



**CEPPS/NDI Quarterly Report: January 1 to March 31, 2005**

**BOLIVIA: POLITICAL PARTIES DEVELOPMENT  
USAID Associate Cooperative Agreement No. 511-A-00-04-00016-00,  
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**I. SUMMARY**

Bolivia was once considered one of the most stable democracies in the Andes and a paragon of economic reform. Despite the implementation of major socio-economic reforms, economic disparity and ethnic and regional conflict have led to recent political turmoil. In November 2003, USAID awarded the National Democratic Institute a cooperative agreement to fulfill the following objectives: provide technical assistance for parties to comply with the 1999 Political Party Law; help parties improve candidate recruitment and selection practices; work with parties to improve relations with civil society; and strengthen party communication strategies and mechanisms to ensure that party proposals reflect citizen demands.

Following several months of burgeoning road blockades and protests, President Carlos Mesa offered his resignation twice in March 2005. Similar economically motivated protests in October 2003 resulted in violence and led to the resignation of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. Although Lozada's successor, President Mesa, has committed to completing his term through 2007, the country remains mired in historic conflicts that are severely hindering national governance. Amidst continued citizen-driven political pressure tactics, Bolivians must prepare for the first-ever popular selection of department prefects, a national referendum on regional autonomy and a constituent assembly process all scheduled for 2005 and 2006. The present conditions highlight the need to rebuild healthy and responsive political parties that can effectively channel citizen demands, offer policy alternatives, and provide avenues for all Bolivians to engage in constructive political participation.

From January 1 to March 31, 2005, the National Democratic Institute (NDI or the Institute) conducted activities to help parties engage in constructive dialogue with other sectors, encourage the political participation of underrepresented sectors and provide training for municipal elected officials. Through several multi-party events, NDI facilitated dialogue between political party and citizen group members and civil society organizations. Representatives from several political groups participated in events held in La Paz and Sucre including Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata Cristiana*, PDC), Movement of the

Revolutionary Left (*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria – Nueva Mayoría*, MIR), Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, MNR), Movement Without Fear (*Movimiento Sin Miedo*, MSM), National Unity (*Unidad Nacional*, UN), Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (*Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti*, MIP), Nationalist Democratic Action Party (*Acción Democrática Nacionalista*, ADN), Civic Solidarity Union (*Unidad Cívica Solidaridad*, UCS) and citizen groups Sucre for All (*Sucre para Todos*, SPT) and Citizen Power Movement (*Movimiento Poder Ciudadano*, MPC). These opportunities for dialogue have afforded political parties with the space to present their platforms on current policy issues and for upcoming electoral processes, demonstrating their interest in obtaining citizen feedback in their platform development. NDI activities with young political activists in Sucre have contributed to the creation of Sucre-based youth organization the Foundation for the Strengthening of Bolivian Democracy (*La Fundación de Fortalecimiento a la Democracia Boliviana*, FODEBOL). The foundation will provide training to local parties to conduct outreach activities with civil society organizations. Young party and citizen group members participated in a weekly news and current events show produced by the Bolivarian University of El Alto (*Universidad Bolivariana de El Alto*) where they applied skills obtained through NDI training such as public speaking and effective message delivery. NDI began the third phase of national leadership training school Winning with Women with municipal council women to increase their effectiveness as council members and strengthen their chances of reelection. NDI trainers conducted workshops on political and technical municipal management themes in La Paz and Sucre with 138 council women. Thirty-nine candidates successfully applied campaign strategy skills during December municipal elections, and their success demonstrated to political parties the value of investing in leadership and political preparation for women and for municipal level candidates in general.

In Bolivia's polarized political environment, NDI activities promoting cross-sector dialogue provided timely opportunities for various actors to practice constructive dialogue and to debate polemic issues among parties and with other sectors. Outreach to indigenous groups and communities has been an overarching theme in NDI's effort to encourage political participation of underrepresented sectors, contributing to a rich environment for the exchange of ideas at NDI events. Official municipal election results have confirmed electoral success rates among participants. National workshop coverage allowed NDI to engage many women in the practice of leadership skills, and it also brought NDI assistance to the departments in greatest need for increased women's participation.

