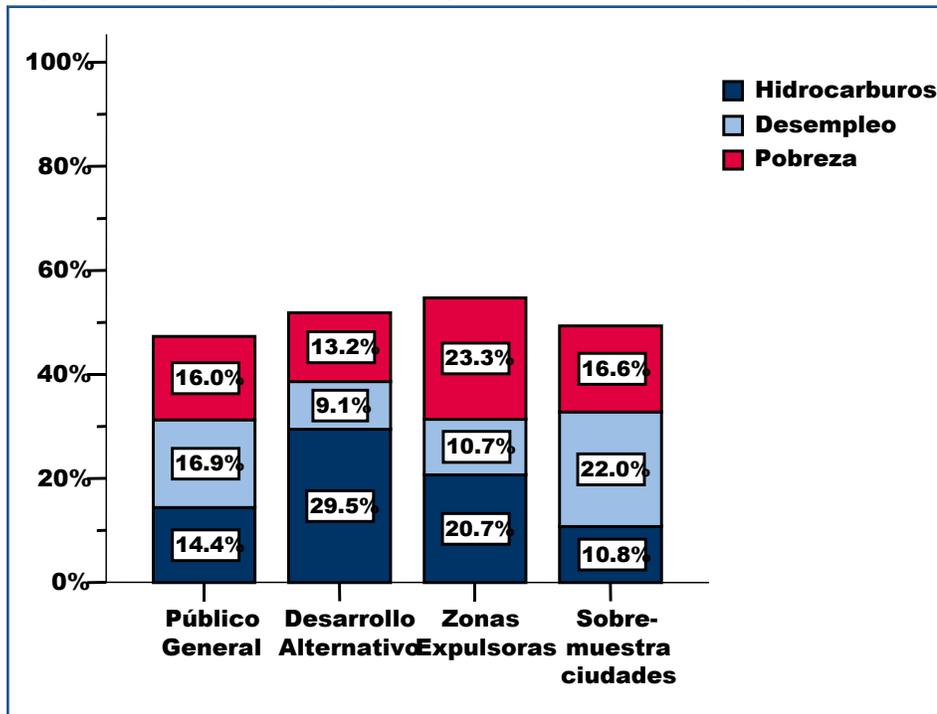
While there are some overall patterns, the table shows considerable variation in responses by the domains of this study. In the national sample, *unemployment, poverty, social conflicts/strikes/road blocks, hydrocarbons*, and *economic crisis* are all about equally mentioned problems. In the Alternate Development domain, however, *hidrocarburos* is twice as frequently mentioned a problem than in the national sample, and it is mentioned almost twice as frequently as the second most important problem (social conflicts/strikes/road blocks), which are of course related to the petroleum problem. In the Expulsion zones, *poverty* and *hidrocarburos* are much more widely chosen than other problems. They are about twice as frequently chosen as the second two most widely chosen problems (unemployment and social conflict).

In the large cities domain, *unemployment* is much more widely chosen than any other problem. A higher percentage of respondents in that domain said that *corruption* is a problem than in any other domain.

Table II.1 In your opinion, what is the worst problem that the country faces?

	Público General	Desarrollo Alternativo	Zonas Expulsoras	Sobremuestra ciudades
Desempleo	16.9%	9.1%	10.7%	22.0%
Pobreza	16.0%	13.2%	23.3%	16.6%
Conflictos Sociales, paros, bloqueos	16.2%	16.8%	9.9%	14.1%
Hidrocarburos	14.4%	29.5%	20.7%	10.8%
Crisis Económica	13.9%	15.9%	11.4%	13.8%
Corrupción	5.5%	1.4%	3.9%	8.6%
Delincuencia	2.2%	.3%	1.6%	2.9%
NS y otros	15.0%	13.7%	18.5%	11.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure II.1 Variation in perception across domains in the percentage of respondents who think that particular problems are the most important



Another way of summarizing the data in the table above is to examine it graphically, but limiting the results to the three most frequently mentioned. That result is shown in Figure II.1.

A more detailed examination of the most important problems in the country can be obtained by subdividing the special urban samples and the Alternative Development sample into their relevant strata. In the case of the urban sample, this means dividing by the five cities covered in that sample (La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Sucre), whereas in

the case of the Alternative Development zones, it includes two strata: Yungas and Chapare. The results are shown in Table II.2.

Within the five city comparisons as shown below, the residents of Santa Cruz are more likely than residents of other cities to view unemployment as the most important problem facing Bolivia. Compared to the national totals, the residents are twice as

Table II.2 In your opinion, what is the worst problem that the country faces?

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Desempleo	16.9%	16.0%	33.1%	17.1%	24.2%	19.9%	10.7%	10.9%	7.7%
Pobreza	16.0%	17.8%	16.6%	18.8%	18.7%	10.6%	23.3%	10.5%	15.5%
Conflictos Sociales, paros, bloqueos	16.2%	12.3%	5.2%	18.9%	20.4%	12.8%	9.9%	18.6%	15.2%
Hidrocarburos	14.4%	11.7%	7.4%	11.9%	5.7%	17.7%	20.7%	30.8%	28.4%
Crisis Económica	13.9%	16.3%	12.3%	11.8%	8.7%	19.9%	11.4%	9.1%	21.7%
Corrupción	5.5%	9.6%	9.8%	9.3%	8.5%	5.6%	3.9%	1.1%	1.7%
Delincuencia	2.2%	2.4%	6.3%	3.3%	.8%	1.9%	1.6%	.4%	.2%
NS y otros	15.0%	14.0%	9.2%	9.0%	13.0%	11.7%	18.5%	18.5%	9.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

likely to mention unemployment as a major problem. On the other hand, residents of Santa Cruz are less likely to be concerned about social conflicts and road blockades than residents of other cities. These differences are rather striking and suggest a very different world view as seen from Santa Cruz de la Sierra vs. the rest of Bolivia or other cities in the country. Residents of Sucre are somewhat more likely to see unemployment as a major national problem, but are less likely to be concerned about hydrocarbons than residents of other cities.

Within the two strata that comprise the Alternative Development zone, residents of Chapare are more likely to be concerned about poverty and economic crisis than residents of Alternative Development zones in Yungas, however,

Table II.3 What is the second worst problem?

	Público General	Desarrollo Alternativo	Zonas Expulsoras	Sobre-muestra ciudades
Desempleo	16.8%	12.5%	24.8%	19.1%
Pobreza	12.3%	12.2%	15.9%	12.9%
Conflictos Sociales, paros, bloqueos	12.8%	12.1%	10.0%	12.4%
Crisis Económica	10.5%	11.9%	12.0%	8.6%
Hidrocarburos	8.4%	11.9%	3.1%	5.9%
Corrupción	6.2%	4.5%	3.7%	10.1%
Delincuencia	4.9%	1.6%	4.4%	7.1%
Salud-Educación	3.7%	4.2%	5.0%	3.3%
Inflación, precios altos, costo de vida	3.2%	2.6%	6.7%	3.6%
NS u otros	21.3%	26.7%	14.3%	16.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

the differences among the other major choices are rather small, and suggesting that the fixation on the petroleum crisis is what is common to both areas.

Turning now to the second most important national problem (PN2), we find that eighty percent of the respondent chose one of nine answers choices, so all the remaining ones were folded again into an “other and don’t know” category, and Table II.3 above focuses on those.

Respondents in Expulsion zones are much more likely to say that

unemployment is the second most important problem than to give other answers. Respondents in large cities are more likely to say that unemployment is the second-most important problem than to give other answers, and they are more likely to say that corruption and crime are the second-most important problems than respondents in other domains. Respondents in the Expulsion zones are more likely to say that inflation/high prices/cost of living is second most important problem than respondents in other domains.

Looking at the more detailed breakdown for the second-mentioned problem, Table II.4 contains the results. Within the special sample of cities, El Alto stands out as having the largest percentage of respondents who consider unemployment to be the most serious problem, larger than other cities and larger than the country as a whole, with the one exception of the Expulsion zone, which has a higher level still. For the other problems, no important

differences emerge in this analysis.

In order to provide an overall summary of all of the problems mentioned as both the first and second choices, a special summary table has been prepared, and appears as Table II.5.

What is the most serious problem that faces this neighborhood?

The questionnaire also contained a question asking respondents to mention the most important problem in their neighborhoods. When asked what is the most serious problem facing their neighborhood, 74.8% of the national sample named twelve problems with the remainder of responses scattered among additional concerns. The results are shown in Table II.6.

The following observations emerge from examining table II.6:

- (1) Residents in Alternative Development zones and areas of population

Table II.5 Summary of first and second-mentioned national problems

	Dominio			
	1 Público General	2 Desarrollo Alternativo	3 Zonas Expulsoras	4 Sobre-muestra ciudades
0 No hay Problemas	4%	1.7%	0%	4%
1 Desempleo	33.7%	21.6%	35.5%	41.1%
2 Inflación, precios altos, costo de vida	5.1%	3.3%	7.6%	5.5%
3 Pobreza	28.3%	25.4%	39.2%	29.4%
4 Delincuencia	7.1%	1.9%	6.0%	10.0%
5 Peligro de Golpe de Estado	.8%	.1%	.0%	1.0%
6 Falta de tierras para cultivar	1.2%	1.0%	2.2%	.6%
7 Falta de crédito	.7%	.3%	.0%	.4%
8 Corrupción	11.7%	6.0%	7.6%	18.7%
9 Problemas ecológicos	.7%	.9%	1.1%	.8%
10 Drogadicción	1.7%	.5%	3.8%	2.8%
11 Violencia Doméstica	.6%	.4%	1.8%	.8%
12 Narcotráfico	2.3%	1.0%	5.6%	2.3%
13 Conflictos Sociales, paros, bloqueos	28.9%	28.8%	19.8%	26.5%
14 Conflictos Regionales	2.1%	2.7%	.0%	1.3%
15 Injusticia	.5%	.6%	1.8%	.8%
16 Hidrocarburos	22.8%	41.3%	23.9%	16.7%
17 Disintegración del País	1.9%	1.1%	3.1%	2.1%
18 Crisis Económica	24.4%	27.8%	23.4%	22.4%
19 Erradicación	.6%	7.0%	.7%	.2%
20 Salud - Educación	5.2%	4.9%	6.2%	3.8%
21 Mar	.1%	.5%	.0%	.4%
22 Mala administración	2.7%	4.6%	.0%	2.6%
23 Conciencia Política	1.7%	1.3%	5.7%	1.8%
24 Burocracia	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%
25 Fiestas patronales	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
26 Extranjeros nacionalizados	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%
27 Crimenes	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
28 Racismo y DDHH	.5%	.1%	.0%	.5%
29 Desorganización	.1%	.3%	.0%	.4%
30 Falta de comunicación - Caminos	.4%	.5%	1.8%	.7%
31 Egoísmo	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
32 Falta de Industrias	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
33 Gobierno Neoliberal	.3%	.3%	.1%	.2%
34 Cultura	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
35 Conflictos	.2%	.1%	.0%	.3%
36 Contrabando	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
37 Nacionalización del Gas	.5%	.1%	.0%	.2%
38 Terrorismo	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
39 Servicios Básicos	.2%	.2%	.0%	.1%
40 Otras Religiones	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
41 Recursos Naturales	.0%	.2%	1.6%	.1%
42 Postergación de Leyes	.1%	.4%	.0%	.2%
43 Falta de Maquinarias	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
44 Turismo	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%
45 Homosexualidad	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
46 Falta de Documentos	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
47 Dirigentes	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
48 Desarrollo	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%
49 Prostitución	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
50 Migración	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%
88 NS/NR	8.1%	9.5%	1.5%	3.0%
Total	196%	197%	200%	200%

Note: Columns total more than 100% because two problems are being totaled for each category.

Table II.4 What is the second worst problem?

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras
Desempleo	16.8%	20.5%	18.8%	18.7%	14.7%	23.1%	24.8%
Pobreza	12.3%	13.9%	12.4%	10.8%	15.8%	11.2%	15.9%
Conflictos Sociales, paros, bloqueos	12.8%	12.1%	4.6%	15.4%	17.8%	11.6%	10.0%
Crisis Económica	10.5%	9.9%	6.6%	9.7%	9.1%	7.5%	12.0%
Hidrocarburos	8.4%	5.4%	4.7%	6.7%	7.7%	5.1%	3.1%
Corrupción	6.2%	7.3%	17.6%	8.8%	9.3%	8.0%	3.7%
Delincuencia	4.9%	5.1%	16.2%	7.9%	2.3%	4.6%	4.4%
Salud-Educación	3.7%	3.1%	5.3%	3.1%	3.6%	1.6%	5.0%
Inflación, precios altos, costo de vida	3.2%	1.5%	2.9%	2.9%	2.0%	8.8%	6.7%
NS u otros	21.3%	21.3%	11.0%	15.9%	17.5%	18.4%	14.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table II.6 What is the worst problem that your community faces?

	Público General	Desarrollo Alternativo	Zonas Expulsoras	Sobre-muestra ciudades
Violencia, Delincuencia	15.6%	1.3%	2.1%	33.4%
Agua Potable/Alcantarillado	15.6%	12.4%	18.7%	7.5%
Desempleo	12.7%	9.2%	15.5%	11.0%
Calles	7.5%	4.9%	13.5%	8.0%
Basura/Limpieza	5.0%	2.9%	2.2%	8.8%
Iluminación o Energía Eléctrica	7.4%	4.6%	.7%	3.5%
Salud y Educación	5.3%	8.9%	6.4%	1.7%
Conflictos Sociales	2.1%	6.5%	3.9%	2.6%
Transporte	2.7%	2.7%	2.9%	2.4%
Costo elevado de Vida	2.6%	4.5%	8.7%	.8%
Drogadicción	1.9%	1.1%	2.6%	2.7%
NS y otros	21.6%	41.0%	22.9%	17.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

expulsion are much less likely to be concerned about violence and crime than the general public and major cities. The difference between residents of major cities and the other three samples are dramatic: 33% of city residents view violence and crime as the most serious problem in their neighborhood, compared to 15% of the general public, and only 1% and 2% of residents in Alternative Development zones and areas of population expulsion, respectively.

- (2) Residents of cities are much less likely to be concerned about potable water issues than the general population and residents in Alternative Development zones and areas of population expulsion. This, no doubt, reflects the better urban infrastructure of the cities.
- (3) Two problems are especially salient in the Alternative Development zones that are mentioned by fewer people in the other samples: Eradication (8.7% in Alternative Development zones compared to .4% in general population) and ecological problems (4.8% in

Alternative Development zones compared to 1.8% in general population).

- (4) Bolivians' concerns regarding nation-wide problems are different than their concerns regarding problems in their neighborhoods.
 - a. Whereas unemployment is the number one concern for Bolivians when they are asked to think about nation-wide problems, it comes in third place when they are asked to think about neighborhood problems.
 - b. Whereas violence and crime is the number one concern for Bolivians when they are asked to think about neighborhood problems, it comes in only seventh place when they are asked to think about nation-wide problems. This suggests that Bolivians conceive of crime as a local problem, and that local, rather than national, officials need to address. Only 2.2% of the general population says that crime and violence is the most important national

problem, compared to 15.6% who say that it is the most important local problem.

- c. Concern about potable water is not among the top seven issues raised with regard to national problems, and yet it is the second most frequently mentioned problem with regard to local problems. This raises the possibility that water-related protests in Bolivia have been conceived as challenges to local authorities, rather than to national authorities.

Although poverty is the second most frequently mentioned national-level problem it is not mentioned by any respondents as a local problem.

What is the second most serious problem that faces this neighborhood?

When asked what is the second most serious problem that faces their neighborhood, 63.6% of the national sample named twelve problems. Those issues are summarized in Table II.7.

Table II.7 What is the second worst problem that your community faces?

	Público General	Desarrollo Alternativo	Zonas Expulsoras	Sobremuestra ciudades
Violencia, Delincuencia	8.8%	2.0%	6.6%	15.1%
Agua Potable/Alcantarillado	9.7%	9.3%	10.0%	5.1%
Basura/Limpieza	6.7%	3.8%	1.9%	10.9%
Calles	7.6%	6.9%	8.5%	7.3%
Desempleo	7.4%	4.8%	13.1%	7.8%
Iluminación o Energía Eléctrica	8.5%	2.4%	15.0%	5.5%
Salud y Educación	7.3%	11.2%	4.9%	2.9%
Transporte	2.6%	1.9%	2.4%	2.6%
Drogadicción	2.4%	.4%	1.1%	3.8%
Conflictos Sociales	2.0%	4.2%	8.7%	2.8%
Costo elevado de Vida	1.9%	4.0%	27.7%	1.1%
NS y otros	8.8%	49.0%	6.6%	34.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The seriousness of the drug trafficking problem

We begin our analysis of the drug trafficking problem with one of the very general questions in that area (AD12b). We asked, “Would you say that the drug trafficking problem is very serious, more or less serious or not at all serious.” The results for the combined samples are presented in Figure II.2. As can be seen, Bolivians believe that the problem is a serious one, even though few of them mentioned it as a national problem. This finding needs to be placed in the national context in which the interviews were done, in which serious issues of national policy, economic difficulties and political protests were all on the “front page.”

In order to examine which characteristics of the respondents in the survey produced greater or lesser concern with the drug trafficking problem, an OLS regression was run, with the responses shown in Figure II.2 as the dependent variable. Included as predictors are “dummy” variables for the three specialized samples, leaving the national sample as the baseline against which to compare the other domains.

In this way, it is easy to detect if the specialized samples differ from the national, when other key variables are held constant.

The results of the OLS regression are shown in Table A.II.1 in Appendix II. There are seven key findings from this table. The reader should look at the last column on the right, which provides the level of statistical significance. When the number there is .05 or lower, we consider the variable in that row of the table to have a significant impact on concern with the drug trafficking problem. The sign of the coefficient in the first numerical column tells us if that impact is positive or negative.

The key findings are:

- (1) Voters for MAS, compared to voters for other parties, are *less* likely to believe that drug trafficking is a serious problem.
- (2) Respondents who have participated in many protests are *less* likely to believe that drug trafficking is a serious problem than respondents who have participated in fewer protests.
- (3) Women are *more* likely than men to

believe that drug trafficking is a serious problem.

- (4) Older people are *more* likely than younger people to believe that drug trafficking is a serious problem.
- (5) Residents of Alternative Development zones and Expulsion zones are *less* likely to believe drug trafficking is a serious problem than the population of Bolivia as a whole.
- (6) Ethnicity does not have a significant impact in defining the seriousness of the drug trafficking problem.
- (7) Education also has no significant impact.

A clearer view (for those who prefer not to look at coefficients) of the impact of the domain of study on the perception of the seriousness of the drug trafficking problem is shown in Figure II.3. Residents of the Alternate Development zones are less likely to believe that drug trafficking is a problem than the general public and the cities. The confidence interval on the general public overlaps Expulsion zones, but the regression results show the difference between the two is statistically significant, when

Figure II.2 Extent to which entire population believes that drug trafficking is a serious problem

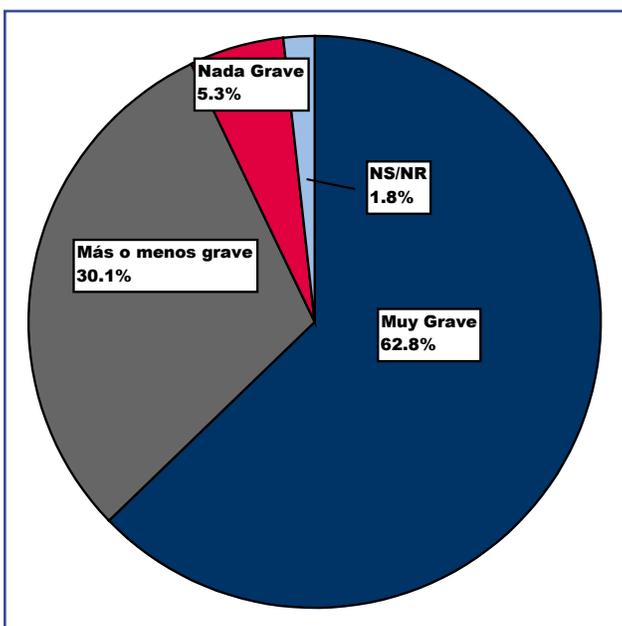
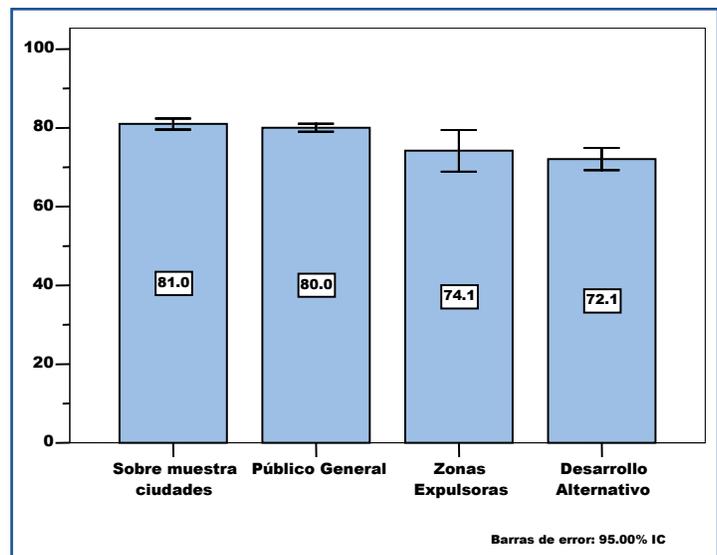


Figure II.3 Variation in opinions across domains of study on extent to which drug trafficking is considered a serious problem (scale of 0 to 100, in which 0 is “nada grave” and 100 is “muy grave”)



other variables are controlled for.

A more detailed analysis, looking at each of the cities and breaking down the Alternative Development zones into Yungas and Chapare is found in Figure II.4. The results add little to the above graph; La Paz and Santa Cruz are higher than the other cities, but the difference is not significant. Chapare is the lowest, but even there, the difference with Yungas is not significant.

For whom is drug trafficking a problem?

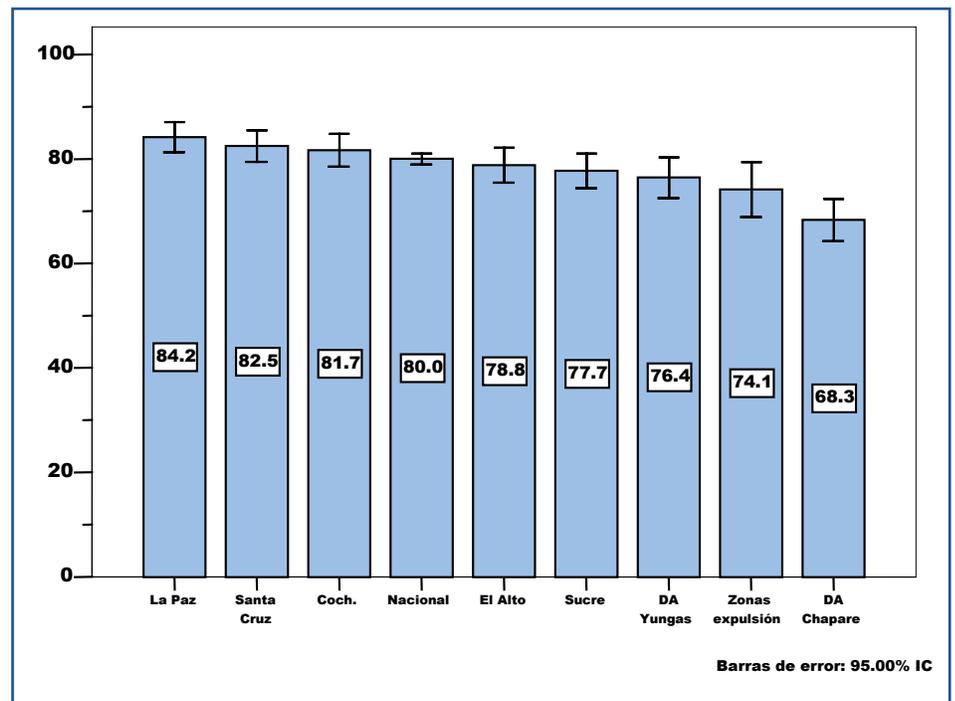
The survey asked a question (AD1) that attempted to learn how Bolivians see the drug trafficking problems in its international context. Four options were presented:

Ahora cambiamos de tema. Hoy se habla del problema del tráfico de drogas o narcotráfico...

AD1. Le voy a leer tres frases, dígame por favor con cuál de ellas está más de acuerdo:

[1] El narcotráfico o tráfico de drogas es

Figure II.4 Variation in opinions across domains of study on extent to which drug trafficking is considered a serious problem (scale of 0 to 100, in which 0 is “nada grave” and 100 is “muy grave”)



un problema para Bolivia

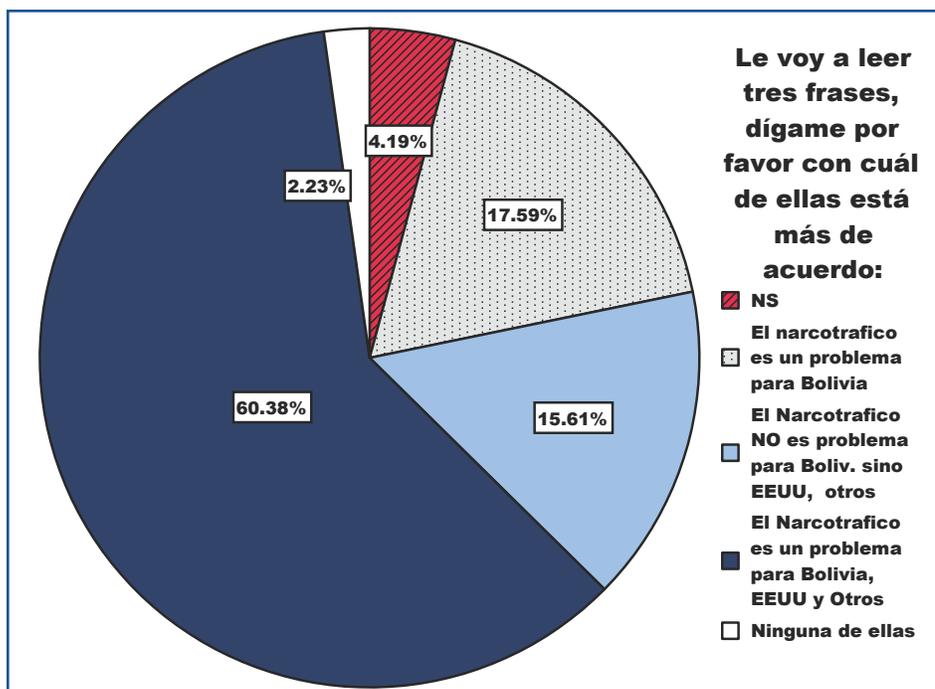
[2] El narcotráfico NO es un problema para Bolivia sino de Estados Unidos y otros países

[3] El narcotráfico es un problema tanto para Bolivia como para los Estados Unidos y otros países

[4] Ninguna de ellas

NS/NR [8]

Figure II.5 Responses in entire population to whether drug trafficking is a problem just for Bolivia, just for the United States and other countries, or both



The results for the sample as a whole are presented in Figure II.5. The most common response was the third, namely, that the problem was both Bolivian and international. About 15% of the respondents see it as not being Bolivia’s problem, but that of other countries, while a nearly equal proportion see it as being entirely a Bolivian problem.

Since the response “drug trafficking is a problem only for the USA and other countries” is the most troubling response in terms of the Alternative Development program, it is important to analyze this response in some detail. To do so requires binary logistic regression, in which respondents who chose that answer were compared to all others, including those who said “don’t

know.”

The results³ shown in Table A.II.2. in Appendix II reveal that respondents with the following characteristics are likely to say that drug trafficking is only a problem for USA and others:

- (1) Voters for MAS, as opposed to voters for other parties.
- (2) Frequent participators in protests
- (3) Whites are *less* likely to give this answer than mestizos, but there is no difference between mestizos and indigenous people.
- (3) Men, as opposed to women.

In sum, respondents who view the drug trafficking problem as an external one are most likely to be those who hold the

most radical political views in Bolivia. This finding should be of interest to those who are working on strengthening Bolivian democracy because it demonstrates that only a small minority holds this view, but that minority is more likely to be engaged in protest activity and support for

Figure II. 6 Percentage among White, Indigenous, and Mestizo who said drug trafficking is a problem just for the USA and others

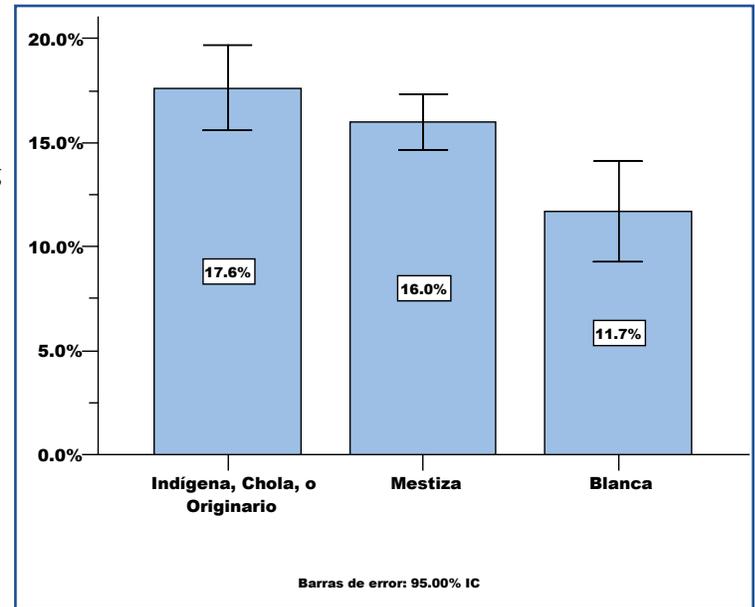
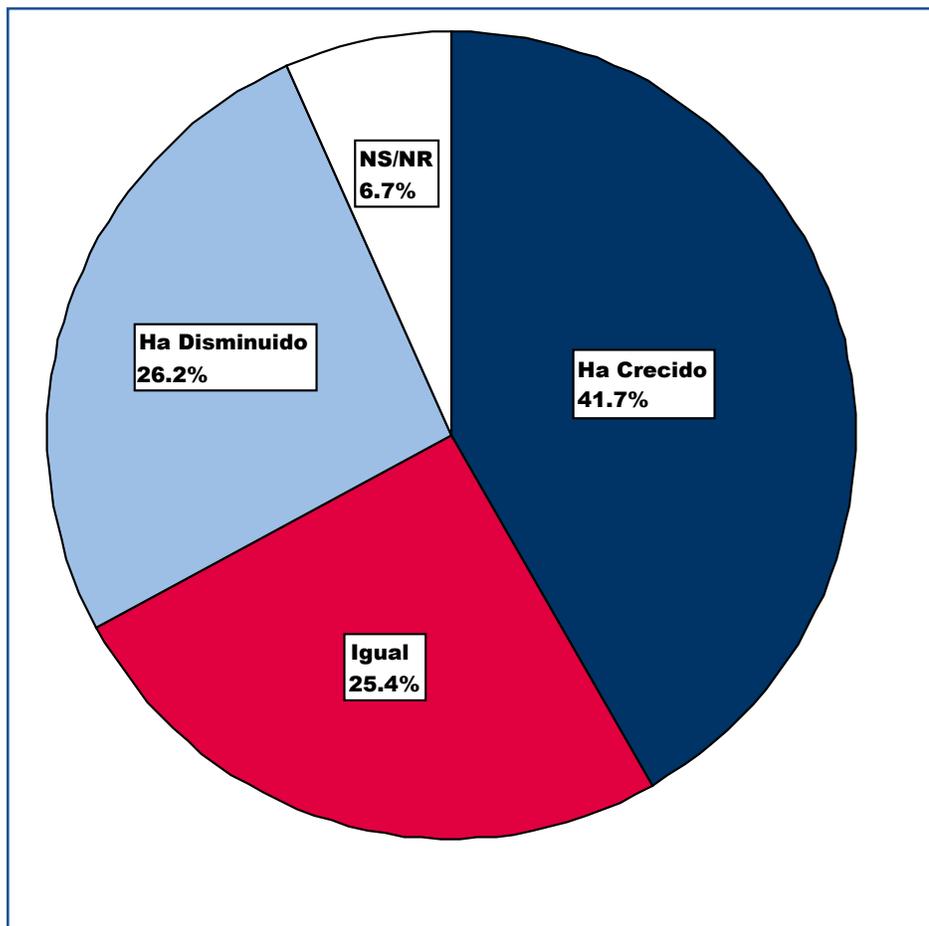


Figure II.7 Extent to which the entire set of samples believe that drug trafficking has increased compared to two years ago



the MAS party. In terms of the logistic regression results, voters for the MAS party were 60% more likely to believe that drug trafficking is a problem for the United States alone than those who did not vote for the MAS. Ethnicity also plays a role, with Whites being the only self-defined ethnic group with lower support for this perspective (see Figure II.6). There is no statistically significant difference between indigenous and mestiza respondents in the likelihood of expressing this attitude.

Has drug trafficking increased: popular perceptions?

In many surveys on crime, corruption and drugs, surveys around the world show growing popular concern. In Bolivia, nearly half the population feels this way, as is shown in Figure II.7.

We now turn to an OLS regression (Table A.II.3 in Appendix II), in order to determine whether various types of respondents have different perceptions regarding the extent to which drug trafficking has increased, decreased or

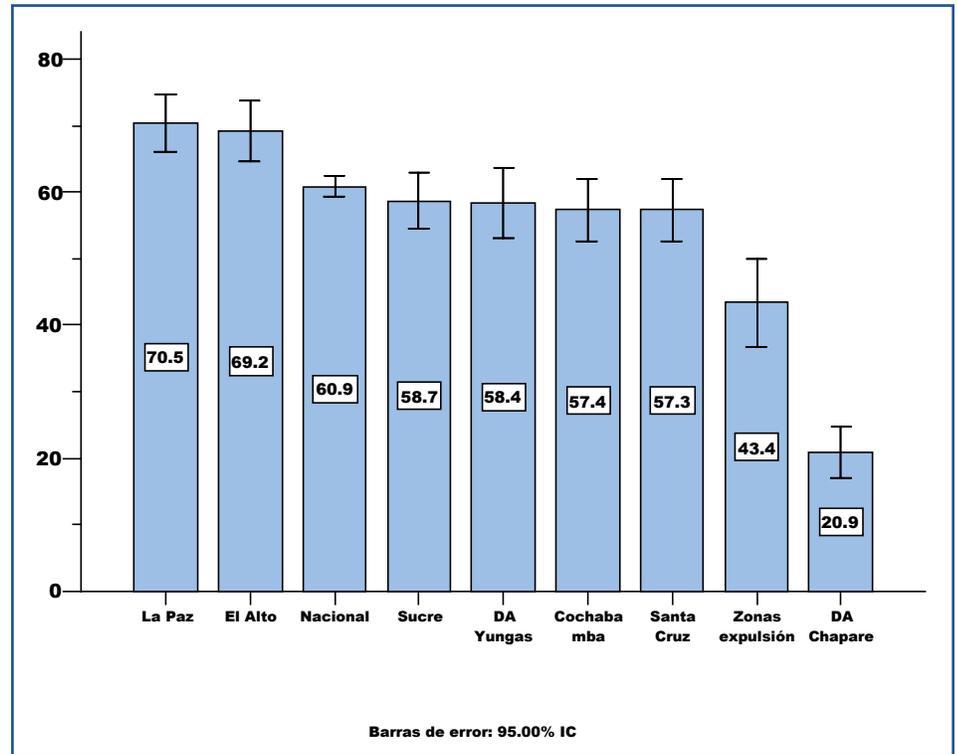
³ The reader should focus on the “sig.” column, looking for values of .05 or lower.

remained the same during the past two years:

- (1) Voters for MAS are more likely to believe drug trafficking *decreased* than other voters.
- (2) Those who identify as “White” are more likely to believe that drug trafficking decreased than do mestizos, but there is no statistically significant difference between indigenous respondents and mestizos.
- (3) Women are more likely to believe it increased than men.
- (4) Older people are more likely to believe it increased than younger people.
- (5) Residents of Alternative Development zones and Expulsion zones are more likely to believe it *decreased* than the general population.

Further details by substrata are shown in Figure II.8. Residents of Alternative Development Chapare are far less likely to believe that drug trafficking has

Figure II. 8 Extent to which residents in different domains believe that drug trafficking has increased during the past two years.



increased than residents of Alternative Development Yungas. Residents of Sucre, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz are less likely to believe that drug trafficking has increased compared with other cities in the special sample.

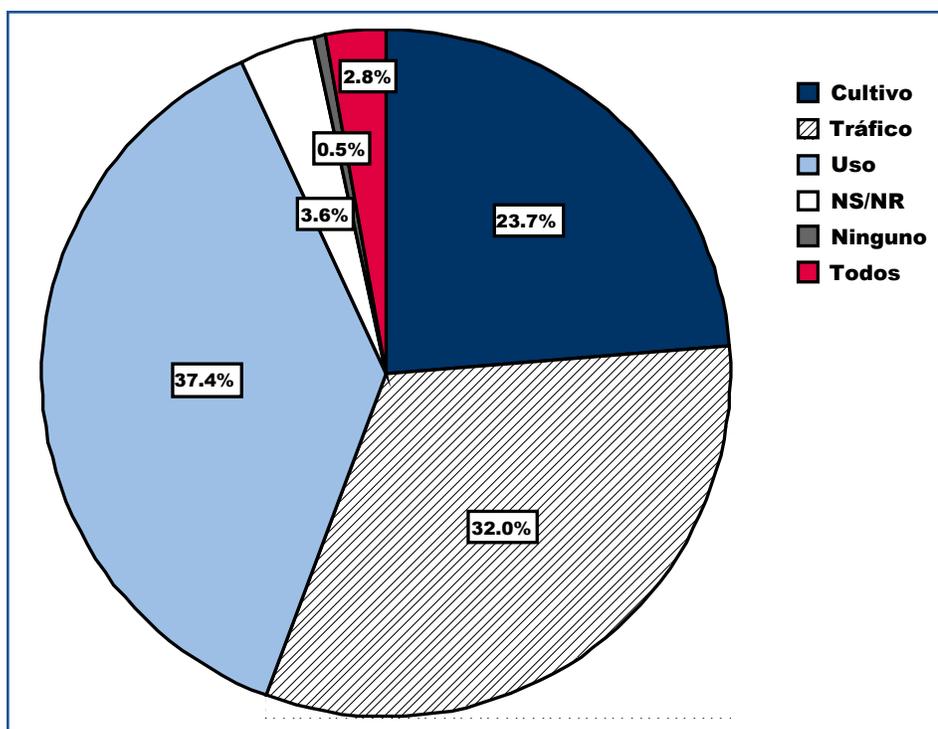
What is the most serious problem related to drugs?

The survey asked (AD14) “Which of the following problems is the most serious: 1) Illegal cultivation of coca, 2) the trafficking of drugs, or 3) the use of drugs. The results are shown in Figure II.9. More respondents said drug *use* is the biggest problem compared to coca cultivation or drug trafficking.

The researchers carried out a binomial logit on the “cultivo” answer because that is the element of the drug issue with which policy is now most concerned (in Bolivia). The results are shown in Table A.II.4 in Appendix II. It is interesting to note the characteristics of Bolivians who share the US concern with coca cultivation. These are individuals who:

1. Are *less* likely to have participated in protests.
2. Are *more* likely to be wealthier.
3. Are *less* likely to be indigenous than mestizo.

Figure II.9 Which aspect of the drug problem is the most serious?



4. Are *more* likely to be female.

5. Are *more* likely to be older.

As we have seen, wealth makes a difference in these results. In Figure II.10, each of the choices from the above question are shown in terms of their relatively wealth. Respondents who think that coca cultivation is the most serious drug-related problem are likely to be wealthier than respondents who think other drug-related problems are the most serious.

White respondents (via self-identification) are more likely to say coca cultivation is the biggest problem than mestiza and indigenous respondents (difference of means test verifies this, see Figure II.11). Indigenous respondents are more likely to say that trafficking is the biggest problem than mestiza and White respondents (difference of means test verifies this). There is no statistically significant difference across ethnic groups in the percentage who say drug use is the biggest problem.

