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Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara
A Case Study in Laja

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To the people of Laja, who allowed me to undertake this research in their community, my sincere hope that one day soon a successful process of ethnodevelopment, will take place there, bringing a brighter future to you all.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Mum and Dad, with my heartfelt thanks for the years of joy growing up in your care and under your loving direction.

Table of Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	.....	iv
<i>List of Maps</i>	.....	vi
<i>List of Figures</i>	.....	vi
<i>List of Plates</i>	.....	vi
1. Introduction	.....	1
2. Theoretical Framework	.....	4
The initial paradigms	.....	4
New directions in development theory	.....	9
The introduction of ethnodevelopment	.....	12
Ten conditions for ethnodevelopment	.....	17
Next steps for ethnodevelopment	.....	24
3. The Aymaran Context	.....	27
Historical background	.....	27
Demographic background	.....	32
Cultural background	.....	40
The Aymaran cultural identity	.....	41
The importance of the community and of the individual	.....	44
Social organizational structures	.....	45
Laja	.....	47
4. Research Methodologies and Fieldwork	.....	52
Choosing Laja	.....	53
The information requirements	.....	57
The research methodologies	.....	64
The information sources	.....	65
The fieldwork	.....	69
5. Data Analysis and Results	.....	77
The ten conditions for ethnodevelopment	.....	78
Conclusion	.....	112
6. The Implications	.....	114

Measuring ethnodevelopment	114
Ethnodevelopment in Laja	120
The implication for Laja	124
The implication for the theoretical framework	126
7. Conclusion	140
Towards a new classification	140
Final comments	143
References and Bibliography	145
Appendix 1: The Questionnaires	151

List of Tables

Table 1	Aymaran population by country	33
Table 2	Population of indigenous groups in Bolivia	35
Table 3	Indigenous group by department	36
Table 4	Aymaran population by Bolivian department	38
Table 5	Language spoken (mother tongue) by Bolivian department	39
Table 6	Information requirements and sources	58
Table 7	Demographic breakdown of the population of Laja	73
Table 8	Participants in research by age group	73
Table 9	Household survey statistics	75
Table 10	Secondary sources consulted	76
Table 11	Legal title of property held in Laja	78
Table 12	Legal title of property held in Laja (friends)	79
Table 13	Land title confiscated in Laja	79
Table 14	Foods eaten in Laja	81
Table 15	Own food grown in Laja	81
Table 16	Food shortages in Laja	82
Table 17	How many months of shortages	83
Table 18	How shortages are met	83
Table 19	Water sources	84
Table 20	Sufficient water	85
Table 21	Income-producing activities in Laja (my results)	86
Table 22	Income-producing activities in Laja (INE, 2001)	87
Table 23	Income to the Municipal Government of Laja	88
Table 24	Where would you seek medical attention?	90
Table 25	Why was the Laja hospital preferred?	90
Table 26	Why was La Paz preferred?	90
Table 27	Garbage disposal facilities?	91
Table 28	Opinion of sanitary conditions in Laja	91
Table 29	Social organizations in Laja	93
Table 30	Activities of social organizations	93
Table 31	Attitudes towards social organizations	94

Table 32	Aymaran cultural expressions	95
Table 33	Measures to protect cultural identity	96
Table 34	Change in Aymaran cultural identity?	96
Table 35	Examples of cultural change (stronger cultural identity)	97
Table 36	Examples of cultural change (weaker cultural identity)	98
Table 37	Outside organizations respect culture	99
Table 38	Languages taught in schools	100
Table 39	Preferred language in schools	100
Table 40	Aymara in national politics	102
Table 41	Aymara in local government politics	102
Table 42	Representatives from Laja in national politics	102
Table 43	Exercise right to vote	104
Table 44	Would you receive a fair trial?	104
Table 45	Equality before the law	105
Table 46	Discrimination on the basis of race	105
Table 47	Discrimination on the basis of gender	106
Table 48	Discrimination on the basis of religion	107
Table 49	Discrimination on the basis of political opinion	107
Table 50	Involvement in natural resources conservation	111
Table 51	Conclusions	112
Table 52	Change in economic situation	120
Table 53	Change in employment levels	120
Table 54	Change in quality of life	121
Table 55	Control of own development	122

List of Maps

Map 1	South America	.....	34
Map 2	Laja and Lake Titicaca	.....	51
Map 3	Bolivia by department	.....	56

List of Figures

Figure 1	Model for evaluating ethnodevelopment	.....	118
Figure 2	Ethnodevelopment in Laja	.....	124

List of Plates

Plate 1	Bust of Alonso de Mendoza (main square of Laja)	.....	48
Plate 2	Main church of Laja	.....	49
Plate 3	View of Laja from the hill behind the community	.....	49

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Aymaran people have lived on the Andean *altiplano* between the valley where today's city of La Paz sits and Lake Titicaca for over 800 years. During that time they have been conquered by the Inca Kingdom, the Spanish Crown and the *mestizo* governors of the Republic of Bolivia. Despite this history of submission the Aymara have maintained their unique cultural identity strong and pure.

Life on the *altiplano* has always been a challenge and today is no exception. Harsh weather conditions and isolation from mainstream Bolivian society have limited the possibility of economic development for the thousands of Aymaran communities spread across the *altiplano*. One such rural community is Laja, the original location of the city of La Paz, today home to an Aymaran population of 707.

For decades, authors within the discipline of development studies have been seeking sustainable solutions for rural communities like Laja. The introduction of the theories of alternative development in the 1980s helped focus development studies on the issues that would truly impact on world poverty after the weaknesses of mainstream development theories became evident. Arising from the alternative development paradigm came the theory of ethnodevelopment.

Ethnodevelopment seeks to preserve and promote the cultural identity of the indigenous group through processes of sustainable development. In 1996, William Partridge, Jorge Uquillas and Kathryn Johns presented an important paper *Including the Excluded: Ethnodevelopment in Latin America* (Partridge et al. 1996) to the annual World Bank Conference on Development in Latin America and the Caribbean. Building on the earlier work of influential papers by Stavenhagen (1986) and Hettne (1993), Partridge et al. adopted a more operational focus, in which they propose ten conditions for successful ethnodevelopment.

The objective of my thesis is to analyse the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment set out by Partridge et al. in *Including the Excluded: Ethnodevelopment in Latin America* and evaluate their relevance in a practical setting.

The Aymaran community of Laja will be adopted as a case study in order to test the ten conditions proposed by Partridge et al. and to obtain feedback from the field that will enable me to undertake a critical analysis of these conditions. A secondary objective will be to use the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. to evaluate the degree of ethnodevelopment currently occurring in Laja.

The principle research methodology that I will use to obtain the feedback required to fulfil these two objectives will be the semi-structured interview of a sample of household representatives from Laja. A number of secondary sources will also be consulted to either support or challenge the findings that my surveys provide.

The results of these surveys and the information from the secondary sources will allow me, firstly to evaluate both the presence of each of the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment in Laja, and also to undertake an evaluation of the presence of ethnodevelopment itself in Laja. Secondly, with the feedback obtained I will undertake an evaluation of the validity of each of the ten conditions proposed by Partridge et al. in the wider framework of strategies for ethnodevelopment and offer some suggestions towards improving them.

Having the opportunity to live among Aymaran people, in both rural and urban settings, for seven years, has given me a strong desire to understand more deeply this complex culture. Also, witnessing first hand the failure of development initiatives within this ethnic group has challenged me to help seek development strategies that are more appropriate to this culture and therefore more able to offer tangible benefits. This, therefore, is the motivation behind this case study, which endeavours to introduce cultural strengths into development through the concept of ethnodevelopment.

My thesis will start, in Chapter 2, with a detailed review of the literature concerned with ethnodevelopment. In Chapter 3 I will explain the historic, demographic and cultural background of the Aymaran people and also describe the Aymaran rural community of

Laja, where my I carried out my research. In Chapter 4, a complete justification of the research methodologies that I implemented will be made, as well as a full description of the fieldwork that I undertook.

In Chapter 5 I will explain and analyse all of the data obtained and in Chapter 6 I will link back the results of the fieldwork in Laja to the theoretical framework laid out in Chapter 2. Finally, I Chapter 7, I will propose some modifications to the conditions for ethnodevelopment established by Partridge et al. and draw some final conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The last two decades have seen the emergence of numerous theories as alternatives to mainstream development. One such theory has been that of ethnodevelopment, development that, in its ideal condition, is identified, designed and implemented by indigenous groups to achieve the goals that they have set for themselves.

In this chapter I will trace the origins of the theory of ethnodevelopment, explain its characteristics, evaluate the conditions proposed by different authors for its successful implementation and comment on the latest initiatives.

The Initial Paradigms

In the aftermath of World War II and U.S. President Harry Truman's 1949 inauguration speech in which he introduced a new definition for the term development, two initial schools of thought emerged seeking to explain the great conceptual and material rift between wealth and poverty, why some nations were rich and others were poor.

It was in this post war arena, charged with political alignments and the subsequent initiation of the cold war and the constant battle for allies between the two great ideological blocks which dominated the world at the time, that theories began to emerge to explain why some countries were better off than others.

Both of the initial paradigms proposed were products of the social-political environments in which they emerged (Overton 2001, p. 7) and were, in hindsight, arguably more politically motivated and influenced mechanisms than academically sound theories. Nevertheless, they were proposed at the time as serious explanations for the underlying problems of development and underdevelopment in the world and through their implementation in the different countries of the world affected the lives of

hundreds of millions of people over the course of many years. As I will explain, both paradigms contained fundamental weaknesses that ultimately meant that they could not accurately explain development and underdevelopment and, in practise, offered few operationally sound solutions.