## **II. BACKGROUND**

Bolivia was once considered one of the most stable democracies in the Andes and a paragon of economic reform. Despite the implementation of major socio-economic reforms, economic disparity, ethnic and regional conflict and slow progress toward political inclusion have created anti-party and anti-political sentiments that threaten to weaken Bolivian democracy. President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada resigned in October 2003 amid violent protests over the administration's plan to export natural gas through Chile. Sánchez de Lozada was succeeded by his vice president, Carlos Mesa. In response to the demands of an opposition comprised mainly of indigenous groups and poorer socioeconomic classes, Mesa drafted the Agenda of October, which included a July 2004 national referendum on the export of gas and plans to convene a

constituent assembly. However, Mesa's Agenda has not been able to alleviate regional, ethnic and socio-political antagonism, which continues to plague the country.

A rollback in the government's fuel subsidy triggered renewed protests in January 2005. Citing burgeoning road blockades and protests as severe hindrances to the government's ability to advance its agenda, President Mesa tendered his resignation to Congress on March 7. The unanimous congressional rejection of Mesa's resignation and unprecedented peaceful citizen demonstrations of support strengthened the President's mandate and seemed to favor improved executive-legislative relations. However, on March 15 Mesa presented Congress with an unexpected proposal to hold early presidential and congressional elections, threatening to irrevocably resign if it was not approved. Congress rejected the proposal as unconstitutional. Mesa decided to remain President, yet his startling tactic neutralized, if it did not completely reverse, any legitimacy he had gained the previous week.

Recent events demonstrate the increasing social and political polarization that threatens to dominate political and electoral processes scheduled for 2005: congressional debate of the national hydrocarbon law, popular selection of department prefects, a national referendum on regional autonomy and the election of constituent assembly members. Although Congress is attempting to serve as an intermediary between increasingly radicalized protestors and the president, anti-party and anti-political sentiments prevent this from being a credible solution for many social groups.

Given the obvious popular dissatisfaction with traditional political parties, most parties are making efforts to implement internal reforms, although with limited financial resources. Despite parties' initial steps toward increased transparency, greater inclusion of women, youth, and indigenous members and the establishment of internal democratic practices, citizens have yet to feel the impact of these reform efforts. Vast sectors of the population remain underrepresented and excluded from party structures.

Facing a full political and electoral calendar, parties are struggling to define and promote viable and credible platforms to dispel citizen skepticism toward policy reforms. Following December 2004 municipal elections the implementation of the new Citizen Group Law saw political parties compete against new citizen and indigenous political groups. Many analysts expected political parties to suffer significant losses; however, established political parties maintained a political presence outside of the main department capital cities. Emerging parties and new political groups face challenges similar to those confronting traditional parties, and similarly need to consolidate their political structures and develop consistent policy agendas.

The present conditions highlight the need to rebuild healthy and responsive political parties that can effectively channel citizen demands, offer policy alternatives, and provide avenues for all Bolivians to engage in constructive political participation. NDI activities strive to promote democratic, transparent and representative practices within the political party system.

### III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

#### A. Party Strengthening Activities

##### *Best Party Practices*

On February 16, NDI conducted a multiparty workshop using the Triangle of Best Party Practices<sup>1</sup> in Cochabamba with 60 representatives from different political parties and citizen groups. The objective of the workshop was to assist parties in assessing their organizational capacity to develop membership building and outreach skills necessary to meet the standards mandated by the 1999 Political Party Law and the 2004 Citizen Group Law. Participants discussed the Triangle reform themes in a plenary session, then divided into smaller groups where they identified specific actions to improve party practices. NDI organized the event in collaboration with Diego Murillo, political scientist and former member of the New Republican Force (*Nueva Fuerza Republicana*, NFR).

##### *Political Party – Civil Society Dialogue*

Political parties have had limited opportunities to discuss the constituent assembly and to present their proposals with respect to the process. In order to engage parties on this topic and to provide a forum for discussion of party reform, NDI organized a seminar on February 25 in



Panelists take questions after their presentations on the constituent assembly process.

Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (MIP) and Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN) participated in the seminar discussion.

