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**Saullo, Maricelle**

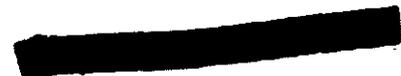
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**From:** Skott, Cecelia  
**Sent:** Monday, February 02, 2004 3:15 PM  
**To:** Maggy Morales (E-mail)  
**Cc:** Saullo, Maricelle; Steve, Robyn; Art Sist (E-mail)  
**Subject:** PARC Quarterly Reports

Dear Ms. Morales:

Please find attached the quarterly technical and financial reports for the PARC Project. The annexes will be sent under separate cover.

Sincerely,



*Cecelia M. Skott*

Cecelia M. Skott  
Senior Associate  
Center for International Development  
State University of New York  
State University Plaza  
Albany, NY 12246

(518) 443-5580  
[www.cid.suny.edu](http://www.cid.suny.edu)

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## **I. BACKGROUND**

### **1.1. Two No-Cost Extensions, Two Task Orders Operating Concurrently**

The SUNY Bolivia IQC Task Order #805 was to end on September 27, 2003. On October 1, 2003, SUNY was awarded a new IQC Task Order, # 808, under competitive bidding limited to IQC holders of the Deliberative Bodies area. Since not all the funds for the 2001-2003 IQC were expended during the contract, a no cost extension was granted which has run concurrently with the new IQC during the period of the present report, October through December 2003. The no-cost extension was to terminate on December 31, 2003. However, the social upheaval and political changes which occurred during October, however, prevented the complete implementation of the high cost activities of radio and TV dissemination as well as a national level advocacy workshop, leaving the extension with a positive balance of approximately \$125,000 still to be spent. A second no cost extension of Task Order #805 was therefore requested and approved for use of the unspent funds in support of the Congress's representative function under the new political and social conditions prevalent since the month of October. This second extension will also run concurrently with the new Task Order #808 (Phase II of the PARC program) and is scheduled to end April 30, 2004. This report covers activities from both task orders that ran concurrently in the quarter.

### **1.2. The Emergency Plan**

The development of SUNY/CID's detailed implementation plan was interrupted and superceded by the insurrection in the month of October that led to a change of government. Bolivian democracy faced an emergency situation posing new and urgent challenges for the country in general and for the national Congress in particular, especially in its representative functions. USAID therefore requested an adjustment in SUNY/CID's program, first verbally, then officially in a letter distributed to all contractors (see Annex 1). SUNY/CID responded with an Emergency Plan that was approved by the USAID technical office and initiated in late October. The Plan was further confirmed in a meeting with the expanded Democracy SOT and the USAID Director on November 28, 2003 (see Plan, Annex 2).

The Emergency Plan basically adds two new elements to SUNY/CID's PARC II program:

- New streamlined relational mechanisms, including Citizen Forums (FIC, a type of town meeting with a restricted agenda), newly formatted Interactive Radio Sessions, and walking tours.
- A greatly expanded contact with uninominal deputies: SUNY's direct offer of assistance drew a response of 34 requests for FICs, the redesigned Interactive Radio Sessions and Public Hearings (see list of requests, Annex 3)

These new and expanded activities correspond to these PARC II Results:

- Result 1.1. More opportunities for citizens to express their interests and demands.  
Result 2.1. "Congressional representatives are more responsive and accountable";  
and  
Result 2.2. "Citizens' demands are channeled to Congress through Public Hearings".

Prioritizing the Emergency Plan involved postponing the commencement of some activities of PARC II, such as:

- Signing the agreement with the Ministry of Education for the introduction of a democracy curriculum in secondary and normal schools,
- Organization of the internship program for congress,
- Strengthening of FUNDAPPAC,
- Strengthening of the Ethics Committee in the lower House, and
- Training in bill drafting.

For special reasons, EDC encounters were also temporarily postponed, as will be explained in the corresponding sections below. PARC II activities that were implemented included work with four departmental brigades to formulate Minimum Regional Agendas, training for these same brigades in budget analysis, and the holding of mixed Senate/Brigade Public Hearings in three departments.

### **1.3. Structure of this Report**

As noted, the activities of the past quarter involve three distinct work dimensions:

1. The extension of IQC 805,
2. The inception of the new IQC 808, and
3. The addition of an emergency plan to Task Order 808.

Because the emergency plan has been incorporated into PARC II, it will be treated as part of the Task Order 808, preceded by a section on the extension of Task Order 805 that will summarize the accomplishments to date in terms of the major indicators of PARC I. A final closeout report for PARC I will be provided to USAID after the termination of the program at the end of April 2004.