The first paradigm, modernization theory espoused a unilinear path for development along which all nations should pass in order to leave behind their tribal, or traditional, status and become modern (Smelser 1967, p. 34). It was believed that the lessons learnt and the processes implemented by any one (western) nation could (and should) be copied and repeated in any other nation so that the latter nation could also become developed or modernized (Deutsch 1961, p. 493). The unique characteristics of any particular nation and its socio-historic and economic context were essentially ignored. Western development models were imposed with little consideration of the cultural context and as a consequence, projects were inappropriate, there was little ownership taken by the target population and results were often poor with poverty continuing unaffected by the development initiatives.

A strongly Eurocentric model it classified western capitalism as the goal of development (Overton 2001, p. 27) and ignored the fact that each individual group must develop in its own unique path towards objectives and goals that have been identified by the group itself as desirable in their unique context.

Modernization theory also denied the importance of external causes of underdevelopment such as the effects of colonialism and the continuing control of the lesser developed nations by the world's most powerful nations. Underdevelopment was seen as the consequence of internal factors inherent to the lesser developed nation itself; *"the barriers to the advance of the lagging countries are seen as being essentially internal to them"* (Riddell 1981, p. 291). The lack of managerial ability, corruption and the lack of education and infrastructure were often quoted (Stern 1989, p. 620). This placed responsibility on the lesser developed nations and allowed the ex-colonial powers to ease their conscious, unsuccessfully endeavouring to demonstrate that colonialism had not effected the world's poor.

Another important characteristic of modernization theory was the over reliance on the nation state as a unit of analysis. The nation state was a pillar of post World War II politics, and as it turned out was the arena in which development was to be pursued (McMichael 1996, p. 147). This overemphasis in the nation as the unit of analysis (Riddell 1981, p. 293) meant that individual ethnic groups were overlooked. Development was considered a macro-policy issue and national economic statistics were used to measure it. Consequently the needs, or opportunities, for development in any particular ethnic group were not considered relevant.

Ethnic identity and indigenous characteristics were seen as evidence of the traditional society that Rostow classified as the first of his five stages of economic development (Rostow, 1953). As this traditional society progressed towards “take-off”, “maturity” and “consumption”, it was assumed that these ethnic characteristics would disappear, according to Stavenhagen “*they [ethnic groups] are dismissed as remnants of the past, as obstacles to modernization*” (Stavenhagen 1986, p. 80). Modernization theory, as a western model of development, with western goals, considered indigenous people and ethnicity as hindrances to development and totally failed to conceive that they may actually represent great opportunities for development.

While analyzing the role of traditional cultures in modernization theory, Maiava concludes that;

What is most apparent is the huge dichotomy between “traditional” cultures and “modern” behaviour depicted in modernization theory and the blame placed on traditional cultures. In this theory traditional cultures were to be totally changed in a process that recreated the modern industrial capitalist world.

(Maiava 2001, p. 10)

Therefore, in modernization theory ethnicity and indigenous characteristics, what were to become the basis of ethnodevelopment, were considered obstacles to development and transient inconveniences that would be overcome in the process of maturing towards development.

The second main paradigm was offered by Marxist authors. Whereas modernization theory had focused on explaining how the west had become developed and on setting a

path for the other nations to follow, the Marxist underdevelopment¹ model focused its analysis on the lesser developed nations themselves and sought to identify the reasons why these nations were poor (Frank 1970, p. 4).

Underdevelopment theory analyzed the economic system as a whole, as an aggregate of all the individual national economies. It saw the underdevelopment of some nations as the direct consequence of the development of others, they were seen as intrinsically inter-related and were described as “*two faces of the same coin*” (Frank 1969, p. 9). For Marxists, the western nations had become developed by exploiting the lesser developed nations and the capitalist system was continually working to keep some rich and others poor.

Therefore Marxism, in direct contrast to Modernization theory, identified primarily external reasons for underdevelopment, the effects of colonialism and the continuing exploitation, through the capitalist system, of the poor by the rich, were central explanations in the Marxist model. The policy solutions offered ranged from reforming national economies to promote self-sufficiency, to revolutionary measures such as breaking away from the world system of capitalism and trade (Blomström and Hettne 1984, p. 76).

This focus on the international system, and the related theories such as World Systems Theory, took the analysis even further away from individual regions, much less specific ethnic groups. Little attention was paid to indigenous groups within Marxist underdevelopment theory and the solutions presented by left-wing groups such as the Latin American Structuralists were macro-economic policies aimed at protecting and stimulating national economies.

A second important aspect of underdevelopment theory, for the present analysis, was that the most fundamental and underlying explanation within Marxism for underdevelopment theory was the temporary role Capitalism was to play in the historical process of change, with the eventual overthrow of Capitalism by Socialism through a class struggle. The core of Marxism, therefore, was centred on the class

¹ “*Underdevelopment*” because it studies the reasons for a lack of development as opposed to modernization theory which studies the reasons for development.

struggle of an essentially urban proletariat and not an ethnic analysis of primarily rural indigenous groups (Overton 2001, p. 33). Stavenhagen concluded that “*ethnic political demands, are seen as some kind of ploy contrived to divert attention from the essential task of the class struggle*” (Stavenhagen 1986, p. 88).

Therefore, there were two main reasons why Marxist underdevelopment theory was not geared to an analysis of the development of indigenous groups. Firstly, underdevelopment theory analyzed the world-wide system as a whole to the neglect of specific regions or individual ethnic groups, and secondly because the underlying explanation of Marxist theory was based on the class struggle not on the challenges faced by ethnic peoples.

In 1993, Hettne, upon analyzing the inability of both modernization and underdevelopment theories to relate to the ethnic issue, drew the following conclusion;

The overall impression, after reviewing what the major theoretical traditions have to say, is that ethnicity and development belong to different worlds. One obvious reason for this neglect is that development theory is concerned with “state” and “national economies” as basic units, which precludes a serious treatment of the ethnic factor.

(Hettne 1993, p. 2).

After numerous decades of both theoretical postulations and the practical application in the world’s lesser developed nations of both modernization and underdevelopment approaches it was becoming obvious that at the theoretical level neither was providing an adequate explanation of development and underdevelopment and, more importantly, at the operational level neither was able to offer practical solutions to improve the standard of living of the world’s poor. In 1998, Jan Nederveen Pieterse concluded;

The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crime have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work.

(Pieterse 1998, p. 360)

At the theoretical level, the unwillingness within modernization theory to accept, analyze and incorporate the effects of both colonial exploitation and the effect of present day macro-economic policies on the world's lesser developed countries meant that the theory could not adequately explain the reality of wealth and poverty in the world. Similarly, underdevelopment theory, by denying the important impact of internal factors such as mismanagement and corruption in the lesser developed world and laying the blame entirely on the external influences caused by the capitalist system, allowed its political grudge to adulterate its theoretical purity and consequently could not explain reality either. As is so often the case, truth lies between the two theoretical extremes.

New Directions in Development Theory

Many developing countries will remember the 1980s as the lost decade. The same assessment could perhaps be applied to the field of development theory.

(Schoorman 1993, p. 1)

The 1980s was a time of waking up to reality for the two great development theory paradigms. It was becoming clear that neither could fully explain the reasons for development and underdevelopment in the world, Rodolfo Stavenhagen put it simply; *"At the beginning of the 1980s, neither perspective has been able to prove its feasibility"* (Stavenhagen 1986, p. 74). At the same time, it was apparent that there was little common ground upon which an alternative theory could be constructed. More importantly, it was also becoming apparent that all the academic theorizing within development studies was not reducing world poverty, and was therefore becoming increasingly irrelevant (Overton 2001, p. 54).

Despite having come to represent a multi-billion dollar a year industry employing hundreds of thousands of western expatriates in the lesser developed world alone, development studies was not providing the answers that it had hoped to have been able to provide. Endemic poverty and highly publicized starvation in Africa clearly and chillingly illustrated the fact that poverty was not going away. Development studies was not providing the answers that were so badly needed and in fact, in some cases, was causing nations to go backward rather than forwards (Edwards 1989, p. 116). More

people lived in poverty than when development initiatives had been started decades before (Korten 1990, p. 11) and the evidence of incorrectly identified, badly designed and poorly implemented development projects were spread over large parts of Africa, Asia and South America.

The post-modern era led to a rejection of both modernization theory and Marxist underdevelopment theory in favour of a number of new approaches. The spectrum of new approaches was broad and encompassed many important aspects, some ignored by the two mainstream theories of the past. A number of authors began to highlight the need to include issues such as participation and empowerment, gender, the environment and sustainability within development theory. These approaches became known as alternative development, or people-centred development².

Another, more radical, line of argument emerged, known as alternatives *to* development or post-development. The unifying assertion within post-development writing was the rejection of development and the classification of its efforts as “failures”, in the words of Latin American author Arturo Escobar; “*the dream of development is over*” (Escobar 1992, p. 412). According to post-development, development theories have been instruments of political manipulation by the dominant west and their implementation in the lesser developed world has not always been for exclusively altruistic motives. Development has simply replaced colonialism as the excuse for western intervention in the non-western world (Rist, 1997). Post-development writers reject development as a western concept and promote frameworks of autonomous social movements, through which the people of the lesser developed world will take decisions to control their own destinies. It advocates small scale, grass-roots initiatives using indigenous knowledge (Esteva and Prakesh 1998, p. 293).

Both the people-centred development approach and the post-development line of thought gave the ethnic issue and the role of indigenous groups an importance, almost a central place within development theory that it had never received before³. When it was

² Another common expression is “*development from below*”. This expression is rejected by the author due to the derogative connotation of being “below” the developed countries which are “above them” in a position of superiority.

³ It is important to recognise that many overlaps exist between people-centred development and post development and many of the policy strategies can be found in both approaches.

identified that many projects were failing due to a lack of participation from the target population the response was to seek ways to promote this participation. This immediately lead to the need to discuss with the project recipients issues related to the projects design and implementation, giving such groups a voice in the process for the first time.