On March 16, NDI organized an event in conjunction with MSM to facilitate dialogue between political parties and citizens. Participants included representatives from political parties ADN, MNR, PDC, MIR, UN and Civic Solidarity Union (UCS); political analysts; and members of the international community such as the Latin American Institute of Social Research (*Instituto*

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<sup>1</sup> Based on global work with political parties, NDI has identified best practices that parties adopt to consistently improve their performance in three fundamental areas: internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new sectors. NDI has developed a series of workbooks based on these best practices for use by party trainers to help parties examine and improve current organizational practices and institute new practices as needed.

*Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales*, ILDIS). MSM Executive Secretary Javier Bejarano presented his party's platform regarding the constituent assembly for discussion. The MSM also invited Mario Galindo, an advisor to the Santa Cruz Civic Committee (*Comité Cívico Pro Santa Cruz*) to present the Committee's proposal on decentralization and regional autonomy. The event allowed for constructive debate on these polemic issues among parties and between parties and citizens who attended the public event.

On March 30, sociologist, municipal expert and NDI Bolivia Winning with Women trainer Eduardo Pinedo facilitated an event in Sucre attended by nine people including municipal council members, Sucre mayoral staff and representatives from political parties and the newly formed youth organization the Foundation for the Strengthening of Bolivian Democracy (FODEBOL).<sup>2</sup> Participants discussed practical mechanisms for establishing collaborative and constructive relationships among political parties, citizen groups and civil society organizations.

### ***Negotiation and Conflict Resolution***

NDI developed a memorandum of understanding with the USAID-funded International City/County Management Association (ICMA) to share resources in an effort to improve political party communication capacity. NDI and conflict resolution expert Gregorio Aranda conducted a hands-on training workshop for 25 representatives of ICMA's in-country partner, Democratic Development and Citizen Participation Project Number 3 (*Desarrollo Democrático y Participación Ciudadana proyecto No 3*, DDPC3) on negotiation and conflict resolution. Aranda works with the United Nations Development Program and the Bolivian Ministry of Popular Participation on conflict resolution programs. The memorandum of understanding also included ICMA sharing their technical knowledge of municipal governance protocol for use in NDI's Winning with Women leadership school.

## **B. Political Participation of Underrepresented Sectors**

### ***Youth Political Participation***

On January 25, NDI Washington Program Officer Sandy Quimbaya conducted a multi-party event to encourage the political and social participation of youth. Quimbaya spoke of her personal experience in the U.S. Democratic Party with outreach to underrepresented sectors during the November 2004 presidential election. Participants discussed the challenges Bolivian youth face in political participation, and identified specific measures to increase youth participation. Political scientists Eddy Kushida, Edgar Rivero and sociologist Gustavo Cardoso, who have also contributed to NDI's work to help parties increase women's political participation, helped organize the event. The 40 participants included young members of political parties and civil society organizations. NDI field staff have conducted follow-on meetings with event participants to encourage further development of their recommendations and will

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<sup>2</sup> Participants included council members Victor Hugo Evia of citizen group Sucre for All (SPT), Edwin Zegarra (SPT), Fidel Herrera of citizen group Citizen Power Movement (MPC), Tomás Yujra, (MPC); SPT Executive President Raúl Cors; MNR campaign chief Antonio Valens; former MNR council member Alfredo Tamarez; FODEBOL legal council Carlos Cortez; and Alfredo Subelsa, communications director for the mayor's office.

coordinate a future event to facilitate continued discussion and collective action on implementing these recommendations.

Since the inception of the program, NDI has actively worked to help Bolivian parties better engage youth, a party best practice identified by NDI and one mandated by the 1999 Political Party Law. Parties in Sucre have been most receptive to this practice, and NDI has organized several events with Alberto Ruiz of the MNR on the themes of leadership, party renewal efforts and the constituent assembly. These activities have contributed to the efforts of Ruiz and other young political activists to create a youth organization in Sucre called the Foundation for the Strengthening of Bolivian Democracy (FODEBOL). The foundation will provide training to local parties and civil society organizations on youth outreach and will host events to facilitate cross sector dialogue of current political events.