## **II. PARC I EXTENSION: ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

Following are the accomplishments of PARC I according to the major indicators tracked in previous Quarterly Reports:

### **Results Review of Major Indicators: PARC I**

- 1. Performance Indicator 1.1.2. In the second year of PARC, 80% of the Uninominal Deputies (UDs) receiving assistance under the program will either participate in an initial and a follow up EDC or will use at least one other constituent relations mechanism and its follow up.**

At the beginning of the last quarter, this indicator has been amply surpassed. Of the 19 EDCs implemented in the second year of the program, 16 were second, third, or fourth, and in one case a fifth follow up. Furthermore, the difficulties experienced by some UD's in getting positive results from the *gestiones* committed to in the social agendas led to an increased effort to develop and bring into use the alternative mechanisms of REDICs and interactive radio. During the last quarter, meetings were held between SUNY/CID, the DDCP, and UAGP staff, together with UD's who have participated in the EDCs, to update and streamline the EDC model. SUNY

expects this redesign to be completed by early February and that EDC events will resume in the same month.

2. **Performance Indicator 2.2.2. In the first year of the program operations manuals for secretaries and members of committees and brigades and advocacy guides for civil society.**

The details of this first year indicator were discussed in the sixth Quarterly Report. In sum, this indicator was also fulfilled with the production of the following:

- A manual on public hearings for use by technical secretaries,
- A matrix and methodological guide for the formulation of Brigade minimum agendas approved by the congress,
- A guide for parliamentarians on the functions of the legislator,
- Brochures on public hearings, and
- Regulations governing the Ethics Committee.

3. **Performance Indicator 3.1.1. : Citizens demonstrate an increased awareness of participation mechanisms available with the congress, and understanding of the roles of the uninominal representatives.**

This continues to be the weakest of the components despite dissemination activities through local radios (IRFA of Santa Cruz) and publications in newspapers nationally distributed. Originally, SUNY had planned various activities during the past quarter as well as this period, including a blitz of radio jingles and TV spots and work with NGOs in advocacy to teach the use of the mechanisms. The advocacy work continued, with success in some institutions resulting in increased contact with uninominal deputies and congressional committees. However, at the beginning of the last quarter (October 1, 2003) all work in dissemination had been halted at the request of the President of the Congress (Carlos Mesa), with which SUNY totally concurred. For work in dissemination this quarter, see below.

4. **Performance Indicator 3.1.2. Civil society and citizens' groups have their requests and demands regularly processed according to official regulation procedures in five parliamentary committees or brigades.**

As explained in previous reports, five of the Brigade Public Hearings concerning the formation of Departmental Child and Adolescent Protection Committees were held in response to requests initiated at the departmental level by civil society groups. Of the four public hearings mentioned below, the hearing conducted jointly by the Social Policy Committee and the Santa Cruz Brigade on the topic of HIV/AIDS was convoked at the request of several NGO networks and institutions (see below).

5. **Performance Indicator 4.1.1. Congressional technical staff conduct at least one training session without outside technical assistance in each of the three key program methodologies (uninominal EDCs, Brigades and public hearings.)**

Besides the two workshops held last May for congressional committee staff, two further workshops were held in July for Brigade staff, followed by a workshop held

for and by UAGP staff with SUNY monitoring only. There was no training activity either from SUNY or among technical staff last quarter.

**6. Performance Indicator 5.1.1. Women representatives in the new Congress develop a common, gender oriented legislative agenda and actively promote at least two issues of the agenda within the congress.**

UMPABOL published and presented the Agenda to the Congress last April, and since then has been successfully promoted the approval of two of the laws on the Agenda, the Law on Domestic Employees, and the law on free Civil Registration of citizens and births.

### **III. PARC II ACTIVITIES**

PARC II is essentially a continuation and extension of PARC I with three new results added concerning the ethics environment in the congress, strengthening the Ethics Committee, and the institutional strengthening of FUNDAPPAC; and one optional component concerning the codification of the Bolivian laws. In sum, the Program comprises twelve results plus the optional component.

The Emergency Plan developed to support the democratic stability of Bolivia and the priority proposals in the legislative agenda of President Mesa, has meant that several activities and programs designed to accomplish the results of PARC II have had to be postponed. These deferred results will therefore not appear in the present report. At the end of February, SUNY will invite USAID to participate in an internal evaluation of the results, impact, and the possible continuation, modification or termination of the Emergency Plan to determine the future course of the program.