At the same time that this participation was becoming seen as important two other considerations were being identified as crucial, that were also to help towards the eventual creation of an ethnodevelopment theory. The need to “target the poor” put the development emphasis on those most needy and they were often rural, ethnic minorities. The work of Robert Chambers (1983) was especially important in this respect drawing attention to the situation of the rural poor. Projects were to be co-ordinated with, and target these groups directly, meeting their needs instead of hoping for some “trickle down” effect from national economic growth, which never arrived.

The second consideration was the need to respect and utilize indigenous knowledge. Michael Edwards, in his stinging criticism of development, identified one of the key consequences of the dominant, western-style model of development to be the devaluation of indigenous knowledge; “...*the attitudes of the experts prevent people from thinking for themselves...*” (Edwards 1989, p. 119). It was evident that an ideological and structural adjustment was required. Large scale, centralized, western-style, technologically advanced projects had to give way to small scale, participation-orientated initiatives that used indigenous knowledge systems and that also contributed to a consideration of ethnic issues and indigenous groups.

The importance of indigenous knowledge and the role that the residents of the lesser developed world play in their own development is a central concept of populism. “*It does not assume that the west has the answers but portrays third world citizens as capable of generating the answers, of defining and determining their own development*” (Maiava 2001, p. 24). This switch, from looking to the west for answers, to allowing indigenous groups to work out their own solutions is a key element of alternative development, from which ethnodevelopment was to emerge.

The Introduction of Ethnodevelopment

Writing in Apthorpe and Krahls *Development Studies: Critique and Renewal*, in 1986 Rodolfo Stavenhagen, in typical post-modern fashion underlined the weaknesses in both the modernization and underdevelopment theories and briefly set out the principles of alternative development. Then, more importantly for the present analysis, he introduced the concept of ethnicity to development, by initially criticizing the neglect that different social sciences and particularly development theory have shown to the ethnic question.

I submit that the neglect of the ethnic question in development thinking is not an oversight, but a paradigmatic blind-spot.

(Stavenhagen 1986, p. 77)

Although Stavenhagen provides an interesting analysis on the relationship between the ethnic group and the nation state he is disappointingly very light on ethnodevelopment itself and offers little explanation as to what he understands ethnodevelopment to be or how it is to be brought about. Considering the title chosen for the chapter, *Ethnodevelopment: A Neglected Dimension in Development Thinking*, this is somewhat surprising as one may have expected some practical ideas to promote a deeper understanding of the emerging concept.

The only definition that Stavenhagen offers for ethnodevelopment; “*ethnodevelopment, that is, the development of ethnic groups within the framework of the larger society*” (Stavenhagen 1986, p. 92) is too general to be useful at all and falls into the mistake of relying on the expression which Stavenhagen himself had begun his article by criticizing for being laden with value implications and in need of replacement, *development*.

Therefore, Stavenhagen’s chapter was an important step in the introduction of ethnodevelopment into development theory by bringing attention to the need to consider the ethnic question, although the article itself did little to advance understanding of the practical application of the concept.

Although focusing primarily on the relationship between development and ethnic conflicts, Bjorn Hettne made a substantial contribution to the theory of ethnodevelopment in his 1993 article *Ethnicity and Development – An Elusive Relationship*. Hettne took the concept of ethnodevelopment, quoting favourably Stavenhagen's comments on the important role this sub-discipline would need to play in the future and the inadequate attention that it had received to date, and then proceeded to explain concepts, establish terminology and define some required components, thus putting flesh on what had been up until then, the ethnodevelopment skeleton.

Drawing on examples of ethnic conflict through South Asia, Hettne provided a compelling justification for ethnodevelopment. Although shying from a comprehensive definition of the concept it is evident that he considers ethnodevelopment to be a “*model of development*” (Hettne 1993, p. 2) that “*systemically and consistently strengthens those characteristics which make up ethnic identity and most importantly, which are consistent with cultural pluralism and internal self-determination for all groups*” (Hettne 1993, p. 16).

Hettne's argument is that mainstream development is causing violent conflict between ethnic groups and consequently alternative models of development must be found to enable the development of these ethnic groups without resulting in conflict. He sees ethnodevelopment as a potential answer as it strengthens ethnic identity and promotes self-determination, thus being consistent with both ethnicity and development at the same time. It is, therefore, a mechanism to promote development whilst respecting and promoting cultural issues and consequently reducing ethnic conflict; “*Just as ecodevelopment is a guarantee against ecocide, ethnodevelopment is a guarantee against ethnocide*” (Hettne 1993, p. 17).

Hettne establishes four mutually supportive, inter-related principles of ethnodevelopment; cultural pluralism, internal self-determination, territorialism and sustainability. To fully understand the evolution of the theory of ethnodevelopment and the conditions that are being proposed as essential elements to achieve such development today, it is important to briefly outline each of Hettne's four components.

Firstly, cultural pluralism represents the need to consider and respect the specific culture of the target population, not necessarily the general culture of the particular country. In this respect ethnodevelopment directly contradicts the traditional emphasis within mainstream development on the nation state or the international economic system.

...cultural pluralism should be seen as the first and most basic principle of ethnodevelopment. It grants to the sub national cultural groups the right to use their own language, practice their religions and to carry out cultural practices forming part of their identity and socialization process.

(Hettne 1993, p. 7)

Cultural pluralism recognises that cultural factors are essential elements contributing to development, not obstacles to be removed nor indications of traditionalism which will be left behind in the process of development, and it values those cultural factors which belong to the particular ethnic group which is seeking development. It recognises that these cultural characteristics may be unique to this group and that they may not be shared by the dominant culture of the nation. The importance of this principle is, therefore, that it recognises that individual solutions must be sought for specific cultural contexts and that generalizing that the national culture applies to the particular group is a dangerous mistake.

Hettne's second principle is internal self-determination, which he defines as the "capacity to control one's destiny" (Hettne 1993, p. 7), including the right to speak one's language, to maintain one's traditional religious values, to exercise political participation, etc. It is a logical progression from cultural pluralism. The principle of cultural pluralism recognises the existence of particular cultural values which set the specific ethnic group apart from the dominant national group, and then internal self-determination means that this specific group has a degree of decision making power. The extreme case scenario of self-determination would mean secession and political independence but this would be an unlikely extreme. A balance is to be found which promotes the interests of the ethnic group in question without compromising the interests of other groups.

Thirdly, Hettne identifies the principle of territorialism. Focussing on the normally strong bond of an ethnic group with its habitat, or the physical territory it lives upon, this principle identifies the need to think of development in terms of the “*territorial development*” (Hettne 1993, p. 20) of a specific area with specific natural resources at any given time. It rejects development in global expressions such as national economic growth and also emphasizes the need to consider the sustainability of the resources found in that particular territory.

The fourth principle identified by Hettne is that of sustainability. Primarily concerned with environmental sustainability the fragile balance between economic growth and environmental conservation is briefly examined, as is the social sustainability of local groups when faced with large scale development initiatives. Whereas the principle of territorialism concentrates ethnodevelopment on a particular area, the principle of sustainability reminds us of the need to maintain that habitat using the resources in a sustainable manner through time.

Although Hettne’s four principles are rather theoretical and fail to consider practical, operational aspects of ethnodevelopment, which we will come to later, they do none-the-less represent important conceptual considerations worthy of analysis in the search for ethnodevelopment.

Rejecting a post-development approach, Hettne interestingly, and perhaps a little surprisingly, prefers to see ethnodevelopment as “*a corrective to mainstream development, not a complete reversal of this process*” (Hettne 1993, p. 16). However, he does recognise that “*it is a radical concept since it turns the table on the conventional conception of ethnicity as an obstacle to modernization.*” (Hettne 1993, p. 16). This is, in many ways, the crux of ethnodevelopment. It takes that which was considered a hindrance to development and bases a whole development theory around it. Ethnicity can represent a great potential for development and need not be considered an obstacle. By going a long way towards defining the concepts and establishing the criteria for ethnodevelopment, Hettne makes a noteworthy contribution to the development of a theory that indeed differs radically from mainstream development, the theory of ethnodevelopment.

The Inter-American Development Bank has been involved in the implementation of an Indigenous People's Fund⁴ and in 1994 Anne Deruyttere wrote a report on this fund entitled *The Indigenous People's Fund: An Innovative Mechanism in Support of the Ethnodevelopment of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean* (Deruyttere 1994). The main contribution of this paper to the evolving theory of ethnodevelopment was a very concise definition of ethnodevelopment;

Ethnodevelopment is defined as sustainable, long-term development that is consistent with indigenous values and priorities, and recognizes indigenous rights to execute and own their projects.

(Deruyttere 1994, p. 3)

During the 1996 World Bank Conference in Bogotá on Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, William Partridge, Jorge Uquillas and Kathryn Johns presented a paper titled *Including the Excluded: Ethnodevelopment in Latin America*. One of the stated goals of the discussion document was “an analysis of the conditions for successful indigenous development...” (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 2). After a brief introduction in which the current reality of indigenous peoples throughout Latin America is documented the authors go on to provide a couple of key definitions of ethnodevelopment. According to the authors;

The general consensus among indigenous leaders, advocates, scholars, and practitioners is that genuine development is an autonomous process representing a community's vision of its history, its values, and its future goals as it seeks for a better quality of life.

(Partridge et al. 1996, p. 6).

This definition expresses, albeit in an overly poetic manner, the concept of self-determination central to ethnodevelopment and has subsequently been quoted as “the most common definition” of ethnodevelopment (see for example; Urioste nd, accessed 2003, p. 2).

However, given that many indigenous leaders (and others) reject the term development (a fact recognised by Partridge et al., p. 7) a second definition offered by the authors

⁴ The creation of this fund was initially proposed by Bolivian President Jaime Paz in July 1991 (Deruyttere 1994, p. 2).

may be more politically appropriate; “... *those processes which are defined by and controlled by the indigenous peoples themselves as they seek better lives for their communities...*” (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 7). This definition also has the advantage of being more concise, clearer and more easily understandable.