On February 28, NDI Bolivia Resident Director Francisco Herrero attended the inauguration of FODEBOL, where the group recognized NDI's work and contributions to the founding of the organization and presented Herrero with a plaque of appreciation. Herrero then participated with FODEBOL president Alberto Ruiz in a seminar with 25 local radio and newspaper reporters to discuss the constituent assembly. Ruiz highlighted various models for selecting members that have been used in the region. Herrero discussed the constituent assembly process as an opportunity to strengthen Bolivian democracy. (See Appendix A for *Correo del Sur* news article about the event.)

Through NDI's activities with political parties and groups in La Paz and El Alto, the Institute has established ties with local television channel 15 UNITEPC that is produced and financed by the Bolivarian University of El Alto (*Universidad Bolivariana de El Alto*). UNITEPC airs a weekly three hour news and current events show called Reflections (*Reflejos*). Reflections' producers invited NDI to recommend young political activists to feature during the one hour segment on political news and analysis. Program guests will highlight their political work and the skills gained from NDI activities.

On March 18, Francisco Herrero, Program Coordinator Alejandra Basaure and Douglas Ardiles (MNR) appeared on the debut segment. The program featured Ardiles' current series of events designed to facilitate cross-sector discussion of the current political context in Bolivia, emphasizing dialogue and consensus building as tools needed for the upcoming constituent assembly process. NDI is supporting Ardiles' efforts through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) funded Political Leadership Program that supports youth political participation. Herrero gave an overview of NDI's program in Bolivia, and Basaure explained NDI's Global Action Plan<sup>3</sup> to increase women's participation and NDI Bolivia's work with political parties and groups to implement these practices.

On March 21, Reflections featured recently elected El Alto council woman Bertha Acarapi of citizen group Progress Plan (*Plan Progreso*) who participated in NDI's Win with

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<sup>3</sup> The Win with Women Initiative, launched in December 2003 by NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright, is a movement to promote women's political participation worldwide. The anchor of this initiative is the Global Action Plan: a document that outlines practical recommendations to help political parties broaden their appeal by becoming more inclusive and representative.

Women leadership school. NDI's Alejandra Basaure and Rosario Paz Ballivián of the national Women's Political Forum (*Foro Político de Mujeres*) also contributed to the discussion on the importance of women's political participation in Bolivia, especially in light of upcoming political and electoral processes that will shape the future of Bolivian democracy.

Douglas Ardiles (MNR) and Walter Reynaga, leader of indigenous group Movement for Land and Liberty (*Movimiento Tierra y Libertad*), and Director of USAID-funded Democratic Investigation (*Investigación Democrática*), appeared on the March 28 broadcast of Reflections. Ardiles and Reynaga discussed the challenges and opportunities of multiculturalism in Bolivia.

### ***Women's Political Participation***

December 2004 elections witnessed a significant increase in women's political participation since the inception of 1999 and 2004 legislation mandating candidacy quotas for political parties and citizen groups. In the department of La Paz, 80 municipalities elected women to the positions of mayor, municipal council president or council member. In order to support women's political and social leadership skills, NDI conducted a workshop on February 26 for 75 women from the Association of Aymara Women of Qullasuyo (*Asociación de Mujeres Aymara del Qullasuyo*, AMAQ) and the Movement Toward Socialism (*Movimiento hacia Socialismo*, MAS). AMAQ is a civil society group that works with Aymara women of the Altiplano (primarily in La Paz and El Alto) to promote their social and humanitarian situation. Entitled "Municipal Management and Challenges for Women," the workshop drew on materials used in NDI's Winning with Women leadership school to introduce leadership and basic public administration skills to participants. MAS Deputy Severina Pérez and her staff organized the event with NDI.



Participants in the February 26 workshop display their NDI certificates.