Figure II.11 Perception of most serious drug-related problem according to ethnicity ⁴

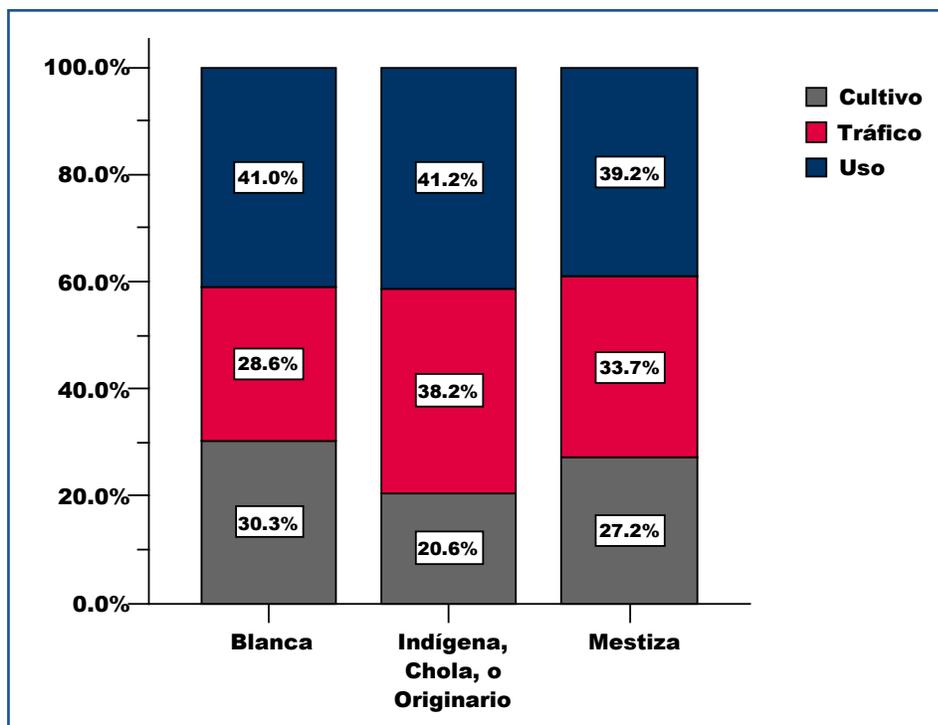
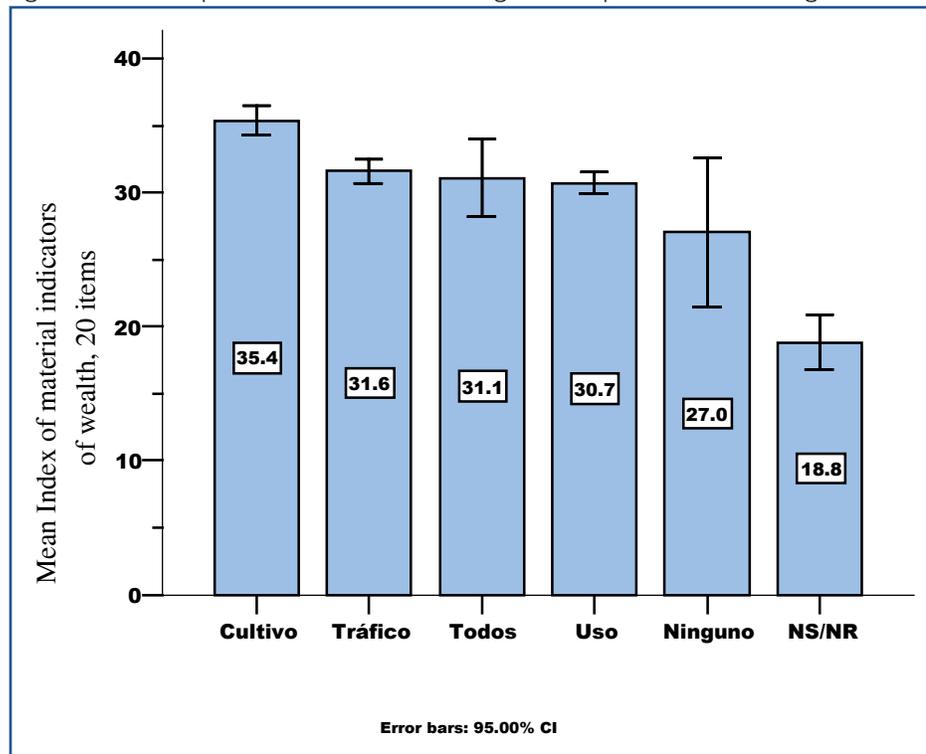


Figure II.10 Perception of most serious drug-related problem according to wealth



Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the perceptions held by Bolivians in a number of key areas. It has found that drug trafficking is not listed among the top two concerns, as economic issues and concern with petro policy are more salient in mid-2005. Nonetheless, Bolivians do consider drug trafficking a serious problem. Important variation among the domains of study were revealed in a number of substantive areas related to the drug problem, as were there some differences based on demographic and socio-economic factors.

⁴ “Don’t know,” “none,” and “all” are omitted because if those three bars are included it makes it difficult to see the numbers.

III. Attitudes toward Coca, Drug Trafficking and Anti-Narcotics Programs in Bolivia

Overall attitudes toward coca and drug trafficking in Bolivia

The survey contains a series of ten items, each scored on a 1-7 scale that provides us a great deal of information about respondent attitudes toward drug trafficking. Presented below, in Table III.1, are the mean scores of the ten items. The reader should take note that the questions are all scored such that a 7 equals the strongest level of agreement with the item, while a score of 1 indicates the strongest level of disagreement. For some items, agreement indicates sympathy with coca growing, while on other items, agreement indicates opposition. Hence, the reader needs to examine each item with care.

While the responses on each individual item can be consulted in the table, and can also be examined individually through the analysis of the raw data set, in this chapter it is more appropriate to provide an overall summary of the results to facilitate grasping the overall results. To do that, we create an index of the items.

The index construction proceeded by examining the dimensionality of the ten items. It was found that it is appropriate to construct a single index (called “cocabuena”) out of the following variables regarding support for the role of coca and drug trafficking in Bolivian society because they load onto a single factor (in a factor analysis) and have a

Standardized Item Alpha of .702:⁵

ad2 ‘El narcotráfico es malo pero ha traído beneficios económicos a los bolivianos.’

ad3 ‘La coca NO es cocaína.’

ad5 ‘La hoja de coca es un cultivo de hace muchos años en Bolivia y por esa razón debe ser defendida.’

ad8 ‘Hay que eliminar todas las

plantaciones de coca. [recoded so that “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” scale is reversed, to reflect positive views of the role of coca in Bolivian society

ad9a ‘La coca puede servir para hacer otros productos como la pasta dental o medicinas, por eso hay que protegerla.’

ad9b ‘Se debe permitir que los campesinos siembren coca para consumo personal’.

Table III.1 Mean scores on questionnaire series attitudes toward coca and drug trafficking

domain9 Expanded domains of study	ad2 El narcotráfico es malo pero ha traído beneficios económicos a los bolivianos.	ad3 La coca NO es cocaína	ad4 Bolivia debe hacer lo que sea para acabar con el narcotráfico en 5 años	ad5 La hoja de coca es un cultivo de hace muchos años en Bolivia y por esa razón debe ser defendida	ad6 El gobierno se preocupa demasiado por el narcotráfico cuando hay otros problemas más urgentes en el país
1.00 Nacional	3.67	4.88	4.65	5.26	4.70
2.00 La Paz	3.33	5.53	4.87	5.74	4.74
3.00 Santa Cruz	3.74	4.45	4.85	4.33	4.54
4.00 Cochabamba	3.99	5.20	4.82	5.24	4.77
5.00 Sucre	4.16	5.00	4.80	5.14	4.57
6.00 El Alto	3.39	5.10	4.45	5.41	4.49
7.00 Zonas expulsión	3.67	4.68	4.42	5.68	4.46
8.00 DA Yungas	3.36	5.91	4.83	6.12	4.65
9.00 DA Chapare	4.72	5.69	4.52	6.17	5.19
Total	3.74	5.03	4.68	5.35	4.70

domain9 Expanded domains of study	ad7 Bolivia lucha contra el narcotráfico porque los Estados Unidos nos obligan	ad8 Hay que eliminar todas las plantaciones de coca	ad9 El narcotráfico es una amenaza para todos los bolivianos	ad9a La coca puede servir para hacer otros productos como la pasta dental o medicinas, por eso hay que protegerla	ad9b Se debe permitir que los campesinos siembren coca para consumo personal
1.00 Nacional	5.16	3.12	5.07	5.74	5.31
2.00 La Paz	5.21	2.87	5.23	6.07	5.65
3.00 Santa Cruz	5.02	3.82	5.20	5.13	4.48
4.00 Cochabamba	5.49	3.04	5.11	5.71	5.48
5.00 Sucre	5.04	3.13	5.00	5.67	5.31
6.00 El Alto	5.03	3.07	4.96	5.83	5.41
7.00 Zonas expulsión	5.18	2.40	4.92	5.94	6.10
8.00 DA Yungas	5.19	2.05	5.01	6.27	5.81
9.00 DA Chapare	6.06	2.60	5.67	6.49	6.44
Total	5.22	3.03	5.11	5.81	5.42

⁵ We can not include the following variables in the index because their inclusion makes the index unreliable and invalid, even when recoded so that strongly agree and strongly disagree are reversed (where necessary). This suggests that these items need to be rethought if used again in other similar surveys.

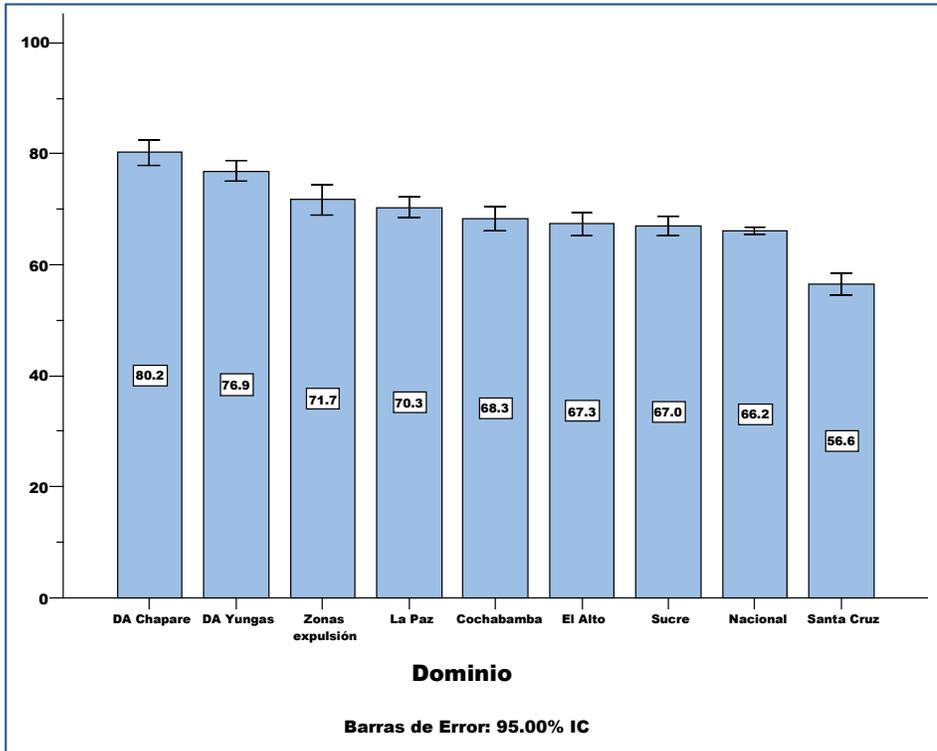
ad4 ‘Bolivia debe hacer lo que sea para acabar con el narcotráfico en 5 años.’

ad6 ‘El gobierno se preocupa demasiado por el narcotráfico cuando hay otros problemas más urgentes en el país.’

ad7 ‘Bolivia lucha contra el narcotráfico porque los Estados Unidos nos obligan.’

ad9 ‘El narcotráfico es una amenaza para todos los bolivianos.’

Figure III.1 Index of overall attitudes toward coca and drug trafficking (mean on scale of 1 to 100 in which 1 indicates the least support and 100 indicates the most support)



The overall scale developed is one that measures the extent to which the respondent is sympathetic to the growing of coca and, also taps attitudes toward drug trafficking. A high score on this index indicates a positive attitude. All items were rescaled on a 0-100 basis, with the high end indicating sympathy with coca and willingness to accept drug trafficking and the low end indicating opposition.

The results of the analysis for all of the various samples in this study are presented in Figure III.1. The overall results show that without exception, on a 0-100 scale, all of the geographical areas in which this study were conducted, attitudes lie on the positive end of the continuum.

A more detailed look allows drawing the following conclusions.

First, the two Alternate Development regions emerge with no statistically significant difference between them in the extent to which respondents living

in Yungas versus those who live in Chapare support the role of coca and drug trafficking in Bolivia. However, these two areas prove to have the most favorable attitudes toward coca and drug trafficking among all of our sample domains.

Second, difference of means test on the four cities, however, indicates that there is a statistically significant difference across. Specifically as shown in the figure above, residents of Santa Cruz de la Sierra are much more negative about coca and drug trafficking than are the residents of the other cities of Bolivia, and the nation as a whole. El Alto emerges with attitudes on this scale

not distinguishable from other cities or the nation as a whole.

Exploring this scale further, we proceeded to determine which factors are positively associated with it beyond the region in which the samples were gathered. Results are shown in Table A.II.5 in Appendix II. The main findings are:

- 1) Voters for MAS are more likely to be supportive of the role of coca in Bolivian life than other voters.
- 2) Those who participate in protests are more supportive of the role of coca in Bolivian life than those who did not participate.
- 3) Men are more supportive than women of the role of coca in Bolivian life.
- 4) Other variables, such as demographic and socio-economic do not have a significant impact on attitudes toward coca in this scale.

The implications of this analysis are that little divides Bolivians on an overall sympathetic view of coca. That is to say, educated and uneducated, rich and

Figure III.2 Attitudes toward coca growing permission or prohibition

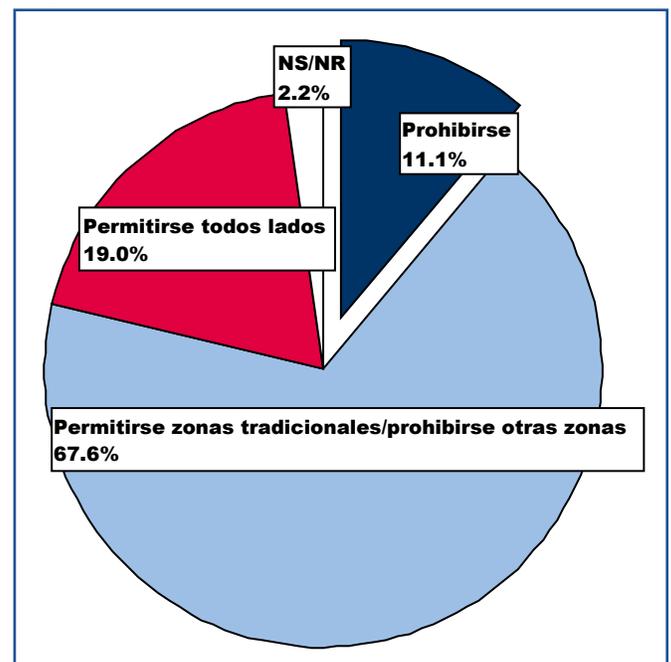
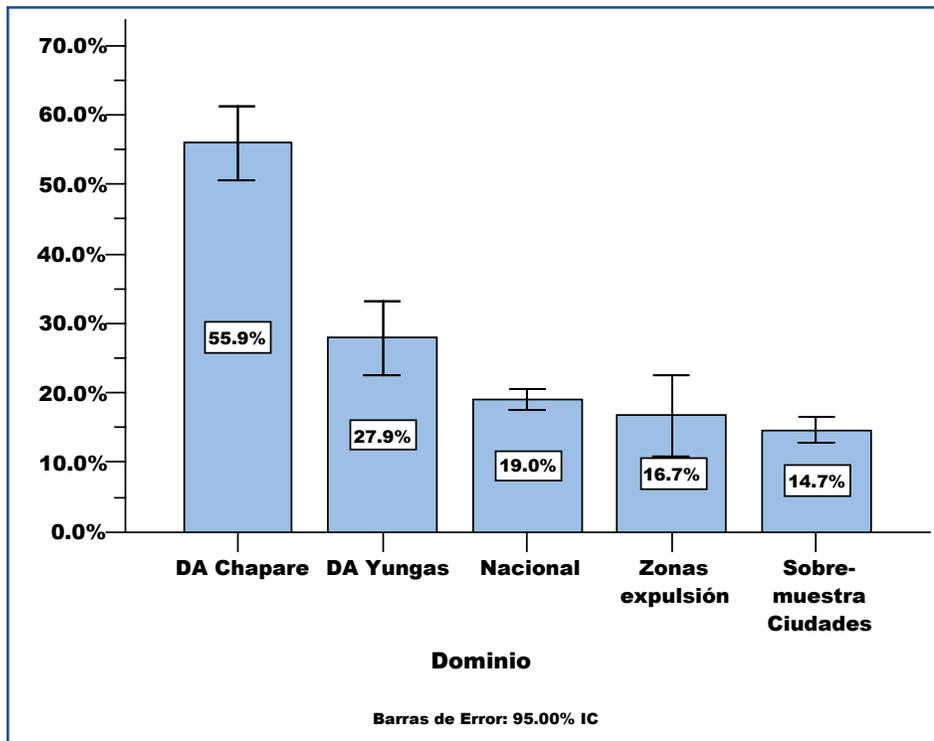


Figure III.3 Approve growing coca everywhere by domains of study



poor, indigenous and non-indigenous, share a common set of attitudes.

Further, confirming evidence of this overall finding emerges from the analysis of question ERR1, which asks, “What do you think: 1) the cultivation of coca should be prohibited everywhere, 2) it should be permitted in the traditional

zones such as the Yungas, but prohibited in other zones, or 3) it should be permitted everywhere? As can be seen in Figure III.2 (previous page), two-thirds of Bolivians favor allowing coca growing in traditional areas, while an additional nearly one-fifth of respondents would allow it anywhere in the country. Only slightly more than one-tenth

of the population would prohibit it everywhere.

Examining these results more closely, looking only at the group that responded “permitted everywhere,” we see the breakdown presented in Figure III.3. While the national percentage of those taking this position, as shown in both the pie chart above and the bar graph, is slightly lower than one-in-five, in the Chapare it is well over half. Far lower, yet still higher than the nation as a whole, are those who live in Yungas, while the major city residents uniformly are less willing to tolerate coca growing without geographic limits. There were no significant differences among the cities, so only one bar is shown in the chart.

This question had two follow-ups, both of which were asked only for those respondents who said that coca growing should be prohibited everywhere or limited to the traditional areas (ERR2 and ERR3). The first question (ERR2), asked if the respondent favors the use of force or dialog to eradicate coca in the Chapare. Question ERR3 asked the same thing, but focused on the Yungas. The overwhelming majority of Bolivians

Figure III.4 Percentage of Bolivians in national sample who believe that force or dialogue should be used to eradicate coca in **Chapare**, among those who support some restrictions on coca growing

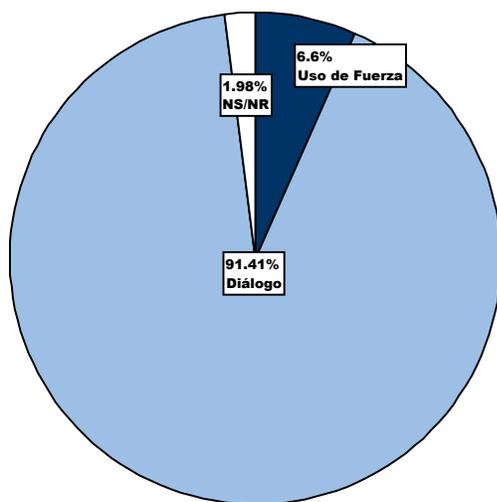


Figure III.5 Percentage of Bolivians in national sample who believe that force or dialogue should be used to eradicate coca in **Los Yungas** among those who support some restrictions on coca growing

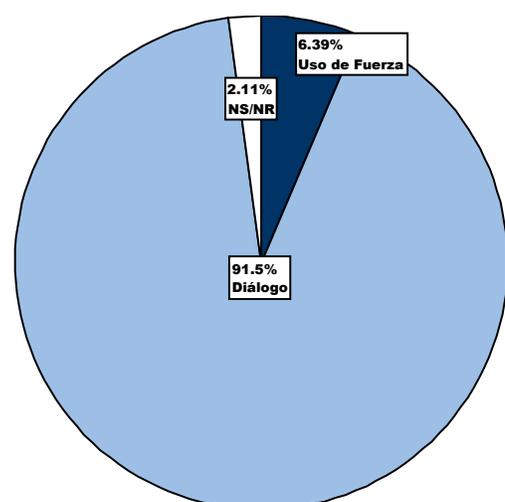
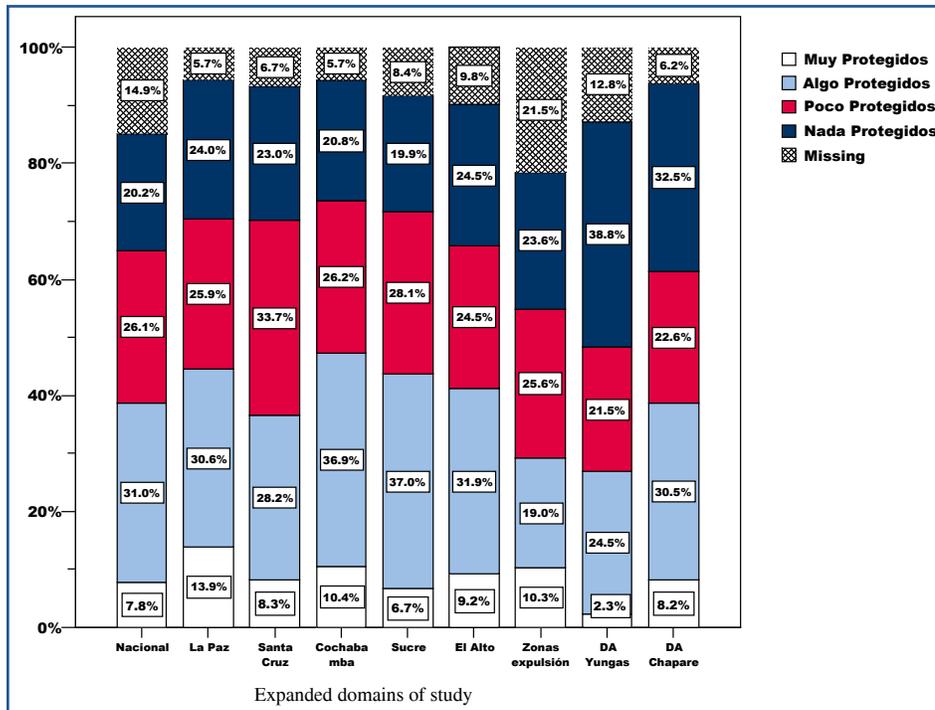


Figure III.6 Extent to which human rights are protected in the struggle against drug trafficking (mean on scale of 1 to 4 in which 1 is “not protected” and 4 is “very protected”)



proportion of respondents who said “not at all protected,” with the Yungas sample the largest of all, and was also the sample in which the percentage who responded “completely protected” was the smallest, only 2.3%.

To what extent does drug trafficking affect the safety of your family?

Sympathy with coca does not demonstrate that Bolivians are oblivious to the risks that emerge with drug trafficking. The survey asked (AD11) “Does drug trafficking affect the safety of your family a lot, somewhat, little or not at all. The results of the analysis of this item appear in Figure III.7. The results show that in Santa Cruz respondents feel that their families’ safety is affected by drug trafficking to a greater extent than in other domains. In contrast, in Expulsion zones, respondents feel that their families’ safety is affected by drug trafficking to a significantly lesser extent than in other

who favor some limitation on coca growing believe that dialogue, not force, should be used to eradicate illegal coca in Chapare and Yungas.

protected differ between the Alternative Development zones, but not across the cities in the urban sample. The Yungas and Chapare samples had the largest

The final question in this series (ERR4) was asked of the entire sample, not just those who favor some restrictions on coca growing. Respondents were asked the extent to which human rights are protected in the struggle against drug trafficking. Note that in the national sample 15% of the respondents gave a “don’t know” response, which is relatively high compared to other questions in this study. Since few Bolivians are in position to really know the human rights protection experienced by those caught in the anti-narcotics efforts of the government (and indeed those who are the local enforcers), this level of non-response is understandable. In figure III.6 the non-responses are excluded, since a mean is created of the “muy protegidos” to “poco protegidos” answer choices.

Difference of means tests find that views on whether human rights are

Figure III.7 Extent to which drug trafficking effects the safety of one’s family (mean on a scale of 1 to 4 in which 1 is “does not affect us at all” and 4 is “it affects us very much”)

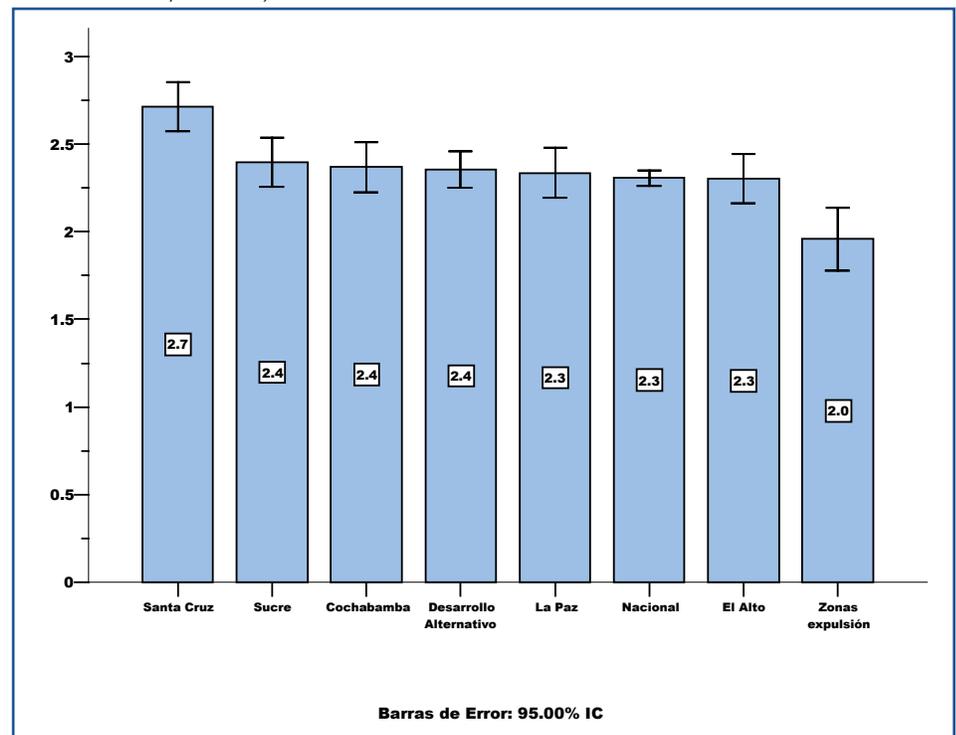
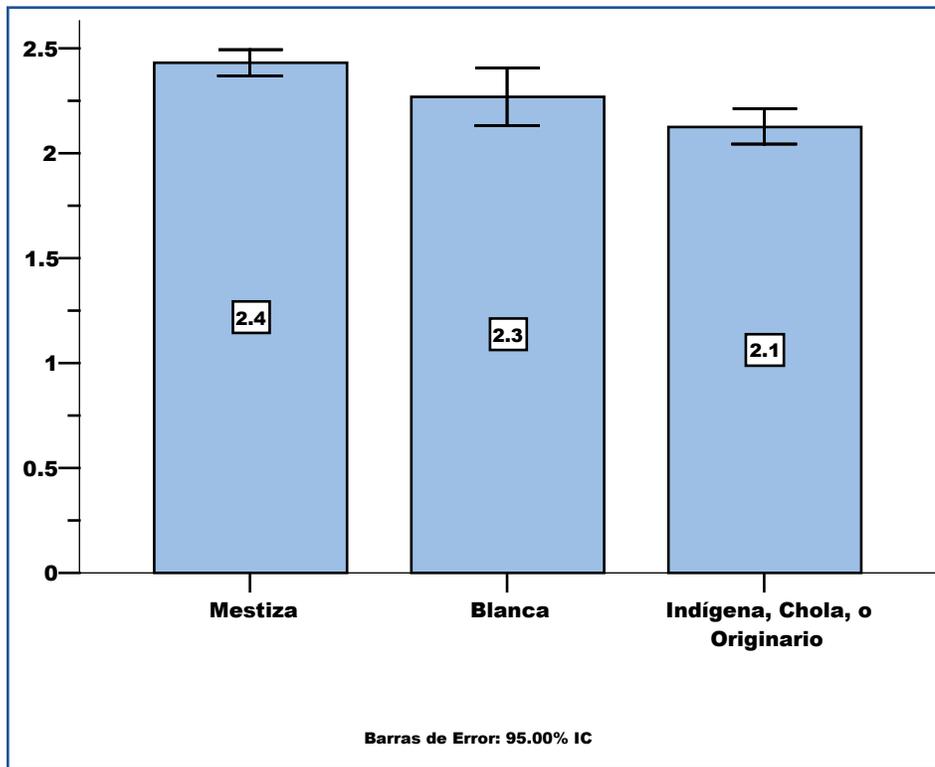


Figure III.8 Extent to which ethnic groups feel that drug trafficking affects their family's safety (mean on a scale of 1 to 4 in which 1 is "does not affect us at all" and 4 is "it affects us very much")



safety than the mestizo respondents. In this figure, none of the control variables shown in Table A.II.6 are employed, so that those self-identifying as "White," although they have a higher level of concern than the indigenous population, are not outside of the confidence interval of either of the two other ethnic groups shown in the figure.

Which countries are the most helpful to Bolivia in its struggle against drug trafficking?

Respondents were asked which countries are the most helpful to Bolivia in its struggle against drug trafficking. Their answers were recorded in the order in which they named the countries. The answers are grouped into the following categories: USA, Latin American Countries, European Countries, Other, and DK/NS, with the results shown in Table III.2.

domains.

A regression analysis was performed on the results; they are displayed in Table A.II.6 in Appendix II. The results demonstrate the following conclusions:

- 1) Voters for MAS are less likely to think that drug trafficking affects their family's safety than other voters.
- 2) Indigenous respondents are less

likely to think that drug trafficking affects their family's safety than mestizos or Whites.

- 3) Women are more likely to think that drug trafficking affects their family's safety than men.

In order to clarify the ethnic component in the response to this item, Figure III.8 shows that the indigenous respondents are significantly less concerned about

The following observations can be made about these results:

- 1) The first country that comes to the vast majority of respondents' minds is the United States.

Respondents in the cities are more likely to mention the United States than respondents in the Alternative Development zones, the Expulsion zones, and in the general public.

Table III.2 Which countries most help bolivia in its struggle against drug trafficking (first country named by respondent)

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras	Yungas	Chapare
Estados Unidos	63.1%	79.1%	74.7%	87.6%	75.6%	77.9%	59.7%	66.4%	66.6%
Países Latinoamericanos	3.5%	3.1%	3.7%	1.6%	2.4%	4.2%	1.3%	2.6%	4.3%
Países Europeos	1.6%	.6%	1.3%	1.3%	.9%	1.0%	1.9%	2.2%	4.9%
Otros	.9%	.9%	2.0%	1.0%	.6%	.7%	1.3%	.7%	1.8%
NS/NR	30.9%	16.2%	18.3%	8.5%	20.5%	16.3%	35.8%	28.1%	22.4%
Total	100%	100%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100%	100.0	100.0

Figure III.9 Who does not want to eliminate drug trafficking?

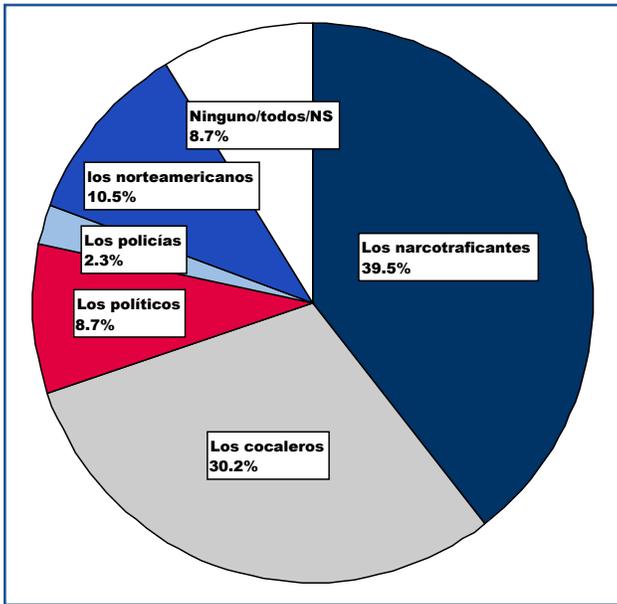
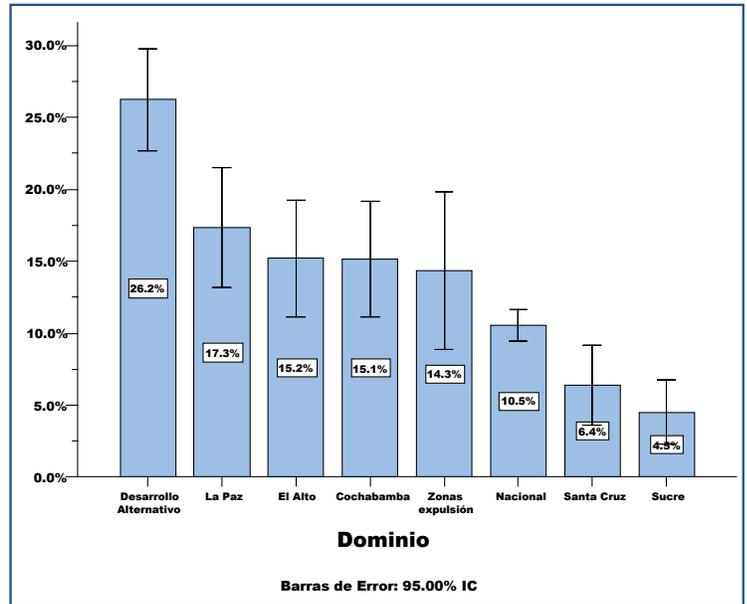


Figure III.10 North Americans do not want to eliminate drug trafficking in Bolivia, by domains of study



A different perspective on this same issue emerges from the analysis of question AD10, which asked, “Who are those who do not wish to eliminate drug trafficking in Bolivia,” after which a list was read. The results appear in Figure III.9. As can be seen, those who benefit directly from the trade in narcotic substances are seen as the main opponents, although about 10% of respondents blame the United States.

When these results are examined by the domains of study for this report, the following troubling results emerge, as shown in Figure III.10; the Alternative Development zones are most likely to select the United States. An analysis of Yungas vs. Chapare produced no significant difference between them; hence only one bar is shown in the figure.

Evaluation of other countries assistance for Bolivia in its struggle against drug trafficking?

As a follow-up to the series on international assistance in the anti-narcotics effort, Bolivians were asked: “Do you think it is a very good idea, a good idea, a fair idea, a bad idea or

a very bad idea that other countries help Bolivia to fight against drug trafficking.” A difference of means tests across the cities indicates that residents of cities have different opinions about the benefit of outside intervention in

the struggle against drug trafficking in Bolivia. A difference of means test between the two Alternative Development zones however shows no difference between them. The results, shown in Figure III.11 indicate:

Figure III.11 Extent to which bolivians think that external assistance in fighting drug trafficking is good or bad (mean on scale of 1 to 5 in which 1 is “very bad” and 5 is “very good”)

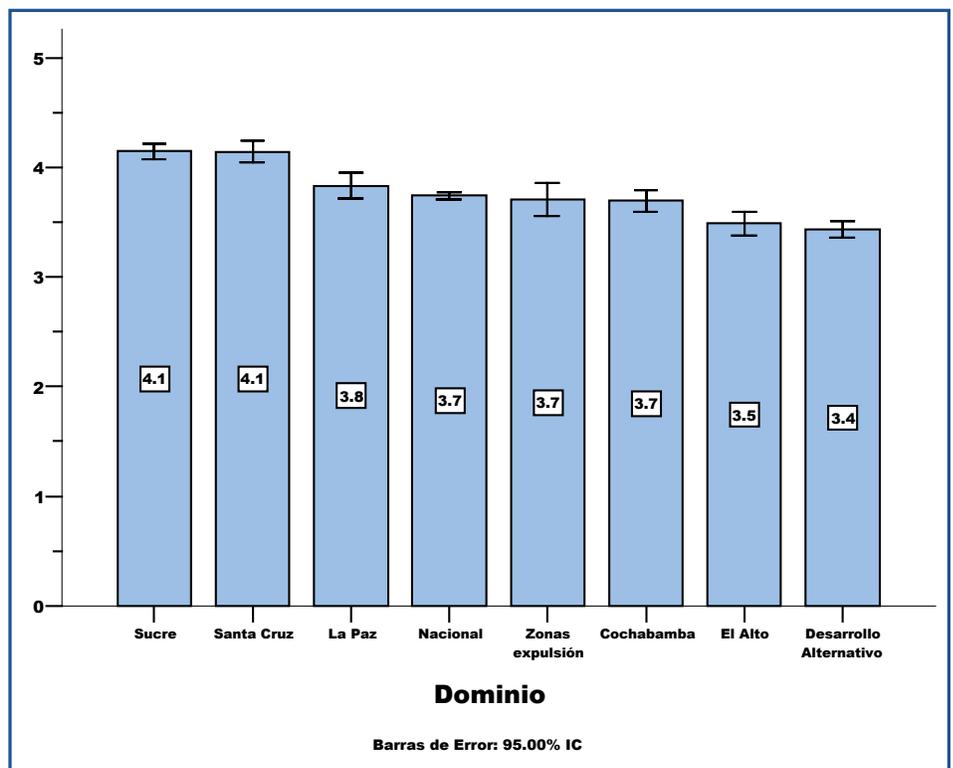
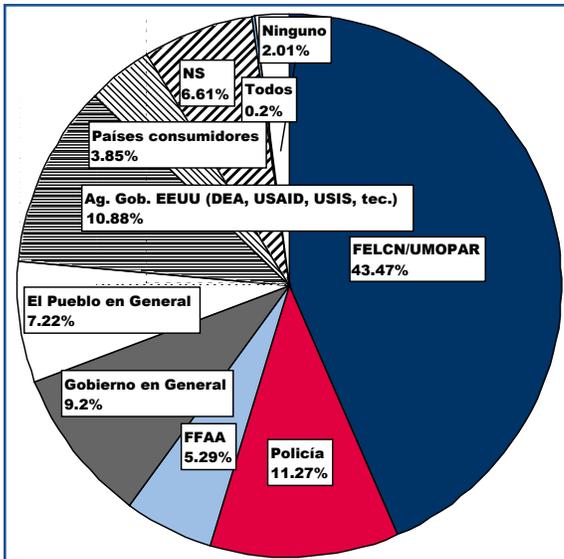


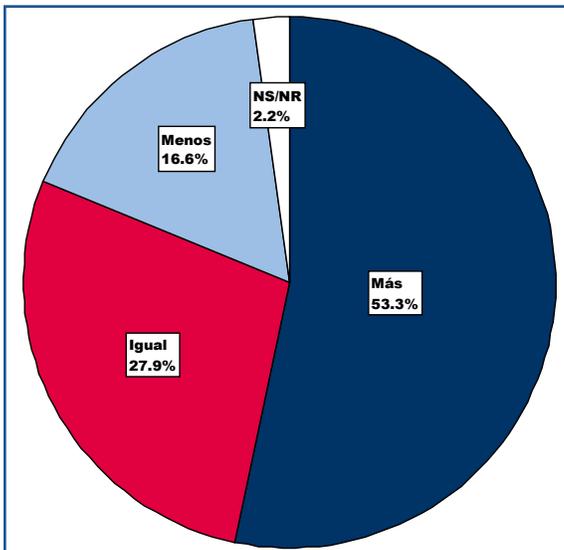
Figure III.12 Percentage within national sample who believe that various groups struggle the most against drug trafficking in Bolivia



- 1) Residents of Sucre and Santa Cruz feel more favorable toward foreign assistance in the struggle against drug trafficking than residents in other domains, and the national average.
- 2) Residents in El Alto and Alternative Development zones feel the least favorable toward foreign assistance in the struggle against drug trafficking.

A regression analysis was run on these results to determine which factors help

Figure III.13 Coca leaf consumption compared to last year



explain them. The results are shown in Table A.II.7 in Appendix II. The following findings emerge:

- 1) Voters for MAS are *less* favorable toward foreign assistance than other voters.
- 2) Respondents who have participated in protests and road blockade are *less* favorable toward foreign assistance than other voters.
- 3) More educated respondents are *more* favorable toward foreign assistance than less educated respondents.
- 4) White respondents are *more* favorable than mestizos toward foreign assistance, but indigenous respondents are *less* favorable than mestizos.
- 5) Males are *more* favorable than females toward foreign assistance.

Institutional efficacy in fighting drug trafficking in Bolivia

Moving beyond foreign participation in the effort to deal with drug trafficking, respondents were asked a general question about which institutions were struggling the hardest in the campaign. The results for the national sample are shown in Figure

Table III.3 Reasons why Bolivians chew coca

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cocha bamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Pasar el hambre	9.3%	9.9%	7.1%	4.0%	14.6%	8.3%	2.7%	12.9%	10.0%
Da energía, fuerza	45.5%	24.3%	66.7%	27.5%	43.1%	28.6%	50.0%	60.5%	60.5%
Por medicina	20.4%	42.1%	4.8%	25.5%	19.2%	41.5%	10.9%	10.5%	10.5%
Razones culturales	15.3%	14.4%	6.0%	22.1%	16.2%	15.2%	25.5%	10.5%	15.8%
Razones religiosas	1.5%	.5%		10.1%	3.1%	1.8%	1.8%		1.1%
Quitar el Sueño	2.4%	3.0%		4.0%	2.3%	.9%	4.5%	.5%	.5%
Costumbre	2.1%	3.5%	1.2%	1.3%		.5%	2.7%	1.9%	
Gusto, Curiosidad	3.1%	1.5%	14.3%	5.4%	1.5%	1.4%	1.8%	2.4%	1.6%
Obligación	.0%								
NS/NR	.3%	1.0%				1.8%		1.0%	
Total	100%	100%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100%	100.0	100.0

III.12. As can be seen, a near majority of Bolivians selected FELCN/UMOPAR. With as many choices available as this question provides, a subanalysis by region is too complex to report on here.