Partridge et al. then embark on an ambitious project to classify the characteristics of ethnodevelopment. They mention ten conditions which are indicators of the likelihood of ethnodevelopment being successful, the more advanced these characteristics are within any particular indigenous group, the more likely ethnodevelopment will occur.

Given that the objective of this thesis is to analysis these ten conditions and evaluate their application in the Aymaran community of Laja, each one will be explained in depth.

Ten Conditions for Ethnodevelopment

Partridge et al. recognise that the conditions they propose are inter-connected and inter-related and they also clarify that none of them are any more important than any other (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 9). The ten conditions are the following:

1. Possession of secure property rights to territory, land, water and other resources that are duly demarcated and titled.

The first condition for ethnodevelopment is secure land tenure. The attachment of indigenous peoples to their territories is nearly always a central aspect of the cultural make-up of the particular indigenous group, especially in those cases where the current occupation is of those ancestral lands where predecessors have dwelled for generations. The link to the land often forms the basis of the cultural belief system or the religious framework adopted by the indigenous group (Sahlins 1999b, p. 17).

The displacement of indigenous people from their homelands has had, and continues to have, devastating consequences on the culture of these groups. Patterns of modern day

urbanization continue to demonstrate that ethnic groups who leave their communities to reside in cities suffer from a disorientation resulting from the loss of contact with their traditional lands (Sahlins 1999b, p. 7).

Given that for indigenous people, land is not considered a commodity that can be brought or sold as much as a part of their belief system (for example, as *Pachamama* or *Mother Earth* for the Bolivian Aymara), from the indigenous people's perspective the need for secure property rights is not necessarily based upon legal title to the land as it is based on the moral right to live upon and use the land as the original dwellers of it. However, to protect these moral rights of the indigenous groups as part of overall society, it is essential that universally recognised and legally enforceable property rights are obtained that guarantee use of the land, and where appropriate, ownership of it.

Once secure legal titles are obtained this will help ensure that the land and the use of the resources on or under it, remain in the hands of the indigenous group and are not seized by other interest groups upon the discovery of valuable natural resources, as has often been the case.

In this point, there is agreement between Partridge et al. and the earlier components set out by Hettne, who established territorialism as an essential principle of ethnodevelopment. The need to ensure the link to the land is therefore crucial in the preparation of strategies for the development of indigenous peoples.

2. Maintenance of food security through protecting and enhancing culturally appropriate activities including hunting and gathering, farming, fishing and animal husbandry.

The second condition is the need to guarantee food security. This is based on the principle that if a community does not have food to eat, clean water to drink and a safe healthy place to live today then planning for the future is no more than an utopian dream. Food security can be achieved through hunting, farming, fishing or any other culturally appropriate activity, as defined by the indigenous group itself. It can also be

achieved by selling cash crops or undertaking any other economic activity that is appropriate.

There is clearly a strong link between this second condition and the first. The existence of secure legal titles to the properties inhabited by the indigenous group will allow them the freedom to undertake the activities required to ensure food security. The absence of such title can lead, in many cases, to the limiting of these activities and consequently puts at risk the food security of the group.

3. Promotion of income-producing activities, including agriculture, craft production and wage labour, which lead to investment and improvement in the quality of life and well-being of the entire community.

The third condition is the promotion of income producing activities. As mentioned in the previous point, the promotion of these activities can be a way of obtaining the food security that is crucial to the indigenous group. Partridge et al. then take the income generation aspect further and suggest that it should lead to investment in the community for the benefit of all. Whilst recognising the delicate nature of this point, because it may involve the introduction into the community of material goods and external influences for the first time, with a resulting impact on the indigenous group and its culture, the authors consider this income generation a key aspect of ethnodevelopment.

Mining, oil exploration and forestry are given as examples of how indigenous groups can generate income to invest in their communities and thus improve living standards. Although issues of environmental sustainability must be considered, it is important for the authors that indigenous groups do not isolate themselves from the economic opportunities that may exist.

4. Priority accorded to improving health conditions, including basic services such as potable water and sanitation measures, disease prevention and cures.

Fourthly, Partridge et al. identify the need to improve health conditions as an important component of ethnodevelopment. According to the authors, indigenous peoples suffer from high levels of morbidity and mortality which have been partly responsible for the declining indigenous population in Latin America. This in turn is due to the poor levels of nutrition and high incidences of disease that indigenous people suffer from. Consequently, basic health care and sanitation are included in the list of conditions for ethnodevelopment.

5. Maintenance of strong social organizations and the encouragement and enhancement of the ability to protect property, human and civil rights.

The presence of strong social organizations is the fifth condition for ethnodevelopment set out by Partridge et al. Stating that “*the survival of indigenous peoples depends on the dialogue it develops with the national state*” (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 17), the authors emphasize the crucial role that social organizations play in the protection of indigenous rights.

Acting in representation of indigenous groups these social movements are responsible for the organization and mobilization of large civilian groups who rally to promote issues of civil rights. Although often not entirely made up of indigenous people themselves, they are important mechanisms through which indigenous affairs are promoted.

6. Respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of indigenous people.

The sixth condition for ethnodevelopment is respect for the cultural identity of the indigenous people. This is the second of the conditions of Partridge et al. that has direct similarity with Hettne’s principles, in this case it is to Hettne’s first principle, that of cultural pluralism.

Recognising the importance of *“maintaining and revitalizing cultural expression”* (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 18), this condition is to ensure that cultural elements are identified and protected in the development of indigenous groups. It is clear that only those development strategies that maintain and strengthen cultural factors will serve to protect the interests of the indigenous group and consequently only these initiatives will be sustainable.

7. Support for bilingual and multicultural education and training.

This seventh condition, that of bilingual or multilingual education and training is very much related to the previous condition, that of the cultural identity of the indigenous group and can possibly be understood as being a component of the cultural self-identity of the indigenous group. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. This condition also links back to Hettne’s principle of cultural pluralism.

Identified as a key to culturally appropriate development, is the need to provide education systems in which equal emphasis is placed on both the native language and the language of the dominant culture. The absence of bilingual education may put at risk the continuity of the native language and consequently the indigenous culture itself.

8. Granting political “voice” to indigenous people, including the acknowledgement by the government of political and human rights as citizens, the right to vote, equal participation and representation, and the promotion of indigenous legislation.

The eighth condition of Partridge et al. is the process of political empowerment to the indigenous group. This includes not only the right to vote but also the right to participate in society and politics with full political and human rights and also includes the promotion of indigenous legislation.

The importance of obtaining recognition and protection in law is especially emphasized; *“local-level changes are important, yet these activities will be ineffective without*

changes on a larger scale at the level of policies and laws” (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 22). The need to promote indigenous rights within the legislative framework is undeniable in order to provide a structural approach to the protection of indigenous groups.

This condition has strong links to Hettne’s principle of self-determination. Whereas Hettne mentioned the right of indigenous groups to make decisions that effect their own destiny, Partridge et al. take that a step further and emphasize that need for a legal framework under which a strategy of self-determination can be put into practise without fear of it being challenged in law.

9. Respectful interaction and interchange with the national society and world including government and nongovernmental organizations, international development organizations and religious groups.

The benefits of interaction with outside institutions, national or international, are set out in the ninth condition for ethnodevelopment. Contact with outside groups can be either advantageous or disadvantageous but some contact is necessary to stimulate indigenous development. The authors go even further; *“in nearly every example of indigenous development, the impetus towards organization has arisen out of contact, both positive and negative, with external forces ...”* (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 25).

The degree of interaction and the nature of it should, as far as is possible, be controlled by the indigenous group to ensure that appropriate benefits can be obtained whilst minimizing the flow of potentially negative influences into the indigenous group.

10. Promoting the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation.

Finally, Partridge et al. include the involvement of indigenous people in the conservation of natural resources as the tenth condition for ethnodevelopment. The indigenous people, as users of the particular natural resource found in their territory, in

many cases for hundreds of years, are arguably in the best position to supervise its sustainable use. Indigenous knowledge systems have been developed over the course of generations, which provide methods of resource use based on the reality of experience in the specific ecological context. These systems of knowledge must be considered and utilized for development to be appropriate.

Once more, a link is evident with Hettne's principles, as sustainability was included by Hettne as a key component of ethnodevelopment. The use of indigenous knowledge systems and the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation is a practical, operational solution to the theoretical need of sustainability, as explained by Hettne.

Therefore, all four of Hettne's principles of ethnodevelopment appear, either directly or indirectly, in the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment set out by Partridge et al. Whereas Hettne's principles were more conceptual, Partridge et al. have adopted a more operational approach, akin to recommendations for the implementation of an ethnodevelopment initiative.

The Partridge et al. paper then goes on to evaluate the performance of the World Bank in working with indigenous groups in Latin America and draws the following conclusion;

A major challenge for the Bank and the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean is to find ways to offer indigenous people new opportunities to join the process of development. Exclusion of these people from the market economy represents a massive waste of human and non-human resources, whereas their inclusion will boost productivity, strengthen purchasing power and promote growth. The impact of including indigenous communities in the development process will be dramatic in countries where indigenous people represent large minorities and in the poorest regions where they are the majority of producers.

(Partridge et al. 1996, p.33)

It is unfortunate that in an article on ethnodevelopment which so strongly promotes the protection of indigenous groups that the authors could so directly propose to include indigenous people in "*the process of development*" (a term that the authors earlier recognised as often offensive to indigenous leaders, p. 7) instead of seeking unique,

individual strategies for each group. The use of expressions such as “*market economy*”, “*productivity*”, “*purchasing power*” and “*growth*” in the context of macro-economic solutions would seem to directly contradict the principles of ethnodevelopment as established by Stavenhagen and Hettne and causes one to question the World Bank’s motivation for studying and promoting ethnodevelopment. By focussing on the “*massive waste of human and non-human resources*” to the national economy the crucial difference introduced by people centred development in rejection of mainstream development is being forgotten, or intentionally ignored.