#### **PARC II Results and Activities**

**Result 1.1. More opportunities for citizens to express their interest and demands.**

The new mechanisms of Citizens's Forums, restructured Interactive Radio Sessions, and walking tours created under the Emergency Plan correspond directly to this Result. They provide not only a "rapid response" to the emergency need in a situation of national crisis to prove the viability of the Congress to citizens, but could become a permanent instrument in the representative's tool box of relational mechanisms, as they are low cost, relatively easy to organize, informative for both the representative and the public, and provide great flexibility to the legislator in deciding what commitments to assume.

#### **Citizen Forums**

The Citizen Forums are proving to be one of the most popular and useful mechanisms for both representatives and the public. Like a village Town Meeting in the U.S., the Forum gives the public opportunity to voice its opinions, demands, and criticisms; however, unlike the open ended agenda of the Town Meeting, the Forum is designed to consider in depth one or at most two important topics, giving the representative greater opportunities for preparation and enabling serious dialogue with constituents. The

Forum also differs from the somewhat similar mechanisms of the EDC and REDIC used by the UD and being promoted by the Program; unlike the EDC, the deputy is not pressured to make commitments on a large number of items, many of them of a municipal nature and outside his or her competence or impossible to fulfill; and unlike the REDIC, the difficult task of obtaining participation from the pertinent executive branch ministries and vice-ministries is not required. More experience with the Forums is required, but preliminary evidence indicates that this low cost, simple type of event can prove to be a sustainable and effective means to help the UD (and perhaps other congressional entities) exercise his or her representative functions.

Since October, SUNY has supported the organization of six forums. Two of the forums were on the issue of the use of Bolivia's reserves of natural gas, two on the topic of decentralization (including the thorny issues of regional autonomy, federalism, separatism, etc.) in the departments where these matters are most hotly debated, Tarija and Santa Cruz; one in El Alto, with wide participation by the youth of this city where the insurrection was most violent; and one on the local issue of water in Tarija (see Annex 4).

In the majority of the forums, the deputy used voluntary secretarial help to summarize comments and results, an example that SUNY will encourage other deputies to follow. The results of the forums were published in information bulletins, and in one case the deputy (an ex-employee and executive of YPFB, expert on the issue of gas reserves) produced a CD on the various issues involved in the exploration and commercialization of the reserves. The publication of bulletins was supported in some cases by SUNY, but as more representatives see the benefits of disseminating information through this and other means, pressure will be generated from the deputies for the Congress to assume the costs.

### **Interactive Radio.**

The restructuring of this mechanism is the second measure incorporated into SUNY's Emergency Plan. As explained in previous reports, many uninominal deputies were hesitant to engage in these interactive sessions because of the criticisms they were subjected to, and often because they were unprepared to answer pertinent questions from their constituent radio audience. To encourage greater use of this mechanism, SUNY accompanied its offer of assistance to the deputies with an outline of a model interactive radio session (Annex 5). Basically, the format contained an introductory section where the deputy would inform about his/her activities and explain the main issues to he/she would receive questions about. This introduction proved effective in informing constituents about the deputy's activities, and helped to limit the questioning to the topics presented in the introduction once the microphone was opened to the public.

SUNY supported five of these interactive radio sessions, of one hour each. Three were conducted in El Alto, one as a follow up to the Forum on the participation of youth in the democratic process, the second on the effect of October's events on the children of El Alto, and the third on the proposal to introduce a bill into the congress concerning the economic development of El Alto. One session was held in Sucre on the topic of gas reserves, and the fifth, a review of the activities of the deputy and its relevance to

constituents (Fernando Castellanos, MIR, much of the discussion about Tarija's gas reserves, see Annex 6)

A spin-off from this mechanism was the use of the radio for strictly informative purposes concerning the work of the Departmental Brigade as a follow-up to the items contained in the Brigade's Departmental Minimal Regional Agenda. Thus, the President of the Chuquisaca Departmental Brigade visited twenty-eight municipalities to inform the citizens concerning the demands received from civil society relating to the formation of the Minimal Regional Agenda.

### **Result 2.1. Congressional Representatives are more responsive and accountable.**

One of the aspects of the PARC program that is receiving special attention from SUNY is the follow-up of those mechanisms in which the representative or congressional entity (Departmental Brigade or Committee) has made a commitment to perform an activity in response to the demands of civil society. Two of those mechanisms, EDCs and REDICs, will be considered under this section, while the Minimal Regional Agendas of Brigades and the Public Hearings of Congressional Committees will be treated under subsequent Results.