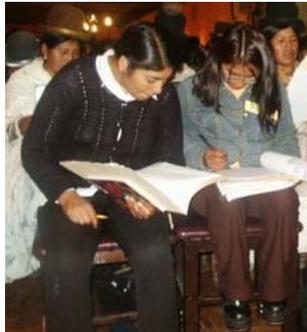
NDI has designed and implemented a nation-wide women's leadership training school, Winning with Women. To encourage political party and citizen group compliance with women's candidacy quotas and political participation of underrepresented sectors, NDI Bolivia trained more than 1,000 women, including rural residents, youth and indigenous women in each of the country's nine departments for potential candidacy in the December 2004 municipal elections. The first two phases of Winning with Women included leadership and strategic planning skills for active political women leaders, and campaign strategy and basic municipal governance skills for candidates in the municipal elections. NDI collaborated with the Women's Political Forum (*Foro Político de Mujeres*) and the Professional Association of Political Scientists (*Asociación de Politólogos*) to conduct the workshops and to develop training materials. In the third phase of Winning with Women, NDI will help the newly-elected women improve their political and technical skills in order to increase their effectiveness early on in their elected careers and strengthen their chances of reelection. (See Appendix B for Winning with Women municipal election results by department, and Appendix C for results by party or citizen group label.)

The third phase of one-day workshops will include both primary and substitute municipal council women in the nine national departments. This third workshop focuses on several themes important to their success as elected officials: 1) message development and delivery; 2) incorporating gender equity into the development of public policies; and 3) municipal financial management, including the review of a municipal budget (expenses, payments and balance), the reconciliation of budget figures according to government oversight rules and incorporating citizen needs into the municipal budget. With this knowledge and these skills, women local officials will be able to effectively and responsibly manage their municipalities, using transparent and equitable practices.

Based on the memorandum of understanding between NDI and ICMA, Martha Lanza, Jorge Aliaga and Enrique Torrez of the ICMA-funded DDPC3 conducted a February 21 train-the-trainer workshop with the NDI team on participatory municipal management themes. NDI Winning with Women trainers include members of Bolivian civil society, universities and political leaders. The NDI team will replicate these training modules during the third phase of the women's leadership school. The DDPC3 facilitators presented modules on the following subjects:

- Municipal management guidelines and participatory municipal management practices
- Gender equity in the development of public policies
- Municipal budget development and Governmental Administration and Control Law 1178

On March 12, NDI conducted a Winning with Women workshop in La Paz for 80 council women from La Paz, El Alto and surrounding municipalities. The Association of Women



Participants review material at the March 12 La Paz Winning with Women workshop.

Council Members (*Asociación de Concejalas de Bolivia, ACOBOL*) organized the event with NDI. Participants represented political parties (MAS, MSM, MIP, *Plan Progreso*, PDC, MIR, MBL and ADN), citizen groups (LUS-I-S) and indigenous group Confederation of Indigenous Ancestors of Bolivia (*Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia, CIDOB*). NDI Bolivia Project Coordinator Alejandra Basaure and NDI interns and university students Viviana Zamora and Susana Bejarano compiled and presented the material for message development and delivery. DDPC3 Deputy Director Martha Lanza facilitated the session on public policy development, based on NDI materials. Technical expert Enrique Torrez presented the DDPC3 materials on municipal financial management.

On March 29, NDI held a workshop in Sucre with 58 primary and substitute council women representing political parties (MBL, MIR, MAS, ADN, MSM and NFR) and citizen groups (MMP, MPC and SPT). Sucre mayor Aydee Nava and president of the ACOBOL chapter in Chuquisaca Virginia Molina offered opening remarks to welcome participants. Sociologist and municipal expert Eduardo Pinedo facilitated the session on public administration and municipal finances. This workshop also included a new module on negotiation and conflict resolution that will be incorporated into all subsequent third phase workshops.

#### IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

*Objective 1: Provide technical assistance regarding organizational strengthening, membership building and outreach skills to help parties comply with the changes required by the 1999 Political Party Law.*

- 60 political party and citizen group members in Cochabamba used the NDI Triangle of Party Best Practices to identify internal party reform themes to be implemented in meeting the standards outlined in the 1999 Political Party Law and the 2004 Citizen Group Law. Workshop participants will be able to share assessment results and discussion ideas with their respective parties for future implementation of reform initiatives.
- Political party representatives from PDC, ADN, UN and MSM gained experience presenting their parties' platforms related to the constituent assembly to a multi-sector audience at the two NDI political party – civil society dialogue events.
- Through previous work with the NDI Triangle of Best Practices, Bolivian panel participants developed and presented domestic examples of party best practices in their presentations on internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new or underrepresented sectors at the February 25 seminar with PDC.
- 40 young political activists drew lessons from the experience of NDI Program Officer Sandy Quimbaya with regard to outreach to Latino and African-American populations in the US that they will be able to adapt to their outreach efforts to minority sectors in Bolivia.
- Continuous NDI efforts to encourage youth political participation resulted in the creation of Sucre youth foundation FODEBOL. Through this foundation, youth will bring valuable experience to their parties with training and outreach activities to strengthen political parties and local civil society organizations.