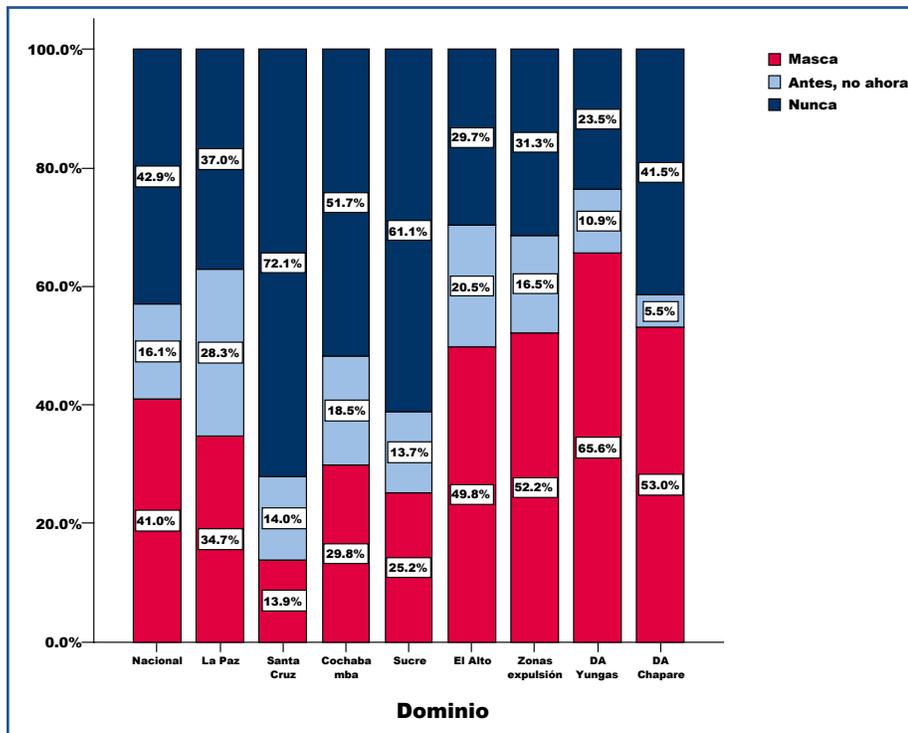
Use of coca in Bolivia

The questionnaire attempted to get at personal use of coca by respondents. In order to ease into this sensitive issue, we first asked if the respondent perceived a change during the past year in the extent to which Bolivians chew the coca leaf. As can be seen in Figure III.13, the population believes that coca leaf chewing has increased.

We then asked a direct question (TRA2a) regarding the respondent's own use of coca. Reviewing this information by our domains of study, we first note that only 11 respondents did not respond, so those were excluded from the analysis. The results (Figure III.14, next page) show that a *higher* percentage of respondents in the Alternative Development zones of Chapare and Yungas chew coca than in the rest of Bolivia. We also found that four of the five cities have a *lower* percentage of people who chew coca than the national average, but El Alto has a higher percentage.

This question was then followed by one that asked for the reasons why those who said that they chew or had chewed coca do or did so. The responses are summarized in Table III.3. We find

Figure III.14 Percentage of Bolivians within domains who chew, used to chew, or have never chewed coca leaves

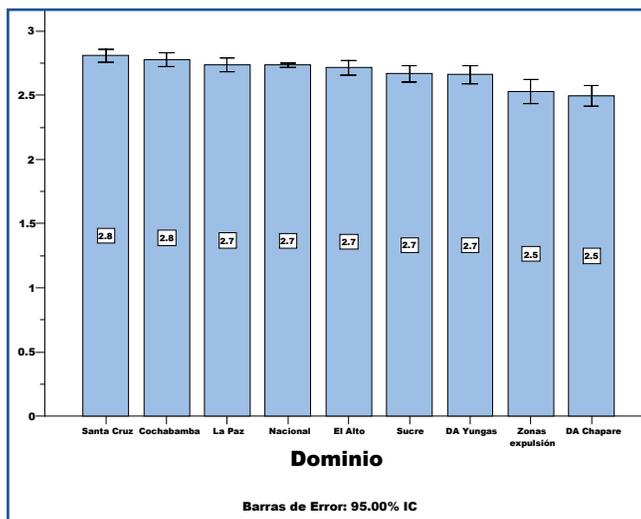


that across most domains, the number one reason for chewing coca is that it provides energy and strength. In La Paz and El Alto, however, the number one reason for chewing coca is medicinal. This is a fine distinction, however, yet an interesting one.

Extent to which drug use is a problem in Bolivia

The study now shifts its attention away from coca and examines drug use. The subject was first broached in the questionnaire with a general question asking about the seriousness of the drug problem in Bolivia (CON1). We asked if the consumption of drugs was very serious, somewhat serious or not at all serious. Converting the scale so that a

Figure III.15 Extent to which drug use is a serious problem in Bolivia (mean on scale of 1 to 3 in which 1 is "not serious" and 3 is "very serious")



"3" indicates the most serious problem, the results are presented in Figure III.15. The results show that residents in Alternative Development Chapare are less likely to think drug use is a serious problem than residents in Alternative Development Yungas. Furthermore, residents in Chapare and Yungas are less likely to think drug use is a serious problem than residents in the rest of the country.

Percentage of Bolivians who know someone who consumes drugs

We asked respondents if they know someone who uses drugs. In this question (CON2), only 43 people in the sample said "Don't know," so those respondents were excluded from the analysis. For the country as a whole, about one-quarter of respondents know someone who uses drugs (Figure III.16). We also learn that residents of Santa Cruz and La Paz are much more likely to know someone who consumes drugs than residents in the rest of the country. Residents in Alternative Development Chapare, Alternative Development Yungas, and Expulsion zones are less likely to know someone who consumes drugs than respondents in the national sample, or residents of Santa Cruz, La Paz, Cochabamba, and El Alto.

Figure III.16 Percent of respondents who know someone who uses drugs

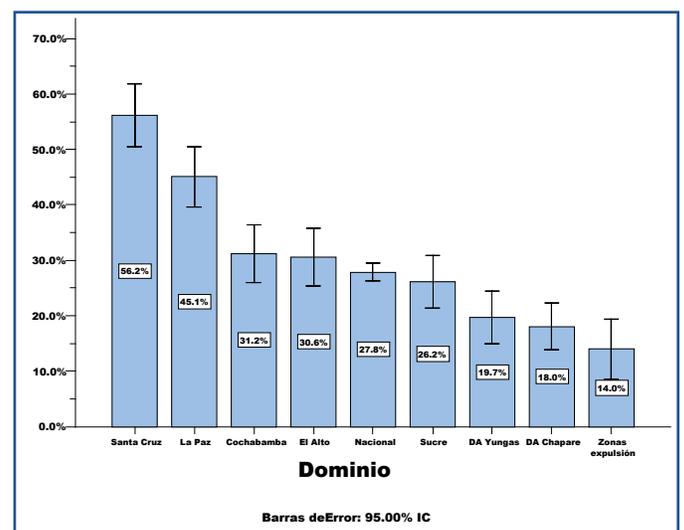


Figure III.17 Perceptions of the change compared to two years ago in the amount of people who use drugs

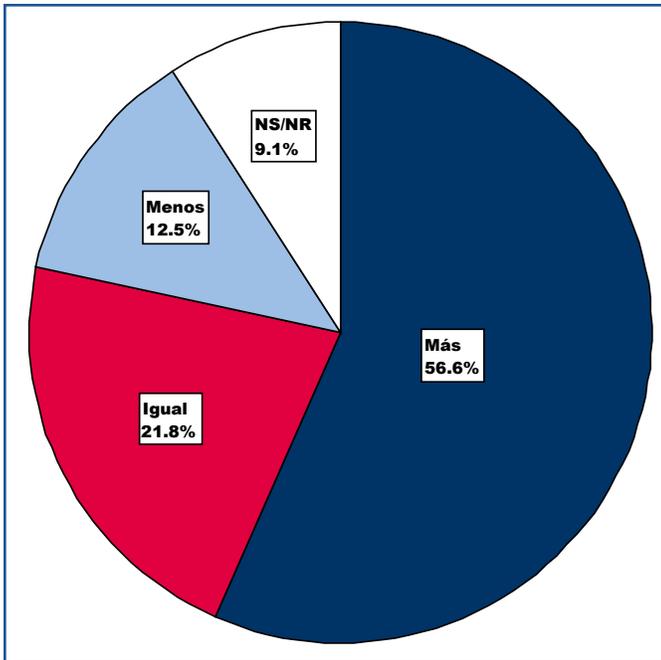
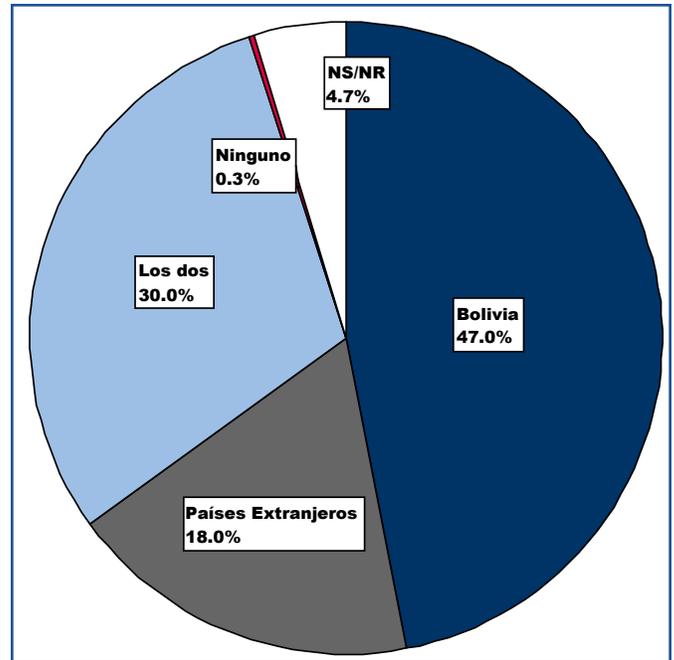


Figure III.18 Percentage within the national sample who believe that Bolivia, foreign countries, or both are effected by drug consumption



Extent to which drug use has increased in Bolivia during past two years

Perceptions of variation over time of drug use are similar to what we have already seen with respect to coca use. As shown in Figure III.17, in the national sample, over 50% of Bolivians believe that the amount of people who use drugs has increased compared to two years ago.

Type of drug that is most consumed in Bolivia

According to the respondents (question CON4), marijuana is the most commonly consumed drug in Bolivia, as is show in Table III.4. Cocaine, however, runs a close second. There is variation across the samples, but no obvious pattern emerges. It is of interest to note that alcohol scores high in the Alternative Development zones.

Who Is more affected by drug consumption: Bolivia or foreign countries?

Respondents were asked which countries are more affected by the consumption of drugs: Bolivia or foreign countries? (question CON5). The results shown in Figure III.18 (above) reveal that most respondents in the national sample believe that Bolivia is most affected by drug consumption.

Table III.4 Perceptions of type of drug that is most consumed in Bolivia

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cocha-bamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras	Yungas	Chapare
Alcohol	16.5%	12.0%	7.5%	15.4%	28.1%	15.3%	19.5%	23.5%	29.7%
Marihuana	36.3%	48.4%	40.5%	32.4%	41.0%	40.5%	27.3%	41.2%	34.6%
Pasta Base de Cocaína	7.6%	10.6%	12.5%	6.7%	3.4%	7.4%	2.3%	12.3%	1.9%
Clefa	8.9%	3.9%	8.2%	18.4%	7.1%	6.2%	13.3%	6.4%	10.6%
Cocaína	29.4%	23.3%	31.2%	26.4%	19.8%	29.8%	35.9%	12.8%	22.8%
Extasis	.1%	.4%	0%	.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tinner	.2%	1.4%	0%	0%	0%	.4%	0%	0%	0%
Tabaco	.7%	0%	0%	0%	.3%	.4%	1.6%	3.2%	.4%
Metanfetaminas	.1%	0%	0%	0%	.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Coca	.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	.5%	0%
Cafeína	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Heroína	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure III.19 Should schools offer information about how to prevent drug use?

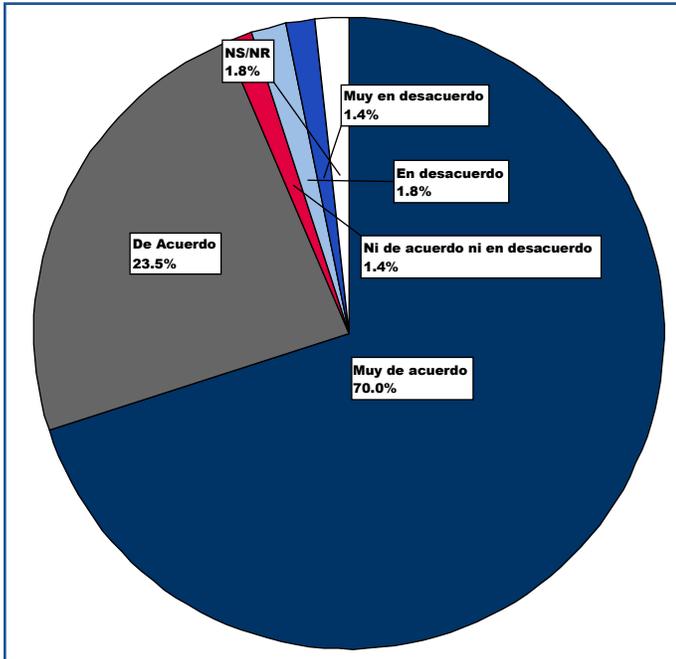
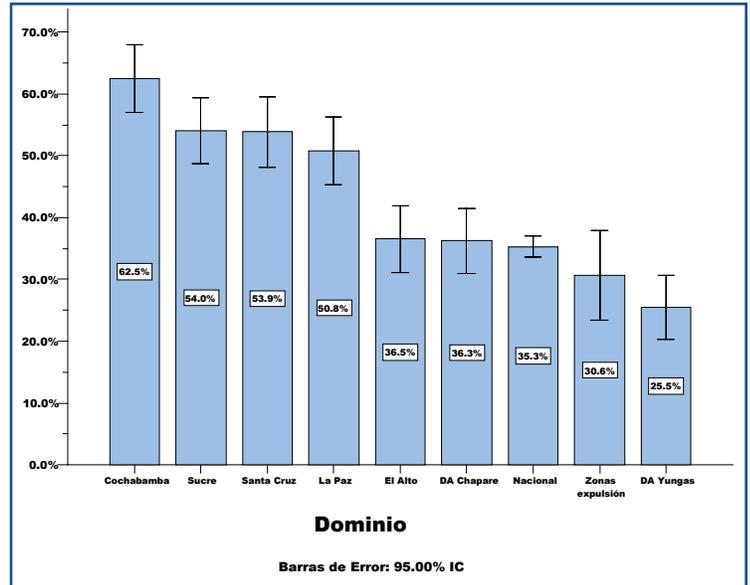


Figure III.20 Percentage of respondents who have received some information opposing the use of drugs



Should schools offer information about how to prevent drug use?

The majority of Bolivians (question CON6), in the national sample, strongly agree that drug education should be offered by schools, as shown in Figure III.19.

Percentage of Bolivians who have received some information against drug use

Residents of Cochabamba, Sucre, Santa Cruz, and La Paz are more likely to have received information against drug use than residents in the rest of Bolivia (question CON7), as shown in Figure III.20. No doubt, the greater presence of the mass media in those areas is responsible for this result.

Where do Bolivians receive information against drug use?

Sources of drug information vary (CON8).⁶ Most Bolivians who receive information against drug use receive it

in school, with the media a close second source, as shown in Table III.5.

Percentage of Bolivians who are aware of a drug addiction rehabilitation center

In the national sample, only 18% of Bolivians are aware of a drug addiction rehabilitation center. These results are shown in Figure III.21.

Figure III.21 Percentage of respondents aware of a drug rehabilitation center

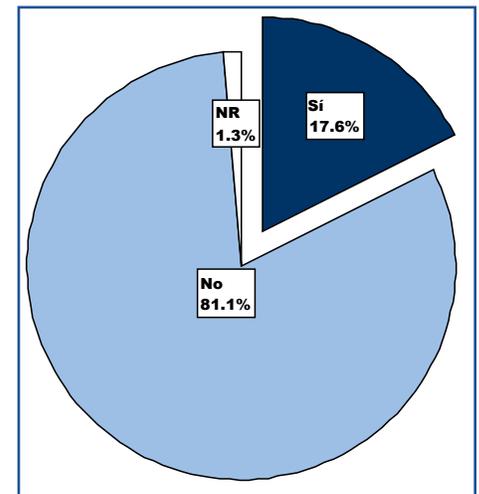


Table III.5 Sources of Information against drug use

	Público General	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas Expulsoras	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Escuela	47.8%	50.0%	46.0%	47.9%	30.7%	40.5%	35.4%	23.9%	26.5%
Familia	6.6%	7.3%	12.9%	10.0%	17.9%	11.7%	.0%	7.0%	7.7%
Cuartel	3.4%	.6%	1.8%	3.7%	3.4%	2.7%	4.2%	4.2%	6.8%
Asambleas o reuniones comunales	10.7%	11.6%	3.7%	14.7%	10.1%	5.4%	14.6%	26.8%	22.2%
En la Iglesia	3.8%	3.0%	6.1%	2.1%	7.3%	2.7%	0%	1.4%	8.5%
Medios	25.4%	20.7%	29.4%	21.1%	29.1%	27.0%	41.7%	33.8%	26.5%
ONG u Otras instituciones	1.7%	5.5%	0%	0%	1.1%	6.3%	2.1%	1.4%	.9%
Seminarios	.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.1%	0%	0%
NS/NR	.7%	1.2%	0%	.5%	.6%	3.6%	0%	1.4%	.9%
Total	100%	100%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100%	100.0%	100.0%

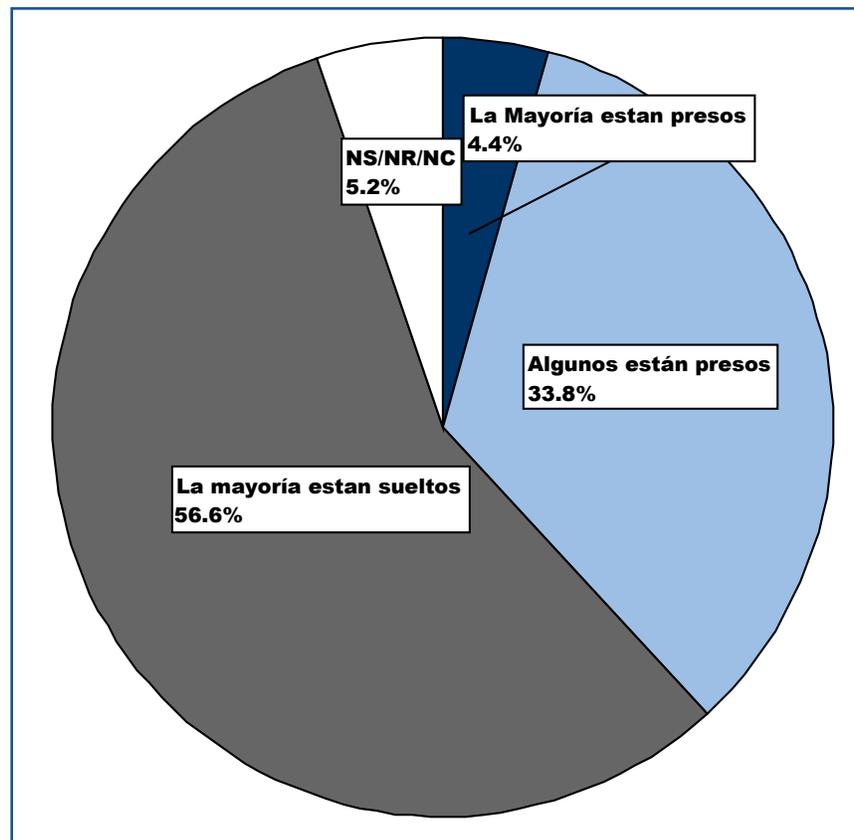
⁶ A second response was also recorded for this question, but only 166 valid responses were recorded, so this information is not analyzed here.

Extent to which various groups are involved in the business of drug trafficking

This chapter concludes with the criminal side of the narcotics question in Bolivia. The INT series asks about the involvement of various groups in the drug trade. The results are shown in Table III.6. Not surprisingly, across all domains *cocaleros* are viewed as being very involved in the business of drug trafficking. Government officials are also viewed as being very involved in the business of drug trafficking, especially by residents of La Paz and El Alto. Politicians are also viewed as being very involved in drug trafficking, especially by residents of La Paz, Cochabamba, and El Alto. Military personnel are more likely to be viewed as being involved in drug trafficking in La Paz, Cochabamba, and Alternative Development Yungas than in other domains.

We concluded this series by asking if Bolivians thought that the majority of drug traffickers are incarcerated or on the loose. The results are shown in Figure III.22. According to the national sample, the majority of Bolivians believe that most drug traffickers are on the loose, as opposed to in prison.

Figure III.22 Fate of majority of drug traffickers



Conclusions

This chapter has shown that coca is very much a part of Bolivian life and culture, and there is little sympathy for its complete eradication. An important part of the population either consumes

or has consumed coca. This suggests that untangling coca from cocaine, permitting one while prohibiting the other, is a major challenge for the Bolivian government.

Table III.6 Extent to which various groups are involved in the business of drug trafficking (mean on a scale of 1 to 4 in which 1 is "not involved" and 4 is "very involved")

	Func. Gobier.	Cocaleros	Empresarios	Sindicatos	Militares	Policía	Bancos	Medios	Juzgados	Alcaldes	Políticos
Nacional	2.96	3.17	2.54	2.22	2.78	2.96	1.81	1.59	2.19	1.98	3.05
La Paz	3.31	3.35	2.78	2.67	3.13	3.32	2.13	1.82	2.53	2.18	3.46
Santa Cruz	3.09	3.55	2.64	2.50	2.96	3.13	1.80	1.61	2.52	2.05	3.19
Cochabamba	3.09	3.28	2.45	2.52	3.01	3.28	1.65	1.49	2.40	2.29	3.42
Sucre	3.04	3.29	2.42	2.39	2.69	2.96	1.69	1.68	2.17	2.00	3.11
El Alto	3.24	3.11	2.87	2.47	2.99	3.11	1.88	1.82	2.32	2.25	3.23
Zonas expulsión	2.93	3.03	2.50	2.17	2.77	2.76	1.73	1.58	1.89	1.89	2.99
DA Yungas	3.12	2.06	2.76	1.61	3.13	2.97	1.99	1.53	2.18	1.89	3.11
DA Chapare	2.10	2.45	2.57	2.04	2.78	2.93	1.61	1.52	2.00	1.93	2.68

IV. Alternative Development: Knowledge and Evaluation

Alternative Development is the central part of Bolivia's *Estrategia Integral de Lucha contra el Tráfico Ilícito de Drogas (2004-2008)*. This chapter analyzes respondents' knowledge and perceptions and evaluation of the program. The first section describes which sectors of Bolivia are familiar with the program and which are not. The remaining sections will analyze the opinions of those who are familiar with Alternative Development. When results for all the subsamples are presented (i.e., Santa Cruz, La Paz, Expulsion zones, general public, etc.) or departments, the tables and figures represent the views of the overall sample, whereas the remaining tables and figures represent the national sample.⁷

Figure IV.1 Knowledge of Alternative Development by domain

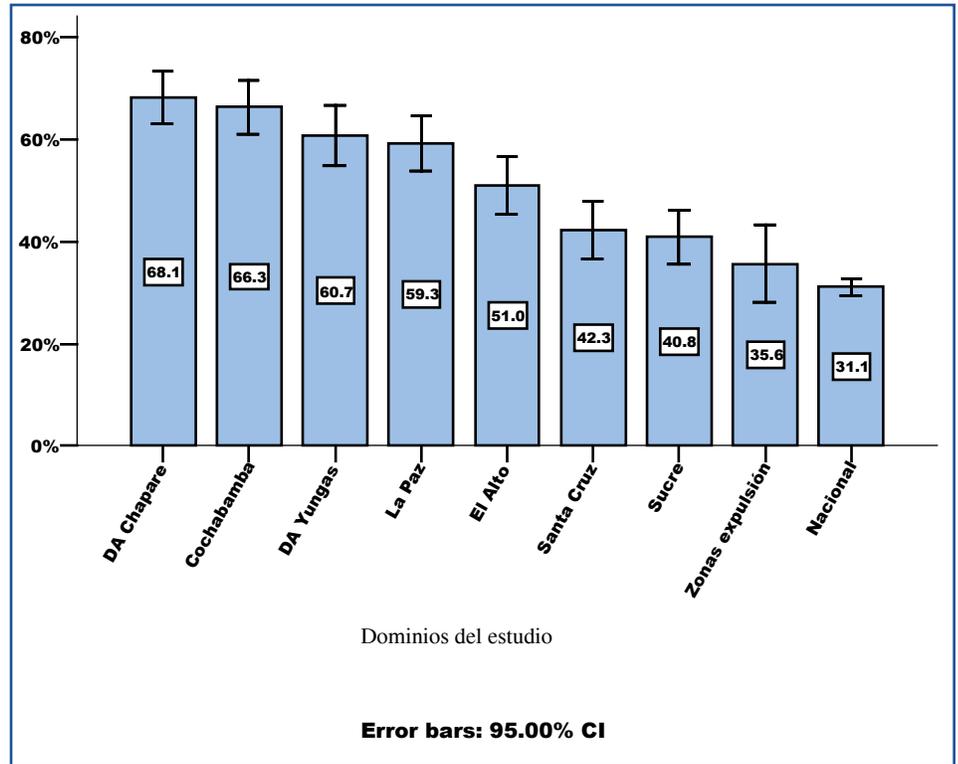
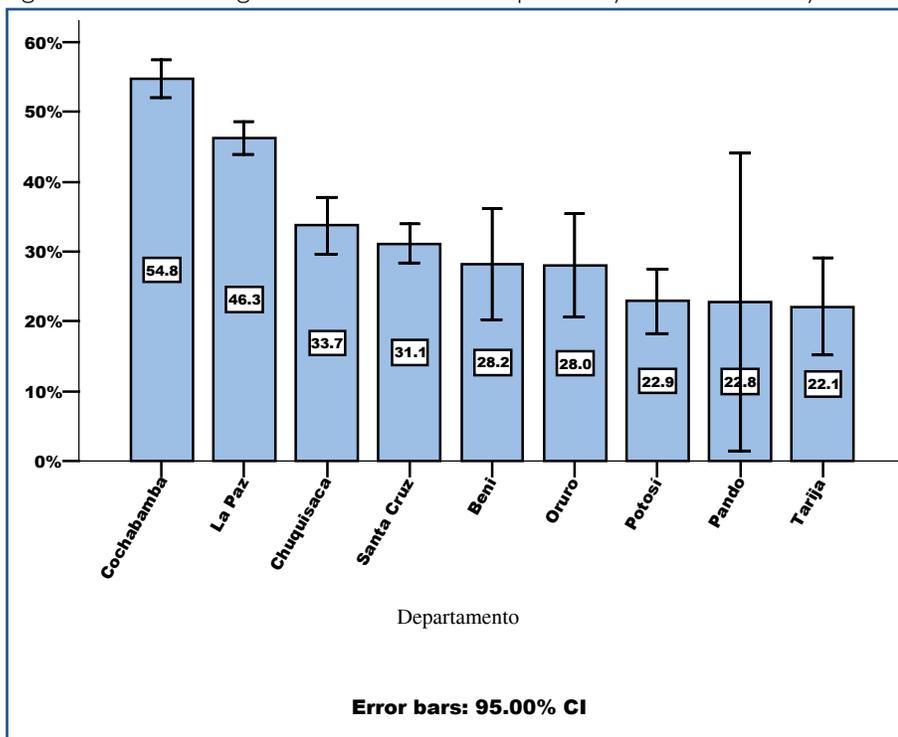


Figure IV.2 Knowledge of Alternative Development by domain of study



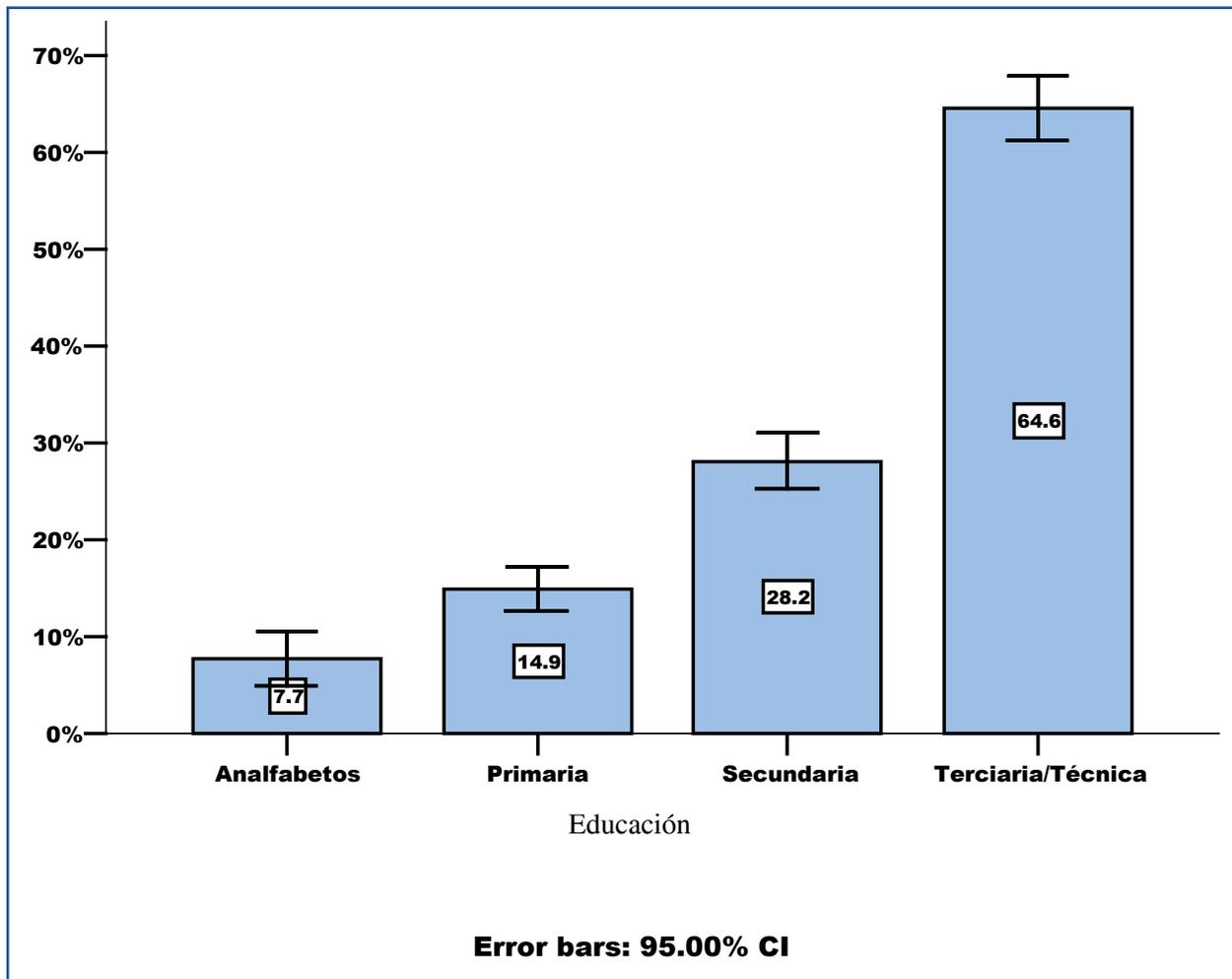
Who knows about Alternative Development?

As expected, respondents living in the “Alternative Development” zones and surrounding cities like Cochabamba and La Paz are more familiar with the program than respondents from the rest of Bolivia. Figure IV.1 shows that more than two thirds of respondents living in Chapare have heard about Alternative Development. This percentage is reversed for the expulsion zone and the general public.

Coincidentally, Cochabamba and La Paz are the departments where the program was more widely recognized and the opposite is to be said about Potosí, Pando and Tarija (Figure IV.2)

⁷ Details of the survey can be found in Chapter 1.

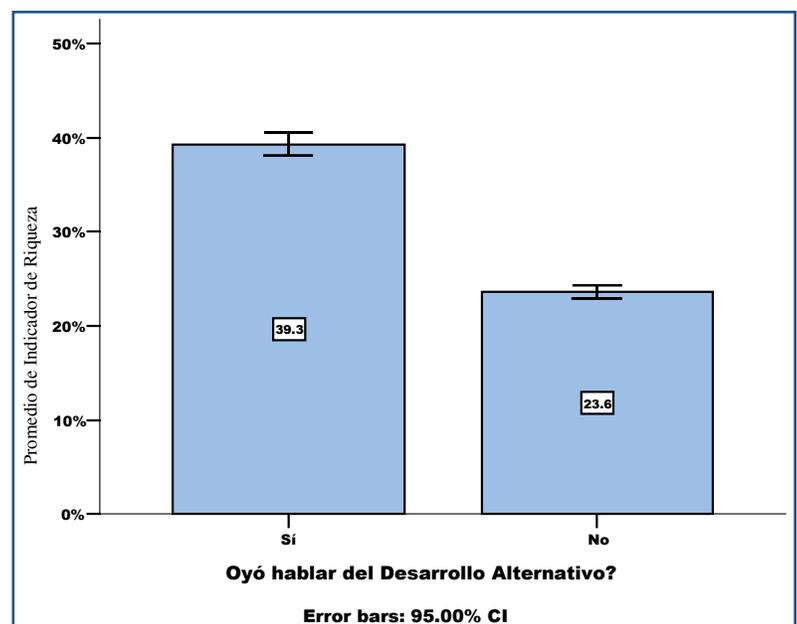
Figure IV.3 Knowledge of Alternative Development by level of education



Knowledge and information in general, independent of the topic, usually varies depending on the respondents' schooling and economic status. More educated people tend to be more informed. Knowledge of the Alternative Development program is not an exception to the rule. Figure IV.3 shows that respondents with a higher level of education also are more knowledgeable about the program.

The same happens with the respondents' economic situation, indicated by the family's material wealth⁸. Figure IV.4 shows that respondents that have heard about Alternative Development have significantly higher material wealth (a third higher) than those who have not.

Figure IV.4 Knowledge of Alternative Development according to material wealth



⁸ Appendix 1 describes the material wealth indicators.

Figure IV.5 Knowledge of Alternative Development by gender of education

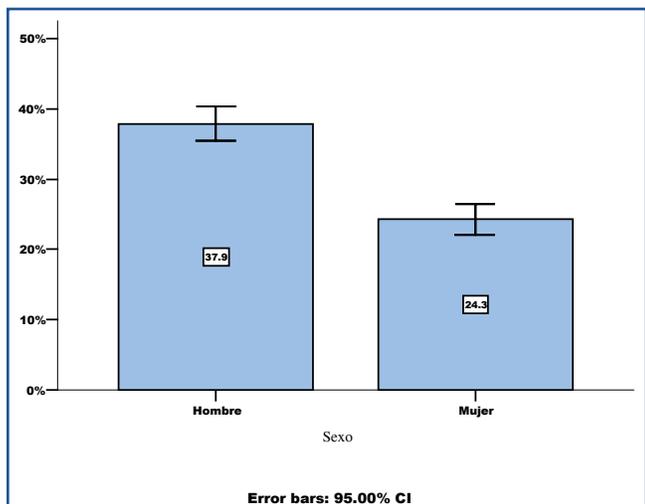
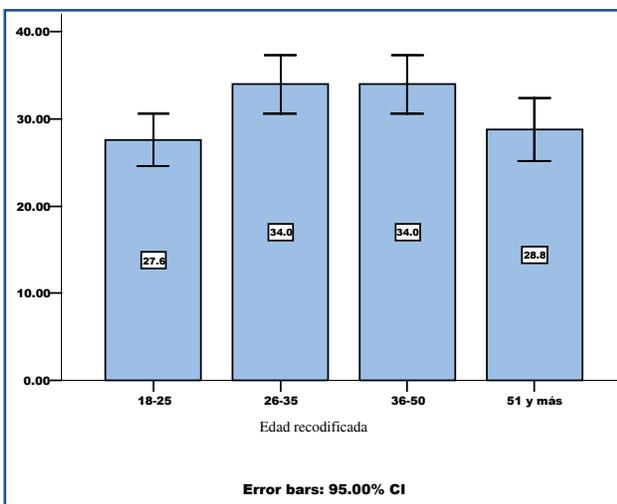


Figure IV.6 Knowledge of Alternative Development by age



Figures IV.5 and IV.6 indicate other socio-demographic characteristics that also distinguish those who are familiar and not familiar with the program: men know more about Alternative Development than women and respondents between the ages of 26 and 50 have heard more about the program than both the younger and older age groups. Because men in that age category are more involved in this sector, having a greater understanding is expected.

In the previous chapters we discussed

how important it is to keep in mind ethnicity when trying to understand social phenomena in Bolivia. Consequently, we included the respondent's ethnic self-identification as a variable. Figure IV.7 shows that Bolivians who identify themselves as White or mestizos know more about the Alternative Development program, while the "cholos" know less.

During the survey all of the respondents received a short description of Alternative Development, whether they had heard about it or not, and

were asked if the program would help decrease the planting of coca⁹. The question's objective is to understand the respondents' perceptions about the possibilities of the Alternative Development program to help eradicate coca. Because almost seven out of ten respondents had not heard about the Alternative Development program, it was not possible to ask their opinions about something which they claim not to know, although such answers would be crucial. Nevertheless, Figure IV.8 shows that the majority of respondents believe that Alternative Development

Figure IV.7 Knowledge of Alternative Development according to ethnic self-identification

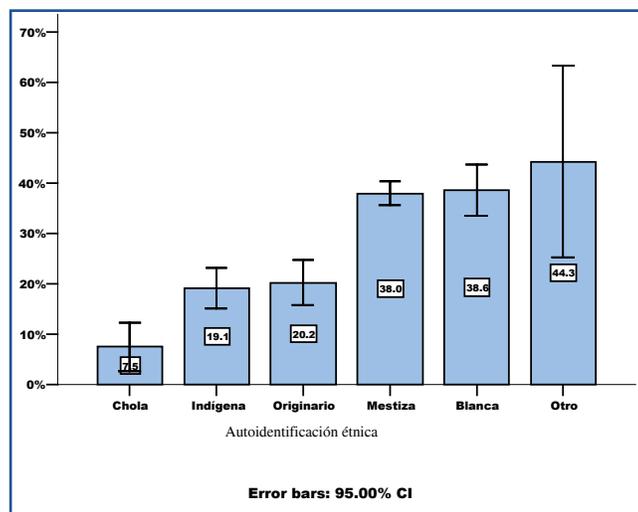
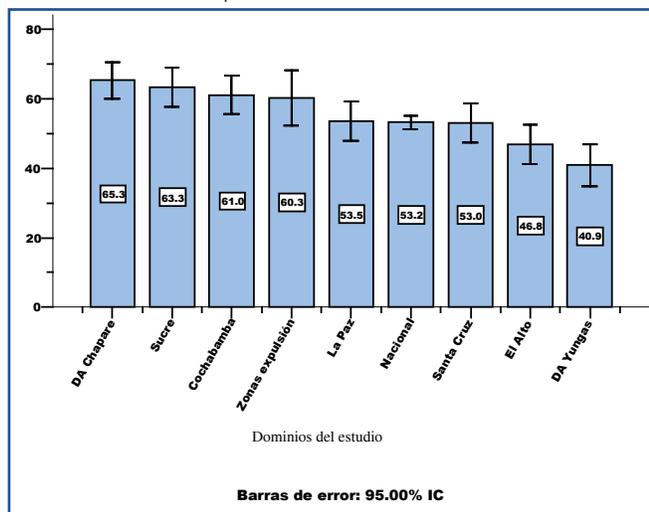


Figure IV.8 Percentage of respondents that believe that the number of plantations will decrease thanks to Alternative Development



⁹ The text of the question is: "The Alternative Development program consists of substituting coca cultivating for other legal crops, it also promotes economic and social development in rural zones to reduce poverty. From this point of view, do you think that the program will be able to help reduce the number of coca plantations or will the number of plantations remain the same?"

Figure IV.9 Definition of Alternative Development by domain

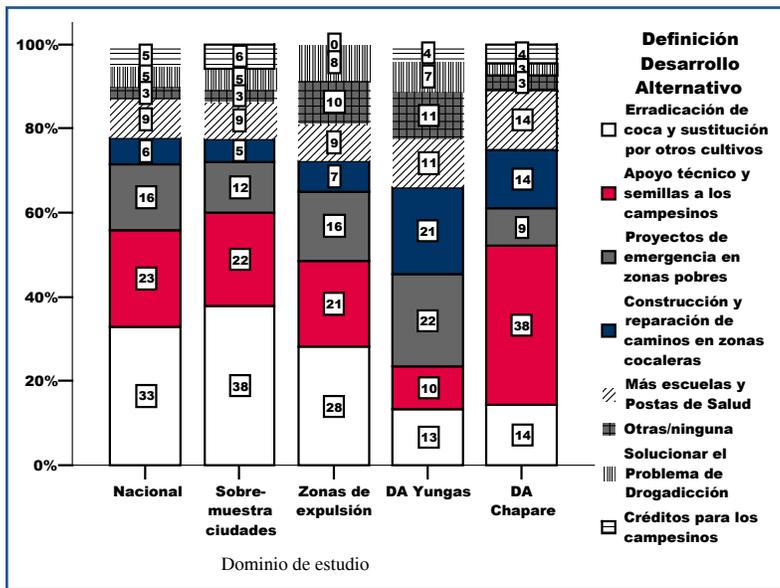
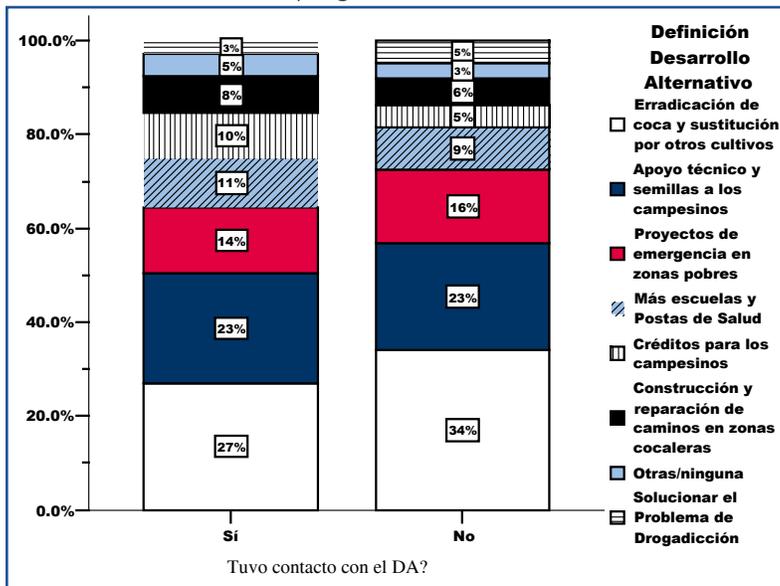


Figure IV.10 Definition of Alternative Development dependent on level of contact with the program



could help diminish coca plantations in all domains, except for El Alto and Yungas, where respondents believe that the program will not help. There is a significant difference between what the people in Chapare think, where 65% believe that plantations will decrease with the program, as compared to 41% in Yungas. This reflects the effects of

different public policies regarding coca cultivation in both regions. Yungas is considered a traditional coca-cultivating zone, hence for many farmers the Alternative Development program does not imply crop substitution.