#### **EDCs**

The organization of EDCs requires the combined efforts of SUNY as well as the USAID Decentralization Strategic Objective institutional contractor. In October, a new contractor, ICMA, replaced Chemonics as the organization in charge of the DDCP, the program for municipal decentralization. Since ICMA had no previous experience either in the design, organization or implementation of an EDC event, it was necessary to conduct a joint review of the model, analyze its components, and evaluate its impact in order for ICMA and SUNY to decide on whether improvements in the model were necessary and for ICMA to determine how best the model could be incorporated into its work plan. In the month of November, SUNY and ICMA met to exchange information; in December, both met with municipal level actors and with Uninominal Deputies who had participated in one or more EDCs, organized as a focus group to give their impressions of the strengths and weaknesses of the model. An additional meeting will be held in mid January to complete the evaluation in preparation for the organization and implementation of EDC events in February.

Preliminary results of the evaluation are that the EDC is valuable as a means of contact between UD and citizens, but that most of the deputies find it difficult and in some cases impossible to effectively comply with commitments assumed in the EDC to obtain results from the Ministries of the Executive Branch (*gestiones*).

#### **REDICs.**

The REDIC (Direct Representation of Citizens' Interest) brings together strategic interest groups in the electoral district (*circunscripción*) and the Ministries of the Executive Branch pertinent to the issue at hand. As such it involves a lengthy preparation and its success depends on the UD's ability to convince the employees of the Ministries to participate. Since the REDIC, however, concentrates on one specific

topic, such as the promotion of micro enterprise or environmental contamination, the commitments taken are usually pursued more effectively than those assumed in an EDC. Therefore it is a mechanism that merits further analysis and development.

Because of its relative complexity, however, the REDIC is not apt as an emergency or "rapid response" measure. Also, the REDIC is labor intensive and requires a relatively large investment of SUNY staff time, staff that was fully occupied in the other mechanisms and tasks of the Emergency Plan. Thus, despite requests for two REDICs during the period, none were implemented during this quarter.

## **Result 2.2. Citizen's demands are channeled to Congress through Public Hearings**

The internal regulations of Congress recognize and estipulate rules for public hearings for two types of congressional entities: committees and brigades. Congressional committee public hearings are limited to topics of concern specific to that committee, such as human development, social policy or the national economy and budget (*Comisión de Hacienda*), while brigade public hearings embrace all topics, of every type and variety which are relevant to their region, and only to their region. The public hearings of both committees and brigades have the same purpose: to listen to the opinions and receive the requests of constituents, and to report back to the public whether and how these requests are being incorporated into the work of the committee or brigade.

While SUNY has had good success training the technical secretaries of the committees to understand the primary objective of the hearings and to prepare them in accordance with the regulations, it has been difficult for both presidents of congressional committees and of departmental brigades to understand or comply with these rules. Often the President will not expend the effort to ensure the attendance of a quorum of members, or will conduct the hearing as a seminar to expound opinions of the members of the committee itself, or will not take seriously the obligation to ensure follow up actions or report back to constituents. It is a long, difficult learning process for the representatives, one that must be constantly renewed given the fact that most committees and all brigades elect new presidents yearly.

Another aspect of the public hearings, particularly of congressional committees, which needs improvement, is the participation of the public. Often the preparation for the hearing by civil society or non-governmental organizations is deficient, and their presentations are disorganized, or not based on an analysis or systematization of objective data, or are based more on emotion than on fact. While this type of participation may be cathartic for the organization involved, it has less chance of impacting favorably the member of the committee. SUNY's advocacy program is directed specifically at improving this situation.

SUNY supported the organization of four public hearings this quarter, one conducted according to the regulations, while the three unusual brigade hearings suffered the defects mentioned above (see Annex 7).

### **Congressional Committee Public Hearings**

There was one committee public hearing conducted by the Committee on Social Policy of the Chamber of Deputies. This was a hearing in which the departmental brigade also participated. The hearing was requested by a number of NGOs based in Santa Cruz who proposed to the committee introducing a bill regarding the rights of the victims of HIV/AIDS. Since the initiative for drafting and presentation of the bill came from organizations based in the Santa Cruz area, the committee traveled there to conduct the hearing, and was supported by the Santa Cruz Brigade's attendance. SUNY decided to support this hearing partly because it had made a firm commitment to do so long before the October insurrection, but most because of the great interest of the civil society organizations requesting the hearing and of the general public in Santa Cruz