*Objective 2: Improve candidate recruitment and the use of participatory and transparent mechanisms for the selection of candidates for national, municipal and internal party elections.*

- Winning with Women participating political parties and citizen groups saw 39 candidates successfully apply campaign strategy skills during December municipal elections; 20% of Phase II official primary candidates won municipal council seats. Their success demonstrates to political parties the value of investing in leadership and political preparation for women and for municipal level candidates in general. Their parties' support of their participation in Winning with Women and official party nominations attest to the improvements in political party candidate recruiting practices.

*Objective 3: Improve party relations with civil society by assisting efforts of parties to better understand and interact with civil society organizations.*

- Participants at the events organized with PDC and MSM engaged in constructive dialogue and the sharing of ideas with fellow parties and with civil society organizations, an important skill to practice and crucial precedent to set leading up to the constituent assembly process.
- In a small working group environment, nine representatives of the political and civil society sectors in Sucre established a mutual commitment to engage in mechanisms to improve relations between political parties and civil society organizations.
- 75 women from political party MAS and civil society group AMAQ engaged in constructive cross-sector interaction and skills building through participation at the February 26 NDI workshop.

*Objective 4: Strengthen party communication strategies and mechanisms to ensure that citizen demands are adequately interpreted and that parties present proposals more effectively.*

- At the FODEBOL workshop, 25 members of the Sucre media obtained resources and skills necessary for accurate and responsible reporting on the constituent assembly process in Bolivia.
- Through their appearances on Reflections, a news television program produced in El Alto, young political activists demonstrated their ability to apply skills obtained through NDI training such as public speaking and effective message delivery.

## **V. EVALUATION**

In Bolivia's polarized political environment, NDI activities promoting cross-sector dialogue provide timely opportunities for various actors to practice constructive dialogue and consensus building. These skills are crucial in order for the constituent assembly and other political processes to be productive and to incorporate the Bolivian citizens' interests. Given low citizen confidence levels, political parties have struggled to obtain media attention or public space to present their platforms. However, as the natural intermediaries between citizens and the State, political parties must become engaged as institutions in this process. Parties have demonstrated their willingness to partake in these NDI activities, and their participation affords valuable experience for them in publicly debating polemic issues among parties and with other sectors. Indeed instances such as the cross-sector training conducted with MAS and AMAQ women will help to facilitate future collaboration between these sectors and can serve as a model of constructive political party – civil society interaction. Also, NDI's knowledge of the political realities involved in successful governance and resources on conflict resolution will allow DDPC3 technical staff to replicate this training with municipal officials and to promote meaningful political dialogue among their program counterparts.

Recent protests and road blockades are principally the work of indigenous groups and citizens from economically disadvantaged regions, who have found few effective avenues for participation in Bolivian democratic institutions. Moreover, poverty remains an ongoing hardship for many Bolivians. NDI activities' emphasis on ethnic and geographic diversity has allowed participants to confront this reality and take steps to improve the situation. Similar to

cross-sector dialogue, through multiethnic participation participants can come to recognize similar points of interest and challenges that can serve as unifying factors. Successful interaction across ethnic groups and economic class lines has been an indirect result of Winning with Women workshops, youth participation events and political party strengthening activities.

In addition to interactive and participatory training methodologies, NDI seeks to prepare program participants to put these skills into practice outside of the training environment. Candidate training through Winning with Women provided participants with the skills and tools necessary to implement strategically designed municipal campaigns. Successful campaigns will allow elected officials to implement the municipal management skills provided during the second and third phases of the workshop series. Youth participation in the El Alto television news program Reflections is another example of participants practicing skills acquired through NDI training. Featured guests practiced public speaking and message delivery, and they were able to highlight their work through mass media communication with the public. Both instances of increasing political participation among underrepresented sectors also publicly demonstrate constructive political participation as an example for other citizens.