In conclusion, Alternative Development is not well known. Respondents that know more

about it live in the areas where the program is currently being implemented or are more educated and of a higher socioeconomic status. Nonetheless, the problem seems to be due more to a lack of information about the program rather than of negative attitudes towards it since after listening to a short description of the program, an absolute majority did believe that it could help diminish the coca plantations.

What is known about Alternative Development?

Hearing about Alternative Development does not necessarily imply understanding or having specific information on the topic. For that reason, the survey included questions to assess what the respondents understand the program to be such as what are the products promoted by Alternative Development and who is in charge of the program. This series of questions was asked to those who had heard about Alternative Development.

First, the respondents were shown a list of different descriptions of the program and were asked to choose the one that best described Alternative Development¹⁰. It could have been anticipated that respondents living in Alternative Development zones should know more specifics about the program. The most commonly chosen description in the Chapare region was “technical and seeding assistance for farmers”, while in Yungas the two most common were “construction and reparation of roads in coca regions” and “emergency programs for poor regions”. On the other hand, for the general public, the Expulsion zones and the major cities, the majority opinion was that Alternative Development is a coca eradication and crop substitution program. The differences between cities are not important and for that reason results for the five cities are combined in a single urban sample. What is interesting is that the respondents that have direct experience with the program, whether in Chapare or Yungas, define it differently from those who only have more indirect knowledge (Figures IV.9 and IV.10). Respondents that did not have direct experience with the program associate it with coca eradication and crop substitution.

¹⁰ The options were: “proyectos de emergencia en zonas pobres, apoyo técnico y semillas a los campesinos, construcción y reparación de caminos en zonas cocaleras, erradicación de coca y sustitución por otros cultivos, créditos para los campesinos, evitar que la gente se vaya al Chapare y Yungas, más escuelas y postas de salud y solucionar el problema de la drogadicción.”

Table IV.1 shows that the product most identified with Alternative Development is the banana, followed by hearts of palm and pineapple. These three products are indeed part of the program. It is counter intuitive to find that it is in Alternative Development zones where knowledge levels about substitute crops are lowest.

The Alternative Development program is perceived to be managed by the Government of Bolivia in all the domains except for the Alternative Development zones. Figure IV.11 shows that in the latter a relative majority does not know who sponsors the program; one fourth thinks it is the Government of Bolivia, one fifth believes it is the United States. The differences between Yungas and Chapare are not relevant, neither are the differences between the cities.

In summary, the knowledge respondents have of Alternative Development depends on the extent of their contact with the program. In the Alternative Development zones the program is described as technical and planting support for farmers, social emergency

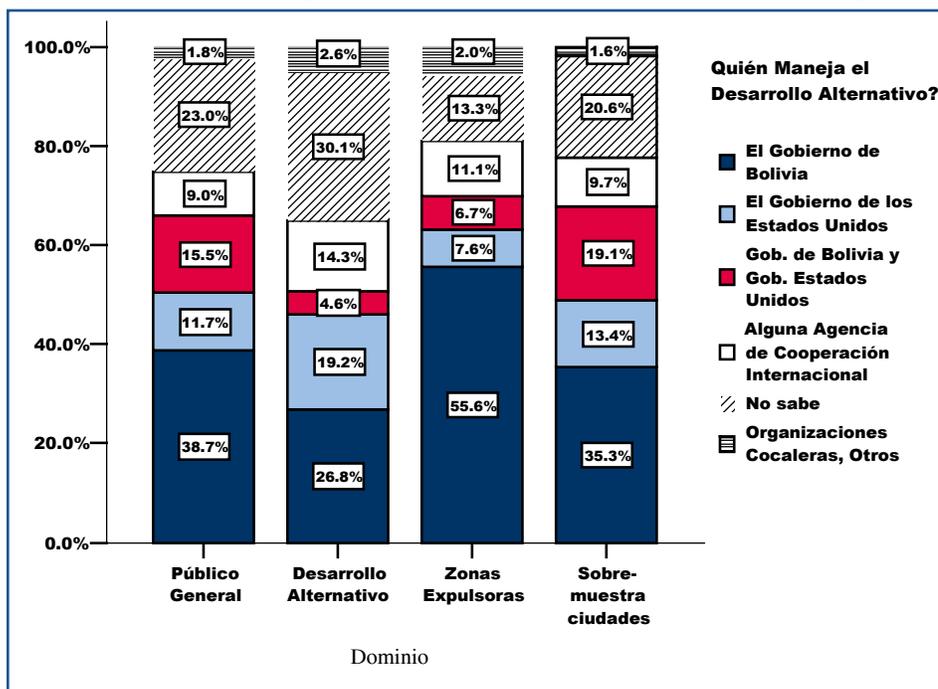
Table IV.1 Products of Alternative Development by domain

	1-Público en General	2-Desarrollo Alternativo	3-Zonas Expulsoras	4-Sobre Muestras Ciudades
Banana	64.2%	30.0%	68.0%	67.5%
Palmito	42.3%	34.0%	32.5%	47.1%
No Conoce	33.6%	60.7%	53.7%	26.9%
Piña	32.1%	20.1%	24.5%	29.8%
Maracuyá	9.3%	15.2%	5.2%	10.5%
Soya	2.7%	1.1%	2.4%	3.6%
Pimienta	2.1%	7.2%	1.7%	3.2%
Naranja	2.1%	6.7%	2.9%	0.5%
Café	1.9%	5.8%	0.0%	2.1%
Manzana	0.9%	0.0%	1.3%	0.1%
Cacao	0.6%	2.3%	0.0%	0.5%
Verduras	0.6%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%
Pasta Dental	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Castaña	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Pescado	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Mandarina	0.5%	3.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Coco	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Papaya	0.5%	0.7%	0.0%	0.8%
Té	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	1.2%
Durazno	0.4%	0.0%	1.6%	0.5%
Tubérculos	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%
Quinua	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Mermelada	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Crianza de Animales	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Uva	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Madera	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Lácteos	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%

programs, and road construction, while, surprisingly, there is not much clarity regarding who manages the program or the crops it sponsors. In contrast,

for the general public, for respondents in Expulsion zones and for residents of large cities, Alternative Development is coca eradication and its substitution by other crops while they see the program as managed by the Bolivian government.

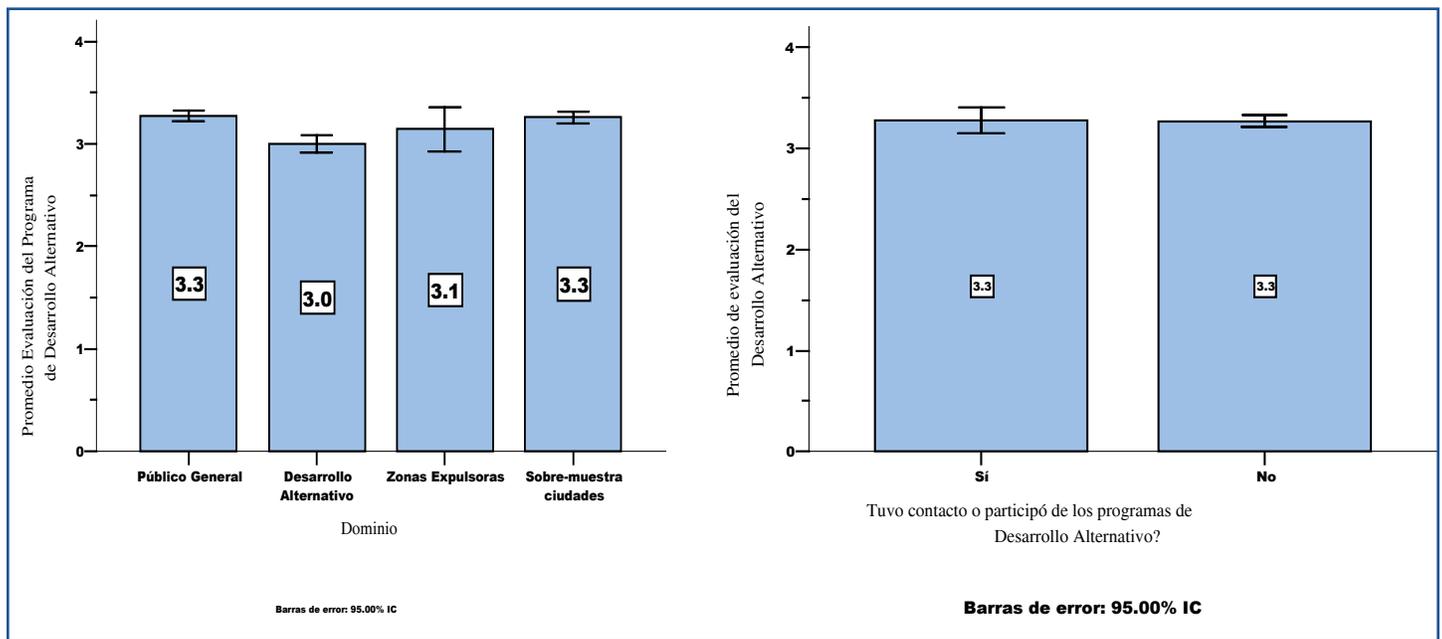
Figure IV.11 Understanding of who runs the Alternative Development program



Evaluations of Alternative Development

To understand how Bolivians evaluate the Alternative Development program several different indicators were used. The first was a question to measure the general evaluation of the program: "Would you say that Alternative Development has been very good, good, regular, bad, or very bad?" The answers were codified on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 was very bad and 5 was very good. Through this indicator, respondents evaluated Alternative Development as fair, the average for all domains never exceeding 3.3. The most critical are

Figure IV.12 Evaluation of Alternative Development by domain and contact with Alternative Development



respondents living in the Alternative Development zones of Chapare and Yungas. Figure IV.12 shows how, contrary to what we saw in the previous section, direct contact with the program does not have a significant impact on how Bolivian's evaluate the program.

The second group of indicators used was a series of questions that summarize evaluations of distinct Alternative Development components in the

Chapare and Yungas zones: road and bridge construction, maintenance and reparation, school construction, building and expansion of sewers and access to potable water, search for new markets for Alternative Development products, technical support for participants in Alternative Development programs, land titling, access to farmer credit, reducing immigration to Chapare and Yungas, and preserving

the environment. A 7 point scale was used for these questions, where 1 was very bad and 7 was very good. Figure IV.13 presents the averages for the different domains. Results are positive (an average above 3.5) for most domains, including general public, residents of major cities, and those residing in Expulsion zones. Once again respondents in Chapare and Yungas give the program a more negative evaluation.

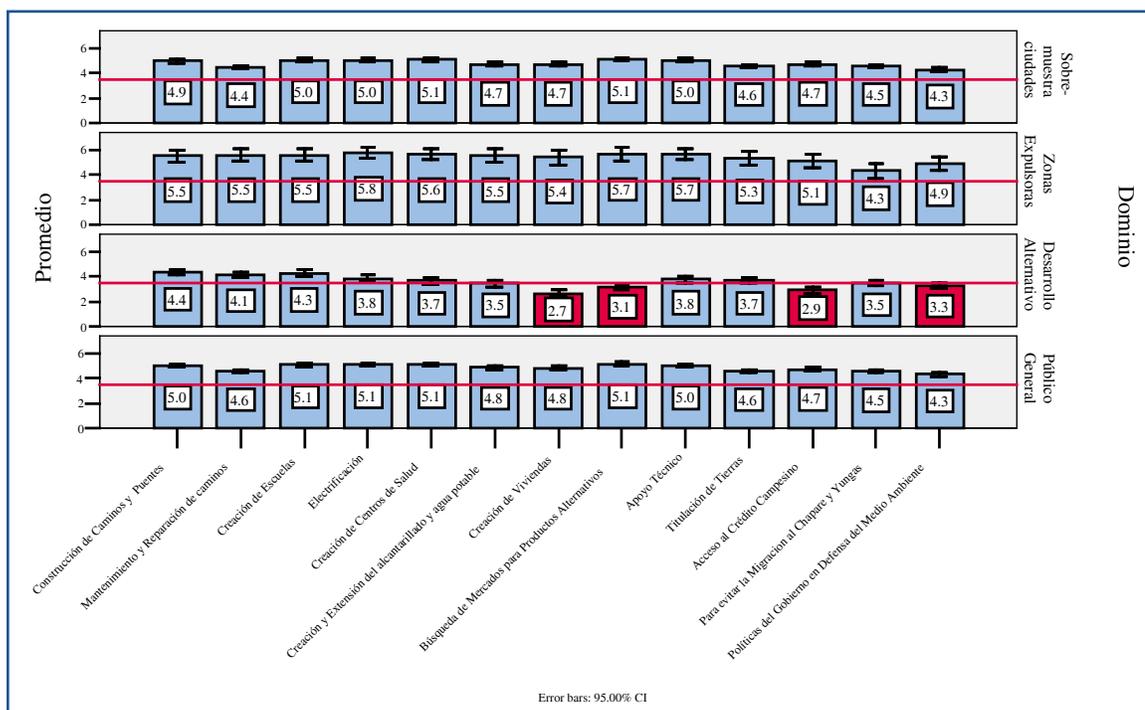
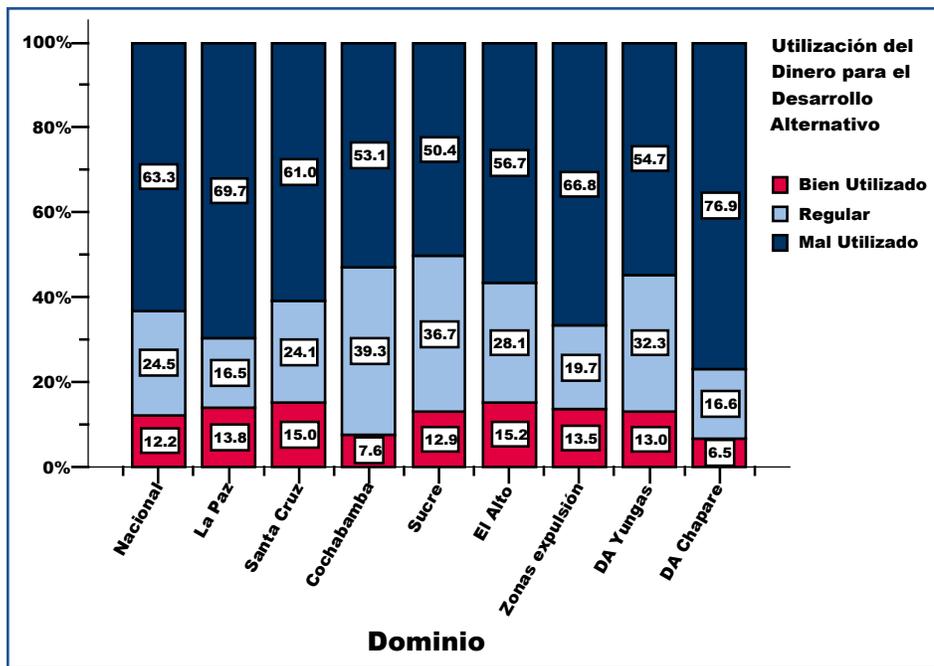


Figure IV.13 Evaluation of the different Alternative Development zones by domain

Figure IV.14 Utilization of the money by domain



The averages for each of the programs are evaluated more negatively in the Alternative Development zones than in the other domains. In particular,

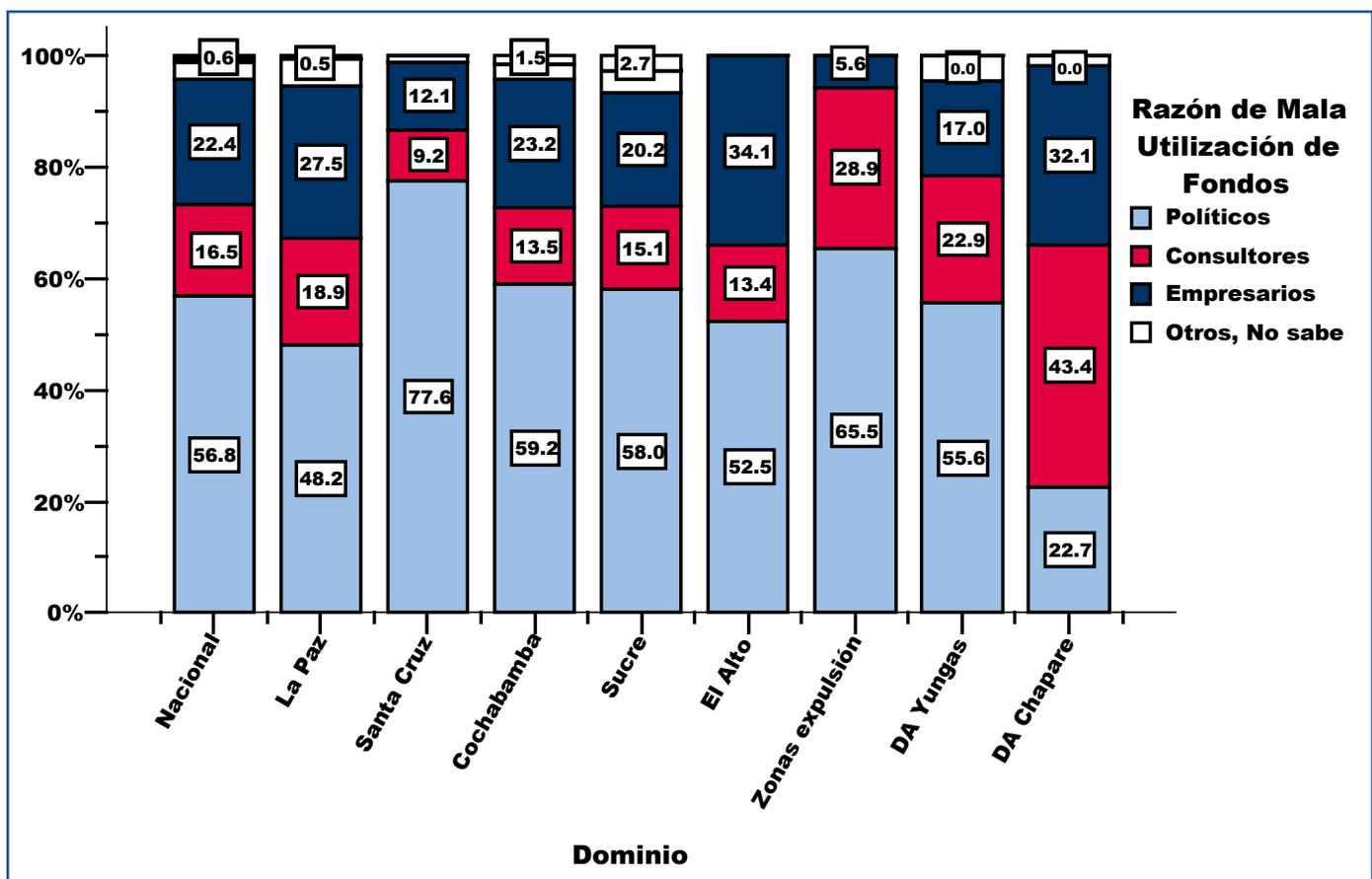
four areas receive averages lower than 3.5 in Chapare and Yungas: housing construction, search for new markets for Alternative Development products,

access to farmer credit, and public policies to preserving the environment.

A third indicator was the respondents' evaluation of how Alternative Development funds were spent. The absolute majority in all domains thought that the money was not well spent. Figure IV.14 shows that the variations among domains are not very important. In any case, Chapare respondents are also more critical in this respect.

Those who responded that the money was poorly managed were asked how they believed it was spent. The results are shown in Figure IV.15. For the general public, Bolivians in large cities, those in Expulsion zones, and Yungas residents, the politicians kept the money for themselves. Blaming the politicians is a common practice in Latin America when something does not go well, hence this answer was expected. Nonetheless,

Figure IV.15 Reason for the mismanagement of funds by domain (only for respondents who believed that funds were indeed mismanaged)



it is surprising that this was not the majority response among Chapare residents. Among them, the majority thought that consultants received very high wages, second that businessmen used Alternative Development money for their own benefit, and finally, that politicians kept the money.

The fourth indicator is the public's perception of who benefits and who loses from Alternative Development. Tables IV.2 and IV.3 show that concerning this issue there are also significant differences among domains. Among the general public, residents of large cities, inhabitants of Expulsion zones, and people in Yungas, opinion is

divided in between those who believe that the main beneficiaries are the coca growers, large businesses, Alternative Development farmers, the GOB, and the residents of Yungas and Chapare. In contrast, for Chapare respondents the ones who have benefited the most are individuals managing the Alternative Development program. The

Table IV.2 Who benefits from Alternative Development

		Dominios del estudio								
		Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Principal beneficiario	Cocaleros	16.8%	20.4%	12.4%	19.0%	16.2%	17.0%	11.9%	5.5%	3.3%
	Grandes comerciantes	11.5%	12.2%	13.2%	17.8%	12.3%	9.0%	12.5%	4.8%	9.2%
	Prod. DA	12.4%	9.6%	11.0%	15.7%	20.0%	4.2%	11.3%	11.8%	6.2%
	Func. DA	6.1%	3.8%	5.3%	4.6%	8.8%	2.7%	4.3%	6.5%	40.1%
	Gob. Bolivia	13.9%	13.1%	16.9%	5.0%	10.6%	17.4%	11.1%	23.6%	8.9%
	Personas del Chapare y Yungas	10.7%	10.8%	17.4%	10.6%	10.4%	5.2%	16.3%	6.3%	4.2%
	Gob. EEUU	1.9%	5.8%	3.6%	.8%	1.0%	2.5%	1.0%	2.7%	1.5%
	Productores Chapare	6.6%	5.3%	8.2%	14.0%	2.2%	13.3%	7.8%	6.6%	10.7%
	Políticos	2.9%	4.6%	2.3%	3.2%	.4%	5.9%		1.5%	1.3%
	Campesinos	3.8%	3.0%	1.6%	2.3%	1.6%	6.4%	8.4%	4.6%	9.3%
	No sabe	4.9%	4.7%			9.9%	1.9%	1.6%	5.6%	1.8%
	Ninguno	2.2%	2.2%	1.9%	2.6%	2.4%	2.6%	4.4%	3.2%	.2%
	Otras	6.2%	4.4%	6.1%	4.4%	4.2%	12.0%	9.2%	17.2%	3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table IV.3 Who suffers from Alternative Development

		Dominios del estudio								
		Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Principal perjudicado	Cocaleros	27.9%	29.9%	22.1%	35.1%	21.2%	26.3%	25.3%	22.2%	8.6%
	Grandes comerciantes	4.3%	5.3%	2.1%	6.8%	10.4%	3.5%	1.7%	2.4%	
	Prod. DA	3.9%	4.5%	3.5%	1.9%	4.7%	2.0%	7.4%	6.2%	1.4%
	Gob. Bolivia	1.8%	6.0%	3.8%		3.1%	1.7%		1.3%	1.5%
	Personas del Chapare y Yungas	9.7%	12.5%	10.9%	6.0%	6.4%	9.1%	11.4%	12.3%	13.1%
	Prod. Chapare	13.8%	11.8%	23.8%	13.8%	9.3%	14.1%		10.3%	30.5%
	Pueblo	3.3%	1.1%	1.5%	3.7%	1.9%	5.7%		5.9%	1.5%
	Los que no están en el programa	2.8%		.6%	.9%	5.3%	1.1%	3.0%	5.2%	2.3%
	Narcotraficantes	3.3%	4.5%	9.0%	2.3%	1.4%	9.4%	11.1%	1.2%	1.9%
	Campesinos	6.8%	5.5%	4.9%	8.8%	6.5%	7.8%	4.1%	9.7%	20.1%
	No sabe	7.9%	6.7%	.8%	1.0%	13.9%	1.4%	7.5%	5.6%	4.5%
	Ninguno	7.8%	4.7%	11.8%	14.7%	6.9%	8.3%	13.9%	4.6%	5.3%
	Otras	6.9%	7.6%	5.1%	5.0%	9.0%	9.6%	14.7%	13.2%	9.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

same distinction among domains can be found when asking who has been harmed the most. Peasant respondents in Chapare believe that they themselves are the ones most harmed, while the rest of the general public believes that it is the coca growers that have been harmed the most.

A line regression was conducted to determine those characteristics that significantly impact the evaluation of Alternative Development. Results are presented in Table A.II.8 in Appendix II.

The following are the main results:

- (1) Women have a higher probability of giving a positive evaluation than men.
- (2) The older the respondent, the more negative the evaluation of Alternative Development. In other words, younger respondents evaluate the program more favorably than older respondents.
- (3) Respondents that self identify themselves as indigenous, have
- (4) a higher probability of giving Alternative Development a more negative evaluation than mestizos.
- (5) Education does not play a significant role in the program's evaluation.
- (6) On the contrary, material wealth (or possession of material goods)

does have a positive impact. As material wealth increases, so does the evaluation of Alternative Development.

- (6) It is more likely that residents of Chapare and Yungas give a more negative evaluation of Alternative Development than the general public.

Figure IV.16 Place where Alternative Development should be taught by domain

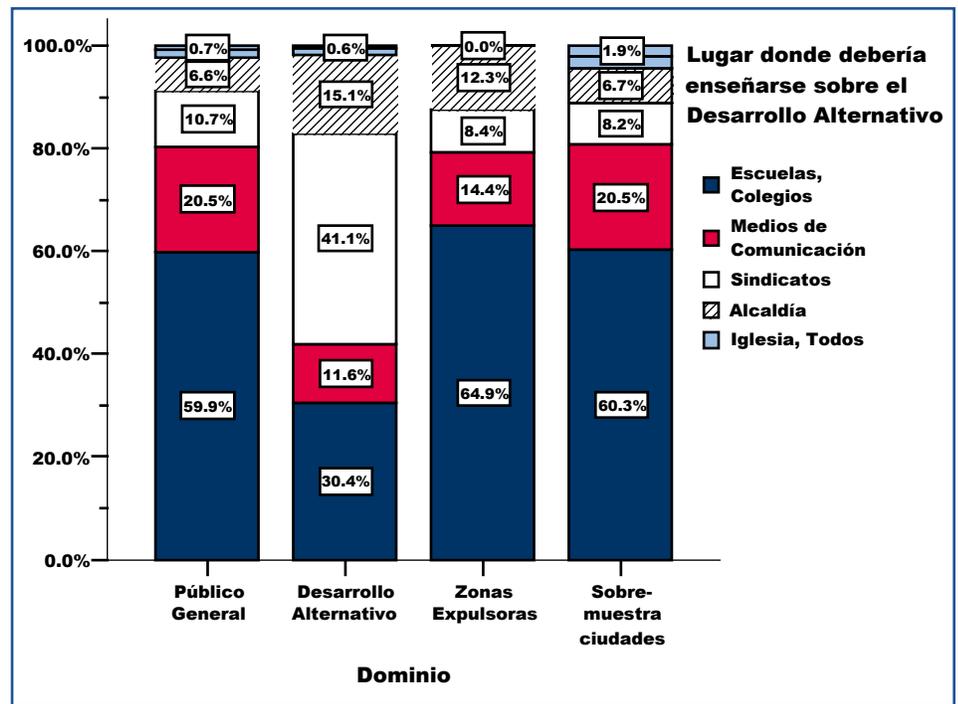
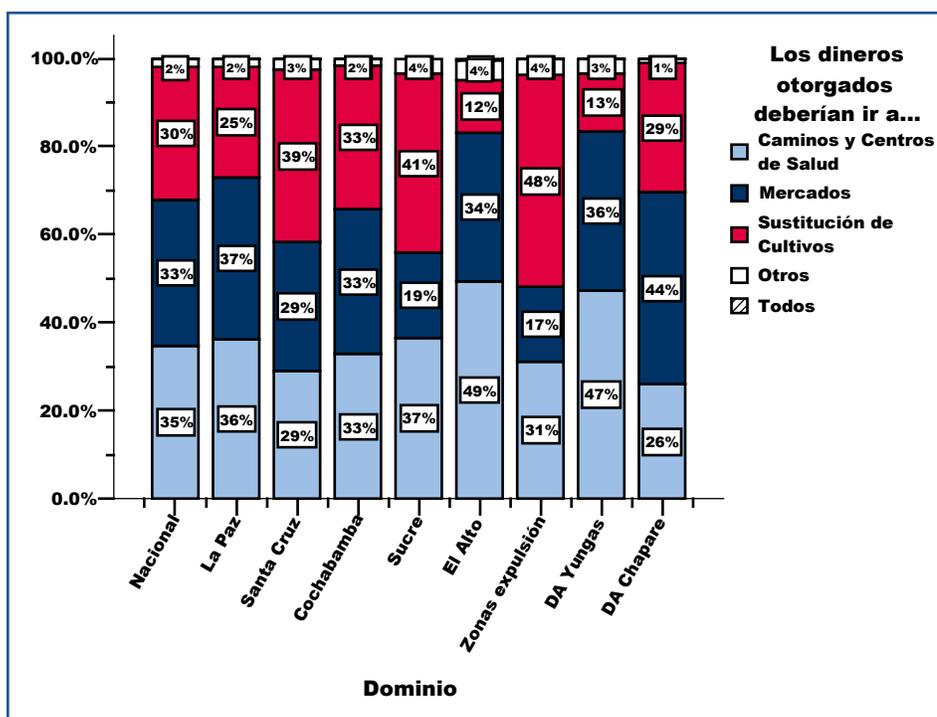


Figure IV.17 Where should the Alternative Development funds go?



Recommendations

The survey included various questions designed to obtain information that would help with the Alternative Development communication strategy. The first addresses where information about Alternative Development should be taught. Figure IV.16 shows the results. The answers given by general public, by Bolivians in large cities, and of those residing in Expulsion zones are as expected: school is where learning occurs, therefore information about Alternative Development should be taught in schools. Nonetheless, respondents in Chapare and Yungas believe it should be taught by the *sindicatos*.

The second question explores the respondent's preferences regarding those Alternative Development zones that should receive more funds. Figure IV.17 (previous page) indicates that the general public is divided in thirds between the substitution of illegal crops, road and health infrastructure, and the opening of new markets for Alternative Development products. Opinions in La Paz, Santa Cruz and Cochabamba are also markedly divided. Majority percentages are more consistent in Sucre and the Expulsion zones where respondents believe that the funds should go to crop substitution. In El Alto and Yungas, the majority thinks that the funds should go to roads and health centers, while in Chapare the main concern is with opening markets to sell their products.

Conclusions

This chapter has three main conclusions. First, the Alternative Development program is still not well known among Bolivians. There is much information to be disseminated to the public about the program, who manages it, the program's goals, and the products it promotes.

Secondly, among those who have heard about the program, evaluations are fair. On the one hand, they are positive about the work that has been done in different areas. On the other, Bolivians distrust the way funds have been utilized.

Finally, and perhaps the chapter's most important conclusion, is that there are important differences in perceptions between those who live

in Chapare and Yungas and those residing in other domains. The Chapare respondents in particular are more critical of the program, they consider that their principal beneficiaries have been Alternative Development officials, would prefer to have information disseminated by *sindicatos*, and that program funds be allocated for the search for new markets for Alternative Development products. These differences of opinion make clear that the Alternative Development communication strategy must necessarily consider regional differences in perceptions, particularly those prevalent in Yungas and Chapare. The opinions of Bolivians residing in Alternative Development zones are analyzed in the following chapter.

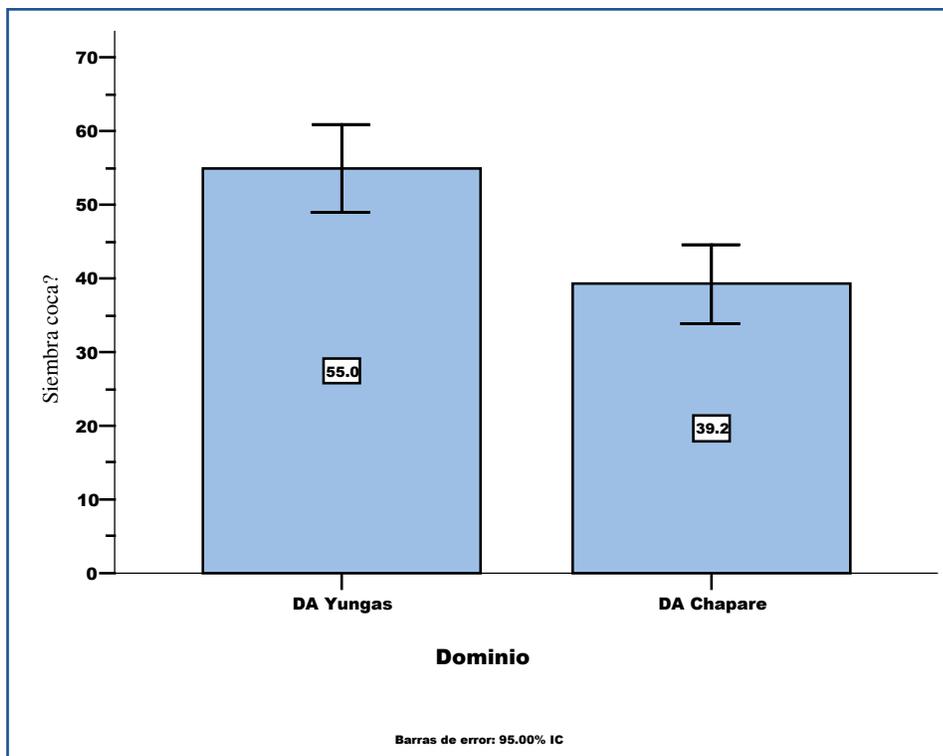
V. Attitudes Towards Alternative Development in Coca Producing Zones: Chapare and Yungas

One of the study's principal objectives is to understand the opinions and perceptions of Bolivians that live in the Alternative Development zones: Chapare and Yungas. To accomplish this objective, the study used two measures: 1) a sample that allowed these areas of Bolivia to be analyzed separately and 2) a questionnaire, which included a specific set of questions targeted towards people living only in Chapare and Yungas. The study's results are presented below. The first section describes the productive characteristics of the regions, the second section concentrates on opinions about unions and farmers associations, the third section explores the opinions on coca eradication and finally, the fourth section analyzes the opinions and evaluations on alternative development. The fifth section presents the main conclusions.

Table V.1 Products cultivated in the last two years by domain

Cultivos	Dominios del estudio	
	DA Yungas %	DA Chapare %
Frutas	58.0	78.9
Cítricos	57.5	43.0
Coca	46.3	8.6
Cereales	37.1	42.6
Tubérculos	29.3	49.8
Café - Té	29.0	1.3
Condimentos y Aji	9.4	4.3
Verduras	6.9	2.2
Cacao	4.5	3.9
Hortalizas	3.7	5.3
Flores - Plantas	1.1	1.4
Maní - Gramíneas	0.6	5.4
Palmito	0.6	11.2
Frutos	0.0	0.6
No Cultiva	16.2	41.4
Total	300%	300%

Figure V.1 Percentage that grows coca by domain



Economic characteristics of Yungas and Chapare

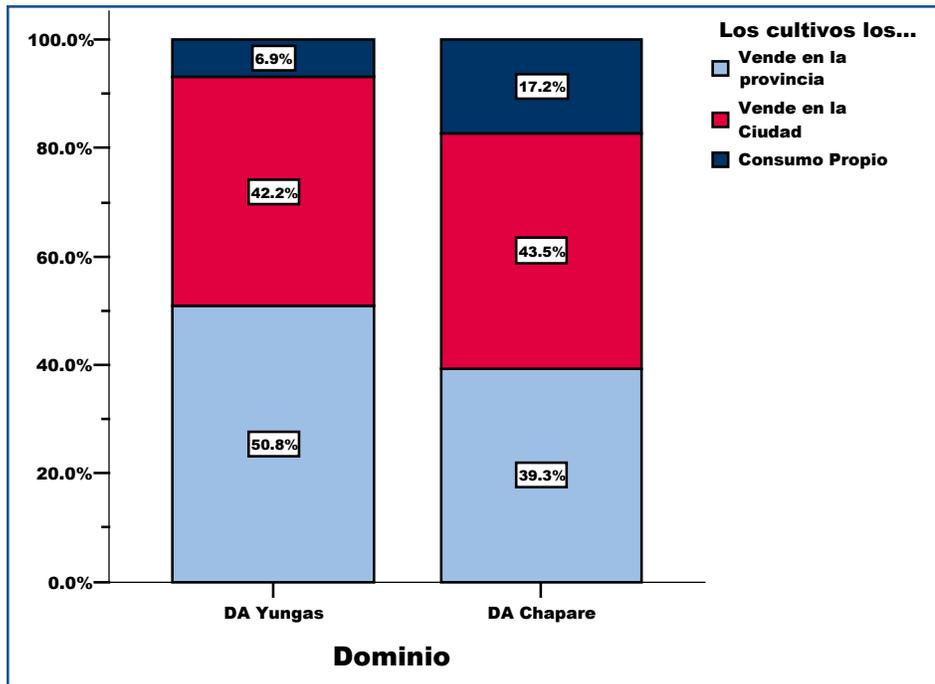
Among the specific questions raised in the regions of Yungas and Chapare, respondents were asked what specific crops they had cultivated in the last couple of years. Table V.1 presents the results. 16% of the Yungas' residents do not farm, while 41% of the Chapare population did not grow any crops in the last two years¹. The three predominating crops in Yungas are fruit, citrus fruit and coca, while in Chapare they consist of fruit, root vegetables, citrus fruit and grains. Coca leaf cultivation is among the three most commonly mentioned crops in Yungas, but not in Chapare. This difference could be due to the Chapare interviewees not declaring their coca

crops because they are illegal. It is uncertain as to whether this is the reason for this noticeable difference or if there are other factors that should be considered.

In addition, the respondents were asked if they cultivate coca. Figure V.1 indicates that more than half of the Yungas residents grow coca, while in Chapare only 4 out of 10 do so. In both regions, the answers to this question indicate that there is a higher percentage of the population that actually cultivates coca in contrast with the answers given to the first question. The difference is most evident in Chapare where only 8.6% of the respondents stated that they grew coca when asked about crops in general versus a 39.2% that admitted to cultivating coca when specifically

¹ The percentages do not add up to 100 because the numbers consist of the first three crops listed by the interviewee.

Figure V.2 Crops' destination



asked, almost five times as much. There are various possible explanations for this difference. One possibility is that their decision to omit coca as a grown crop is due to the fact that it is illegal in

Chapare. Another possibility is that the farmers in Chapare consider other crops more important than coca and hence automatically recall other products first and not coca. The second possibility

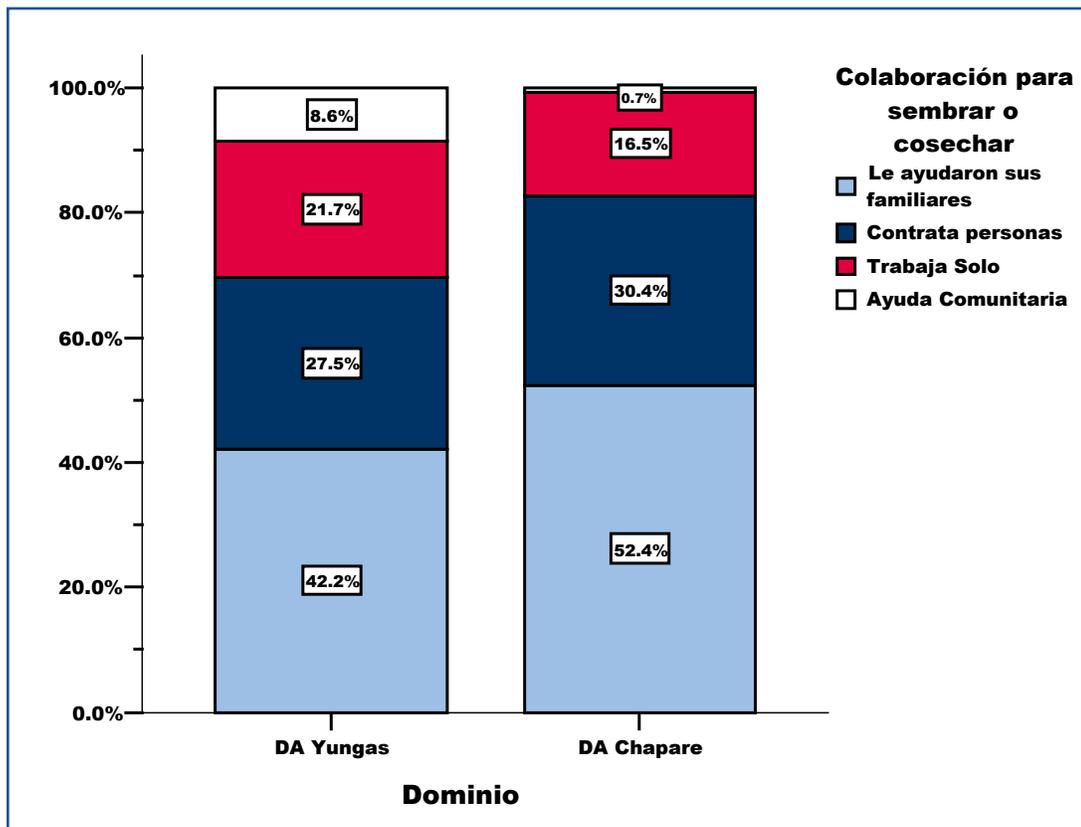
explains why the percentage of coca growers increases with the more explicit question about coca.