### **Public Hearings of Departmental Brigades**

SUNY supported the organization of three brigade hearings, one each on the occasion of the Departmental Holidays (*efemérides*) of Potosí, the Beni, and the Pando. Traditionally it was the President of the Republic who visited the respective departments on their official holiday, promising to initiate needed legislation or making some donation in cash or in kind. This year, however, it was the Senate that made the official visit from the government with the idea of recuperating or gaining some badly needed good will from the departmental authorities and the public. The visits were done in conjunction with the departmental brigades, but the President of the Senate decided to arrange a Senate quorum to attend in order to be able to immediately pass Senate resolutions if necessary. This objective was accomplished in the case of the Pando where two Senate resolutions and thirteen letters recommending implementation of projects to the executive branch (*Minutas de Comunicación*) were approved on the spot. While not achieving this result in the other two departments, the hearings there still proved valuable in that a good number of demands from civil society were heard and recorded, which will prove useful in the formulation of the Departmental Minimal Regional Agenda. Many of the regulations for public hearings, however, were not observed, such as timely advance announcement of hearing, a specified list of speakers, non-intervention by the members of the Senate and brigade, and speakers' time limitations. Also, the expense of having so many members of the Senate attend, and the questionable practice of having Senate meetings outside La Paz, drew criticism from the press and some deputies. Nevertheless, the hearings did prove useful, and SUNY will be continuing to work with the technical secretaries of the Senate in charge of future public hearings of this type to remedy these failings.

**Result 2.3. Members of Congress are trained in the budget process with greater capacity to obtain results for constituents.**

### **Budget and Brigades**

Training the members of Congress in the process of budget formulation, oversight and evaluation began last year with the development and testing of a budget manual. After several revisions, the manual was finally completed and approved by the Finance Committee (*Comisión de Hacienda*) in November of 2003.

One problem in training the members is getting them to attend formal training sessions, even those of as short a duration as half a day. Therefore, SUNY decided to combine its budget training with its assistance to the brigades in the development of their Minimal Regional Agendas (MRAs). Since the MRAs are a planning instrument stipulated in the brigade regulations that the brigades are obliged to comply with, there is a better chance of a larger numbers of members participating in these sessions. The first training event was conducted for the Santa Cruz Departmental Brigade in December, a half-day session, as part of the preliminary stage of preparing the Departmental MRA. Besides Santa Cruz, the Departmental Brigades of Potosi, the Beni, La Paz, and Tarija will receive this training during the formulation of their MRAs. The Brigades of Pando, Cochabamba, Oruro and Chuquisaca have already completed their MRAs and training is planned for these brigade members in conjunction with future public hearings that the brigade will have in the course of the year.

### **Brigades and MRAs**

As mentioned in previous reports, the brigade is becoming increasingly important not only for the decentralization of the work of Congress in its legislative and oversight duties, but also in its representative functions. In the formulation of its MRA, the brigade receives the input of numerous civil society groups, makes commitments to carry out specific actions, and has more possibility of being effective in obtaining results than the single deputy has in complying with commitments made in EDCs, for example. Thus, the uninominal deputy can more effectively respond to constituents when the brigade as a whole supports their demands, or more importantly, when the brigade incorporates them into its MRA.

During this quarter, SUNY assisted in the formulation of MRAs in the departmental brigades of Cochabamba, Pando, Oruro and Chuquisaca. Some of the main commitments assumed by the respective brigades are as follows:

#### **Cochabamba**

- Four legislative proposals, including the revision of the Mining Code and the creation of an Agricultural Development Bank
- Four oversight issues, including petroleum production and the privatization of the railroads
- Six dealings with ministries (*gestiones*), including improving airport administration, deciding territorial boundaries with the Department of the Beni, and the abrogation of Supreme Decree 24806 concerning the ownership of petroleum at the surface of the oil well.

#### **Oruro**

- Four legislative proposals
- One oversight issue
- Five *gestiones*

#### **Chuquisaca**

- Four legislative proposals
- Two oversight issues
- Five *gestiones*

## Pando

- Four legislative proposals
- Three oversight issues
- Six *gestiones*

The MRAs of all these brigades were formulated with active input from important and representatives NGOs and CSOs. A cumulative list of participants indicates the presence of departmental councils, presidents of municipal councils, Chamber of Mining, Social Control of Caritas, Associations of Private Businessmen, civic committees, interested individual citizens (especially in Chuquisaca), and in Cochabamba, the Departmental Workers Central (*Central Obrera Departamental*). A total of 506 people participated in these open sessions, including a total of 49 brigade members, 81 employees and authorities of public institutions, and 376 from civil society. Women comprised 30% of all the participants (see Annex 8 for complete list).