Following this hic-up in terminology⁵ the authors proceed to explain that the World Bank’s orientation in the region is moving towards an ethnodevelopment focus and that ethnodevelopment is an important mechanism to encourage development of indigenous people in the area.

Next Steps for Ethnodevelopment

Since the Partridge et al. paper in 1996, there have been significant initiatives taken to move ethnodevelopment into an implementation phase, at least in Latin America. In January 2000, the World Bank published a document of lessons learnt from its “*first stand-alone World Bank-financed project to exclusively address the development needs of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities*” (van Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000, p. v). The project was undertaken with indigenous people groups in Ecuador and took the unique approach of “*building on the positive qualities of indigenous cultures and societies*” (van Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000, p. 22).

Adopting an essentially operational orientation the report divides its findings and lessons learnt into three areas; critical entry conditions, success factors in project preparation and essential design features, concluding that the design features are the most crucial for ensuring success. Although many of the lessons learnt are arguably more general rules for development projects as opposed to specific considerations for ethnodevelopment, (for example, a participatory framework, project autonomy, flexible

⁵ Or is it perhaps an insight into the real World Bank motivation for being involved in ethnodevelopment?

schedules and team continuity) it is none-the-less an interesting contribution, by projecting ethnodevelopment into operational as opposed to merely theoretical areas.

In July 2002, Maarten van den Berg in *Mainstreaming Ethnodevelopment* concluded that the World Bank's Ecuador project falls short of the land rights objective of ethnodevelopment projects (as detailed above), and as such the World Bank's adoption of ethnodevelopment is "... at best, a means to achieve equal opportunity – not a means to overcome actual social inequality" (van den Berg 2002, p. 10).

Van den Berg reports that although few project documents use the term, "*virtually all projects subscribe to the general objectives of ethnodevelopment*" (van den Berg 2002, p. 10). It will be interesting to see how the Ecuador project responds to the criticisms laid at it in terms of the territorial rights issue, and how the World Bank overall will proceed in mainstreaming ethnodevelopment.

Despite the van den Berg report, the World Bank appears to be committed to continuing with their efforts in ethnodevelopment, especially in light of the findings of their recent (October 2003) report *Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: Breaking with History?* This report outlines a number of statistics which show how indigenous and ethnic peoples enjoy a lower standard of living than non-indigenous peoples (de Ferranti et al., 2003).

Before concluding the theoretical framework, it is important to mention one more important influence in the rise of ethnodevelopment. The increase in cultural awareness within anthropology and the increasing amount of theory and activity uniting anthropology and development has no doubt assisted the strengthening of ethnodevelopment. Although the union of anthropology and development is not new, the realization of the need for it to occur more at this time, for example in issues related to the value of indigenous knowledge (Sillitoe 2000a, p. 16) is highly significant for ethnodevelopment.

Marshall Sahlins, in his 1999 article *Two or Three Things That I Know about Culture* observes the phenomena by which;

All of a sudden everyone got “culture” ... even people whose ways of life were left for dead or dying a few decades ago now demand an indigenous space in a modernizing world under the banner of their culture.

(Sahlins 1999a, p. 401)

People want culture (Sahlins 1999a, p. 403) and this new, revitalized focus on ethnicity and indigenous, cultural issues is undoubtedly contributing to the growth of the ethnodevelopment initiative.

Therefore, the theory of ethnodevelopment emerged from the alternative development paradigm resulting from the impasse between modernization and underdevelopment theory in the 1980s. Tracing its theoretical origins through the works of Stavenhagen and Hettne, ethnodevelopment is slowly starting to establish a profile which eventually may place it as a development theory able to offer practical solutions, something which earlier theories have been unable to do.

The practical implementation of the theory of ethnodevelopment is still in its very first steps, with the first projects only now starting to show results and to be duly evaluated. It is, therefore, an appropriate time to engage in a study of the conditions proposed by the theory as prerequisites to promoting ethnodevelopment, in order to either confirm their validity or question their pertinence.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AYMARAN CONTEXT

Over the last two decades numerous extremely complete texts on the Aymaran people have been produced (especially Berg and Schiffers 1992 and Bouysse Cassagne 1987). As Berg and Schiffers mention in the introduction to their work;

*Very much has been written about the Aymara, especially in the last decades (see Berg 1980, 1984, 1988). The Aymara world has become an endless source of investigation and study. Its richness is immense. It is not easy to penetrate in all its depth and cover all its dimensions and aspects.*⁶

(Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 16)

It is not the objective of my thesis to try and match these extensive accounts. In this chapter my intention is to provide a broad historic, demographic and social background on the people whom I am studying and then give some information on the township of Laja, where the study will take place.

Historical Background

The section of the Bolivian Altiplano between the city of La Paz and the shores of Lake Titicaca is today the realm of the Aymara people. However this land has a long history of human occupation from various groups before the Aymara period. The earliest recorded human occupation was that of the Viscachani culture. This pre-ceramic and pre-agriculture period (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 6) is estimated to have developed between 10 000 and 30 000 years ago and was made up of migratory hunters whose settlements were located in the current-day department of La Paz (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 60).

⁶ This quote, along with all the other Spanish language reference material, has been translated to English by the author.

Next came the Wankarani and Chiripa cultures. The Wankarani culture, 1210 B.C. – 270 A.D., extended from around the La Paz area, south to the Bolivian Department of Oruro at Lake Poopo and the Chiripa culture, 1380 B.C. – 22 A.D. has been placed more specifically on the shores of Lake Titicaca itself (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 60).

Preceding both the Wankarani and Chiripa cultures by at least two hundred years and long surviving them was the important Tiahuanacu civilization, 1580 B.C. – 1172 A.D: (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 60). For over two and a half thousand years the Tiahuanacu culture grew and prospered, passing through three distinct, identifiable periods; the village period, the urban period and the imperial period (for a detailed description of each period see Machicado et al. 1994, p. 20-27) and created an imposing infrastructure. The ruins of the centre of the Tiahuanacu culture can be visited today near the village of Tiahuanacu, 34 kilometres west of Laja and 15 kilometres south of Lake Titicaca⁷.

It is around the end of the Tiahuanacu period (12th Century A.D) that the Aymara appear, although it is not clear exactly where from;

The Aymara appear after the decline of Imperial Tiahuanacu and their origin before this is not exactly known.

(Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 61)

According to Machicado et al. (1994, p. 31) after the fall of the Tiahuanacu Empire the region was inhabited by various fragmented ethnic groups. Certainly by the 13th Century the Aymara had organized themselves into what are variously called regions, Lordships or Kingdoms (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 61) and started to exercise political control over the area. By the time Vice-King Francisco de Toledo arrived in the area in 1582 only two ethnic groups were distinguished: the Uru⁸ and the Aymara (Bouysse Cassagne 1987, p. 102).

⁷ Aymaran religious leaders receive the Aymara New Year at the *Puerta del Sol* (Sun Door) at Tiahuanacu every winter equinox.

⁸ The Uru are an ancient fishing people who have co-existed with the Aymara for centuries and exist (in very reduced numbers) today in villages on the shores of Lake Titicaca in both Bolivia and Peru (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 47)

There is one more important ethnic group to consider in the history of the Bolivian Altiplano, today's Quechua people, previously known as the Incas. As previously mentioned, the Aymara were well established in different Lordships over the Altiplano surrounding the western shores of Lake Titicaca approximately two centuries before the Incas arrived. The Incas themselves are calculated to have emerged in the 12th Century A.D. (Bakewell 1997, p. 25) at approximately the same time as the Aymara. The Inca base was Cuzco (Peru) whereas the Aymara dwelled to the west of Lake Titicaca (Elorrieta and Elorrieta 2002, p. 34).

Although it is sometimes stated (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 63) that the fourth Inca chief, Mayta Qhapaq, begun the Inca conquest of Aymara lands, it appears that this was a token conquest with the Incas unable to enforce compliance so far away from their power base in Cuzco and things returned to normal as soon as the Incas left the area (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 63). The real Inca expansion took place under the rule of the ninth and greatest Inca, Pachacuti⁹ Inca Yupanqui who, after reconstructing and improving much of the city of Cuzco itself then expanded the Inca Empire which was eventually to include as far north as Pasto in southern Colombia and as far south as the Bio Bio River in Chile (Elorrieta and Elorrieta 2002, p. 37).

The Inca occupation of the Bolivian Altiplano began under Pachacuti himself and was completed under the rule of his son Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the tenth Inca chief. Pachacuti extended the Inca Empire to include most of current day Peru and Ecuador from 1438 to 1471 and Tupac undertook the conquest of modern day Bolivia and northern Chile from 1471 to 1493 (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 74). Therefore the Aymaran occupied western shores of Lake Titicaca fell under the Inca rule towards the end of the 15th Century at approximately the same time that the Spanish were arriving to the Americas for the first time.

Just some 40 years later, the Spanish had travelled down the Pacific Coast of South America, taken the Inca capital of Cuzco (1533) and in July 1538 set out from Cuzco for Lake Titicaca (Bouysse Cassagne 1987, p. 28), under the lead of Francisco Pizarro. Bouysse Cassagne reports that battles occurred between the Spanish and Aymaran

⁹ The name Pachacuti means *Transformer of the World*.

around Desaguadero, on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, and that it was only upon the arrival of the re-enforcements required by Pizarro in January 1539 that the Spanish could advance. Peter Bakewell, in his authoritative text *"A History of Latin America"* comments that;

The Aymara-speaking groups around Lake Titicaca, for instance, prosperous and powerful before the Inca's ascent, were both hard to conquer and hard to keep down. Pachacutec (sic) allegedly had to assault them three times and they rebelled again in the time of Tupac Yupanqui.