In order to learn more about the ways and styles of cultivating crops in Yungas and Chapare, interviewees were asked about the crops' final destination, and if the person cultivating them received some form of aid for planting and harvesting. The absolute majority of the crops produced in Chapare and Yungas are for sale whether they go to the city or the province. Figure V.2 shows that more people in Chapare farm for personal consumption than in Yungas, but this is a minor portion of the population.

The aid that farmers receive for planting and harvesting crops in both regions of Yungas and Chapare comes mainly from family members. Figure V.3 shows the results. Community aid and involvement is more frequent in Yungas than in Chapare. These two questions do not discriminate the information

between crops. That is to say, that it is not certain whether coca producers receive help from their families to plant coca or if they sell coca in the cities.

Figure V.3 Help received for planting and harvesting



Unions and farmer's associations

Many observers agree that the success of Bolivia's *Estrategia Integral de Lucha contra el Tráfico Ilícito de Drogas (2004-2008)* and particularly the success of Alternative Development depend on negotiations between the Government of Bolivia and the coca unions and farmer's associations. Therefore, it is important to understand how deep is the involvement of the

Figure V.4 Levels of membership by zone

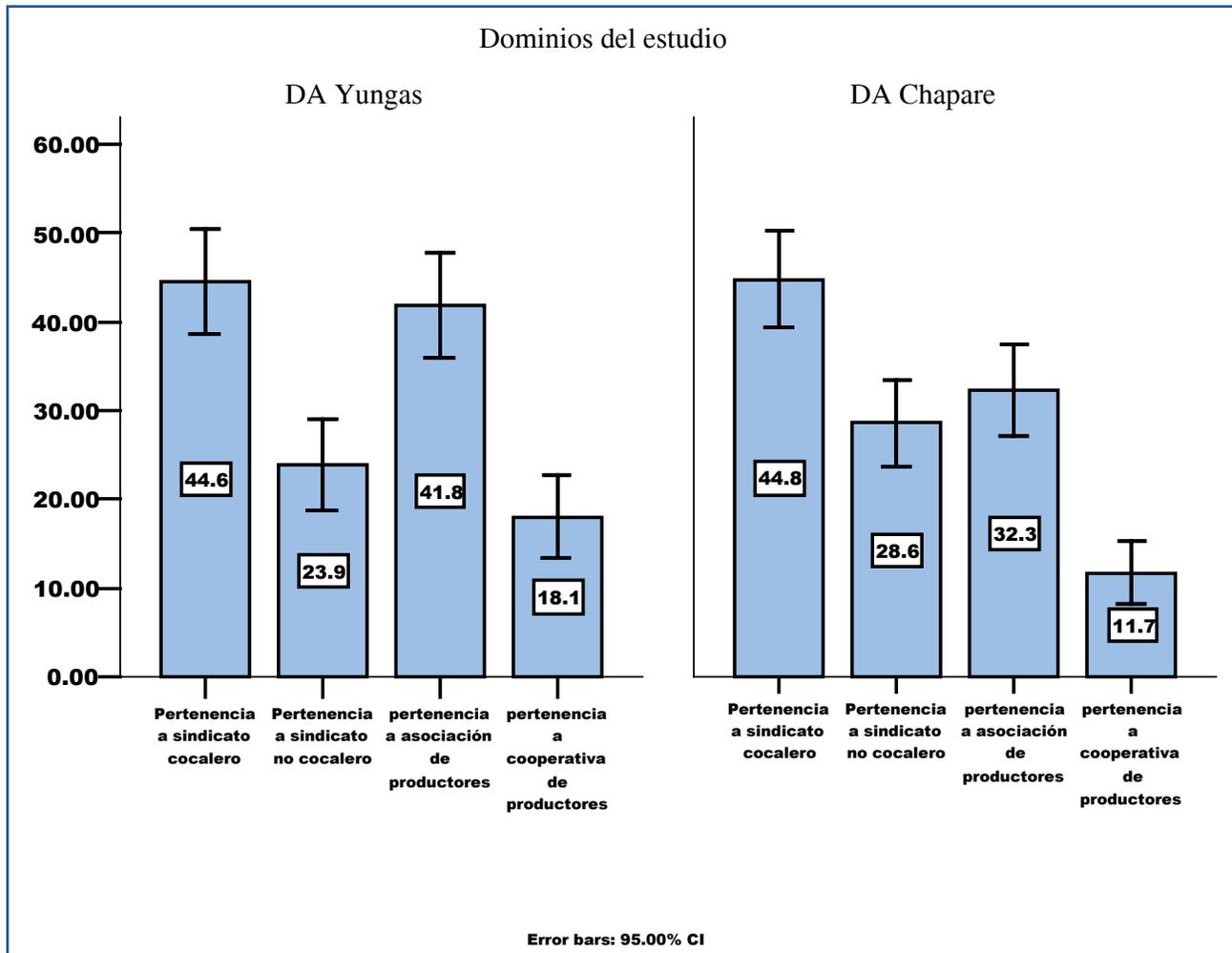
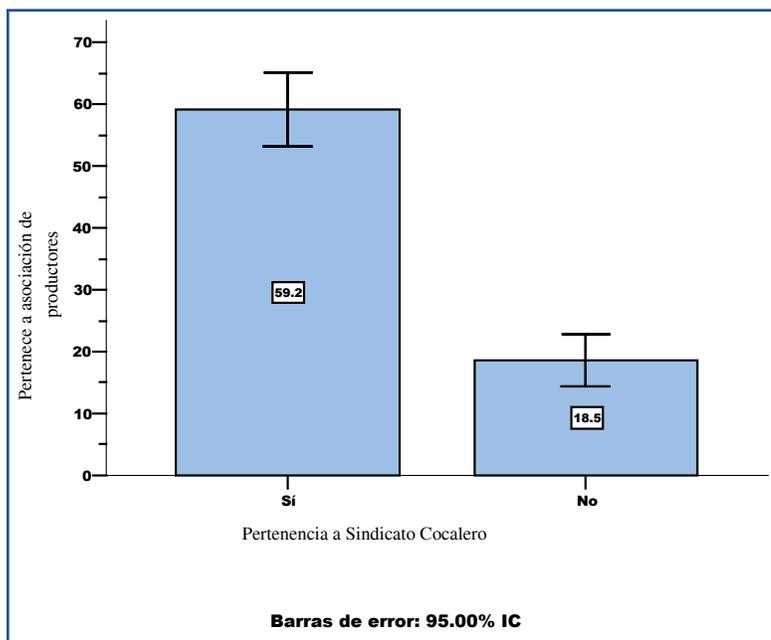


Figure V.5 Membership to coca unions and to farmers associations



Yungas and Chapare inhabitants in these institutions and their opinions of them.

Figure V.4 indicates that there are differences among the Alternative Development zones. In Chapare the coca unions have a higher level of membership and support. In Yungas the support is divided between the coca unions and the farmers associations. The group of respondents that are members of non-coca unions or farmers associations is significantly less. In Chapare, the coca unions preponderance is greater than in Yungas because the non-coca unions and farmers associations receive lower levels of support.

Nonetheless, membership to one organization does not exclude membership to the other. In fact, the majority of residents in Yungas and Chapare are members of both coca unions and farmers association simultaneously. Figure V.5 indicates that almost 60% of the coca union members are also members of the farmers association.

Table V.2 Benefits received from the coca unions by domain and membership to coca unions

		Dominios del estudio		Pertenencia a Sindicato Cocalero		Table Total
		DA Chapare	DA Yungas	No	Sí	
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
¿Qué es lo mejor que le dan los sindicatos de cocaleros a personas como Ud.?	Ninguno	79.1%	58.8%	83.1%	55.6%	70.3%
	Unidad campesina	7.3%	15.6%	1.8%	21.4%	10.9%
	Protección	2.3%	9.6%	1.4%	10.3%	5.5%
	Económicos	6.3%	3.6%	4.5%	5.9%	5.1%
	Sociales	3.8%	2.2%	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%
	Ninguno/Nada		4.2%	2.9%	.5%	1.8%
	Terrenos		2.8%	.5%	2.0%	1.2%
	Culturales	.6%	.5%	.8%	.4%	.6%
	Políticos	.5%	.5%	.6%	.4%	.5%
	Desunión-Desorganización		1.1%	.9%		.5%
	Falta de documentos		.6%		.6%	.3%
Bloqueos		.4%	.3%		.2%	
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table V.3 Disadvantages of coca unions by domain and union membership

		Dominios del estudio		Pertenencia a Sindicato Cocalero		Table Total
		DA Chapare	DA Yungas	No	Sí	
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Y qué es lo peor que tienen los sindicatos para Ud.?	Ninguno	63.5%	54.8%	66.4%	52.3%	59.8%
	Presiones	18.3%	9.2%	13.5%	15.6%	14.5%
	Multas	6.8%	16.1%	5.4%	16.8%	10.7%
	Limitar acceso al desarrollo alternativo	3.3%	4.6%	4.0%	3.6%	3.8%
	Desunión - Desorganización	1.4%	5.4%	1.2%	5.2%	3.1%
	Bloqueos	3.1%	1.2%	2.9%	1.6%	2.3%
	Tiempo	1.2%	2.9%	.7%	3.4%	1.9%
	Corrupción	.9%	2.1%	1.8%	.9%	1.4%
	Ninguno/Nada		2.6%	2.0%		1.1%
	Dirigentes	.4%	.5%	.8%		.5%
	División	.6%	.2%	.1%	.7%	.4%
	Trafican Drogas	.7%		.7%		.4%
	Educación		.5%	.4%		.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table V.4 Benefits of farmers associations by domain and membership

		Dominios del estudio		Pertenencia Asociación de Productores		Table Total
		DA Chapare	DA Yungas	No	Sí	
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
¿Qué beneficios otorga la Asociación de Productores (Cooperativas) a personas como Ud.?	Ninguno	76.3%	63.5%	85.6%	47.3%	70.7%
	Económicos	13.0%	11.8%	5.3%	24.3%	12.5%
	De Unidad Campesina	2.9%	15.7%	4.1%	15.0%	8.5%
	Sociales	4.7%	4.8%	4.3%	5.2%	4.7%
	Culturales		2.2%	.1%	2.4%	1.0%
	Capacitación Técnica	1.7%		.7%	1.4%	.9%
	Trabajo - Proyectos	1.1%	.3%		1.9%	.7%
	Otros		1.0%		1.1%	.4%
	Políticos		.8%		.9%	.3%
	Exportación	.3%			.4%	.2%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Not only is it important to understand union and farmers associations' memberships, but also how they are evaluated, and what the general popular opinion about these organizations is. What benefits do the coca unions offer the people? Table V.2 shows that coca unions do not offer any benefits to the majority of the population living in Yungas and Chapare. It is also surprising that the majority of coca union members feel that they obtain no benefits by belonging to the unions. The two most commonly mentioned benefits are rural community unity and protection.

It is not only difficult for inhabitants of Yungas and Chapare to understand what the benefits of belonging to a union are, but it is also difficult for them to understand the disadvantages that come with being a member. Table V.3 shows that the "worst" things about coca unions are the pressures in Chapare and the fines in Yungas. Union members, who have a greater knowledge and understanding of union functions and procedures, find that fines and pressures are the two main disadvantages of being a member.

The situation is slightly different for the farmers associations. Like coca unions, the absolute majority of Bolivians that live in Chapare and Yungas find that farmers associations produce no benefits. Results are shown in Table V.4. The exception is for those who are members

		Dominios del estudio		Perteneencia Asociación de Prouctores		Table Total
		DA Chapare	DA Yungas	No	Sí	
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
¿Y cuáles desventajas tienen las asociaciones (Cooperativas) para Ud.?	Ninguno	82.0%	67.6%	85.9%	59.3%	75.6%
	Multas	4.9%	11.1%	4.8%	12.2%	7.6%
	Presiones	2.0%	6.9%	4.5%	3.9%	4.2%
	Limitar a la Producción de coca	2.4%	5.9%	1.2%	8.2%	3.9%
	Tiempo	2.2%	4.2%	1.0%	6.5%	3.1%
	Corrupción	2.4%	.1%	.4%	2.9%	1.4%
	Mala Información	.8%	1.3%	.6%	1.8%	1.0%
	Desorganización	1.4%		.4%	1.3%	.8%
	Exportación	.7%	.9%	.7%	.9%	.8%
	Trabajo-Proyectos		1.2%		1.3%	.5%
	No Brindan Ninguna Colaboración	.9%		.4%	.6%	.5%
Otros		.8%	.1%	.7%	.3%	
Capacitación Técnica	.3%			.5%	.2%	
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table V.5. Disadvantages of farmers associations by domain and membership

of the associations. For members, the most commonly mentioned benefits are economic followed secondly by unity.

Once again, Table V.5 indicates that the majority of the population is unaware of any disadvantages coming from farmers associations. However, there are more apparent disadvantages for those who are members of such associations. This is expected since those who are members have a better understanding of the processes and procedures of the associations, therefore being able to evaluate them. The most mentioned disadvantages by association members

are fines and limitations to coca growing.

In short, the positive aspects of unions are that they provide rural community unity and protection to their members. On the other hand, the farmers association's benefits are primarily economic. Both coca unions and farmers associations have disadvantages such as fines. In addition to these fines, unions also pressure their members into participating in protests, blockades and manifestations. Farmers associations have another disadvantage, which is that of limiting coca production.

It is important to understand the relationships between coca unions and their members, farmers associations and their members, unions and the federations, and finally between unions and associations to find out if the public feels they act collectively or if they are fragmented. For Bolivians that live in Chapare and Yungas, members of both coca unions and farmers associations are perceived as united. Figure V.6 shows that the level of unity in coca unions is perceived to be greater than in the associations. The differences among the regions are inconsequential.

Figure V.6 Levels of unity between unions and associations

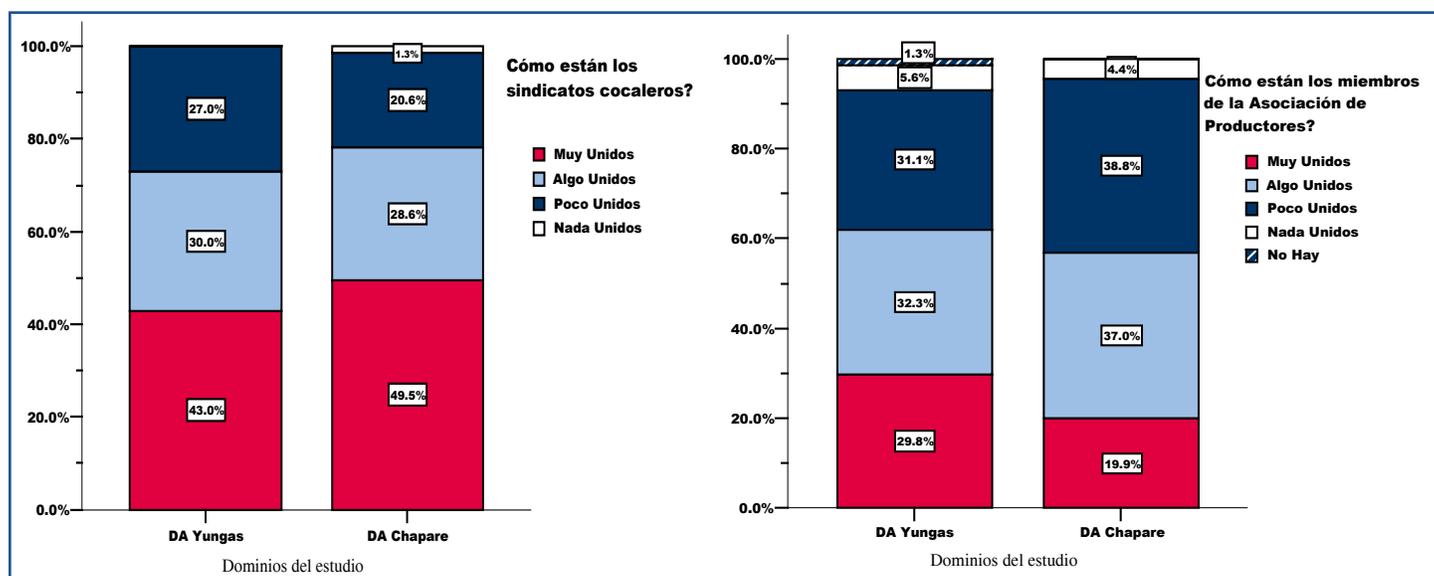


Figure V.7 Adherence to resolutions made by the provincial federation.

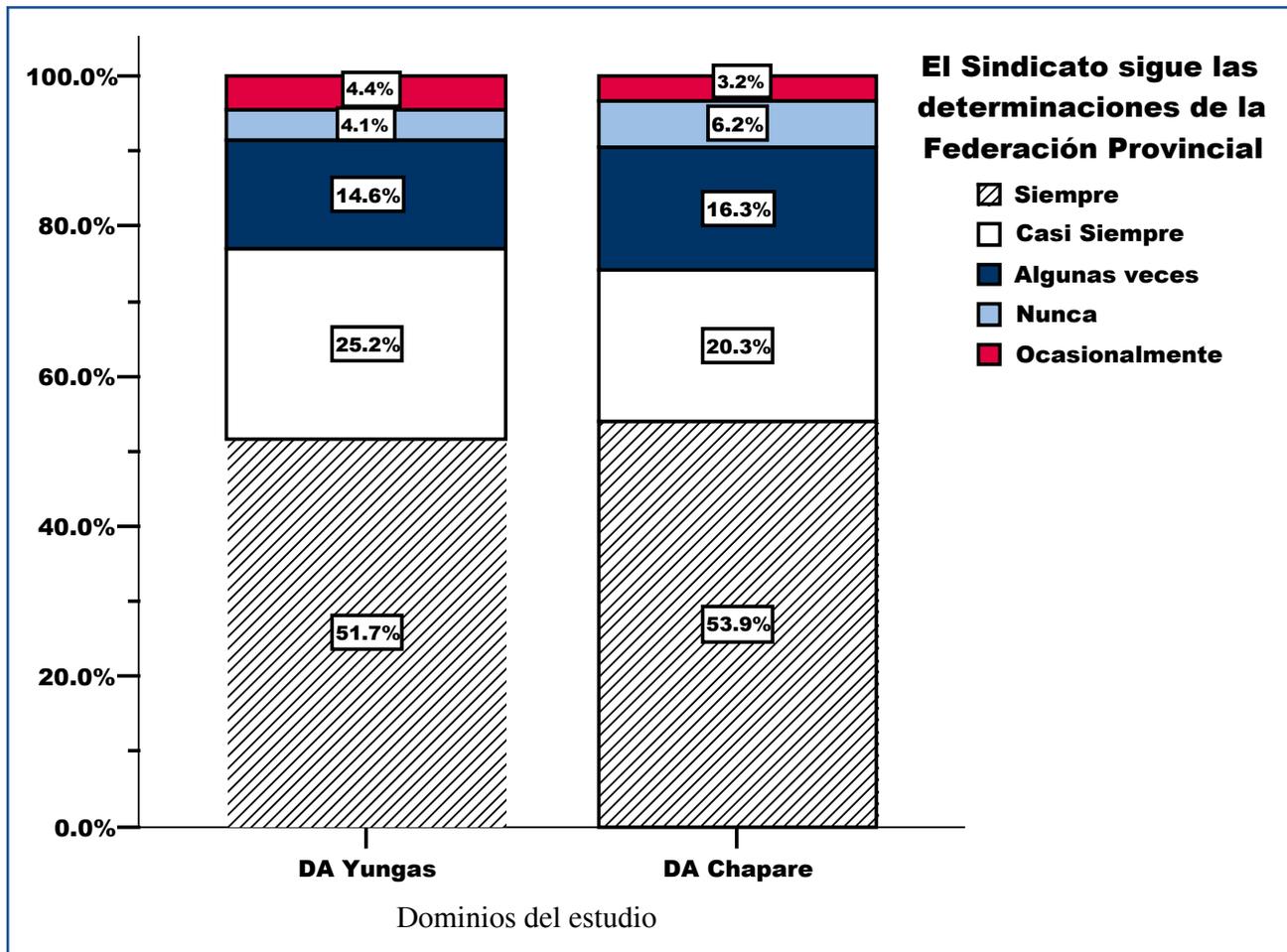
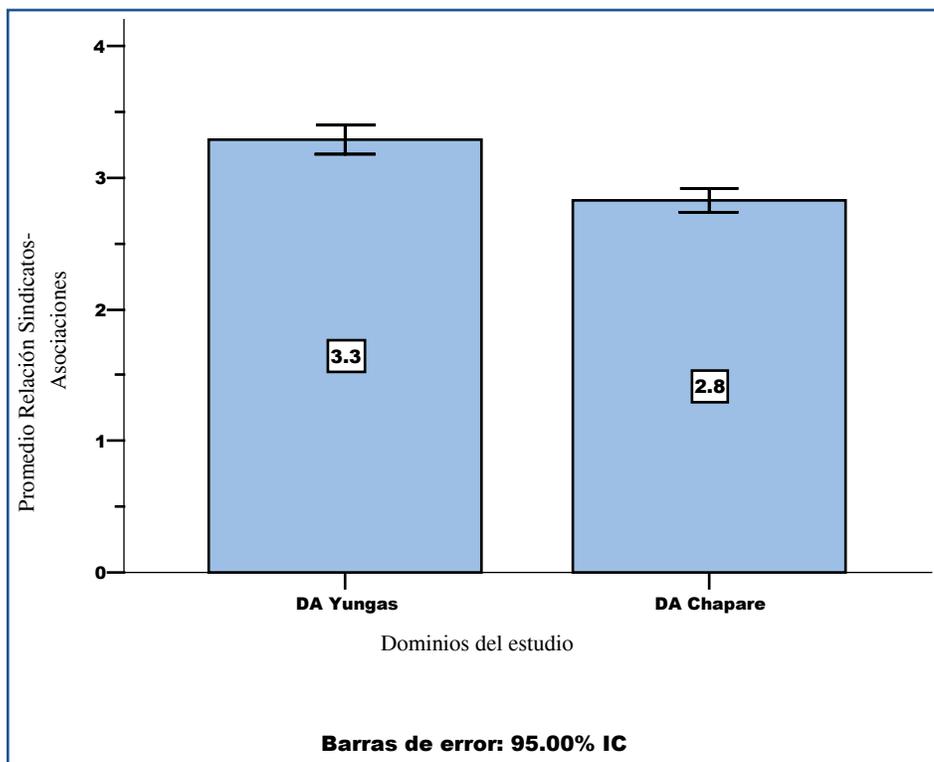


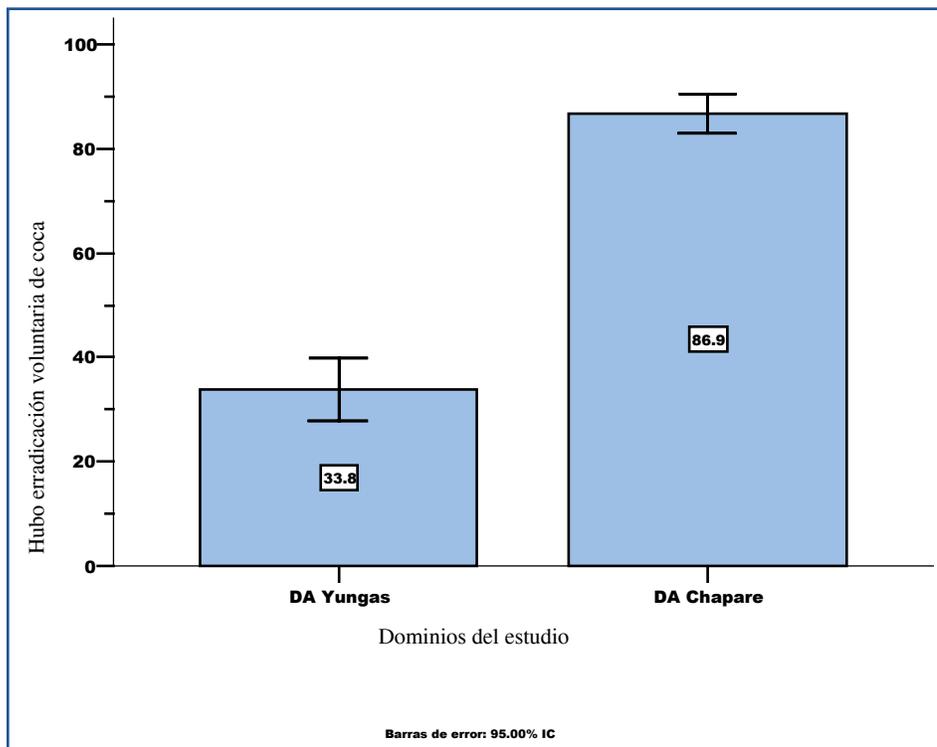
Figure V.8 Level of interaction between unions and associations



The coca unions are also close with the federations. Residents of both Yungas and Chapare believe that coca unions always or almost always comply with the resolutions given by the Provincial Federation. (Figure V.7).

To understand how the relationship between the unions and the farmers associations is perceived, inhabitants of the Alternative Development zones were asked whether the relationship between both organizations was perceived to be very good, good, normal, bad or very bad, on a numerical scale of 1 to 5, where 5 was very good and 1 was very bad. Figure V.8 shows the averages obtained for Yungas and Chapare separately. In Chapare, the relationship between the two organizations is perceived to be significantly more negative than in Yungas.

Figure V.9 Voluntary eradication of coca



In summary, Bolivians that live in the Alternative Development zones perceive that there is much unity in coca unions and to a lesser degree the same is believed to be true of farmer's associations. Whereas, relationships between the two groups, unions and farmers associations, are perceived to be conflictive.

Perceptions on coca eradication in Chapare and Yungas

Two questions on coca eradication were posed to inhabitants of the Alternative Development zones. The first question asked was if there had been any voluntary coca eradication in the area. The results are presented in Figure V.9. As it was expected, the difference

between Chapare and Yungas are significantly important, since Chapare is the region where more coca is being eradicated.

The second question was whether the unions have discussed the issue of coca eradication with the population. The majority of the respondents in Chapare and Yungas admitted that unions indeed discussed the issue. Figure V.10 shows that the differences between both zones, and amongst those who belong to a union and those who don't are insignificant.

Perceptions on Alternative Development

Chaper IV of this report analyzes the knowledge, perceptions and evaluations that Bolivians have on Alternative Development. This section will again analyze alternative development in order to explore two topics of interest for the regions of Chapare and Yungas. The first topic to be explored is the incentives that would convince the residents of Yungas and Chapare to be a part of the Alternative Development program. The second topic consists of those factors that have an impact on

Figure V.10 Did unions discuss eradication with the population?

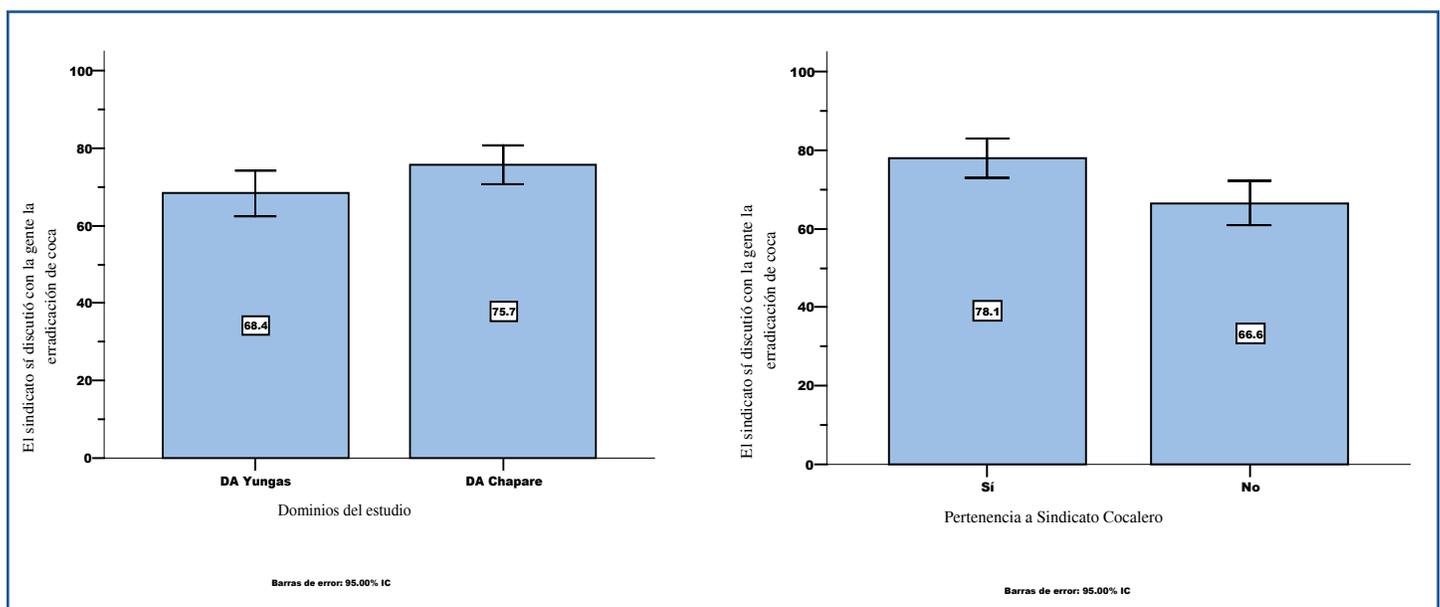
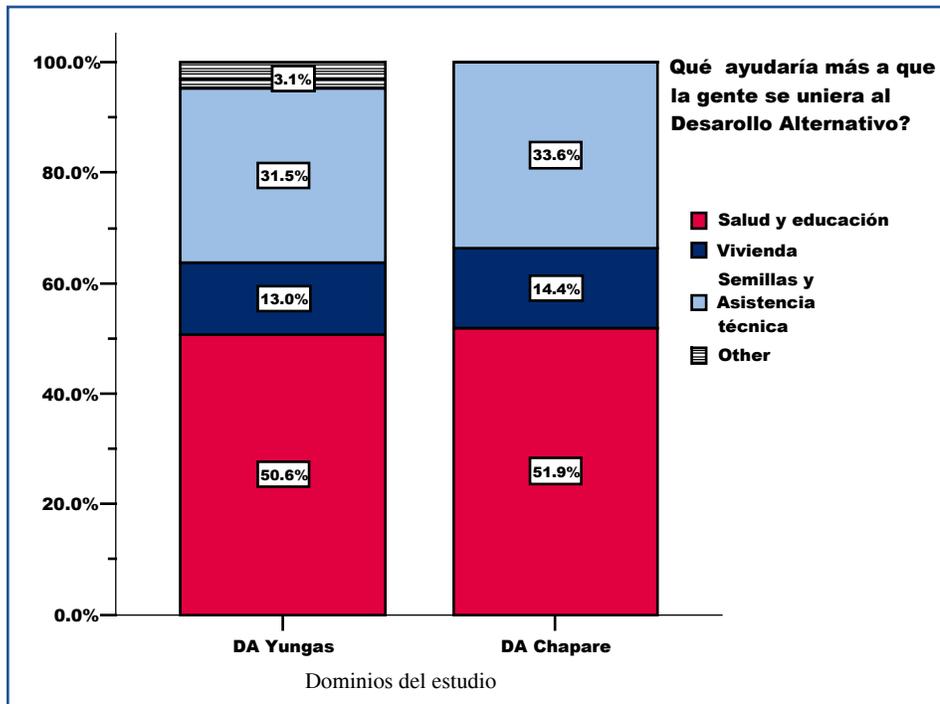


Figure V.11 Actions that would help participation to Alternative Development program



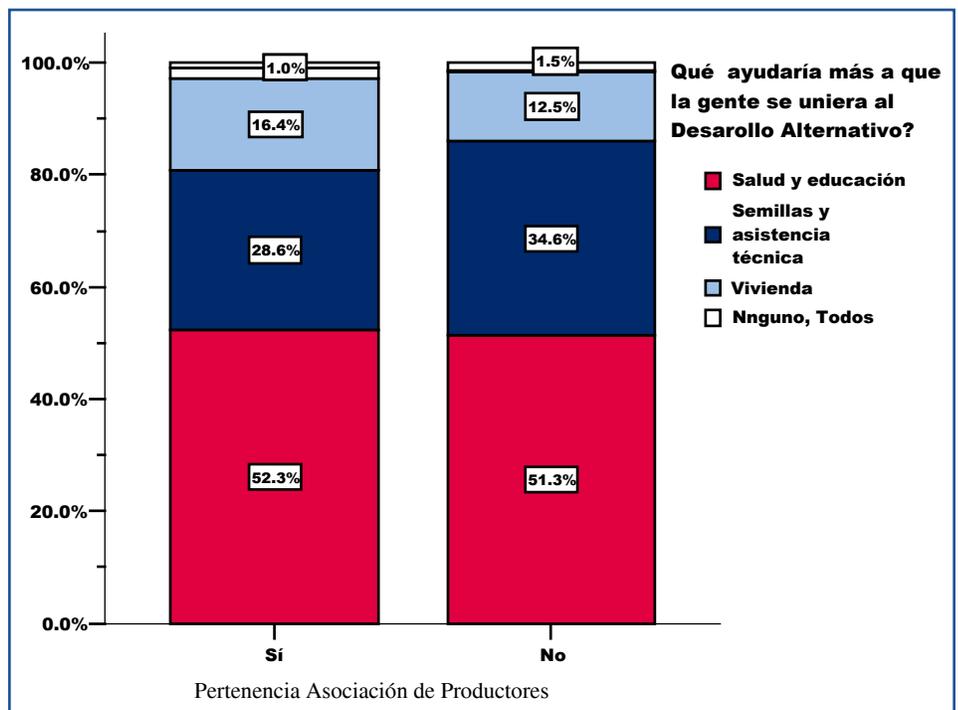
Alternative Development evaluations, particularly the influence that being a member of a coca union and/or a farmers association has on the Yungas and Chapare residents' evaluation of the program.

The majority of the Yungas and Chapare residents think that more people would be part of the Alternative Development program if they had greater access to health and education services. This is the most mentioned option in both regions, and by both members of coca unions and farmer associations, as well as, by those who do cultivate coca and those who do not. The second most mentioned benefit are seeds and technical assistance, and in third place, housing. Figures V.11 to V.14 show that these preferences are constant regardless of whether or not the person cultivates coca, belongs to a coca union or to a farmers association.

Alternative Development has the most negative evaluations in the zones where it is currently being implemented: Chapare and Yungas (Chapter IV). In

order to understand the reasons for the poor evaluations, this section explores the impact that belonging to a coca union or farmers association, cultivating coca or having participated in protests

Figure V.12 Measures that would increase citizen participation in the Alternative Development program



may have. Chapter IV on Alternative Development indicates that age, sex, income, ethnicity and geographic location indeed are factors that influence the respondents' evaluation. The regression model shown in Table A.II.9 in Appendix II also includes socio-demographic variables that proved to be significant as controls in the previous analysis.

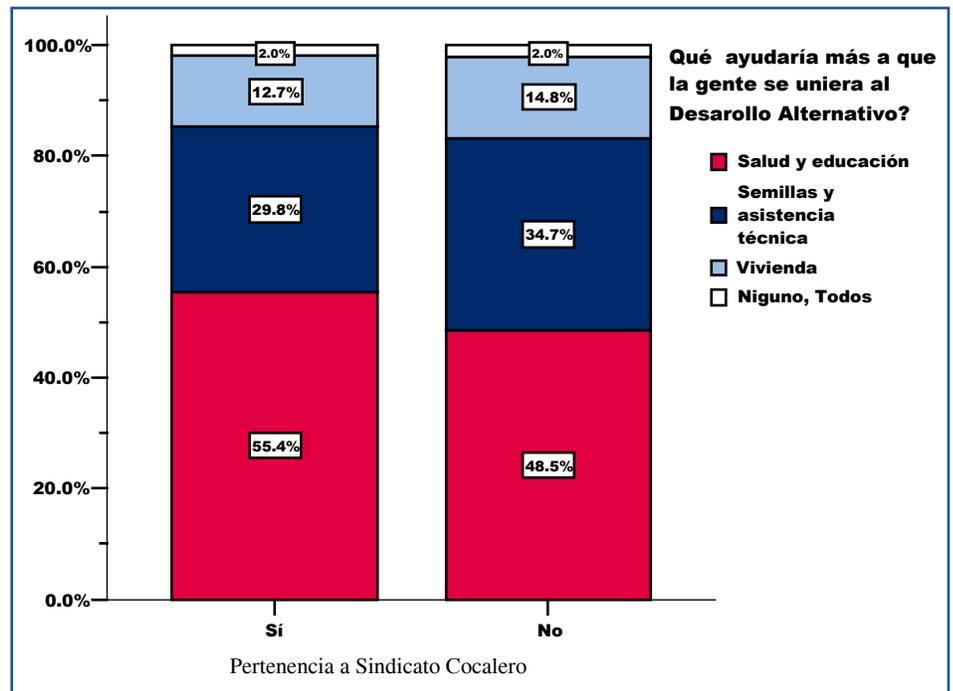
The main results are:

- (1) Similar to the majority of the sample, there is a higher probability that women will evaluate the program more positively than men.
- (2) An older person will give Alternative Development a more negative evaluation, while younger people will give a more positive one. These results are mirrored throughout the survey.
- (3) Contradictory to the results obtained for the sample as a whole, it was determined that wealth and ethnicity do not have an impact on

the Yungas and Chapare residents' evaluation of the program.

- (4) Belonging to coca unions produces a negative impact on the evaluation of the program. It is more probable for union members to have a more negative view than individuals who are not members.
- (5) The opposite can be said about members of farmers associations, who are most likely to give a positive evaluation of the Alternative Development program than those who are not members.
- (6) Finally, respondents that participate in protests gave negative evaluations of the Alternative Development program.

Figure V.13 Measures that would increase citizen participation in the Alternative Development program

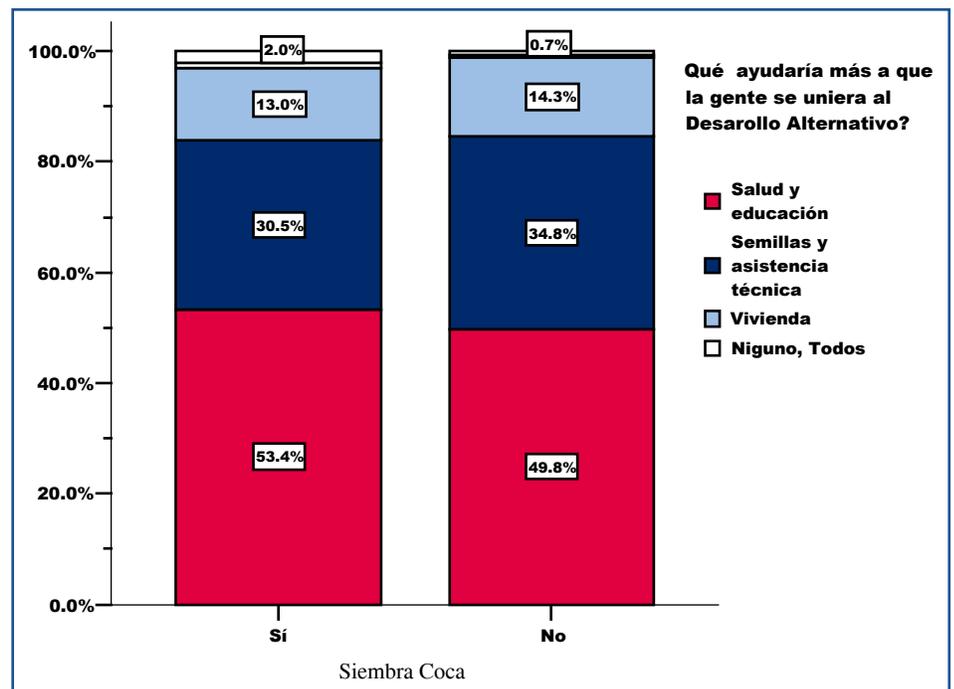


Conclusions

This chapter analyzes the different perceptions, attitudes and evaluations that Bolivians residing in the Alternative Development zones have on unions, farmers associations, coca eradication and the Alternative Development program itself.

This chapter's principal conclusion is that the success of the Alternative Development program not only depends on the collaboration and interaction among those who belong to farmers associations, but among those who belong to coca unions as well. There are various reasons why. First, coca union membership is high in both Chapare and Yungas. Secondly, a significant percentage of residents in the Alternative Development zones are members of both organizations. Thirdly, although there is a high perception of unity among coca union members, not everything about them is good like the fines and the pressures that are widely recognized as disadvantages

Figure V.14 Measures that would increase citizen participation in the Alternative Development program



by their members. In addition, even members of coca unions have difficulties in distinguishing what the advantages of belonging to the union are.

VI. Attitudes Towards Alternative Development in the Expulsion zones

In this study, “Expulsion zones” are defined as those areas of Bolivia that lost population, which was attracted to the Alternative Development zones of Yungas and Chapare. It is relevant to know what the opinions of these Bolivians towards alternative development are for two reasons; 1) part of this population is made up of possible immigrants to the Alternative Development zones and 2) understanding their characteristics, problems and opinions could help the Government of Bolivia plan development strategies in these Expulsion zones that would avoid migration to other areas of Bolivia, particularly the coca cultivating regions.

Characteristics of the Expulsion zones

The main socio-demographic characteristics of this region are described in Appendix I of this report, so that this section will summarize the principal differences between this region and the rest of the Bolivian population.

- The sampling of the Expulsion zones is basically made up of two regions: Cochabamba (69%) and Potosi (31%).
- When compared to the rest of Bolivia, Expulsion zones have a smaller population that identifies itself as “White”. The absolute majority of the population considers itself Quechua. (Figures A.I.8 and A.I.9).
- National problems that inhabitants of these Expulsion zones consider

important are poverty, hydrocarbons and unemployment. On the other hand, the most serious and crucial problems these zones experience are scarcity of potable water, and the high cost of living¹¹.