These open meetings are low cost, sustainable events, where SUNY has reduced its logical support to providing coffee or soft drinks at mid-morning, while technical assistance and training of the technical secretaries are SUNY's main contribution. The major financial support from SUNY goes to the publication of the agendas and information bulletins of the brigades.

SUNY is also actively confronting the important issues of the financial sustainability of these events, and the difficulty of the brigades in obtaining results in their *gestiones*. SUNY has assisted in the organization of a coordinating committee of the presidents of the nine brigades. The committee has presented to the congressional leadership draft regulations that would make more efficient the delivery, use and control of funds available to each departmental brigade. Also, the Committee will resume contact with the executive branch through the Vice Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, interrupted by the insurrection and by the naming of a new Vice Minister. Meetings are organized to bring together each brigade with the appropriate authorities in the cabinet needed to respond directly to the requests for funds or implementation of projects by the diverse ministries.

**Result 3.1. Citizens are increasingly aware of their rights to participate in the legislative process and the roles and responsibilities of their elected representatives, particularly the uninominal deputies.**

This result is being implemented as part of a dissemination campaign and through SUNY's Advocacy Program.

## Dissemination

As mentioned in the last Quarterly Report, dissemination activities were curtailed in September on the suggestion of the president of the Congress due to the widespread unfavorable public opinion against the Congress that would have negated any favorable publicity and information about political rights for citizen participation would have lacked credibility. In October, however, the Congress recuperated some prestige and importance by demonstrating that it was a useful and necessary element in constitutional government by the manner in which it effectively handled the presidential transition. Given the discredit of the Congress among the citizenry, it was decided that

it would be more effective if dissemination activities were directed to concrete issues where local organizational work and/or events were planned, or had been completed. All TV spots intended for the general public, the most expensive item in the dissemination program, were suspended until a time when public opinion is deemed more receptive. Therefore dissemination activities were renewed in the following categories (see Annex 9):

- Seven radio spots, announcing citizen forums and public hearings.
- Three posters announcing forums, two extensive activity reports (Decentralization Committee and the Chuquisaca Brigade), and two pamphlets ("What is the Senate"; Women's Legislative Agenda)

### **Advocacy**

In early October, SUNY organized the third national workshop on advocacy with assistance from an international consultant. The purpose of the workshop, besides continuing basic training in the fundamental steps for effective advocacy, was to determine which of the participating institutions had, first, the greatest interest in continuing advocacy activities in the context of the National Congress; and, second, the greatest institutional potential to make advocacy a regular activity in their strategic and operational plans. Six institutions were selected as the strongest candidates, and a subsequent consultancy was provided for these organizations by the international consultant and the national organization (*Coordinadora de la Mujer*) contracted by SUNY to be in charge of organizational and follow up activities.

To date, the advocacy training has had two results:

1. The six stronger institutions have begun to work with the Congress on different levels: some have contacted their uninominal deputies on local issues to promote legislation (gender parity legislation), oversight (SLIMs in El Alto) or *gestiones* (providing SUMI services in Villa El Carmen); others have had interviews with committee presidents; and one (IFFI in Cochabamba) has been successful in requesting and participating as lead presenter in a public hearing on proposed legislation regarding sanctions against medical malpractice.
2. The less advanced institutions have encountered difficulties of an institutional, operational or financial nature preventing an effective and sustained activity on their part to do the necessary planning, research and systematization of data, and implementation of all the basic advocacy steps. Nevertheless, they continue with interest in this activity, but need much more assistance than the SUNY program can provide to bring their efforts to fruition. A solution would be the creation of specialized institution, or a specialized activity within an institution whose mission includes training in citizens' rights to provide the necessary technical support to these weaker organizations. (APDH, CDC, or the *Defensoria* would be possible loci for this specialization.)

### **3.2. Work Agendas of *uninominales*, *brigadas*, and women caucus are disseminated for public knowledge.**

During the past quarter, dissemination of the work of the Congress and its members has accomplished through use of the mass media (radio) and publications.