(Bakewell 1997, p. 31)

Berg and Schiffers, on the other hand, arrive at a somewhat different conclusion;

The Aymara resistance lasted little time and the Spanish imposed their force to submit them under their dominion.

(Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 65)

To resolve this apparent contradiction, it would appear most likely that the Aymara people would have rebelled with determination and persistence against any outside intention to govern them in any practical sense. The Aymara have maintained their language and culture intact despite different outside influences until today, so it is unlikely that their resistance would have been short-lived. A form of token governance was possibly implemented whereby many Aymaran practises were relatively unaffected; the refusal to learn Spanish and to convert to Roman Catholicism is evidence of this.

Spanish Colonialism in Bolivia was to last from 1538 until August 1825. During the colonial period the Aymara (as well as the other indigenous groups) were used as labourers in the mines (especially *Cerro Rico* of Potosí) through the *Mita* system whereby the indigenous people were forced to work in the mines in four month turns (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 124) and were also exploited as tax payers with their minimal agricultural productions. The imposition of the Roman Catholic religion and the use of the Spanish language were other characteristics of this time period, although as just mentioned, many Aymara avoided these last impositions, or perhaps effectively just paid them lip-service.

Although there were isolated indigenous rebellions during the colonial years the independence movement itself was more a product of the more educated mestizo¹⁰ classes and in many respects life changed little for the Aymara people with their being freed from Spanish rule. Berg and Schiffers draw this conclusion;

The Aymara, as well as the other indigenous groups have been marginalized from the civil and political rights of the new Republic of Bolivia, founded on the 6th of August 1825 in homage to the Battle of Junín. Neither the patriotic creoles nor the freedom fighters thought in the emancipation of the indigenous people.

(Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 73)

From 1825 to 1952 the rights of indigenous peoples in Bolivia were non-existent (they could neither own land nor vote) and in many respects these groups were worse off than they had been under Spanish rule (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 73) often living as serfs in a semi-feudalistic type of existence under the whim of large estate owners (*Patrones*) who owned vast expansions of land.

The National Revolution¹¹ of April 9th, 1952 brought many significant changes to the country, two of which were especially important for the Aymara. Firstly, the agrarian reform of the 1952 revolution established the principle of “*la tierra es de quien la trabaja*” (“the land belongs to s/he who works it”) (Iriarte 1979, p. 37), that is, vast expanses of land were confiscated from the large estate owners and placed in the hands of the small indigenous farmers who worked the plot. Through this process land was “returned” to its traditional users, though no official legal title was given.

This radical land reform is often criticized by the indigenous groups because the absence of legal titles meant that many indigenous people never obtained full legal

¹⁰ The *mestizo* (literally, the “mixed”) classes were the children of the union of Spaniards with natives (nearly always Spanish men with native women) (Bakewell 1997, p. 78)

¹¹ The uprising of 1952, in protest at the system by which a limited number of families were becoming exceedingly rich from the mining industry (tin) and taking their profits to Europe while the rest of the country continued to live in extreme poverty with no social security, education or human rights, as “*semi-slaves*” (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 487), led to the violent overthrow of the Ballivian Rojas Government (itself the result of a military overthrow in 1951). 48 hours of conflict between the military and the revolutionary forces caused 480 deaths before a truce was signed in Laja, leading to the formation of a new Government.

ownership to their lands¹². Others, however - albeit begrudgingly - accept that benefits did arise from this controversial reform because ultimately it did bring to an end the feudalistic system of land ownership which had kept the indigenous people in a condition little better than slavery for hundreds of years.

The agrarian reform, despite the thousands of criticisms that have been made of it, both on our behalf as well as by people of other activities, has meant for our communities the beginning of freedom.

(Barnabas et al. 1976, p. 80)

The second important reform was that universal suffrage was created, thus giving the right to vote and the right to be elected for the first time to indigenous peoples. Over the last 50 years, numerous political parties have arisen in representation of the indigenous population although no indigenous leader has yet been elected to the office of President¹³.

Although the result of the 1952 reform and more recent public sector reform programs, notably the Decentralization and Popular Participation reforms of the 1993-1997 *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (MNR)¹⁴ *Nationalist Revolutionary Movement* Government which form part of the "Second Generation Reforms" of the mid-1990s, have improved the living conditions of the Aymara people, there is still a long way to go to reverse the trend of centuries of oppression and exploitation.

Demographic Background

Today there are approximately 1 768 261 Aymara in the world, situated in eastern Bolivia, western Peru and northern Chile. The division of the Aymara by country is shown in Table 1.

¹² The absence of legal titles was to lead to many problems in the future for indigenous groups, and continues to do so today.

¹³ The Aymaran leader, Victor Hugo Cardenas was Vice President in the Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada Government from 1993 to 1997. As of the moment he is the only Aymara to be elected to such a high office.

¹⁴ The MNR party, was also the party responsible for the 1952 National Reform.

Table 1
Aymaran population by country

Country	Aymara Population
Bolivia	1 277 881
Peru	440 380
Chile	50 000
Total	1 768 261

Source: The Bolivian Aymara population reflects the results of the 2001 Bolivian National Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001¹⁵), the Peruvian result is taken from the 1993 Peru National Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 1993) and the Chilean population is an estimate from www.aymara.org because the Chilean 2002 Census did not have these figures available.

The Aymara population in Chile is predominately made up of Bolivia immigrants (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 81) in the Tarapacá and Antofagasta regions whereas the vast majority of Peru's Aymara are to be found in the Peruvian Departments of Moquegua and Puno on the western shores of Lake Titicaca and Tacna in the extreme south of Peru. It may be noted that 72% of the Aymara people in the world today currently live in Bolivia.

The location of Bolivia in South America is shown on Map 1. The city of La Paz may also be observed.

¹⁵ All the statistical information sourced to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001 and the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 1993 was taken from the databases on their respective web pages, therefore page references are not possible.

South America



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Source: Magellan Geographix, nd, accessed July 10, 2003

There are few countries in South America where indigenous cultures are so apparent and noticeable, even in the largest cities, than in Bolivia. I believe that it is significant that the Bolivian Constitution recognizes the importance of ethnicity in its first article;

Bolivia, free, independent, sovereign, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, constituted into a unitary republic, adopts as its government representative democracy, founded upon the union and solidarity of all Bolivians.

(Article 1 Bolivian Constitution,
Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Planificación, 2001)

The majority of Bolivians still identify themselves with one of the main indigenous groups, as opposed to saying that they don't belong to any indigenous group in particular. The 2001 national census asked all Bolivians to identify to which indigenous group they belonged. The answers are shown on Table 2.

Table 2
Population of indigenous groups in Bolivia

	Indigenous Group	Population	Percentage
1	None	1 922 355	37.95
2	Quechua	1 555 641	30.71
3	Aymara	1 277 881	25.23
4	Chiquitano	112 216	2.22
5	Guaraní	78 359	1.55
6	Mojeño	43 303	0.85
7	Others	75 237	1.49
	Total	5 064 992*	100

*This question was directed only to people 15 years of age and over, hence the total of 5 064 992 when the total population of Bolivia according to the same 2001 National Census was 8 274 325.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001

Table 2 shows that the majority of Bolivians (62%) still identify themselves with a specific indigenous group, as opposed to only 38% who do not. This 38% (who

answered “none”) represents the section of the Bolivian population who consider themselves primarily *mestizo*.

In Bolivia, the different indigenous groups are centred in different parts of the country. The Aymara on the western altiplano, the Quechua on the southern altiplano and in the central valley regions of the country, and in the east and north there are many smaller groups. The people that reside on the altiplano are more likely to identify themselves with an indigenous group whereas those in the east and the north are less inclined to identify themselves as indigenous.

Table 3 shows the three largest indigenous groups for each Bolivian department.

Table 3
Indigenous group by department

	Department	Total population	Indigenous Group	Population	Percentage*
1	Chuquisaca	308 386	Quechua	188 427	61.10
			None	106 182	34.43
			Guaraní	7 955	2.58
2	La Paz	1 501 970	Aymara	1 027 890	68.44
			None	338 552	22.54
			Quechua	117 587	7.83
3	Cochabamba	900 020	Quechua	595 629	66.18
			None	230 759	25.64
			Aymara	62 780	6.98
4	Oruro	250 983	Aymara	93 739	37.35
			Quechua	89 699	35.74
			None	65 509	26.10
5	Potosí	414 838	Quechua	319 903	77.12
			None	66 991	16.15
			Aymara	26 283	6.34

6	Tarija	239 550	None	192 375	80.31
			Quechua	29 910	12.49
			Guaraní	6 590	2.75
7	Santa Cruz	1 216 658	None	760 556	62.51
			Quechua	206 417	16.97
			Chiquitano	107 104	8.80
8	Beni	202 169	None	135 952	67.25
			Mojeño	25 714	12.72
			Other	24 320	12.03
9	Pando	30 418	None	25 479	83.76
			Aymara	1 619	5.32
			Other	1 465	4.82
	Total	5 064 992			

*Only the three largest indigenous groups for each department are listed, therefore the percentages do not add up to 100.

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001

Therefore, in five of the nine departments it is an indigenous group that is the majority. In three departments (Chiquisaca, Cochabamba and Potosí) it is the Quechua, in two (La Paz and Oruro) it is the Aymara and in the remaining four (the northern and eastern departments¹⁶) it is those that do not identify themselves with any particular indigenous group that predominates.

I believe that the general ethnic context of Bolivia is a very important consideration for my thesis. The concept of ethnodevelopment explicitly relies on the presence of indigenous peoples and seeks to preserve and promote their practises in the process of development. Bolivia, due to its advanced state of ethnicity and the openness of indigenous culture and practise is an excellent context in which to develop not only the

¹⁶ The department of Tarija is an exception. The people of Tarija, geographically in the south of the country, culturally identify themselves more with northern Argentina, than to any Bolivian indigenous group.

theories of ethnodevelopment but also in which to implement programs and projects that model ethnodevelopment successfully.