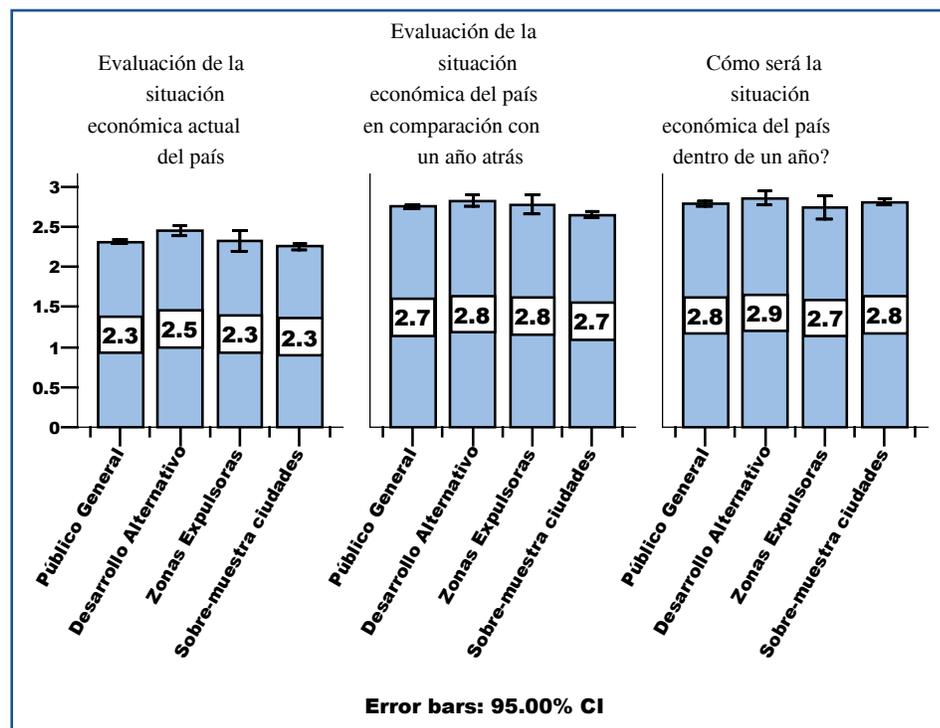
- Inhabitants of Expulsion zones usually have a more “permissive” attitude towards drugs and drug trafficking than the rest of the population. Various indicators show the same: there is a smaller percentage of respondents that think drug trafficking is a serious problem, less respondents think that drug trafficking has increased, less respondents think that their family’s safety is affected because of drugs and less respondents think that drugs are a serious problem in

Bolivia. In addition, the majority of the population chews coca¹². In summary, expulsion zone residents’ attitudes towards drugs are more similar to that of the residents of Chapare than to the rest of Bolivia.

Evaluation of the economic situation

Respondents that emigrate from the expulsion regions to the Alternative Development zones look for a better quality of life. Evaluations of the country’s economic situation made by those inhabitants of Expulsion zones are not significantly different than those made by inhabitants of Alternative Development zones, big cities or of the population as a whole. However, evaluations of their family’s economic

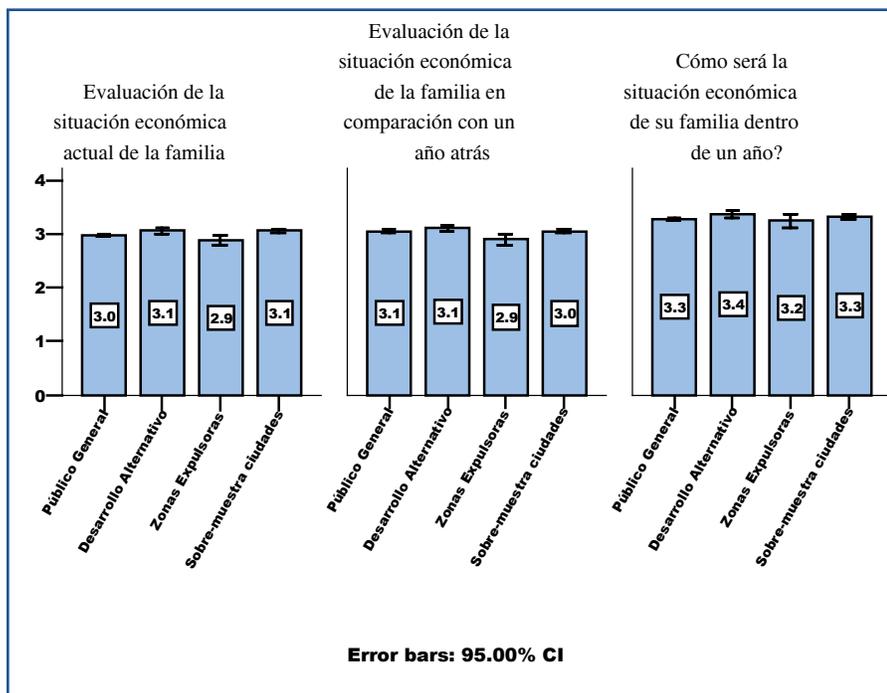
Figure VI.1 Evaluation of the country’s economic situation by domain.



¹¹ Results are shown in graphs and tables located in Chapter II.

¹² Results are shown in graphs and tables located in Chapter III.

Figure VI.2 Evaluation of family's economic situation by domain



situation do vary significantly between regions. In the three questions posed to evaluate their family's economic situation, the lowest averaging responses are found in Expulsion zones.

Figure VI.1 (previous page) illustrates respondents' perception of Bolivia's national economy by domain. Respondents were asked about the current economic situation compared to that of the previous year and the following year. A scale of 1 to 5 was used, where 1 represents the more negative views (very bad, much worst) and 5 represents the more positive views (very good, much better). The current economic situation obtained the lowest average across all domains. When comparing the current situation to that of the previous year, the responses are slightly more positive and they recognize an improvement (averages for all domains is above 2.5). The respondents are more optimistic when thinking about the future economic situation of the following year.

Figure VI.2 shows that Bolivians' evaluations of their family economic situation are more positive than their evaluations of the nation's economic situation. In other words, Bolivians' view their family economic situation in a more positive light than the country's overall economic situation. This is not particular to Bolivians, this happens

Table VI.1 Tendency to emigrate

	Col %	
¿Alguna vez pensó dejar esta zona e irse a vivir a otra zona del país u a otro país?	Nunca pensó emigrar	48.1%
	Italia	.2%
	México	1.0%
	Japón	1.0%
	EEUU	7.5%
	Brasil	.6%
	España	8.4%
	Argentina	13.0%
	Cualquier otro País	.8%
	La Paz	2.5%
	Santa Cruz	5.5%
	Cochabamba	6.6%
	Oruro	.6%
	Sucre	.7%
	Potosí	.8%
Tarija	1.5%	
Trinidad	1.3%	
Total	100.0%	

in various Latin American countries. The one result to point out is that the respondents in the Expulsion zones believe their economic situation to be worse than that of the rest of Bolivia (i.e. the cities, Alternative Development zones). Expulsion zone residents are the most uncomfortable with their current situation, they see the least improvements when compared to the previous year, and have the least goals for next year. Indeed the percentage differences are minimal and in certain cases are insignificant, but they are systematic and appear to indicate the reasons as to why these zones have become Expulsion zones.

Tendency to emigrate

A group of questions were asked to respondents in the Expulsion zones with the intention of measuring their tendency to emigrate. The first question asked was if the individual has ever thought about going to live in another area of Bolivia or moving to another country. The results are shown in Table VI.1¹³. Almost half of the respondents never considered emigrating. The other

¹³ Only simple frequencies are presented in this section because the number of cases does not provide sufficient information to make cross tabs. In the remaining of the report, other cases are considered as Expulsion zones but these cases were defined as such after the field work was done, therefore, these three questions were not formulated.

Table VI.2 Main reason for leaving Expulsion zones

		Col %
¿Cuál es el principal motivo por el que Ud se iría a vivir a otro lugar?	No Hay trabajo	77.5%
	Su Familia	6.6%
	No hay buenos servicios (escuelas, hospitales)	7.1%
	Hay Mucha violencia o delincuencia	6.2%
	Clima	1.4%
	Gusto	1.1%
Total		100.0%

half has thought about leaving to go live elsewhere, and among those, more thought about migrating to another country than those who thought about migrating to another area of Bolivia.

Respondents who thought about emigrating were then asked what the main reason for leaving the Expulsion zones was. Table VI.2 clearly indicates that the main reason is unemployment.

Finally, the respondents that said they thought about migrating to another area in Bolivia were asked why they would leave to go to that particular area. Table VI.3 shows that the main attraction to those regions would be job opportunities. In short, unemployment is the main reason respondents would

leave Expulsion zones.

Evaluation of Alternative Development in Expulsion zones

If lack of opportunities, particularly job opportunities, were the Expulsion zones' big problem, the creation of development projects would help decrease migration. Would the alternative development program work in the Expulsion zones? One-way of answering this question is to explore how much knowledge and what kind of evaluations inhabitants of these zones have about alternative development.

Only 36% of respondents living in the Expulsion zones have heard about alternative development (Figure IV.1).

Among them, their perception of the program is positive averaging 3.1 (Figure IV.12). What factors influence this evaluation? Table A.II.10 in Appendix II shows the lineal regression analysis results.

The main conclusions are similar to those found for the rest of Bolivia:

- (1) There is a higher probability that women give a more positive evaluation of Alternative Development than men.
- (2) The older respondents gave Alternative Development a more negative evaluation than younger respondents.
- (3) Residents of the expulsion regions

Table VI.3 Main reason for immigrating to the place mentioned

		Col %
¿Cuál es la principal razón por la que se iría a vivir a_____?	Más oportunidades de trabajo	42.1%
	Su familia vive en la zona	20.4%
	Más oportunidades para sus hijos	9.8%
	Hay menos violencia	15.7%
	Gusto	2.7%
	Estudios	5.5%
	Salud	3.8%
Total		100.0%

that identify themselves as indigenous have a higher probability of giving Alternative Development a more negative evaluation than the mestizos.

- (4) Education does not play a significant role in the program's evaluation.
- (5) On the contrary, material wealth does have a positive impact. When the material wealth is greater, the evaluation becomes more positive.

- (6) The greater the protest participation, the poorer the evaluation of Alternative Development.
- (7) It is likely that respondents who voted for MAS in 2002 gave a more negative evaluation of Alternative Development than those who voted for other candidates or political parties.

Conclusion

The respondents of this zone are more unsatisfied with their economic situation and that of Bolivia than the rest of the respondents. In addition, they have a higher probability of emigrating and unemployment is the main driving factor. In general, they are more "permissive" about drugs; so immigrating to a coca cultivating zone would be perceived as better opportunities.

VII. The Media: Exposure and Credibility

This chapter analyzes the ways in which Bolivians obtain information: what the most consumed type of media is and the level of credibility that the various media have with regard to the topic of drug trafficking. It also explores the credibility that Bolivians have towards public officials that come forward and speak about the fight against drug trafficking.

Exposure and media consumption

Bolivians are informed of what is

happening in their country primarily through TV. Table VII.1 indicates that the most commonly used form of media for obtaining information throughout the different cities and throughout the population as a whole is indeed TV. However, this is not true in the Alternative Development zone. In Chapare and Yungas, radios are more commonly used. Bolivians that live in Expulsion zones use two types of media: half of the population acquires its information from television, while almost the other entire half acquires its

information from the radio.

The two most popular radio stations in the country are FIDES and Panamericana. However, the radio stations most listened to vary depending on the zone since most radio stations are local. Table VII.2 presents the results of those radio stations mentioned by more than 1% of the sample population. Those that received less than 1% are grouped under the “others” category.¹⁴ In Chapare, FIDES is still the most tuned-in radio station, followed by radio

Table VII.1 Ways in which Bolivians obtain information

		Dominios								
		Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Medio con que se informa	Radio	37.0%	19.6%	2.2%	6.1%	26.9%	21.9%	42.6%	65.1%	59.3%
	TV	55.1%	71.1%	88.2%	79.3%	61.3%	68.3%	50.1%	25.7%	32.0%
	Periódico	3.7%	7.2%	8.1%	12.9%	7.4%	7.1%	.6%	2.0%	1.8%
	Amigos	1.4%	.5%		1.0%	.6%	.8%	1.0%	3.1%	1.4%
	Otros	1.5%	1.5%	1.2%	.4%	2.3%	1.5%	1.8%	1.6%	3.3%
	No se informa	1.2%		.3%	.3%	1.6%	.5%	3.8%	2.6%	2.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table VII.2 Most listened to radio stations by domain

		Dominios								
		Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Radio más escuchada	Fides	10.9%	14.2%	3.6%	8.6%	9.7%	13.4%	12.8%	23.3%	31.1%
	Metropolitana	1.8%	5.5%				9.4%			
	Erbol	1.1%	3.8%		.6%		3.4%	1.2%	.6%	2.3%
	Panamericana	9.1%	8.9%	2.6%	8.8%	7.5%	15.6%	9.7%	14.9%	6.1%
	San Gabriel	5.8%	2.6%		.3%		7.4%	5.3%	5.9%	.2%
	Estero 97	3.3%	18.6%				2.5%		1.3%	
	Yungas	.4%							29.0%	
	Pio XII	3.1%			2.4%			22.7%		
	Santa Cruz	5.1%		3.8%						
	Centro	1.4%			23.1%			.8%		.2%
	Soberanía	.2%			.4%					19.8%
	Loyola	.2%				13.6%				
	Aclo	2.6%				4.9%				
	Otra	35.5%	27.0%	45.5%	30.1%	43.1%	29.3%	28.9%	15.1%	31.8%
No sabe	2.4%	5.1%	4.1%	1.9%	5.7%	1.5%	5.4%	3.1%	1.9%	
No escucha radio	17.0%	14.2%	40.5%	23.8%	15.5%	17.5%	13.2%	6.8%	6.7%	
Group Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

¹⁴ The frequency with which each radio station was mentioned is listed in the database.

Table VII.3 AM/FM by domain

		Dominios								
		Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
Emisora Radio AM/FM	AM	43.9%	37.9%	6.2%	17.0%	45.1%	48.6%	62.4%	75.2%	5.9%
	FM	56.1%	62.1%	93.8%	83.0%	54.9%	51.4%	37.6%	24.8%	94.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Soberanía. In Yungas, the most listened to radio station is Yungas, followed by FIDES and then by Panamericana. In the Expulsion zones, PIO XII is the most mentioned radio station. There are also important differences by cities.

Table VII.4 Most read newspapers and weekly magazines (total of the first three mentioned)

Periódicos y Semanarios	%
LA RAZON	38
EL DIARIO	37
EXTRA	29
LA PRENSA	26
LOS TIEMPOS	25
OPINION	23
EL DEBER	20
GENTE	15
EL DIA	8
EL MUNDO	7
CORREO DEL SUR	7
LA PATRIA	5
PRIMERA PLANA	3
EL NUEVO DIA	3
EL ALTEÑO	2
PRESENCIA	2
LA NACION	2
LA PALABRA BENI	2
POTOSI	1
EL PAIS	1
JUGUETE RABIOSO	1
NUEVA ECONOMIA	1
ESTRELLA DEL ORIENTE	1
LA GACETA JURIDICA	1
EL SUR (TRJ)	1
OTROS	4
No Sabe Leer	12
No lee ninguno	26
Total	300

Another very noticeable difference among the radio stations throughout the different zones of Bolivia is the difference in popularity between FM and AM radio stations. Table VII.3 shows that in the country of Bolivia as a whole, in the cities and in the region of Chapare, FM radio stations are more tuned-in to than AM stations. In El Alto and Sucre these differences are less noticeable: half of the population tunes-in to FM stations and the other half tunes-in to AM stations. In Yungas and in the Expulsion zones, on the other hand, AM radio is more listened to than FM radio.

Bolivians were also asked to identify what newspaper and weekly magazine is the most read. The first three media that the interviewee mentioned were

registered. Table VII.4 presents the total of the first three media mentioned for the total of the sample population.¹⁵ Those media that were mentioned by less than 1% are grouped under the “others” category.¹⁶ The written media that was most mentioned are La Razón y El Diario. In a second group we find Extra, La Prensa y Los Tiempos. In a third group we find Opinión y El Deber.

These results differ depending on the zone. Table VII.5 presents the most read newspapers and weekly magazines by domain. In the sample population, the most read newspaper is El Deber, followed by El Diario and La Razón. Each city prefers a different newspaper. In La Paz and El Alto, the most read newspapers are El Diario and La

Table VII.5 Newspapers and weekly magazines most read by domain

Periódicos y Semanarios	Dominios								
	Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cocha bamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
EL DEBER	14.6	0.2	78.1	0.3	2.3		1.1	0.5	9.7
EL DIARIO	8.4	38.3		1.4	2.1	38.8	2.8	16.0	0.7
LOS TIEMPOS	5.2			63.1	0.5		15.5		16.4
LA RAZON	7.3	26.7		2.3	6.4	18.1	2.2	9.8	1.8
CORREO DEL SUR	1.4				45.1		0.6		
LA PRENSA	3.8	9.3		0.3	1.7	7.7	1.5	4.6	0.6
OPINION	2.9			14.0		0.3	17.6	0.2	8.6
EXTRA	3.3	3.8	0.6	2.7		5.0	4.5	8.0	6.4
GENTE	2.1	1.8		3.5		2.4	3.1	2.0	1.6
LA PATRIA	2.0						1.0		
OTROS	5.2	1.4	3.4	0.7	1.7	4.4	8.5	0.3	5.9
No lee ninguno	29.3	11.5	9.0	8.1	29.8	16.1	22.3	41.6	40.8
No Sabe Leer	14.6	7.0	9.0	3.4	10.5	7.2	19.1	17.0	7.6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁵ It is important to remember that the total sample is not representative of the Bolivian population as a whole, especially since it only represents five of the most important cities and the Alternative Development zones.

¹⁶ The list of newspapers and weekly magazines that were mentioned is located in the database.

Table VII.6 Television network most viewed by domain

Red Televisiva de Preferencia	Dominios del estudio								
	Nacional	La Paz	Santa Cruz	Cochabamba	Sucre	El Alto	Zonas expulsión	DA Yungas	DA Chapare
PAT	1.0	1.9	0.9	3.4	0.3	1.5	0.7		1.4
Sistema Pandino de Comunicación	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.1	1.6	1.3		2.9	1.4
RTP	1.0	4.6				9.3		0.3	
TVB	3.3	2.2	0.4	2.8	5.8	5.2	1.2	5.1	
BOLIVISION	2.4	6.2	1.7	12.8	3.4	3.6	2.8	1.3	1.3
RED UNO	13.1	16.9	31.4	8.0	2.3	17.9	1.1	7.4	0.9
UNITEL	21.6	16.5	49.2	18.3	27.6	12.5	11.3	14.7	17.5
OTROS	4.1	8.5	9.0	5.4	7.2	3.9	5.6	1.1	1.1
ATB	30.6	37.0	3.2	45.5	45.8	39.5	49.4	24.5	42.1
NO VE TELEVISION	21.9	4.8	2.5	2.7	6.0	5.3	27.8	42.8	34.2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Razón; in Santa Cruz it is El Deber; in Cochabamba it's Los Tiempos; and in Sucre it's Correo del Sur. The Alternative Development zones also diverge from the rest of the country. In Yungas the most read newspaper is El Diario, while the most read newspaper in Chapare is Los Tiempos. In the Expulsion zones the preferences are divided between Opinión and Los Tiempos.

Lastly, the interviewee was asked to identify the television network that he viewed the most. In the population sample, ATB and UNITEL are the most viewed. Table VII.6 gives a detail of this information. TV network exposure and consumption preferences are regional. For example, in La Paz, El Alto and Santa Cruz, Red Uno is more mentioned than in the rest of the country.

These regional differences are not only due to the different population tastes and preferences, but also to the level of access that the different newspapers, weekly magazines, radio stations and TV networks have to the various zones of Bolivia.

The media and drug trafficking

One of the study's objectives is to assess Bolivians' perception of the drug-trafficking information obtained through the different types of media. The first question posed was how much information on this topic was actually provided by the media: a lot, not much or nothing at all. The responses to this question were converted to a

numerical scale, where 1 is a lot and 4 is nothing at all. Figure VII.1 shows the level of information provided in different domains. All the averages vary around a grade scale of 2, which means that Bolivians consider that the media provides some type of information on drug trafficking. Santa Cruz inhabitants consider that the media provides a lot of information on this topic.

Figure VII.1 Quantity of information that the media provides on drug trafficking

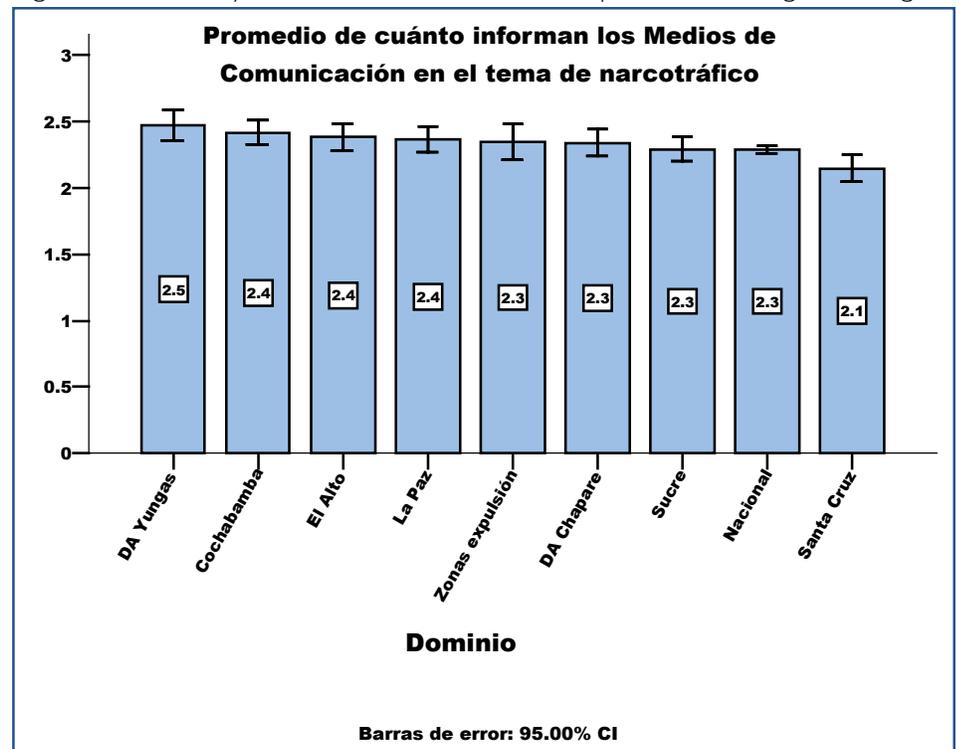
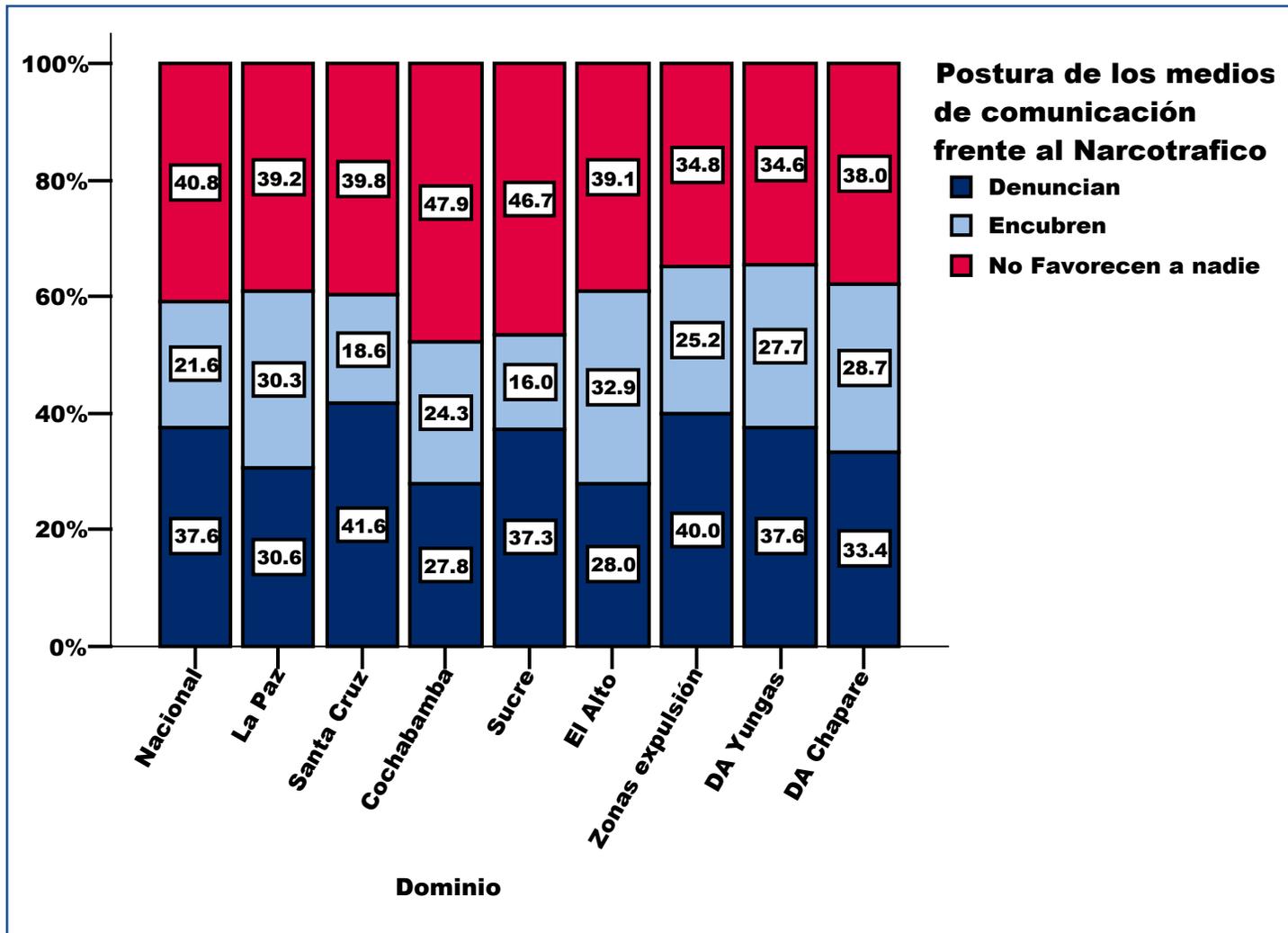


Figure VII. 2 Media's position on drug trafficking



Besides the amount of information provided, it is important to know how Bolivians perceive the media's position on drug trafficking. Figure VII.2 indicates that the majority of Bolivians think that the media does not favor anyone or it denounces drug trafficking. The percentage of Bolivians that consider that the media does not unveil drug trafficking issues is low, although it is higher in three areas: La Paz, El Alto, and the Alternative Development zones.

A binary logistical regression was performed in order to better know the profile of those Bolivians that consider

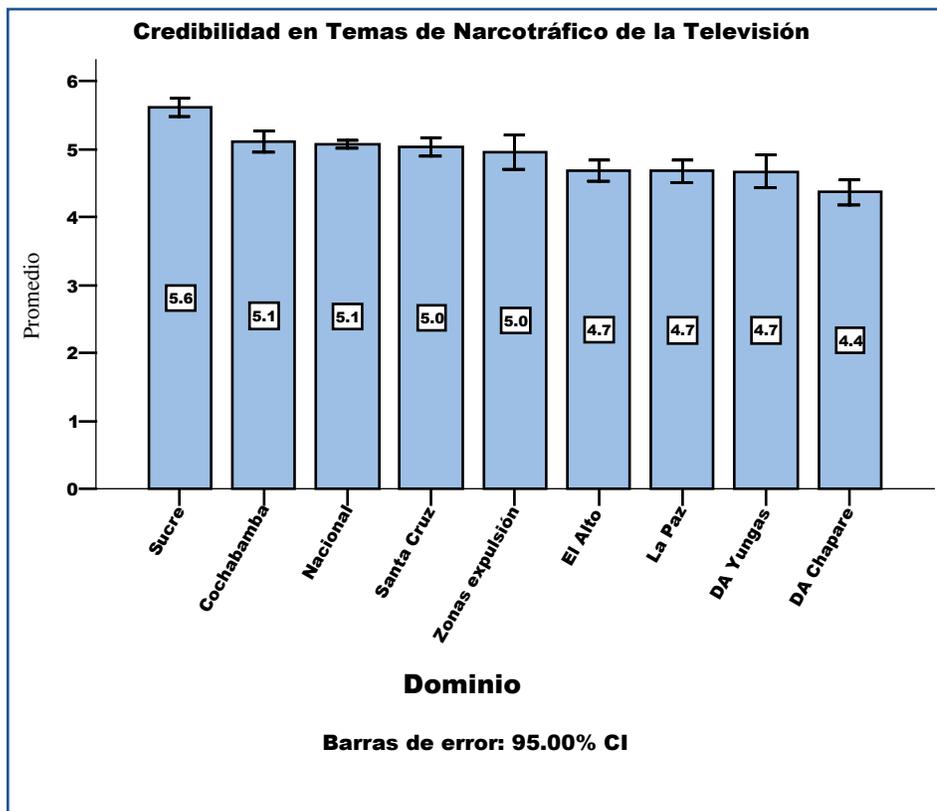
that the media does not uncover or denounce drug trafficking. Those that responded positively to this allegation that the media does not denounce drug trafficking were then compared to the rest. The results are presented in Table A.II.11 in Appendix II:

- (1) Bolivians that live in the Alternative Development zones and those that live in big cities are more probable to consider that the media does not uncover or denounce drug trafficking than the rest of the population.

- (2) Bolivians that identify themselves as White are less probable to consider that the media does not uncover or denounce drug trafficking.
- (3) Bolivians belonging to coca unions are also less probable to support the notion that the media does not uncover or denounce drug trafficking.

Another question posed tackled the issue of media credibility. How credible are the newspapers, radios, and TV networks when it comes to the issue of drug trafficking? Responses were

Figure VII.3 Newspaper credibility



registered on a numerical scale, where 1 is a person that has no credibility in the media at all, and 7 is a person that has a lot of credibility in the media. The averages are presented in Figures VII.3, VII.4 y VII.5. The averages for all three types of media and for all the domains are positive. This means that there is a higher number of Bolivians

that consider the media to be credible when providing information on drug trafficking as opposed to not being credible. In any event, there are always differences between regions. The most skeptic zone is Chapare. On the other hand, Sucre is the city that considers the media to be most credible.

Credibility of public officials conveying anti-drug trafficking messages

Lastly, this survey explores the level of credibility that Bolivians would give different public officials if they appeared on television conveying an anti-drug trafficking message. A numerical scale

Figure VII.4 Radio credibility

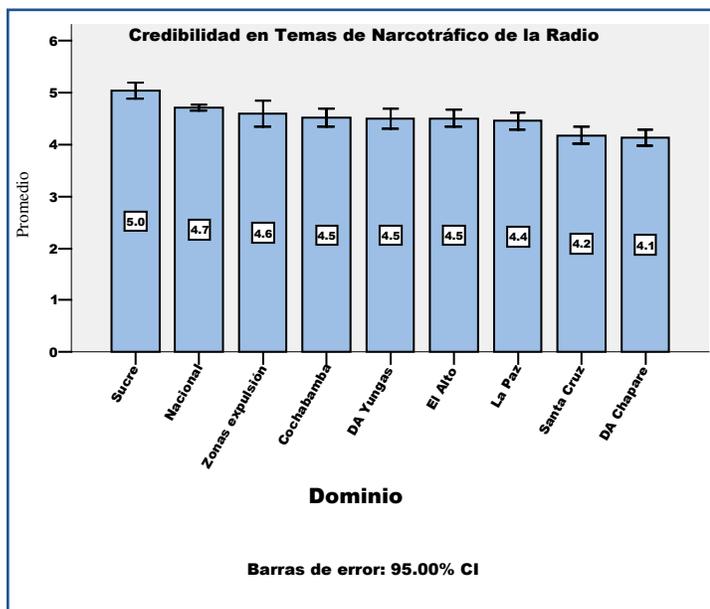
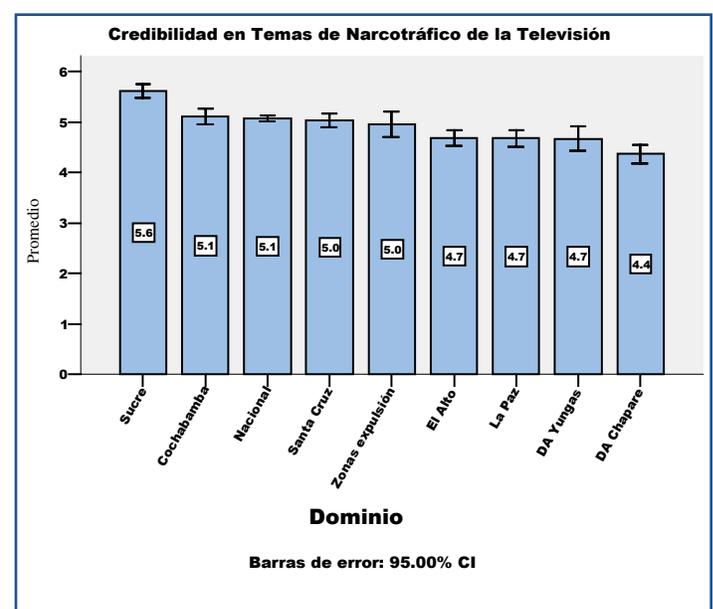


Figure VII.5 Television credibility



from 1 to 7 was also used for these questions. Figures VII.6 through VII.15 show the averages for the different domains. The horizontal line shows an average of 3.5, which is neither negative nor positive. Individuals who received an average above 3.5 (above the line) would be considered credible; the contrary stands for those that appear below the average 3.5 line.

The main results are:

- (1) There are certain public officials that are considered credible in all domains: priests, People's Advocates, and the President of the Human Rights Assembly.
- (2) On the other hand, Bolivians from all domains would not consider the Head of the Senate to be credible if he were to convey an anti-drug trafficking message on TV.
- (3) The local union leaders and rural leaders are considered to be credible only in Yungas and Chapare.
- (4) The United States Ambassador receives a positive average as a credible individual only in Santa Cruz.
- (5) The Head Police Commander and Head of the Armed Forces only in Sucre.
- (6) Lastly, Ex-President Carlos Mesa, who was still in power for the majority

Figure VII.6 Credibility of rural leaders

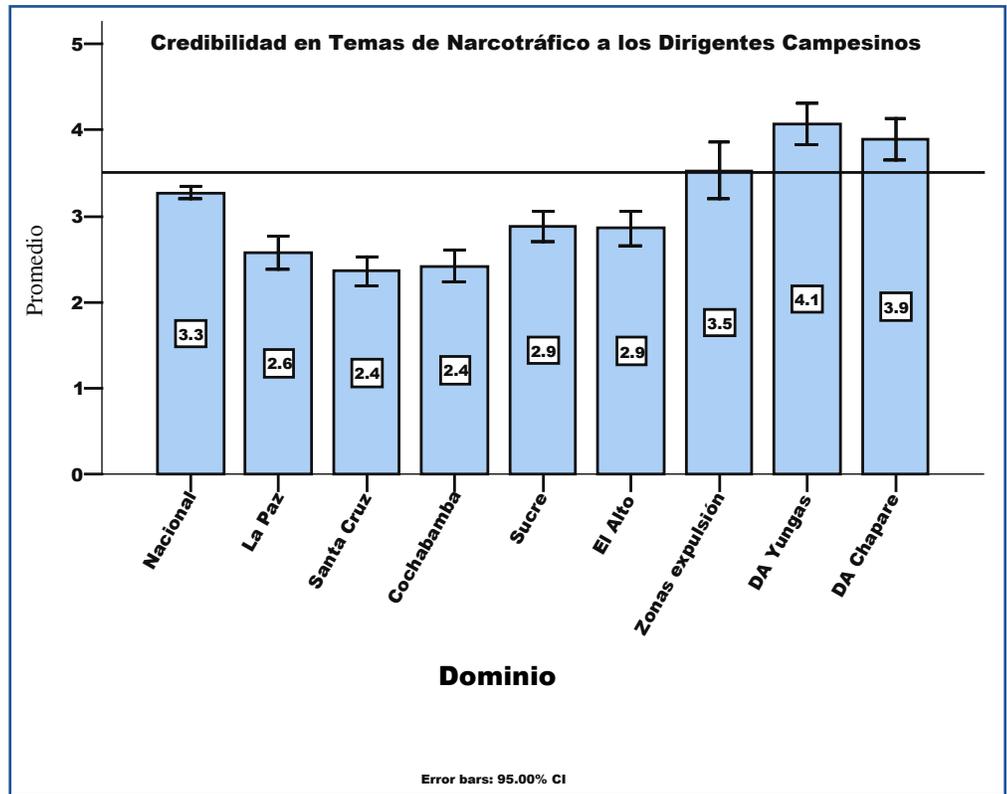
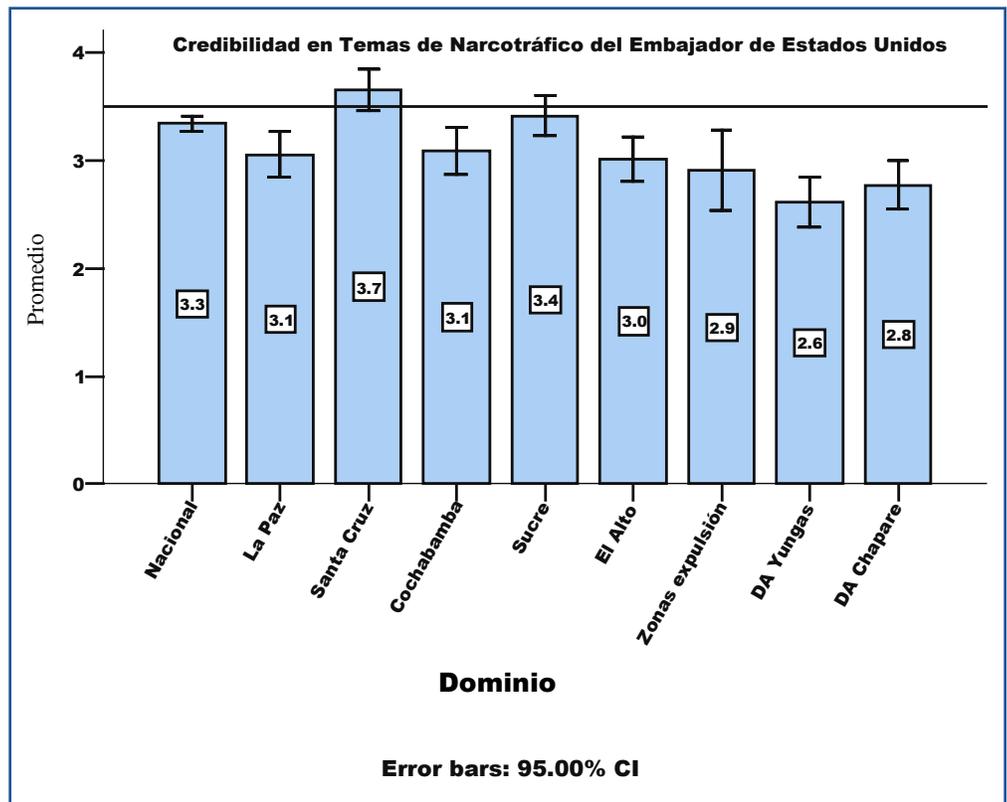


Figure VIII.7 Credibility of the president of the human rights assembly



of the survey's duration, received a positive average in all of the domains, except in Santa Cruz.

There are two clarifications to make, first the questions were asked without using names, barring some exceptions such as Carlos Mesa. This method was intentional, as it looked to reveal the credibility that Bolivians attach to roles independently of who is holding the position. The disadvantage of using this method is that it is impossible to find out how many of the interviewees answered the question without thinking or associating the role with a particular person or name. Second, as explained in the introduction, many important political events took place during the study's fieldwork, for example President Carlos Mesa's resignation could have impacted the way in which these individuals were evaluated. Keeping in mind these two observations, the following graphs should be taken into consideration when designing a communications strategy for the different areas of the country.