The first two phases of the Winning with Women leadership school prepared women for candidacy and successful governance across the nation. Official municipal election results have confirmed electoral success rates among participants. Among Phase II participants, 93 women obtained their parties' official nomination as primary municipal council candidates. Twenty percent of those participants (19 women) won either the council presidency or a council seat. A total of 39 participants won their elections, 49% as primary candidates and 51% as substitute candidates. While these results seem to demonstrate the continued practice of relegating women to less prominent positions, several parties have indicated that they will be alternating the council seats between primary and substitute candidates. NDI is hopeful that substitute officials will also have the opportunity for meaningful political participation.

NDI's efforts to ensure geographic diversity among workshop participants contributed to strong performances across geographic location: of the 39 elected officials, 56% represent departmental capital city constituencies and 42% represent regional communities. The greatest number of NDI participants were elected in the departments of La Paz (8), Potosí (7) and Cochabamba (7). Winning with Women figures from La Paz mirror high levels of historic women's participation in this department, which is ranked among the highest in the country. While La Paz municipal election figures reflected more women candidates among citizen groups than political parties – perhaps due to the high number of citizen groups in El Alto – more than half of NDI participants were elected on party tickets. Interestingly, Potosí and Cochabamba display the lowest historic levels of women's participation nationally, yet these departments had the second highest number of NDI participants elected. Potosí had only 21 Phase II participants; nevertheless, it was the department with the second highest number of elected NDI participants.<sup>4</sup> Coinciding with CNE municipal election candidacy figures, more NDI participants from Potosí and Cochabamba were elected from citizen groups than from political parties. National workshop coverage allowed NDI to engage a diverse group of women in the practice of leadership skills and municipal management training, and it also brought NDI assistance to the departments in greatest need for tools to increase women's participation.

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<sup>4</sup> Oruro tied Potosí for the lowest number of Phase II participants.

Among participating political parties, it is interesting to note the Winning with Women results of MIR candidates. The MIR was one of three parties to hold primary elections for municipal candidates, and the only party to do so with an open voter registry. At least one primary or substitute MIR workshop participant was elected in five of the nine national departments, the broadest national coverage of any participating party or citizen group.<sup>5</sup> With the data available, it is not yet possible to attribute a causal relationship between holding primary elections (an internal democracy best practice) and high levels of women's political participation (an outreach to new sectors best practice). However, these are interesting trends to follow, and could serve as a future case study on party reform.

## **VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES**

In the coming quarter, NDI will continue program activities with leaders from political parties, civil society organizations, party foundations, and members of the international community. To conclude the third phase of Winning with Women, the NDI team will conduct workshops in Oruro on April 2 and in Santa Cruz on April 3. In coordination with ACOBOL's schedule, NDI will also conduct workshops in Tarija, Potosí, Cochabamba, Beni and Pando. NDI will continue working with parties to promote the political participation of underrepresented sectors. In light of recent political events and future electoral processes, NDI will continue to conduct activities that facilitate dialogue among different sectors and that allow participants to practice negotiation and consensus building skills.

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<sup>5</sup> MIR Winning with Women participants were elected in Santa Cruz, Chuquisaca, Oruro, Potosí and Tarija.

## APPENDIX A

*Sucre / Correo del Sur*  
Monday, February 28, 2005

### **At the FODEBOL workshop for journalists:**

#### **They suggest a consultative [regional autonomy] referendum before making it binding**

Creating an agenda of consensus between the sectors involved in the country's development and organizing a consultative referendum on regional autonomy before the Constituent Assembly were some of the issues discussed yesterday in the training for journalists organized by the Foundation for Strengthening Bolivian Democracy (FODEBOL).

The director of the National Democratic Institute (NDI), Francisco Herrero, and the president of FODEBOL, Alberto Ruiz, were in charge of the presentations. Twenty-five local radio and news reporters participated, in addition to neighborhood and union leaders.

"We have decided, as a foundation, to begin a series of workshops with media, mainly with journalists, because they are the ones who bring information to people. We believe that how well informed people are depends on how well informed the journalist is," explained Ruiz.