The indigenous group with which I am most interested is of course the Aymara. The distribution of Aymara within Bolivia is shown on Table 4.

Table 4
Aymaran population by Bolivian department

	Department	Population	Percentage
1	La Paz	1 027 890	80.44
2	Oruro	93 739	7.33
3	Cochabamba	62 780	4.91
4	Santa Cruz	48 040	3.76
5	Potosí	26 283	2.06
6	Beni	7 280	0.57
7	Tarija	6 377	0.50
8	Chuquisaca	3 873	0.30
9	Pando	1 619	0.13
	Total	1 277 881	100

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001

The strong concentration of the Aymaran people in the department of La Paz is evident. As Table 4 shows, over 80% of the Aymara in Bolivia live in this department, and that means that 58% of the World's total Aymara population lives in this Bolivian department.

Another key indicator of ethnicity is the language which one speaks. As noted later in this thesis many indigenous people consider themselves Aymara because they speak Aymara, this is the central (and sometimes only) identifying factor of their ethnicity. It is therefore important to consider the numbers of Bolivian people who speak each of the indigenous languages.

Another reason why the language spoken is possibly a more accurate indicator of indigenous population in this case is due to the fact that the question as to “indigenous origins” in the 2001 Census was a little misleading in that there was no *mestizo* option that many people may have chosen to identify themselves. There were complaints that many people who would have identified themselves as *mestizo* ended up marking either the Quechua or Aymara option, to avoid marking the “none” option that some considered offensive.

The results of the language spoken question in the 2001 national census are shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Language spoken (mother tongue) by Bolivian department

	Spanish	%	Quechua	%	Aymara	%	Total
Chiquisaca	238 212	50.7	220 633	47.0	2 116	0.5	469 457
La Paz	1 223 490	57.6	75 289	3.5	815 627	38.4	2 124 936
Cochabamba	642 917	49.5	601 370	46.3	47 310	3.7	1 299 961
Oruro	212 793	60.0	59 944	16.9	80 353	22.6	355 420
Potosí	214 247	34.1	385 987	61.4	26 649	4.2	628 335
Tarija	317 384	90.2	23 355	6.6	3 690	1.0	351 731
Santa Cruz	1 512 864	83.9	168 247	9.3	27 811	1.5	1 803 851
Beni	295 128	92.6	5 226	1.6	4 426	1.4	318 634
Pando	40 114	88.2	782	1.7	843	1.9	45 505
Total	4 697 149	63.5	1 540 833	20.8	1 008 825	13.6	7 397 830

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001

These results clearly differ with the figures on indigenous identification that we saw in Table 2. In that table (Indigenous Populations of Bolivia), 30.7% identified themselves as Quechua but here we see that only 20.8% speak this as their first language. In Table 2 there were 25.2% who identified themselves as Aymara but here we see that only 13.6% speak this as their first language. In contrast, in Table 2 there were only 37.97% who said that they didn’t identify themselves with any particular indigenous group but there are over 63% who speak Spanish as their mother tongue.

I have identified two possible explanations for this pattern. Firstly, as mentioned, it could be a result of people identifying themselves with an indigenous group despite not speaking the language because there was no mestizo option in the indigenous identification question of the census.

A second possible explanation is that the indigenous languages are in decline despite a strong identification of the people with their individual ethnic background. The decline in indigenous languages is an unfortunate reality in many parts of the world and Bolivia is no exception in this regard. Consequently, the numbers of people who speak the languages as their mother tongues are lower than the level of self-identification with these same indigenous groups.

These results were reflected to a lesser degree in Laja itself where 52.6% of the population spoke Spanish as the maternal language and only 45.8% spoke Aymaran, whereas the overwhelming majority (83%) defined themselves as Aymara (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001). As is usually the case with indigenous groups, it was the women who were most likely to speak Aymara (48.9%) and not the men (42.6%) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001).

Cultural Background

As previously mentioned a complete review of the social and cultural characteristics of the Aymara people is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather in this section I will describe three fundamental components of the Aymara social make-up:

1. The Aymaran cultural identity
2. The importance of the community and of the individual
3. Social organizational structures

1. The Aymaran Cultural Identity

Although clearly a distinct, unique ethnic entity it is interesting to note that a fair degree of cultural confusion exists between the Aymara and their Altiplano neighbours the Quechua. Both groups were submitted firstly to Spanish rule and secondly to the interests of *mestizo* leaders in the Bolivian Republic for hundreds of years and now consequently consider each other as brothers, despite the great conflict which characterized the first relationships between these two ethnic groups.

There has no doubt been a process, over hundreds of years, through which the Aymara and Quechua cultures have come to resemble each other more than originally was the case. This is consistent with the definition of culture as a changing process; *“cultures are not static but dynamic, resourceful and flexible”* (Maiava 2001, p. 78) and as Sahlins observed *“all cultures are hybrid”* (Sahlins 1999a, p. 411). Some mixing between the two cultures no doubt occurred over the passing of many years.

Recognized expert on the Aymaran people, Xavier Albo (1980, p. 494) makes an interesting statement, in the context of the Aymaran living on the Altiplano in a subsistence economy, when he says that this Aymaran person would identify themselves with the following three groups before considering themselves Aymara, and consequently different from, for example, a Quechua.

- a) The geographical location, being from a certain town, especially being born in a particular place.
- b) Racial identification as “Indio” (“Indian”), as opposed to the “purer” mestizo races. Originally the expression “Indian” was used by the Spanish to refer to all the natives of the Americas despite the ethnic diversity they represented.
- c) Occupation, as a rural peasant/country worker/farmer as opposed to city dwellers, involved in other occupations.

Therefore, a rural Aymaran person, if questioned as to their cultural background would respond that they are from a certain community, that they are Indian (as opposed to *Q'ara*¹⁷) and that they are a country worker, before responding that they are Aymaran.

Albo even goes on to state that;

Their identification as "Aymara" is still relatively secondary...

(Albo 1980, p. 494)

The analysis by Albo implies that a distinct Aymaran cultural identity does not necessarily exist, or at least, is not independent from the cultural identity of other indigenous groups living on the altiplano. However, I do not believe that this is the case. The people I spoke with in Laja clearly consider themselves Aymara and no confusion existed as to their ethnic background.

The Aymaran cultural identity is expressed through music, dance, clothing and by the distinct Aymaran customs related to specific times of the year, such as harvests and the equinoxes, and through their unique Cosmo vision and belief system. The traditional Aymaran music, played on panpipes and flutes and on different stringed instruments, is predominately melancholic and reflects sadness and a resignation that the difficult lifestyle that the Aymaran people have on the altiplano is their lot in life.

The Aymaran people are known as a very reserved, timid people who are closed to interaction with people from other ethnic groups, especially if they are foreigners. This is due to the historical fact that the years of oppression by the Spanish, who enlisted them essentially as slaves in the Spanish territories (working without pay), created a distinct distrust and even hatred of foreigners. Also, the climatic conditions on the altiplano are such that people are used to shutting themselves indoors and keeping to themselves. This has also contributed to the closed nature of the Aymara, in direct contrast with other indigenous groups in Bolivia who, due to the tropical conditions where they live, have developed a more outgoing, extroverted nature.

¹⁷ *Q'ara* is the Aymaran word to describe city folk, white people, foreigners.

The mixture of traditional Aymaran beliefs and Roman Catholicism has created a belief system through which both theologies are maintained¹⁸. The worship of the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and the making of sacrifices to her through *Cha'llas* (offerings) are still extremely common today. At the same time Christian celebrations such as Easter and Christmas have also been incorporated into the Aymara calendar, as have other celebrations dedicated to Catholic personalities, such as the different saints and virgins. These celebrations involve traditional Aymaran dances representing aspects of their history, the playing of folkloric music by small groups and bands and usually the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages. In the words of the Mayor of Laja, on these occasions “*they dance and get very drunk*”.

The most important of these celebrations is the yearly Carnival, which is celebrated each February or March. At the Carnival, acts (dancing for the *Pachamama*, pouring alcohol out onto the ground as a sacrifice, burning incense and llama foetuses) of thanksgiving are made to the *Pachamama* for the successful harvest.

Perhaps the most common expression of the Aymaran cultural identity is the speaking of the Aymaran language. The Aymaran culture is preserved and reflected through the use of their own distinct language and there are many radio stations that broadcast exclusively in Aymara, thus maintaining the use of this language.

In the research that I undertook in Laja, the essential link between the cultural identity and the speaking of the indigenous language was very clear, because whenever I asked someone if they considered themselves Aymara, the inevitable reply was “*I speak Aymara*”. The link between cultural ethnicity and language was fundamental and it was difficult for people in Laja to comprehend that there could be Aymaran people who don't actually speak the Aymaran language.

The implication of this for designing development initiatives for the Aymaran people is unclear. Recognizing the unique Aymaran cultural existence and language is extremely important. However, one must also be conscious that the Aymara consider other

¹⁸ This syncretism is also apparent in the mixture of Quechua beliefs and Roman Catholicism, in other parts of Bolivia.

indigenous groups as their equals and as fellow victims, at the hands of outsiders, whether they be Spanish, *mestizos* or from anywhere else.

2. The Importance of the Community and of the Individual

The Aymara is a profoundly community-based being: work, fun, important decision making, prayer ... all have to be undertaken within the framework of the social group that one belongs to.

(Iriarte 1976, p. 54)

Perhaps the most significant characteristic of the Aymaran people is the profound sense of community that envelopes them. Community interests are promoted, community leaders well respected (at least externally) and obeyed and decisions are taken to promote the common good. Work is often undertaken jointly through a labour-barter process whereby I help you with your harvest today and you help me with mine tomorrow (Paz 2003), and the participation of the Aymara in social organizations is extremely important, as discussed later in this thesis.