Figure VIII.8 Credibility of the head of the armed forces

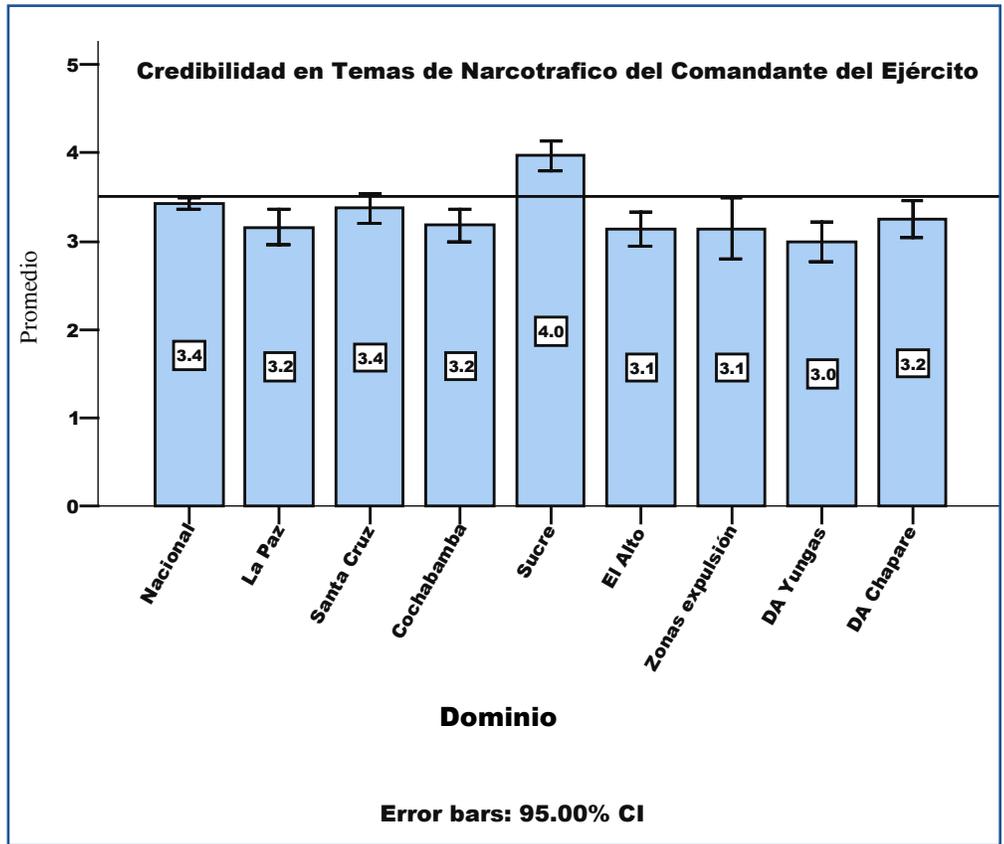


Figure VIII.9 Credibility of the people's advocate

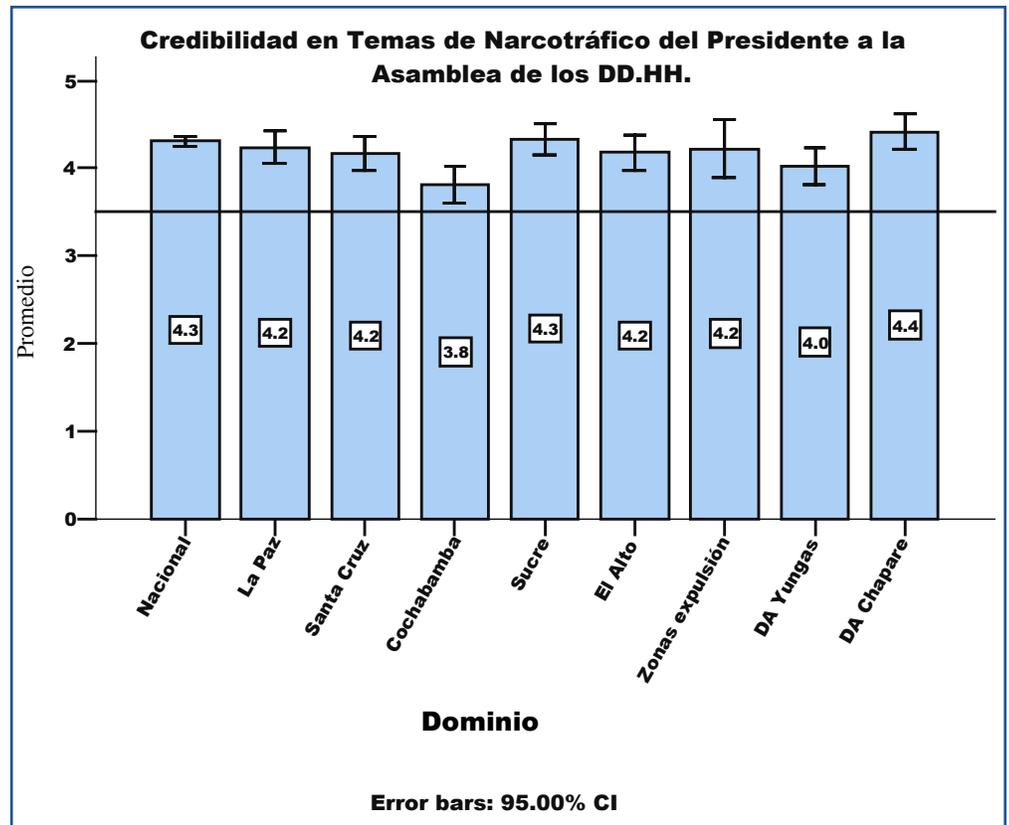


Figure VII.10 Credibility of Carlos Mesa

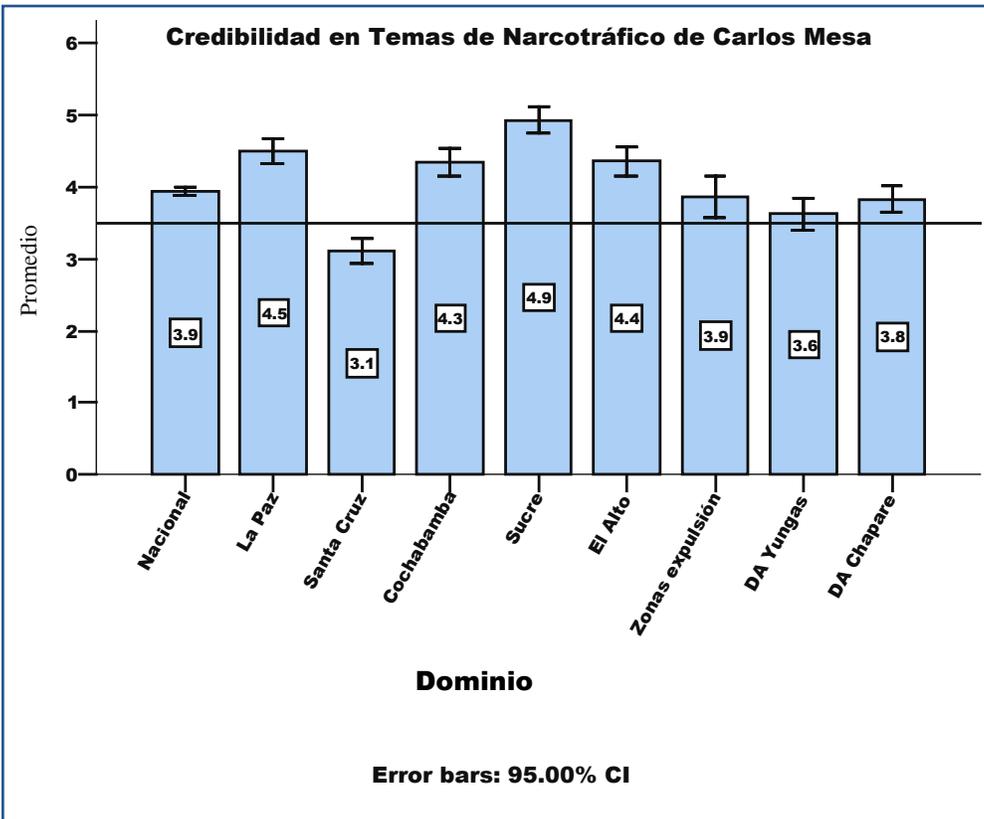


Figure VII.11 Credibility of head police commander

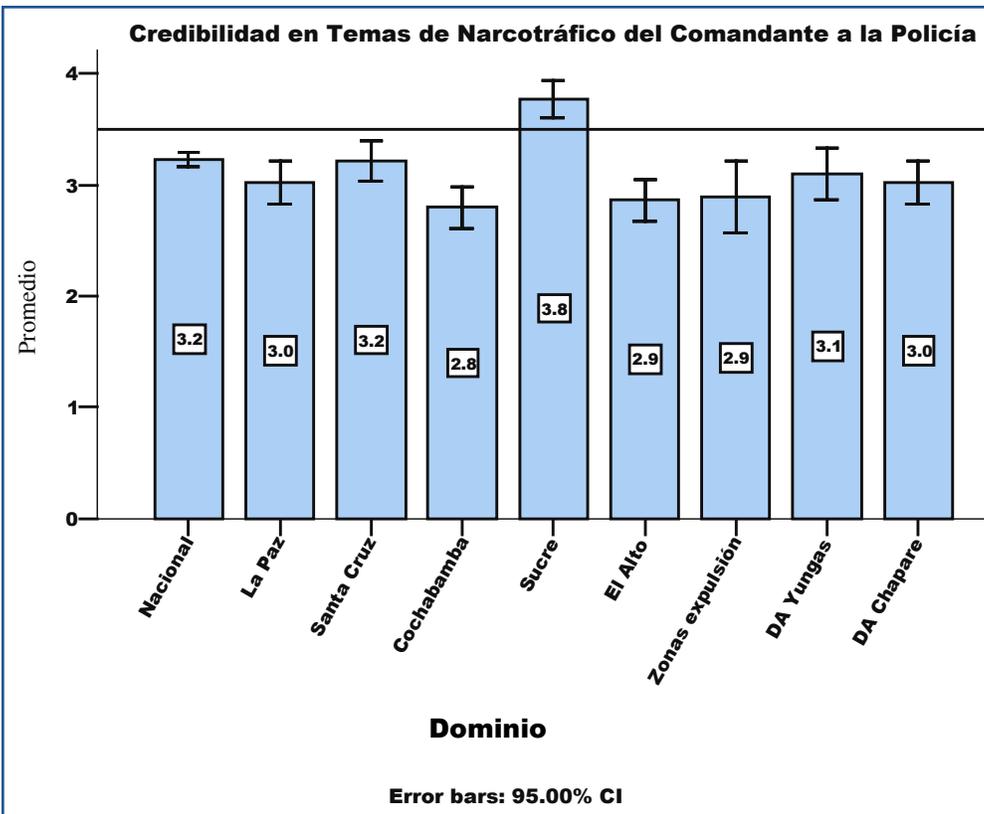


Figure VII.12 Credibility of priests

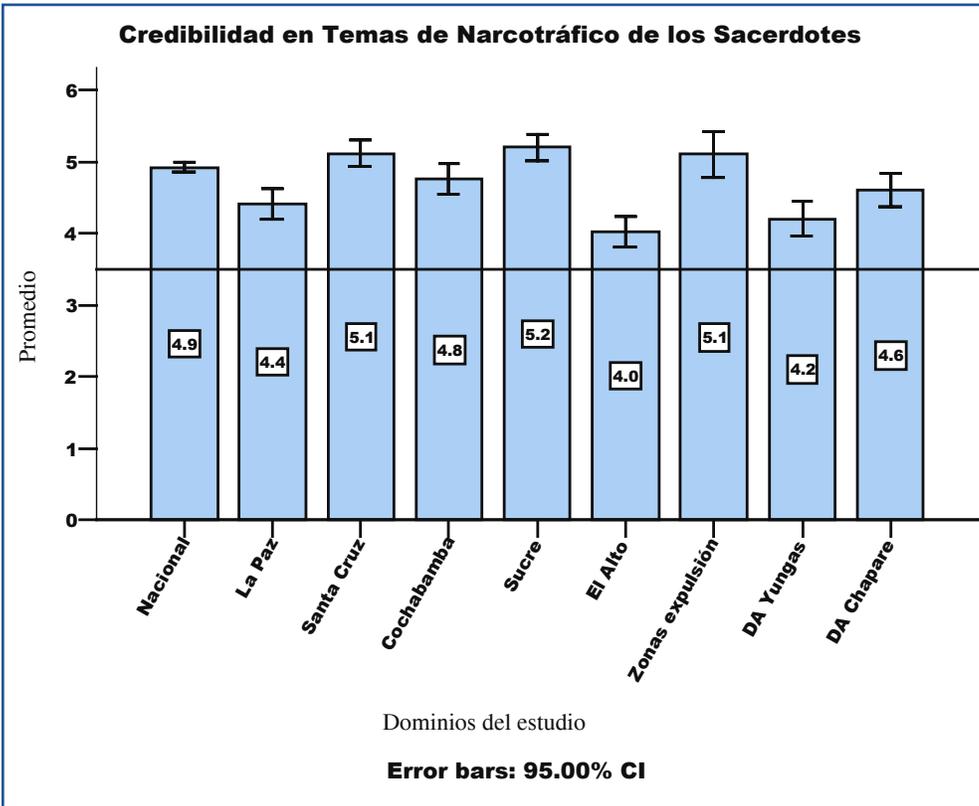


Figure VII.13 Credibility of head of the senate

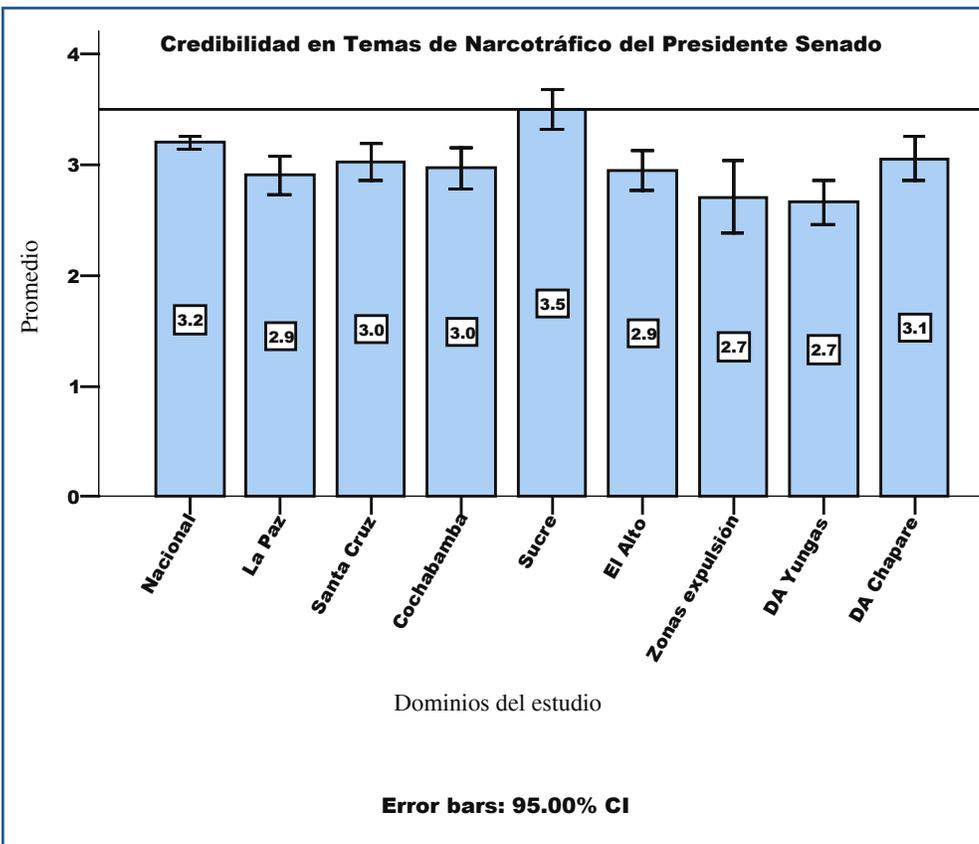
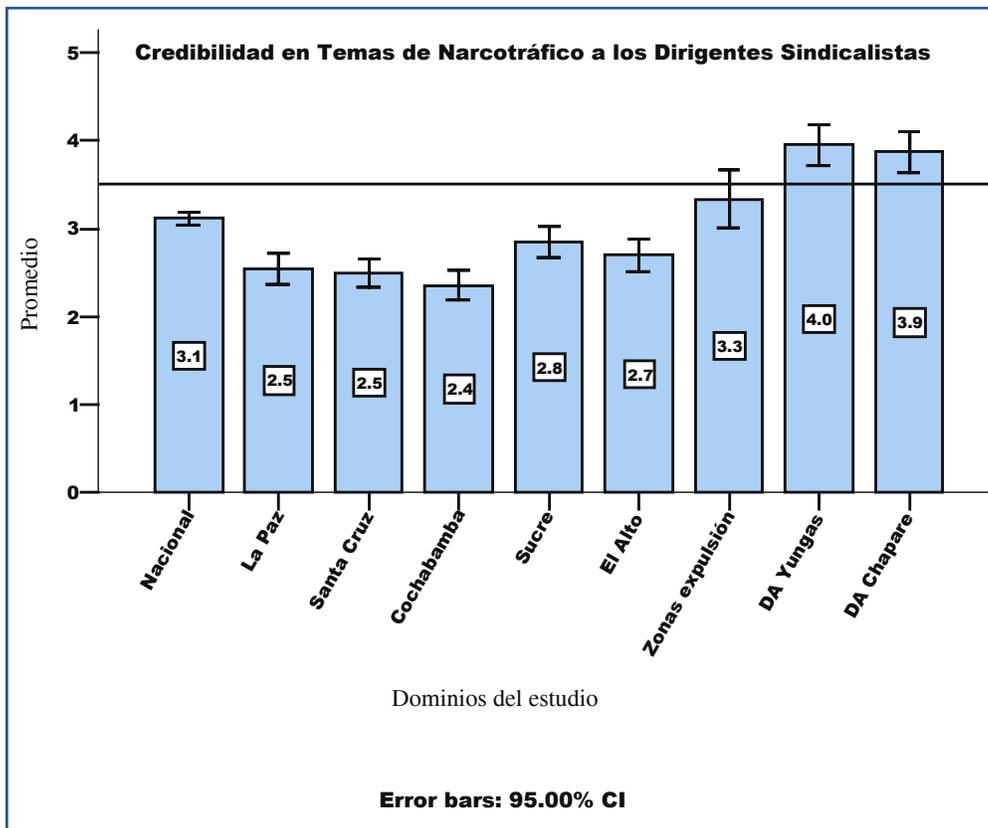


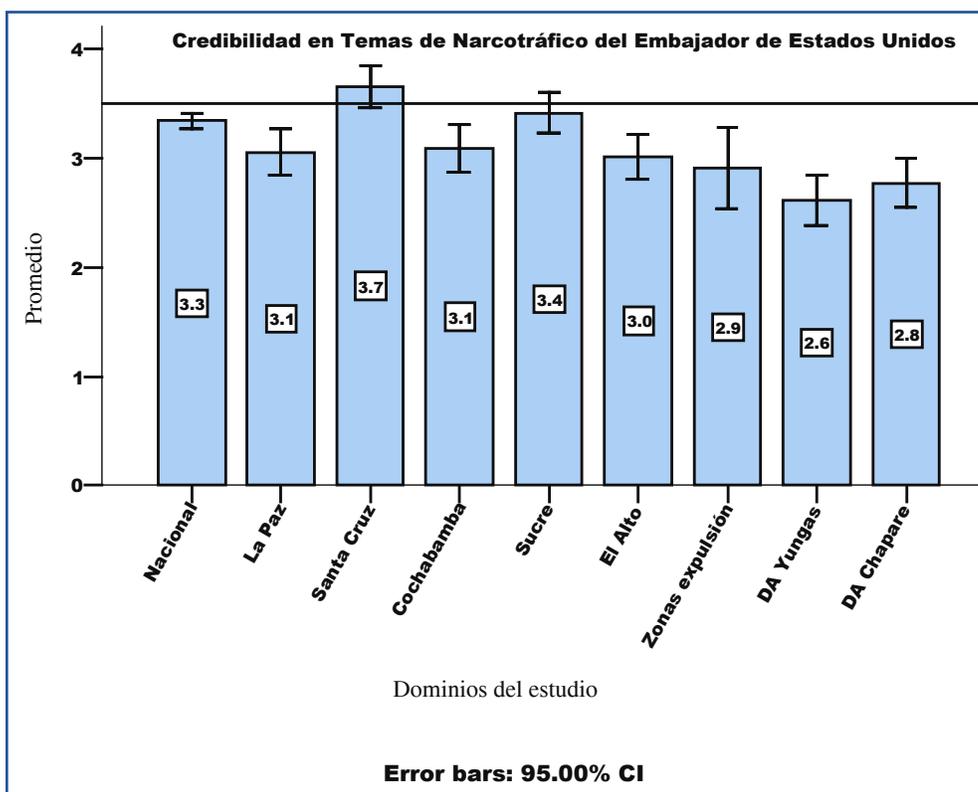
Figure VII.14 Credibility of union leaders



Conclusion

Bolivians believe that the media do provide some information (although not very much) on drug trafficking, and that the information provided is credible. The majority believes that the media is impartial/unbiased and that it denounces drug trafficking. In short, the Bolivian public has a moderately positive opinion about how the media deals with the issue of drug trafficking.

Figure VII.15 Credibility of US Ambassador



Appendix I. Characteristics of the Samples

The present study provides a comprehensive view of the attitudes of Bolivians toward various aspects of the coca industry and the Alternative Development program of the Government of Bolivia (GOB). It does so via data collected in a public opinion survey utilizing a questionnaire and sample design especially designed to focus on these issues. This appendix provides an overview of the sample design and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents to the survey.

The sample design

In order to provide as comprehensive a view as possible of the views of Bolivians on the subjects being investigated in this

research project, four distinct samples, what we call in this report, “domains of study” [following the Kish (1995)¹⁷ terminology] were designed and implemented. These are:

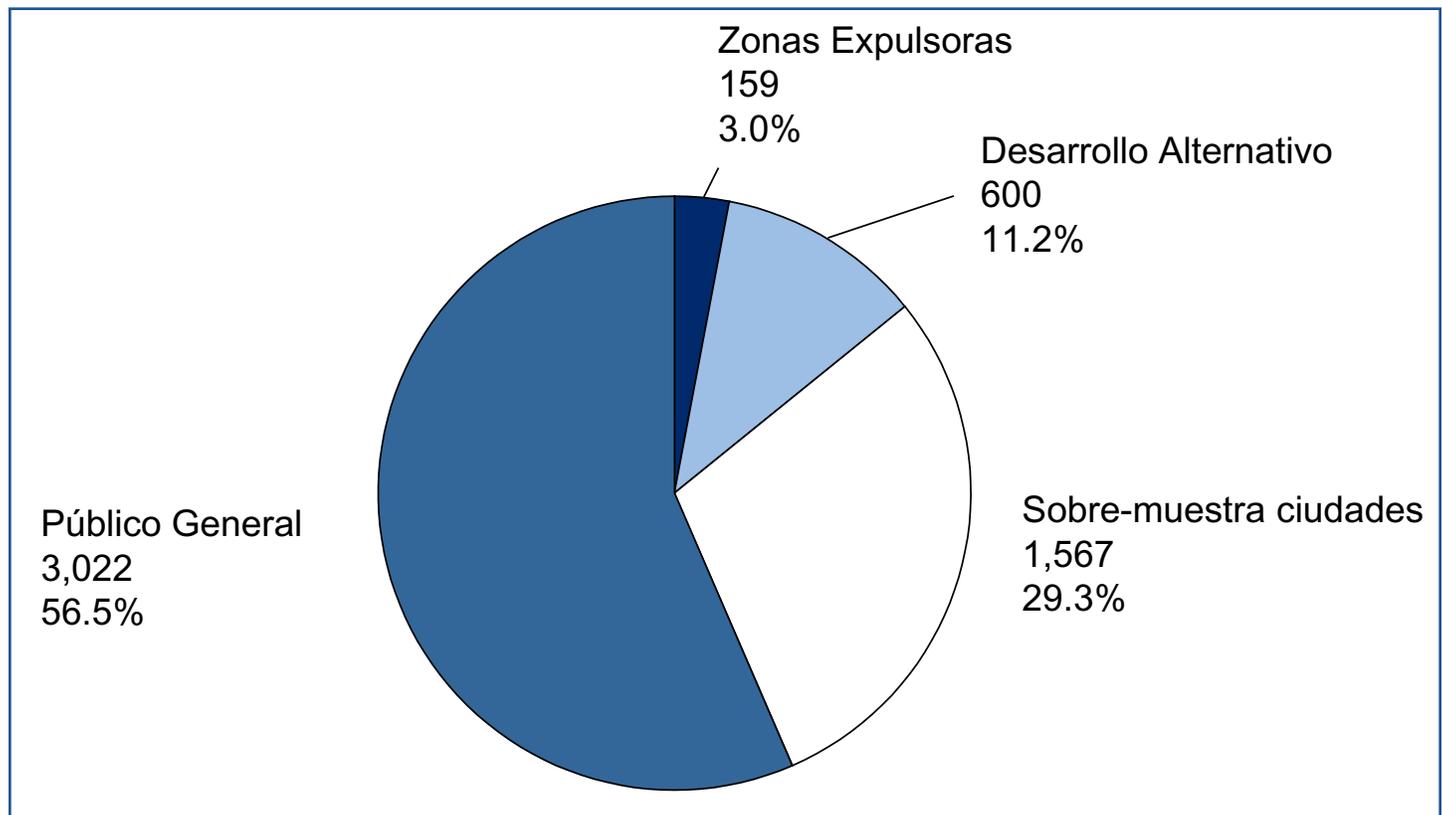
- National
- Alternative Development zones
- Major cities
- Areas of population expulsion

The *national sample* follows the contours of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) of Vanderbilt University, and provides a view of public opinion at the level of the nation as a whole. The *Alternative Development zones*, in contrast, focus on those regions that have been defined

by the GOB for coca crop substitution and local development. The *major city* sample allows for an in-depth look at the major urban concentrations of the country. Finally, a very small sample was drawn in the so-called “*Expulsion zones*” which apparently have lost population that has been attracted away to the Alternative Development zones. The distribution of cases for all four samples is shown in Figure A.I.1.

In total, 4,636 people were interviewed for the study. The sample was weighted to reflect the national population distributions, and the weighted results are shown throughout this report.¹⁸ The largest portion of the data set, with over 3,000 interviews, is the national sample. The oversample of cities¹⁹ is

Figure A.I.1 Distribution of sample by domains of study

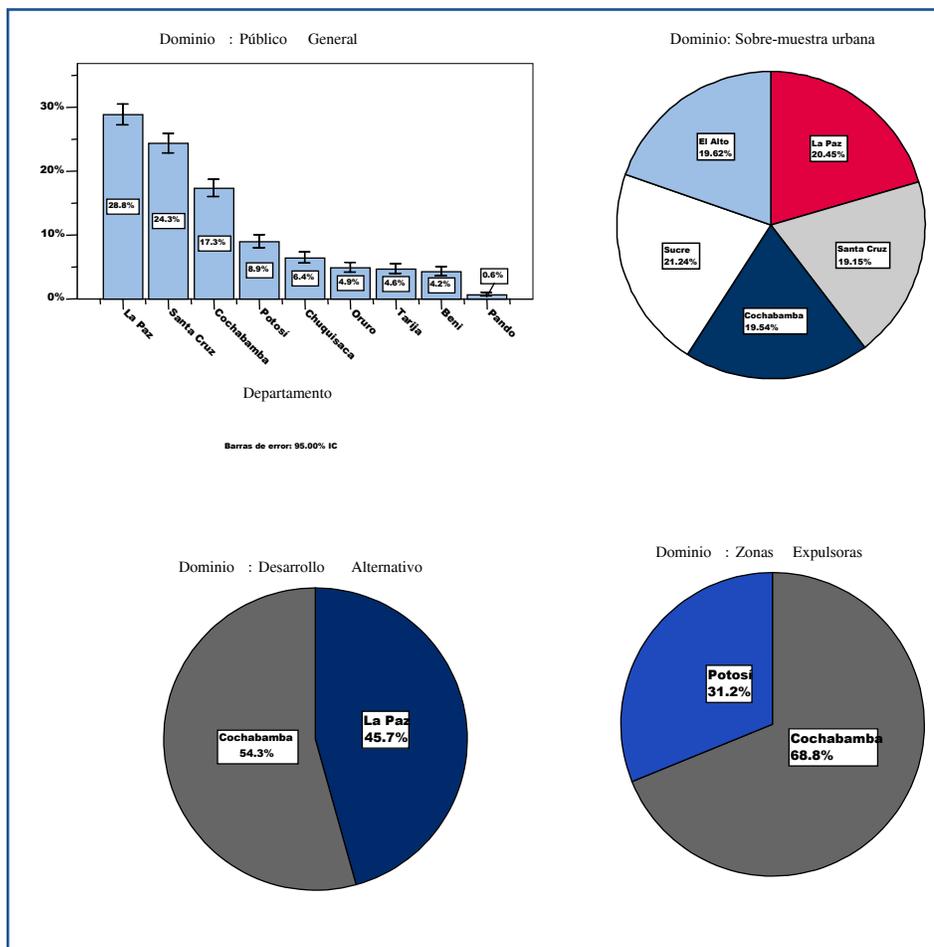


¹⁷ Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling. Originally published 1965 ed. New York: J. Wiley, 1995.

¹⁸ Since the weights produce fractions of cases, the weighted sample can be different by a few cases up or down, depending on the statistical breakdowns shown.

¹⁹ The oversample of the cities consists of 915 interviews that were added to the national sample, plus an additional 652 that are drawn from the national sample itself. In this way, the sample of the major cities of Bolivia is large enough to produce a confidence interval of less than $\pm 3\%$.

Figure A.I.2 Distribution of samples by department



the next largest group, and consists of respondents from La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Sucre. The last two samples are the ones representing the Alternative Development and Expulsion zones samples. The distribution of the four samples in terms of the departments that they cover is shown in Figure A.I.2. A detailed description of the sample design is provided in a separate appendix to this report. Here it is sufficient to note that we consider each of above four areas to be separate “domains of study,” each with its own characteristics (described below in this chapter). The samples were drawn based on the most recent census data and census maps. Furthermore, it is important to stress that since the sample sizes vary from one domain to the other, the confidence interval for each sample

is different; the larger samples have narrower confidence intervals. These intervals are shown on many of the charts in this report.

Two of the domains of study were further subdivided into strata relevant for this report. The special sample of the cities was divided into five: La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Sucre. The Alternative Development zone was divided into Yungas and Chapare. In the substantive results chapters of this report we report on these strata when important differences emerge among them. Future analysis of the database allows for this more detailed reporting, but for space considerations we do not report on these substrata in this report when the resulting differences among them are not especially revealing.

The questionnaire was devised based in part on prior studies carried out in Bolivia by Encuestas y Estudios, the Gallup affiliate in Bolivia and our partner for this research, and in part on studies done elsewhere. The full questionnaire in Spanish, as well as Quechua and Aymará, can be found in a separate appendix to this report. Many specialized items were created for the Bolivian environment. The questionnaire was discussed with the GOB and USAID and pretested in Bolivia by Ms. Rosario Queirolo, doctoral candidate at the University of Pittsburgh.

As is noted in the introduction to this report, the survey was conducted under extremely difficult conditions. Field research in Bolivia in “normal” times is challenging; the country is very mountainous, the population is widely dispersed, and three major languages are commonly spoken. But part way through the gathering of the data, social protests exploded and the President of the country was forced to resign. These events naturally raise questions about the reliability and validity of the data. Specifically, how much were respondents influenced in their answers to our questions by the turmoil? To put it another way, if our fieldwork had been conducted some months earlier, or were it to be replicated again in the near future, would the results be very different? Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing for certain. Public moods can shift rapidly on “hot button” issues of the day, and the coca issue in Bolivia is certainly one of those issues. On the other hand, our analysis of the data has left us with the distinct impression that most (but certainly not all) of the response patterns revealed in the survey reflect attitudes that are solid and well-founded and are unlikely to be very different if a new survey were conducted during a calmer period.

Demographic characteristics of the respondents

The data presented in this section provides the basic demographic characteristics of each of the domains of study. The gender distribution is shown in Figure A.I.3. As can be seen, in each domain of study there is a nearly equal 50-50 gender split. No significant differences emerged among the specialized samples (major cities or Yungas/Chapare).

Civil status of the respondents in the four domains of study is shown in Figure A.I.5. The differences are small with one exception, and that is the category of “unión libre”, or common-law marriage. Sociologically, it is often argued that when ties to formal religion are fewer, common-law unions increase. However, the rate of common-law union is also contingent in the per capita availability of clergy to carry out wedding ceremonies. Supportive of that thesis is that the common-law unions in Bolivian cities, based on the data being analyzed here, is lower than it is in the country as a whole. Whatever the explanation, the rate of common-law unions in Alternative Development zones is nearly twice as high as in the nation as a whole.

Marital status does, of course, have a bearing on the number of children per respondent, even though the tie is a loose one. One should not presume that simply because a respondent has stated that she or he is “single” (and not divorced, separated or widowed), that the individual does not have children. Nonetheless, it helps to exclude those who report being “single” from an analysis of the number of children per respondent since to include all

Figure A.I.3. Distribution of the sample by gender

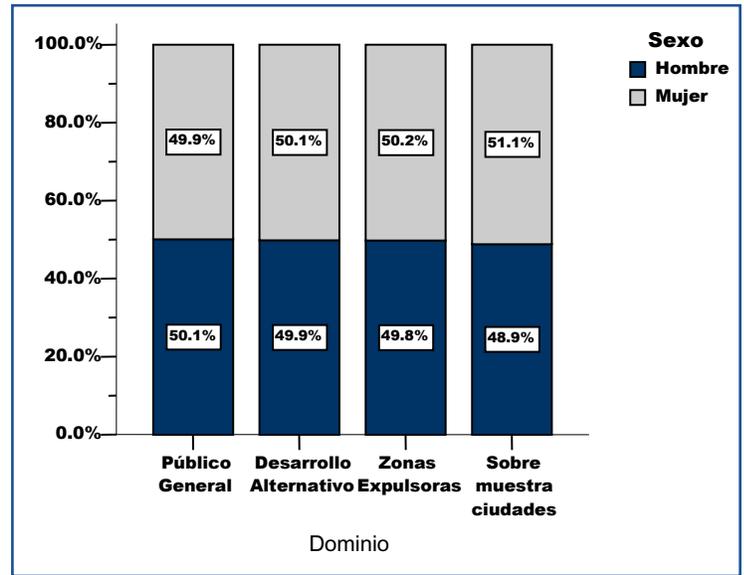


Figure A.I.4 Mean age of respondents by domain

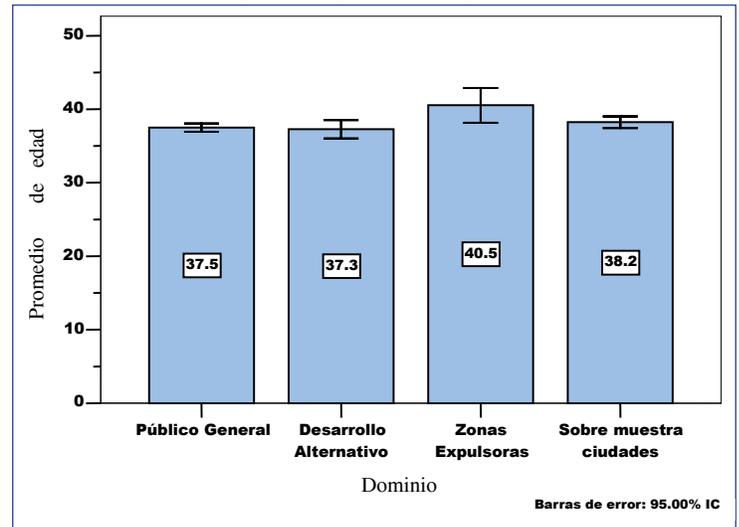


Figure A.I.5 Civil status of respondents by domain of study

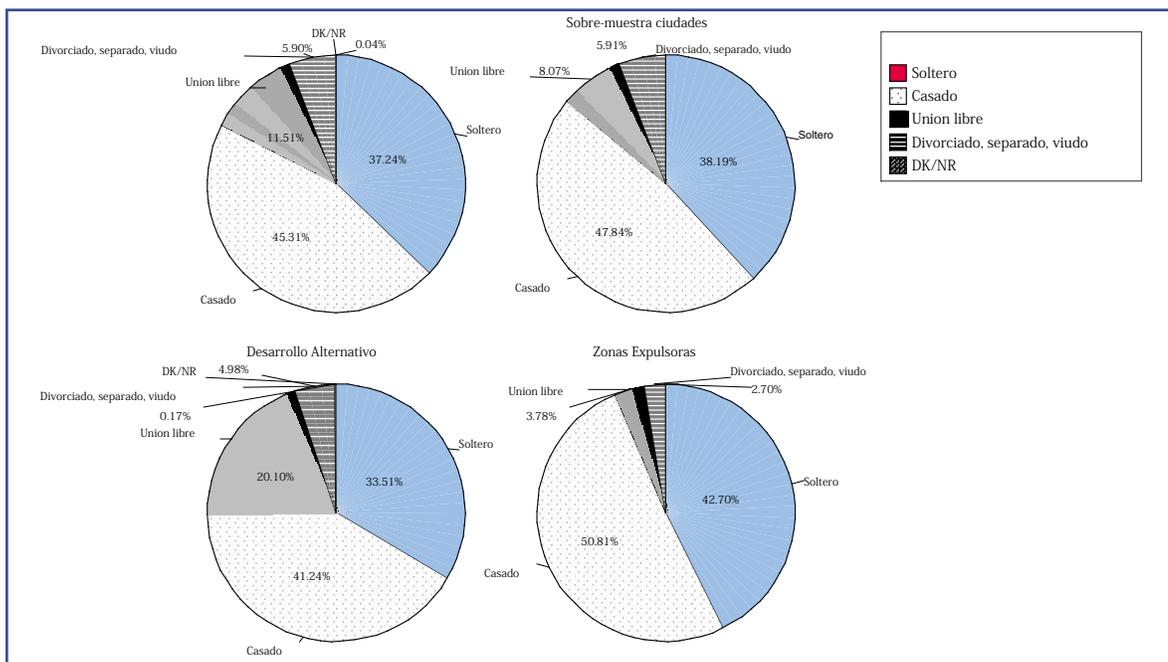
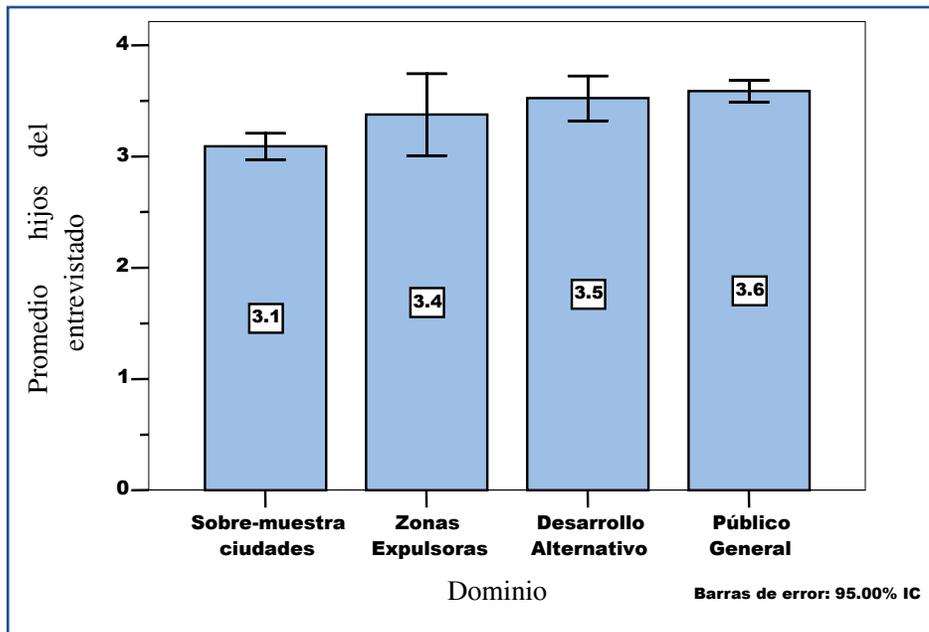


Figure A.I.6 Mean number of children reported by non-single respondents

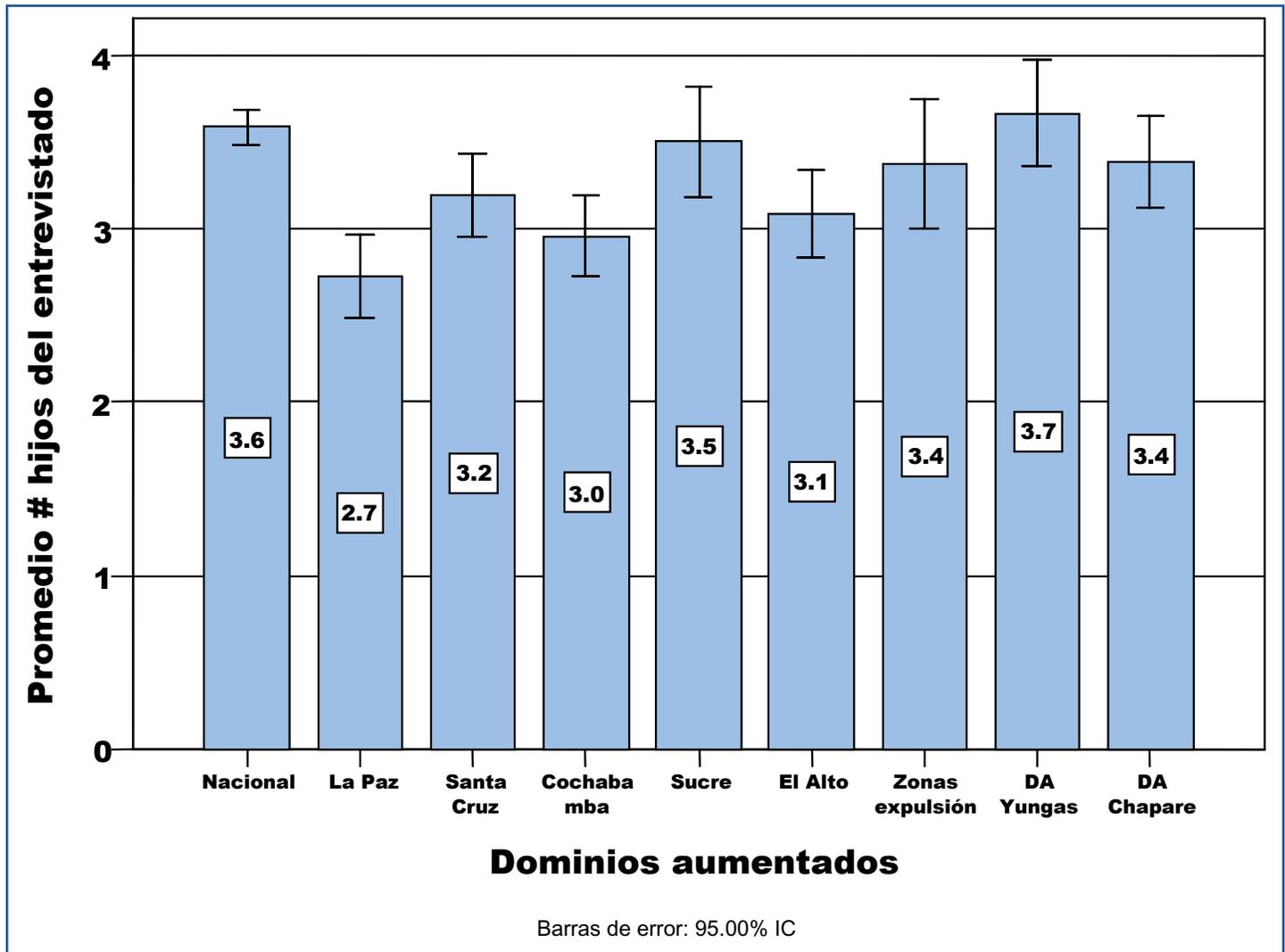


of the single individuals would provide a misleading notion of family size. In Figure A.I.6, with “single” respondents excluded, it is shown that the average number of children is significantly lower in the city sample than for the nation as a whole.