The workshop had three parts, the first of which was overseen by Alberto Ruiz from FODEBOL, who spoke on the Constituent Assembly, the potential mechanisms for assembly member selection, and similar processes in Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia. In addition, [Ruiz] addressed the size of the assemblies and the duration of their deliberations in those countries.

Afterward, Francisco Herrero spoke about democracy in Bolivia, the Constituent Assembly, its history and how it emerged. "The consensus-making should occur before the Constituent Assembly is involved in order to identify issues on which they agree, because if we do not have a solid foundation on which to work, the discussions inside the assembly will be very complicated," Herrero explained during his presentation.

[Herrero] also said that if there were a regional autonomy referendum, it should be consultative and not binding. The Constituent Assembly cannot be made to endorse something that was already established, however they could consider the results as a suggestion [during their deliberations].

He said, "the Constituent Assembly will not resolve the country's weaknesses or problems, like poverty, health or education, but it can build solid legal foundations so that the [national] assembly can begin to legislate in order to benefit all Bolivian citizens."

The organizers stressed the participation of local neighborhood and union leaders. "This tells us that there is a lot of interest in better understanding the Constituent Assembly," said Alberto Ruiz.

FODEBOL's schedule of events includes other workshops with invitees from cities all over the country.



## APPENDIX B

### *Winning with Women: Workshop Participants Municipal Election Results by Department*

<b>Department</b>	<b><i>PHASE II PARTICIPANTS</i></b>	<b><i>PHASE II PRIMARY CANDIDATES</i></b>	<b><i>POLITICAL PARTIES</i></b>		<b><i>CITIZEN GROUPS</i></b>		<b><i>PARTICIPANTS ELECTED</i></b>
			Primary Officials	Substitute Officials	Primary Officials	Substitute Officials	
Beni	70	9	2	–	–	–	2
Chuquisaca	51	7	1	1	–	–	2
Cochabamba	74	8	2	1	2	2	7
La Paz	252	18	2	5	–	1*	8
Oruro	21	15	1**	2	1	–	4
Pando	31	4	–	–	–	1	1
Potosí	21	2	–	1	4	2	7
Santa Cruz	124	21	3	–	–	–	3
Tarija	48	9	–	3	1	1	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>692</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>39</b>

\* This substitute council member ran on an indigenous group ticket.

\*\* This primary council member in Oruro was the only male Winning with Women participant.

## APPENDIX C

### *Winning with Women:* **Workshop Participants** **Municipal Election Results by Party**

	<i>PRIMARY OFFICIALS</i>	<i>SUBSTITUTE OFFICIALS</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
<b>Political Parties</b>			
ADN*	2	–	2
MAS	4	5	9
MBL	1	–	1
MIR	3	4	7
MNR	–	1	1
MoviBol	1	–	1
MSM	–	2	2
UN	–	1	1
<i>Political Party subtotal</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>Citizen Groups</b>			
AS	4	2	6
CIDOB	–	1	1
CIU	2	2	4
IMCH	1	–	1
MAR	1	2	3
<i>Citizen Group subtotal</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>39</b>

\* See below for full party and citizen group names.

## APPENDIX C

### ***Winning with Women:*** **Political Party and Citizen Group Names**

#### Political Parties

ADN	<i>Acción Democrática Nacionalista</i> , Nationalist Democratic Action
MAS	<i>Movimiento Hacia el Socialismo</i> , Movement Toward Socialism
MBL	<i>Movimiento Bolivia Libre</i> , Free Bolivia Movement
MIR	<i>Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria – Nueva Mayoría</i> , Movement of the Revolutionary Left
MoviBol	<i>Movimiento Bolivariano</i> , Bolivarian Movement
MSM	<i>Movimiento Sin Miedo</i> , Movement Without Fear
UN	<i>Unidad Nacional</i> , National Unity

#### Citizen Groups

AS	<i>Alianza Social</i> , Social Alliance
CIDOB	<i>Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia</i> , Confederation of Indigenous Ancestors of Bolivia
CIU	<i>Ciudadanos Unidos</i> , Citizens United
IMCH	<i>Integración Municipal Challacollo</i> , Integration of the Municipality of Challacollo
MAR	<i>Movimiento Alternativo Regional</i> , Alternative Regional Movement