**Radio:**

- SUNY supported the production and broadcasting of forty two **Radio Programs** of twenty minute duration, in seven departments, informing of MRAs, committee activities, uninominal deputy activities, and the Legislative Agenda of the women legislators (UMPABOL). Also included in the programs was information on the relational mechanisms in general, emphasizing EDCs, REDICs, and public hearings. The size of the listening audience reached by these programs is estimated to be 1,250,000.
- Besides the programs, the five sessions of **Interactive Radio** also became means of disseminating information through the revised format that includes an introductory section on the work plan and activities of the uninominal deputy.
- The 27 **informative radio** sessions broadcast at the municipal level in the Department of Chuquisaca covered the complete work plan of the MRA and reached an estimated 300,000 listeners (the potential audience of Radio ACLO).
- Finally, the UMPABOL (women legislators) Legislative Agenda was disseminated through six different “**micro programs**” which included information on items in the Agenda such as reproductive rights, family violence, women’s participation in politics and gender equity. The programs were of short duration, two minutes each, broadcast through a network of 45 local and two national stations, reaching an estimated 1.250,000 listeners.

**Publications:**

- SUNY provided technical assistance to the technical secretary of Committee on Decentralization and Popular Participation for the publication of 1,000 copies of the Annual Report (*Memoria*) of the Committee. The report contained valuable information on various types of decentralized authority on the national, departmental, and municipal levels especially pertinent for use by members of the Constituent Assembly when this issue is treated there. The copies were distributed to the nine departmental committees, to the nine Prefecture Offices, and municipalities in departmental capitals.
- SUNY provided partial funding for 1,000 copies of Chuquisaca’s MRA that were distributed to all the municipalities in the department as well as to the NGOs and CSOs that had participated in the formulation of the MRA and key CSO that had not.
- A re-edition of the UMPABOL legislative Agenda was published for use by the regional women and gender-oriented groups being organized throughout the country in support of the Agenda.

**5.1. Women legislators are more effective in their representative functions.**

During the last quarter, the Women Legislators Caucus (UMPABOL) devoted its time to follow up activities of the seminar/workshops for gender oriented NGOs in the nine departments that were organized from July through September 2003. These workshops had a three-fold purpose:

1. To build momentum for the UMPABOL Legislative Agenda: the Agenda contains seven priorities to be accomplished during the present 2002-2007 Congress. Two of these seven items, a proposal incorporating the rights of

domestic workers and a bill reform permitting free registration of women and their families, have already been passed into law. Success on the five remaining items, including proposals on domestic and political violence, sexual and reproductive rights, and women's participation in violence, will prove to be more difficult to achieve and will require considerable mobilization and lobbying on the part of civil society to accompany the work of UMPABOL within the Congress. The workshops analyzed and prioritized the items on the Legislative Agenda.

2. To begin the process of selecting and training women candidates for the municipal election to be held in December of 2004: In these workshops, UMPOBOL members, together with gender oriented NGOs, will seek to identify women who show political potential, to notify the respective parties of these future politicians of their qualities and to lobby for their inclusion in the list of candidates for municipal councils. One important aspect of municipal elections this year, may be the fact that candidates can run as independents without belonging to a political party. Many civil society groups are now advocating this change in the Constitution. If this reform does occur, it will open the doors for many more civic-minded people, among them many women, to make the effort to run for office. UMPABOL hopes to provide training for both the party candidates and independents that are interested.
3. To begin the process of mentoring: In the two international workshops organized by SUNY and sponsored by UMPABOL, the issue of mentoring was stressed as an important factor in helping women to enter politics. Being a mentor involves three steps to be effective: a) encouraging the person to enter politics and explaining the pros and cons of a term or a career as a political actor, b) following the career of the elected candidate in order to offer advice and assistance when needed, c) for lower level candidates such as municipal council members, to encourage them running for higher office at the national level.

Follow up activities consisted in the distribution to all the participating NGOs of the documentation supporting the Women's Legislative Agenda, for use by each institution in planning and organizing seminars, workshops, Citizen Forums and other mobilization and advocacy activities on a regional or municipal level.

As a consequence of the events of October, UMPABOL is now being reorganized, after which the new coordinator of UMPABOL will review with SUNY its plans and activities for the year.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. SUNY was able to produce rapidly and opportunely an Emergency Plan in support of the President Mesa's Agenda that also emphasizes the role of the uninominal deputies. The results of this Plan will be evaluated at the end of February.
2. The new relational mechanisms created as part of this Plan, namely the Citizens' Forums and reformatted Interactive Radio sessions, are an effective means of relating representatives and citizens. More analysis is required to determine whether these mechanisms should become recognized and institutionalized

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within the Congressional Regulations (as are the mechanisms of the EDC and MRA.)