Some differences emerge among the specialized samples in terms of the number of children (excluding “single” respondents), as shown in Figure A.I.7. La Paz has the lowest average number, while the Yungas the highest. The difference between Yungas and Chapare is not statistically significant.

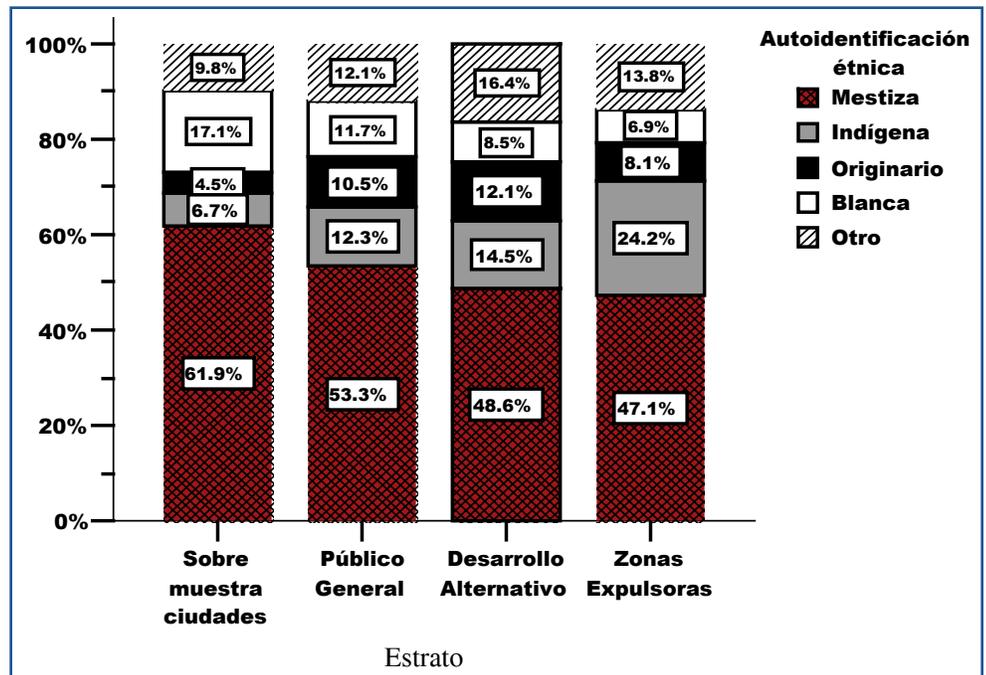
Ethnicity is an increasingly important factor in politics in the Andes, as recent events in Bolivia seem to have

Figure A.I.7 Mean number of children reported by non-single respondents: expanded domains



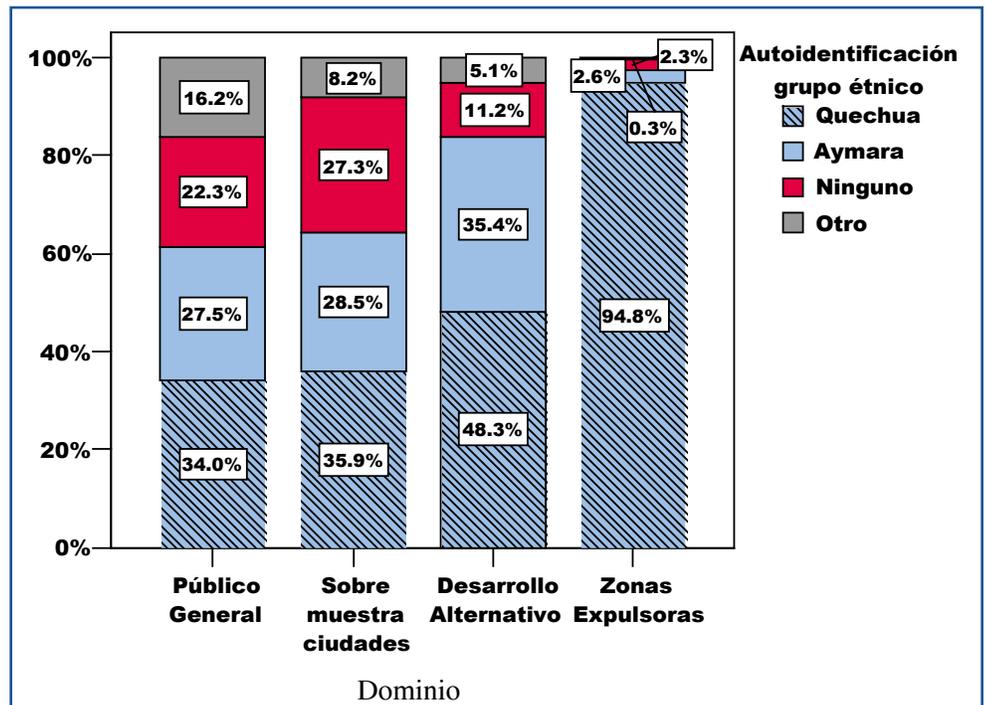
demonstrated. Social scientists, however, have difficulties in deciding the best (i.e., most accurate) way of measuring ethnicity. There is no room here to debate this subject, one that was covered in detail in the LAPOP study of democracy for 2004. In this brief description of the samples interviewed for this study, the results using three different ways of measuring ethnicity are presented. The first is by ethnic self-identification (variable ETID), with the results shown in Figure A.I.8. It is of note that the sample of cities contains a far higher proportion of respondents who identify as “mestiza” compared to the other domains, and a far lower that identify as Indian or “native.” The Alternative Development and Expulsion zones have the lowest proportion that self-identify as “White.”

Figure A.I.8 Ethnic self-identification by domain of study



Another way of thinking about ethnicity is to use the census definition, which asks: “Do you think that that you belong to one of the following native or indigenous groups” [survey question ETID2]. If the respondent did not identify with any group, the interviewers recorded “none.” The results are shown in Figure A.I.9. The Expulsion zone is entirely dominated by those who identify as belonging to the Quechua, while the Alternative Development zones are ones in which Quechua and Aymara identification comprise most of the respondents. Unfortunately, the Bolivian census bureau’s definition of ethnicity is based on what survey researchers would call a “leading question” since it implies that the person should pick one of the indigenous groups. This may have led to an overstatement of indigenous identity in both the census and our survey.

Figure A.I.9 Identification with indigenous groups, by domain of study



The last way of examining ethnicity utilized in this report is by language spoken as a child (questionnaire variable LENG1). The results are shown in Figure A.I.10. This figure is very revealing because it can be seen as reducing the predominance of indigenous identity given in the prior chart since ethnicity and language are closely tied. Those who argue that Bolivia is overwhelmingly dominated by indigenous peoples use the census definition employed above, but as shown in the bar that represents the national population, nearly two-thirds of Bolivians grew up in households in which they spoke Spanish, and in the major cities, over three-quarters of the respondents did so. In the Alternative Development zones, however, Spanish was the minoritarian language, spoken by only two-fifths of the respondents.

The final demographic characteristic of the respondents to be examined here is that of migratory patterns (see Figure A.I.11). Here we do find sharp differences among the four domains of study. Whereas nearly two-thirds of those in the nation as a whole were born in the municipality in which they were interviewed for this study, only one-third of those in the Alternative Development zones were born there. The Expulsion zones are, of course, areas of *expulsion* of residents, not attraction, so while they are losing residents, they are not gaining many new ones. The Alternative Development zones, in contrast, do seem to be attracting many immigrants.

Socio-economic characteristics

The four different samples used in this study vary socio-economically in important and systematic ways. This section summarizes those differences.

The questionnaire included two ways of measuring the relative wealth of the respondents: 1) monthly household

Figure A.I.10 Language spoken as a child, by domain of study

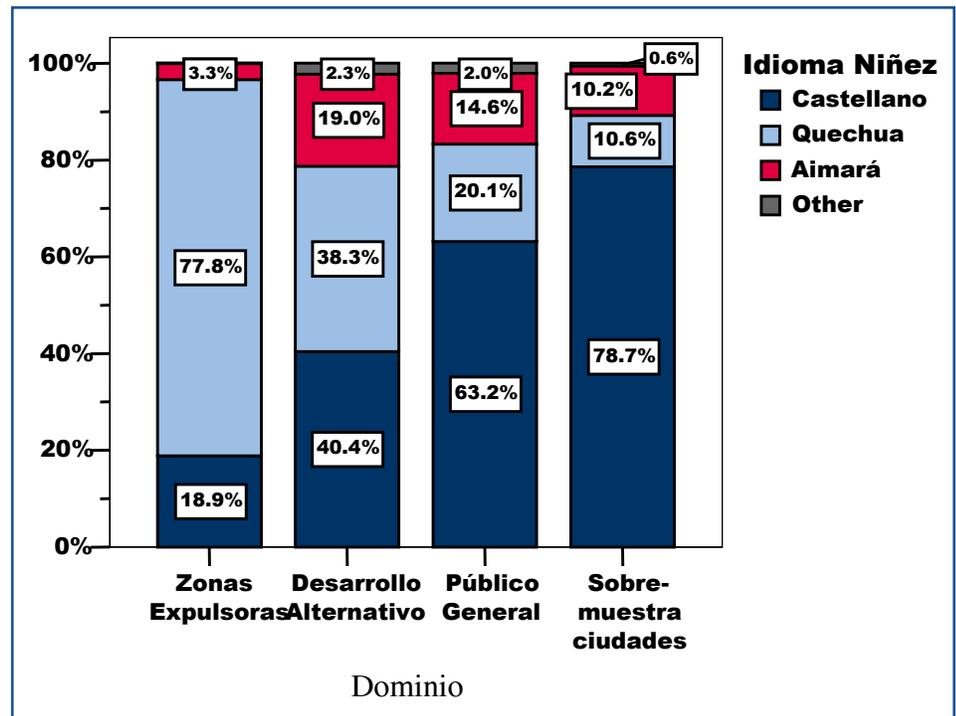
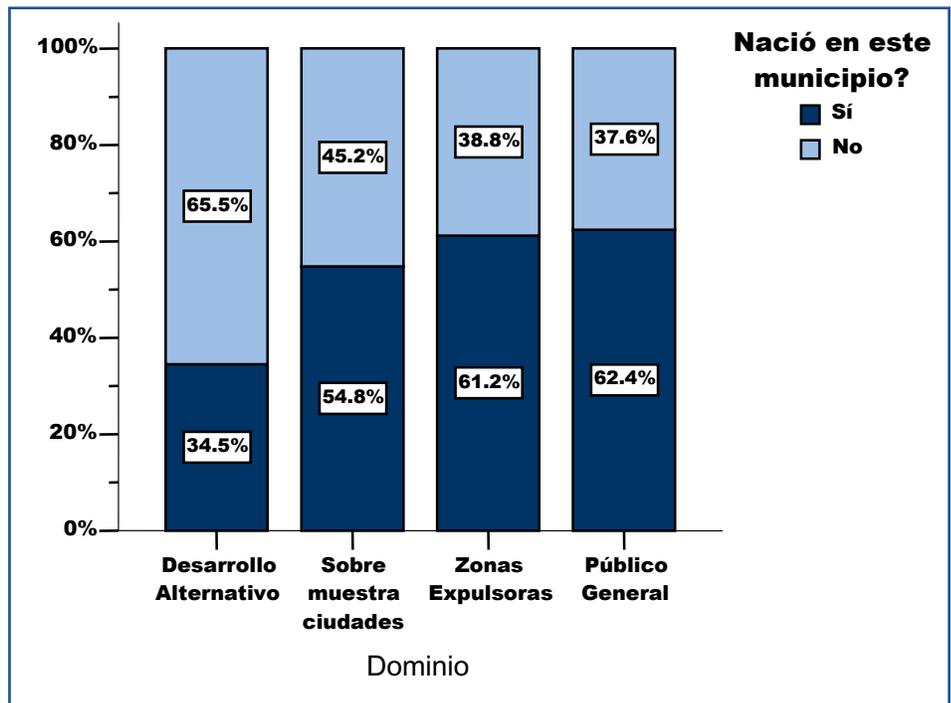
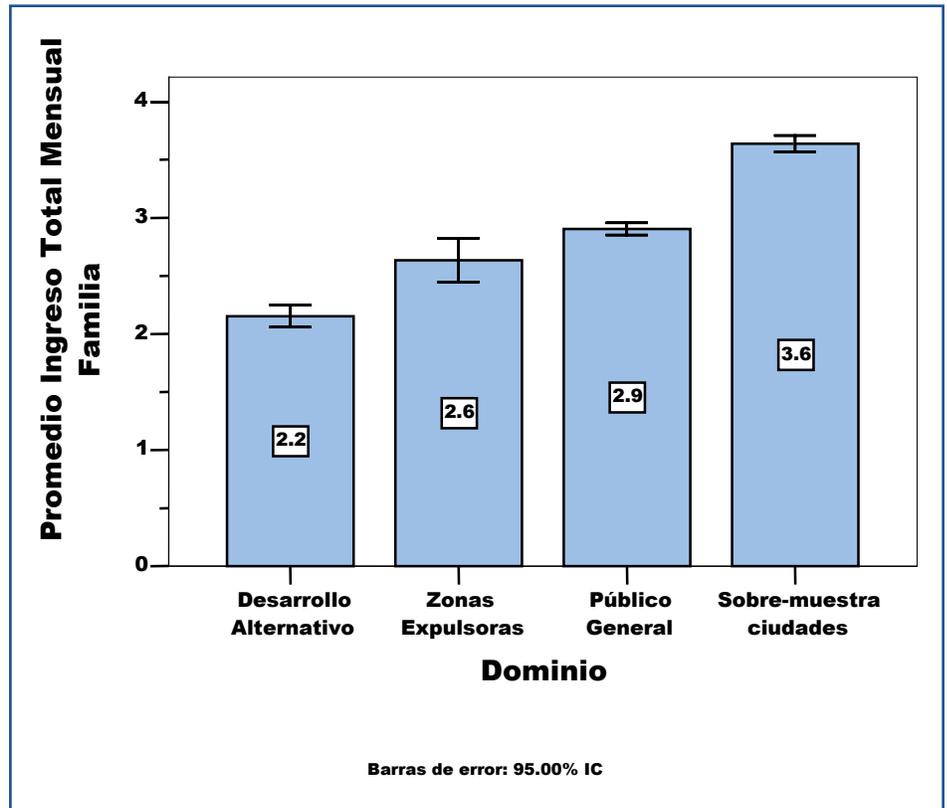


Figure A.I.11 Migratory patterns by domain of study



income (measured by variable Q10), and 2) material indicators of wealth (measured by the series of “R” variables). Although income appears to be a more direct way of measuring personal wealth, in fact many respondents will not answer this question or will significantly understate income. This is not a special problem for studies in Bolivia; rather it is universal. In the Bolivian samples, 10% of the respondents did not reveal their family incomes. The income question provides ranges of income from 0 (none) to a high of more than 20,000 Bs. It has been found that by allowing respondents to select from a range of variables on a printed card, response rates increase relative to a method that asks them to directly state their incomes. Nonetheless, this produces the disadvantage of not having a precise income figure. The results of the monthly family income variable, shown for each domain of study, are found in Figure A.I.12. The finding that the incomes of the respondents in the cities are higher than the national population as a whole is entirely as expected, and tends to validate the results of study. Of substantive interest for this study, however, is that respondents in the Alternative

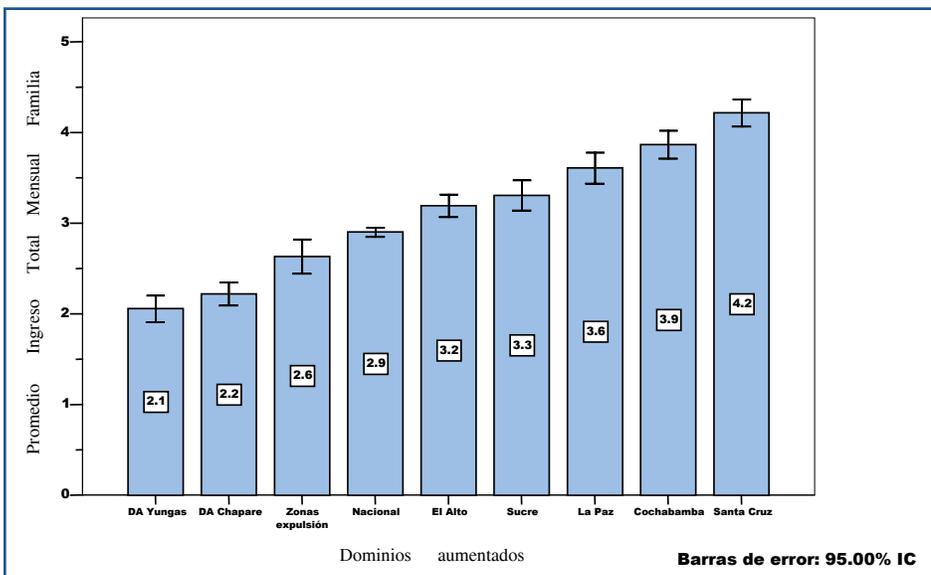
Figure A.I.12 Mean monthly family income, by domain of study



Development zones have incomes lower than respondents in the nation. This was an unexpected finding, since in Bolivia it is believed that the Expulsion zones are losing population because of their low incomes and employment opportunities compared to the Yungas and Chapare regions. One factor that partially explains this result, however,

is that the expulsion zone sample was a more urban sample than the Yungas and Chapare owing to its composition in the census. Overwhelmingly, urban Bolivia has higher levels of socio-economic development than rural Bolivia. Another factor is that *both* Expulsion zone and the Yungas and Chapare are far from wealthy areas, and it may be that there has evolved a national myth about the Yungas and Chapare as being rich areas. A similar situation emerged in the United States during the “gold rush” days, or in Brazil in more recent times. True, there was gold in both places, but overwhelmingly those who “rushed” there did poorly. Another factor is that our survey shows *higher* unemployment in the Expulsion zones than in the Yungas and Chapare; unemployment in the Expulsion zone was 50% higher than in the Yungas and Chapare. Similarly, the number of weeks of unemployment for those in the Expulsion zone averaged considerably more than in the Yungas and Chapare. Finally, as noted in our introduction,

Figure A.I.13 Mean monthly family income by expanded domains of study

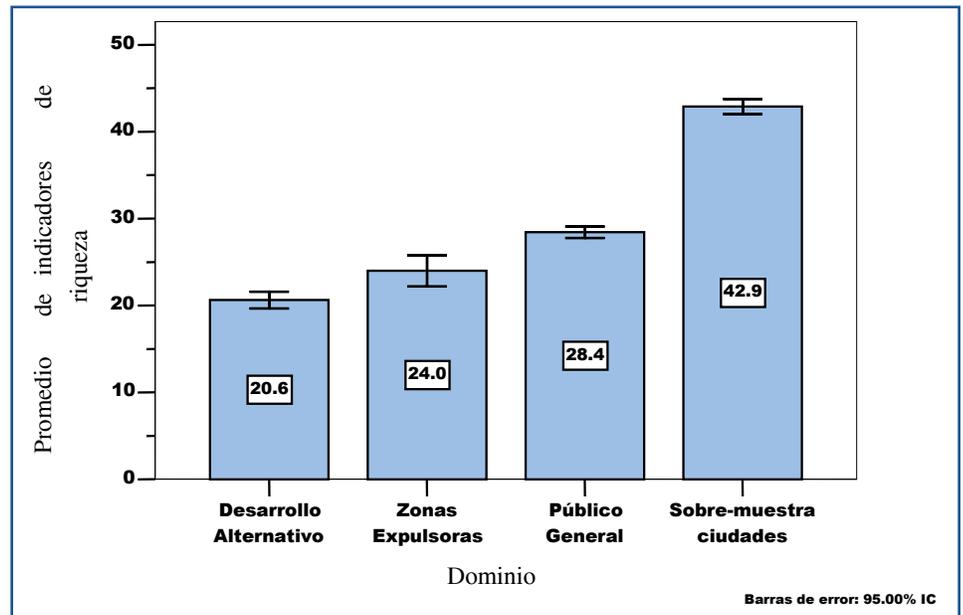


the Expulsion zone sample was very small, and produced the widest standard deviations in the survey in terms of its rural/urban composition. For that reason, the confidence intervals for these results are wide and nearly overlap with those of the Yungas and Chapare.

There are also some notable differences among the expanded domains of study, as shown in Figure A.I.13 (prior page). Whereas the Alternative Crop areas show no significant differences, Santa Cruz is significantly better off, in terms of income, than La Paz, Sucre and El Alto.

Turning now to wealth as measured by material indicators, the study uses a 20-item scale, each one coded on a yes/no basis.²⁰ This scale provides a fine-grained measure of family wealth. The results for the four domains of study are shown in Figure A.I.14. Here the gap between the Alternative Development zones and the major cities is even more

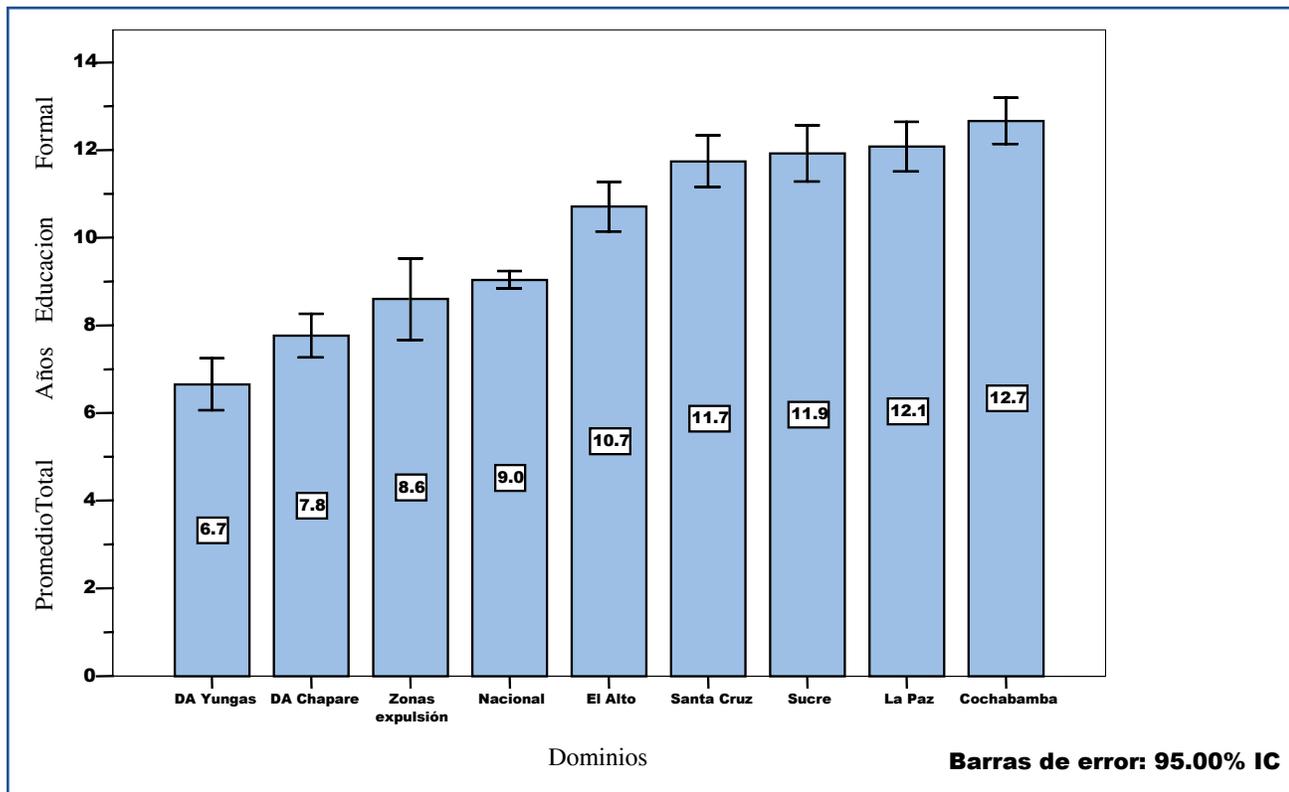
Figure A.I.14 Scale of material indicators of wealth, by domain of study



dramatic than it was using monthly income; on a scale that ranges from 0-100, respondents in the cities have a level of wealth that is, on average, twice that of respondents in the Alternative Development zones.

Another variable that sharply distinguishes among the domains of study is education. The results are shown in Figure A.I.15. The Alternative Development zones are the lowest and the major cities the highest. Similar patterns of wealth than those

Figure A.I.15 Average years of formal schooling, by domain of study



²⁰ Even though question R1 did count the number of TVs in the household, this item was recoded to a 0/1 basis in order not to weight it more heavily than any other item in the series.

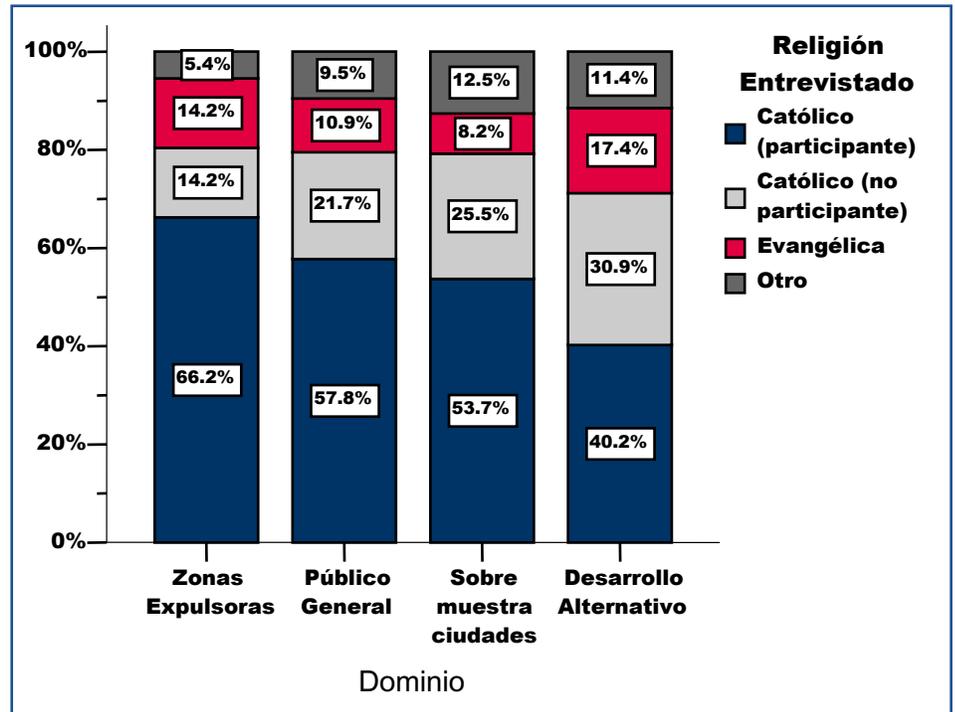
we have already seen for income among the specialized domains of study can be observed, so those are not displayed here.

Religious identification, the final variable to be considered in this descriptive chapter, also varies among the samples, as shown in Figure A.I.16. Practicing Catholics are most prevalent among those who live in the Expulsion zones, and least prevalent among those who live in the Alternative Development zones. Evangelicals make up a relatively small portion of the population (when compared to Guatemala, for example), but are most prevalent in the Alternative Development zones.

Conclusions

This appendix has described the samples carried out for this study. It has found them to be very different demographically and socio-economically. These differences need to be taken into consideration when examining the substantive part of the study, as presented earlier.

Figure A.I.16 Religious identification, by domain of study



Appendix II. Regression Tables

Table A.II.1 OLS Regression on extent to which drug trafficking is serious problem

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Estand. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	70.645	3.493		20.226	.000
	Mas ¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	-8.414	1.569	-.109	-5.362	.000
	Partprot ¿Ha participado UD. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo? ¿Lo ha hecho muchas veces, algunas veces, casi nunca o nunca?	-1.748	.596	-.060	-2.935	.003
	wealth Indice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	7.211	4.095	.045	1.761	.078
	ed3 Total Años Educación Formal	-.151	.140	-.029	-1.074	.283
	Blanca Autoidentificación Raza	1.638	1.104	.041	1.483	.138
	indígena chola, o originario	-.299	1.084	-.008	-.276	.782
	q1 Sexo	3.831	1.174	.064	3.264	.001
	q2 Edad	.220	.045	.103	4.927	.000
	Desarrollo Alternativo	-8.446	1.936	-.091	-4.362	.000
	Zonas Expulsoras	-6.970	3.162	-.043	-2.205	.028
	Sobremuestra Ciudades	-1.952	1.337	-.030	-1.460	.144

a Variable Dependiente: Usted diría que el narcotráfico es un problema muy grave, más o menos grave o nada grave en Bolivia?

Table A.II.2 Binary logit on drug trafficking is not a problem for Bolivia, but is for USA and others, vs. other responses including "don't know"

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Mas	¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	.464	.126	13.538	1	.000	1.591
partprot	¿Ha participado Ud. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo?	.231	.052	19.691	1	.000	1.260
wealth	Indice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	.001	.004	.017	1	.897	1.001
ed3	Total Años Educación Formal	-.001	.013	.005	1	.946	.999
blanca	Blanca	-.394	.179	4.840	1	.028	.674
indígena	Indígena, chola, o originario	.048	.126	.143	1	.705	1.049
q1	Sexo	-.394	.110	12.807	1	.000	.674
q2	Edad	.005	.004	1.798	1	.180	1.005
Desarrolloalternativo	Desarrollo Alternativo	.066	.164	.160	1	.689	1.068
Zonasexpulsoras	Zonas Expulsoras	-.258	.313	.678	1	.410	.773
Sobremuestra	Sobre-muestra Ciudades	.167	.125	1.785	1	.182	1.181
Constant		-1.780	.332	28.772	1	.000	.169
N=2624							

Table A.II.3 Regression on perceptions of the extent to which drug trafficking has increased during the last two years

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Estand. Error	Beta		
1	(Constante)	44.143	5.103		8.651	.000
	Mas ¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	-9.729	2.166	-.091	-4.492	.000
	Partprot ¿Ha participado Ud. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo? ¿Lo ha hecho muchas veces, algunas veces, casi nunca o nunca?	-1.439	.841	-.035	-1.712	.087
	wealth Índice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	-.149	.061	-.064	-2.439	.015
	ed3 Total Años Educación Formal	.376	.204	.051	1.842	.066
	Blanca Blanca	-6.381	2.464	.052	-2.590	.010
	Indígena indígena, chola, o originario	-1.238	2.046	-.013	-.605	.545
	q1 Sexo	4.581	1.666	.054	2.750	.006
	q2 Edad	.404	.061	.144	6.674	.000
	Desarrollo alternativo Desarrollo Alternativo	-24.547	2.722	-.187	-9.019	.000
	Zonas expulsoras Zonas Expulsoras	-15.639	4.615	-.066	-3.389	.001
	Sobremuestra Sobre-muestra Ciudades	1.083	1.922	.012	.563	.573

a Variable Dependiente: drugincrease Y en comparación con dos años atrás, ¿Ud. Considera que el narcotráfico ha crecido, permanece igual o ha disminuido?

Table A.II.4 Binomial logit regression on perception that cultivation of coca, as opposed to drug trafficking, drug use, none, or all, is the most serious drug-related problem

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Mas	¿ Votó por MAS en 2002?	-.041	.126	.104	1	.747	.960
Partprot	¿Ha participado Ud. En una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo?	-.138	.049	7.898	1	.005	.871
Wealth	Índice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	.008	.003	5.982	1	.014	1.008
ed3	Total Años Educación Formal	-.021	.011	3.439	1	.064	.979
Blanca	Blanca	.172	.131	1.723	1	.189	1.188
Indígena	Indígena, chola, o originario	-.275	.120	5.239	1	.022	.759
q1	Sexo	-.192	.094	4.139	1	.042	.825
q2	Edad	.008	.003	6.080	1	.014	1.008
Desarrolloalternativo	Desarrollo Alternativo	-.053	.161	.110	1	.740	.948
Zonasexpulsoras	Zonas Expulsoras	-.218	.269	.656	1	.418	.804
Sobremuestra	Sobre-muestra Ciudades	.024	.108	.048	1	.827	1.024
Constant		-.955	.285	11.215	1	.001	.385

a Variable(s) ingresadas en el paso 1: Mas, partprot, wealth, ed3, Blanca, indígena, q1, q2, Desarrolloalternativo, Zonasexpulsoras Sobremuestra.

Table A.II.5 Predictors of attitudes toward coca in Bolivia

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Estand. Error	Beta		
1	(Constante)	66.734	2.248		29.685	.000
	Mas ¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	5.709	.952	.122	5.999	.000
	Partprot ¿Ha participado UD. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo? ¿Lo ha hecho muchas veces, algunas veces, casi nunca o nunca?	2.312	.373	.128	6.196	.000
	wealth Índice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	-.029	.027	-.028	-1.070	.285
	ed3 Total Años Educación Formal	.093	.089	-.028	-1.038	.299
	Blanca Blanca	-1.618	1.102	-.030	-1.469	.142
	Indígena indígena, chola, o originario	1.379	.906	.032	1.521	.128
	q1 Sexo	-1.497	0.733	-.040	-2.043	.041
	q2 Edad	-.042	.027	-.034	-1.578	.115
	La Paz, La Paz	-24.547	2.722	-.187	-9.019	.000
	Cochabamba, Cochabamba	-15.639	4.615	-.066	-3.389	.001
	Sucre, Sucre	1.083	1.922	.012	.563	.573
	El Alto, El Alto	.148	1.633	.002	.091	.928
	Zonas Expulsión, Zonas Expulsión	4.809	1.966	.048	2.466	.015
	DA Yungas, DA Yungas	7.343	1.771	.082	4.147	.000
	DA Chapare, DA Chapare	9.644	1.460	.136	6.605	.000

a. Variable dependiente: cocabuena - Índice de apoyo al rol de la coca y el narcotráfico en la sociedad boliviana.

Table A.II.6 Regression on extent to which drug trafficking affects family's safety

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Estand. Error	Beta		
1	(Constante)	2.225	.157		14.170	.000
	Mas ¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	-.177	.067	-.055	-2.663	.008
	Partprot ¿Ha participado UD. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo? ¿Lo ha hecho muchas veces, algunas veces, casi nunca o nunca?	-.017	.026	-.013	-.645	.519
	wealth Índice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	.001	.002	.015	.549	.583
	ed3 Total Años Educación Formal	-.005	.006	-.020	-.736	.462
	Blanca Blanca	-.279	.075	-.076	-3.695	.000
	indígena chola, o originario	-.241	.063	-.083	-3.851	.000
	q1 Sexo	.128	.051	.050	2.514	.012
	q2 Edad	.003	.002	.038	1.733	.083
	LaPaz La Paz	-.114	.102	-.023	-1.115	.265
	SantaCruz Santa Cruz	.223	.113	.040	1.978	.048
	Cochabamba Cochabamba	-.054	.111	-.010	-.486	.627
	Sucre Sucre	-.008	.096	-.002	-.081	.935
	ElAlto El Alto	-.093	.112	-.017	-.831	.406
	ZonasExpulsión Zonas Expulsión	-.330	.137	-0.48	-2.409	.016
	DAYungas DA Yungas	.150	.123	.024	1.220	.223
DACHapare DA Chapare	.130	.102	.026	1.276	.202	

a. Variable Dependiente: ¿El narcotráfico afecta mucho, algo, poco o nada a la seguridad de su familia?

Table A.II.7 Regression on support for external assistance in the struggle against drug trafficking

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Estand. Error	Beta		
1	(Constante)	4.042	.115		35.070	.000
	Mas ¿Votó por MAS en 2002?	-.139	.050	-.056	-2.802	.005
	Partprot ¿Ha participado UD. en una manifestación, protesta pública o bloqueo? ¿Lo ha hecho muchas veces, algunas veces, casi nunca o nunca?	-.097	.019	-.103	-5.053	.000
	wealth Índice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 ítems	.000	.001	-.003	-.126	.900
	ed3 Total Años Educación Formal	.014	.005	.085	3.139	.002
	Blanca Blanca	.130	.055	.047	2.355	.019
	indígena chola, o originario	-.106	.047	-.048	-2.268	.023
	q1 Sexo	-.083	.038	-.043	-2.211	.027
	q2 Edad	-.001	.001	-.013	-.591	.555
	LaPaz La Paz	-.021	.075	-.006	-.286	.775
	SantaCruz Santa Cruz	.395	.083	.095	4.786	.000
	Cochabamba Cochabamba	-.230	.081	-.057	-2.851	.004
	Sucre Sucre	.248	.070	.070	3.523	.000
	EIAlto El Alto	-.372	.083	-.088	-4.484	.000
	ZonasExpulsión Zonas Expulsión	-.109	.101	-.021	-1.075	.283
	DAYungas DA Yungas	-.198	.093	-.042	-2.144	.032
DACHapare DA Chapare	-.249	.076	-.066	-3.280	.001	

a. Variable Dependiente: coo4 Le parece muy bien, bien, regular, mal o muy mal que otros países ayuden a Bolivia a luchar contra el narcotráfico?

Table A.II.8 Lineal regression of Alternative Development Evaluations in all domains

Coeficientes (a,b)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constante)	3.127	.100		31.388	.000
	Sexo	.170	.035	.104	4.799	.000
	Edad	-.005	.001	-.108	-4.716	.000
	Blanca	.037	.050	.017	.735	.463
	Indígena	-.176	.048	-.083	-3.682	.000
	Desarrollo Alternativo	-.177	.053	-.082	-3.315	.001
	Zonas Expulsoras	-.045	.119	-.008	-.380	.704
	Sobre-muestra ciudades	-.055	.041	-.033	-1.360	.174
	Riqueza	.350	.119	.084	2.937	.003
	Total Años Educacion Formal	-.002	.004	-.014	-.494	.622

a Dependent Variable: ¿Diría Ud. que el Desarrollo Alternativo ha sido muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo?

b Regresion de cuadrados minmos ponderadols – Ponderada por peso unico para todos los estratos

Table A.II.9 Lineal regression of the Alternative Development evaluations in Chapare and Yungas

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	t	Sig.
		B	Error Estandarizado	Beta		
1	(Constante)	3.528	.279		12.633	.000
	Sexo	.196	.088	.116	2.233	.026
	Edad	-.008	.003	-.139	-2.506	.013
	Blanca	.127	.153	.043	.830	.407
	Indígena	.024	.090	.014	.265	.791
	Indice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	.030	.345	.005	.088	.930
	Total Años Educacion Formal	-.006	.011	-.035	-.588	.557
	Pertenencia a sindicato cocalero	-.550	.107	-.332	-5.154	.000
	Pertenencia a asociación de productores	.221	.092	.131	2.413	.016
	Siembra coca	-.183	.101	-.111	-1.809	.071
	Participación en protestas	-.091	.041	-.123	-2.233	.026

Variable Dependiente: ¿Diría Ud. que el Desarrollo Alternativo ha sido muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo?

Table A.II.10 Lineal regression of Alternative Development evaluations in Expulsion zones

Coeficientes(a)						
Modelo		Coeficientes No Estandarizados		Coeficientes Estandarizados	t	Sig.
		B	Error Estandar	Beta		
1	(Constante)	3.257	.127		25.613	.000
	Sexo	.172	.040	.105	4.299	.000
	Edad	-.005	.001	-.086	-3.342	.001
	Blanca	.062	.055	.028	1.135	.257
	Indígena	-.144	.055	-.067	-2.612	.009
	Indice de indicadores materiales de riqueza, 20 items	.401	.126	.095	3.176	.002
	Total Años Educacion Formal	-.004	.005	-.023	-.747	.455
	Participación en protestas	-.079	.020	-.101	-4.027	.000
	Votó por Evo Morales	-.252	.056	-.114	-4.542	.000

a Variable dependiente: ¿Diría Ud. que el Desarrollo Alternativo ha sido muy bueno, bueno, regular, malo o muy malo?

Table A.II.1 | Binary logistical regression of those who believe that the media does not uncover or denounce drug trafficking versus the rest

Variables en la ecuación						
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Sexo	-.120	.071	2.854	1	.091	.887
Edad	-.004	.002	3.300	1	.069	.996
Desarrollo Alternativo	.525	.134	15.444	1	.000	1.690
Zonas Expulsión	.316	.214	2.188	1	.139	1.372
Sobre-muestra ciudades	.197	.083	5.649	1	.017	1.217
Blanca	-.233	.111	4.437	1	.035	.792
Indígena	-.064	.088	.534	1	.465	.938
Indice de riqueza material	-.284	.251	1.277	1	.259	.753
Educación	.008	.009	.728	1	.394	1.008
Pertenencia a sindicato cocalero	-.398	.186	4.597	1	.032	.672
Constante	-.902	.193	21.894	1	.000	.406

a Variable(s) entradas en paso 1: sexo, edad, DesAlt, ZonExp, SobCiu, Blanca, Indígena, riqueza, educación, pertenencia a sindicato cocalero.

Report produced by:

Casals & Associates, Inc.

1199 North Fairfax Street, Third Floor
Alexandria, VA 22314
Tel. 703-920-1234
Fax. 703-920-5750

www.casals.com

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