3. SUNY reoriented its dissemination campaign by incorporating President Mesa's Agenda and by tailoring its programs to address issues on national and local concern. The impact of this campaign, however, will depend on the transparency and effectiveness of the Congress in its national level tasks of nominating authorities of the State and approving pertinent legislation in a timely manner.
4. Despite the concentration of SUNY on the activities of the Emergency Plan, most of the important objectives and Results of the Task Order are being implemented.
5. The decision as to which of the deferred results will be incorporated into the SUNY work plan, and when, will be made after the evaluation of the impact and relevance of the Emergency Plan.

## V. PROBLEMS AND DELAYS

1. One serious problem is the difficulty of the congressional leadership to adopt a new style and manner of operating according to public demands. President Mesa's affirmation that the "old" democracy of pacts, quotas, and back door dealings is dead, has not had yet fully impacted all of the leaders of Congress. The division in the traditional parties between "organics" and reformers ("transversals") is reflected in the Congress by the gradual neutralization or silencing of the voices of reform. Thus the positive results being achieved by the program continue to be negated due to the bad publicity generated by the poor performance of the Congress on the major issues of concern to the public at large.
2. Another difficulty is the reduced budget of the Congress in this fiscal year. Lack of funds not only militate against the move to make the PARC programs sustainable, but will also impede operations of the program if these are not to a considerable extent subsidized.
3. Approximately one third of the results contained in the PARC program have been deferred because of the narrowing of the focus of the program under emergency conditions, the introduction of new objectives (the stability of the democratic system which is circumstantially linked to support for the legislative priorities of the President) and the overextension of SUNY staff. Follow up activities are weak and in some cases non-existent for complying with commitments in many of the EDCs, the Public Hearings of both Committees and Brigades, and for the Minimal Regional Agendas
4. The implementation of EDCs has been postponed due to the need to exchange information and coordinate with the new institutional contractor for the DDCP, ICMA; and to review the EDC model to introduce any needed improvements and to position it within ICMA's decentralization work plan.
5. The Women Legislators' Caucus (UMPABOL) has suffered a slowdown in activities after the October events because the coordinator and energetic force within UMPABOL is a close relative of the deposed President and has experienced some decline both in terms of credibility and initiative.
6. The project's Congressional counterpart, the UAGP, is ineffective and unstable. The UAGP activities were suspended last year from August to December. This

led to a misunderstanding between the President of the Chamber of Deputies and SUNY, which was, however, subsequently resolved. Coordination between the President, the UAGP, and SUNY was reestablished upon the reactivation of the UAGP. The UAGP was reorganized with a new director in early December, but so far has not received funds from its operating budget approved last November but not yet disbursed. Furthermore, the congressional leadership has not yet acted on the request of SUNY and the other international donors to reactivate the Legislative Modernization Committee (*Comisión de Modernización Legislativa* -CML) to act as the official counterpart.

## **VI. CORRECTIVE ACTIONS**

1. A significant, but not surprising, fact is that the majority of the reformers within Congress are uninominal deputies. Impetus for reform in the Congress will most likely depend on a growing sense of strength and solidarity among the UDs. Therefore SUNY will continue to give priority attention to the activities of these members, without, however, excluding other instances of representation, while avoiding both the substance and the appearance of encouraging divisiveness within the Congress.
2. Although the budget of the Congress will suffer cuts this year, much can still be done through a more efficient use of available funds. SUNY helped the Brigade Coordinating Committee draft regulations for funds budgeted from the Senate for the brigades to be delivered directly to the brigade presidents rather than through the Senate members of the Brigade. The regulations also present a more transparent system for the administration of the brigade funds.
3. SUNY will hire more temporary consultants to assist the staff in meeting both emergency needs and introducing more PARC II objectives, and enhancing follow up activities. Also relating to more effective follow up is the streamlining of the EDC model, and the linking of the relevant executive branch Ministries and Brigades through the Brigade Coordinating Committee organized by SUNY.
4. The evaluation of the EDC model will be completed in late January. EDC encounters will take place beginning mid February of early March.
5. UMPABOL was due for a rotation in leadership in September, delayed because of logistical difficulties. It was hoped that the present coordinator would continue, but being a close relative of the former President makes that option is unlikely. SUNY will devote priority attention to this issue in January 2004.
6. With the reduced budget of the Congress and its attention absorbed in the crucial issues of popular concern, it is unlikely that the present congressional leadership will do anything to stabilize the UAGP or to create the CML. SUNY will therefore continue to work with the presidents of the two houses and the UAGP on an activity-by-activity basis for the time being.