Despite this immense community spirit, the Aymara are also considered a strongly individualistic people. Many authors (for example, Albo in Barnadas et al. 1976, p. 25) have identified the paradox in this apparent contradiction between the individual and the community. The Aymaran people, due to the centuries of theft and oppression that they have experienced, both from outside conquerors and from the harsh conditions that they suffer from on the altiplano, are very reserved and suspicious of others. This suspicion starts with people of their own community.

While living in the predominantly Aymara rural community of Coroico, in the foothills of the Andes, I made several observations that are relevant here. The Aymaran rural folk were very concerned about locking away all their belongings when they left their houses and they were not prepared to leave their homes unattended at night at all, for fear that their neighbours would steal from them. The Aymaran individual distrusts their neighbours, other Aymaran people; s/he distrusts members of other Aymaran communities and ultimately distrusts other ethnic groups, especially if they are foreigners.

These observations are evidently true of the Aymaran on the altiplano also. Iriarte makes the following observation;

This reinforcement of that which is their own, both socially and personally, makes the Aymara appear to be a being that distrusts their own people, and even more so, groups that are culturally different from them.

(Iriarte 1979, p. 64)

In light of this reflection it is best to conclude, that the Aymara are both a community based group and an individualistic people, and consequently any development initiative that is undertaken with this indigenous group must take into consideration both the deep individualism as well as this strong community focus in order to be successful.

The distrust that Iriarte mentions was abundantly evident during the fieldwork for this thesis. The rejection that I, as an outside researcher, experienced is documented more fully in Chapter 4.

3. Social Organizational Structures

The basic unit of social organization in the Andean context is the *ayllu*. It is as old as the Aymara people themselves (Iriarte 1979, p. 13) and is the basis for their organization and existence. Originally formed by the joining of families it has now come to be understood as a wider concept to incorporate a number of extended families, or to express the idea of community. Iriarte defines the *ayllu* as follows;

We could, therefore, define the AYLLU as a group of families joined to a territory (MARKA), united by the links to relatives and by the joint ownership of the land, led by a chief and related to each other by a common language, by the undertaking of work together and their own worship.

(Iriarte 1979, p. 16)

The maximum authority of the *ayllu* is the *jilakata*, a chief elected by the community to take decisions and to represent the interests of the *ayllu* in wider society.

The traditional indigenous social structures have taken on new importance in Bolivia over the last ten years. The Law of Popular Participation (1994) and other recent municipal legislation, as part of the radical decentralization and popular participation reform, has recognized indigenous, traditional power structures and given them a place in law. They are known as OTBs *Organizaciones Territoriales de Base* (Base Territory Organizations) and provide representation to the Vigilance Counsels who have been established to supervise and control the activities of the Municipal Governments.

Despite this new legal recognition, there continues to be conflict between the traditional organizational structures and the governmental system recognized in the Bolivian Constitution. An appreciation of these conflicts is essential to an understanding of the roots of the protest movements that are currently causing serious social unrest on the Bolivian altiplano.

Many Aymaran people, especially in the country side, but also increasingly in the cities of El Alto and La Paz, consider their *jilakata* (or *Mallku*¹⁹) as the legitimate authority over the region and ignore the local authorities such as the Mayors and Municipal Counsellors, who they view as both puppets of the mainstream political parties and as corrupt, opportunity seekers who take advantage of office to steal from the people²⁰.

My Aymaran advisor, Dr. Efrain Paz, lawyer and Mayor of Pucurani²¹, had some interesting comments to make on the traditional indigenous leaders;

I am also an Aymaran from the countryside but I don't think like them. For the country to advance we must have a rule of law and democracy. They are no more than union dictators and murderers.

(Paz, 2003)

¹⁹ *Mallku* (literally, Condor) is another indigenous authority figure.

²⁰ One of the main criticisms of the Bolivian decentralization model, when it was introduced in the mid-1990s, was that it was merely decentralizing corruption. Instead of central government stealing the money, now there was going to be hundreds of local government officials stealing it.

²¹ Pucurani is another Aymaran rural community on the altiplano. It actually borders on Laja.

Dr. Paz's statement reflects the opinion of an increasing number of Bolivians frustrated by the amount of power now held by a relatively small number of indigenous leaders. The social unrest and violence, which lead to the resignation of Bolivian President, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada in October 2003, was a result of conflicts between indigenous protesters lead by their traditional authorities, and military forces.

Another interesting consideration is the fact that the traditional authorities are often elected to lead wider social organizations, such as union groups or political parties. This may be seen as a validation of their authority, although some would seriously question the legitimacy and lack of democracy and free-choice in the election processes.

Therefore the role of the traditional social structures among the Aymaran people is a key issue for understanding the troubles that Bolivia faces today. It is also a key for understanding how processes of development may be implemented within this group. Any development initiative must take into consideration the local *ayllu* to be successful.

Laja

The rural community of Laja sits among low rolling hills, approximately 37 kilometres west of La Paz, about 1 kilometre off the main road to Tiahuanco and Desaguadero (the southern most point of Lake Titicaca and an international border with Peru).

Laja was originally founded on October 20, 1548 by Spanish Captain Alonso de Mendoza, under orders from Pedro de la Gasca, to commemorate the end of a period of civil war within the Vice-Kingdom, hence the name *Nuestra Señora de La Paz* (Our Lady of Peace) (Machicado et al. 1994, p. 113). Other accounts mention that the city was founded in order to serve as a rest stop along the route from the silver mines at Potosí, which had been discovered three years earlier in January 1545, to the ships waiting at the coast at Calloa (Lima), Peru. Shortly after, Alonso de Mendoza decided that the Chuquiabo Valley was a better location, as gold was found in the Choqueyapu

River which still flows through the city²² and the city was moved to the valley where La Paz now sits.

The main square (*Plaza Alonso de Mendoza*) is the centre of the township with two to three blocks of buildings set around it in all directions, there is a total of 240 homes in Laja (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001). In the centre of the square is a bust of Alonso de Mendoza and the large 16th Century Catholic Church²³ which is the most imposing structure in Laja.

Plate 1

Bust of Alonso de Mendoza (main square of Laja)



Source: Rapson 2003

²² Unfortunately the Choqueyapu River is now extremely polluted and is covered for most of its journey through Bolivia's seat of Government.

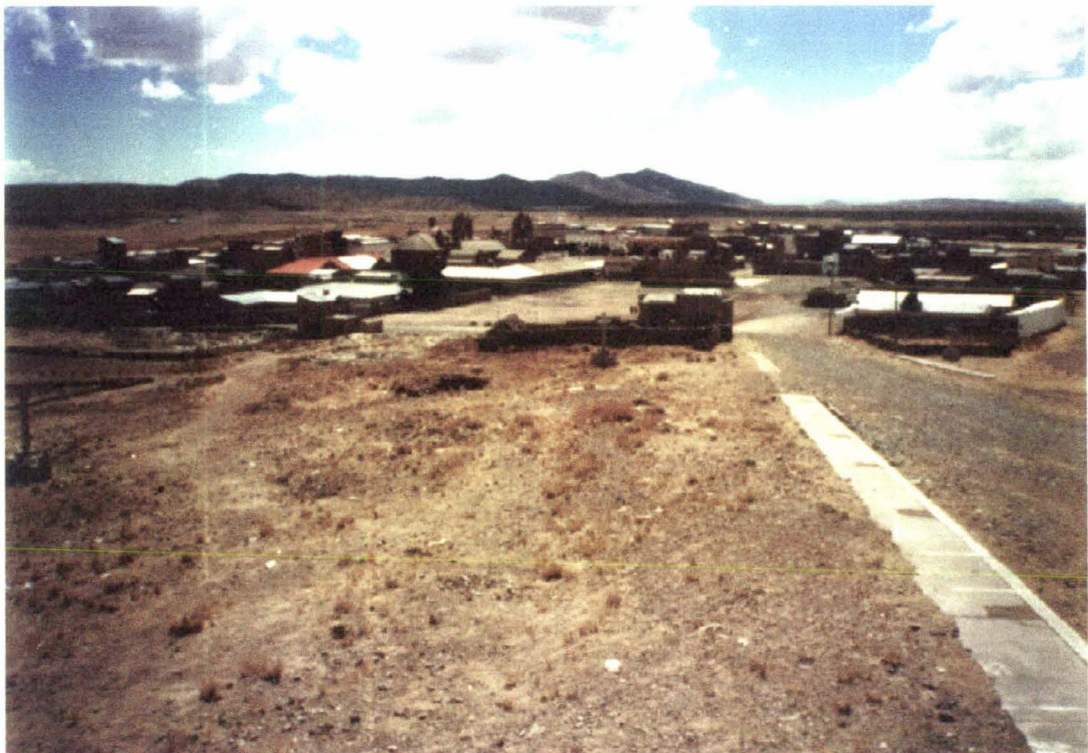
²³ The Church was begun in the late 1500s and was last modified in 1680; it is in a barroco mestizo style.

Plate 2
Main church of Laja



Source: Rapson 2003

Plate 3
View of Laja from the hill behind the community



Source: Rapson 2003

Nearly all homes (80.41%, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001) are privately owned and 90.83% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001) are mud brick (*adobe*) constructions. The older and cheaper *adobes* prevail around the main square (older constructions) and on the outskirts of the town where the lower economic groups live, with the few, newer constructions being made of brick. There are two dirt soccer fields²⁴, a basketball court and an open-air handball court, all of which are rundown and in dismal condition.

There are two cemeteries; one on top of the hill behind the town and the other on the outskirts of the town between Laja itself and the main highway. Both cemeteries have Catholic chapels adjacent. There is one medical facility on the main square, as is the one primary school. The one secondary school is on the outskirts of town on the road to La Paz (before the intersection with the main highway).

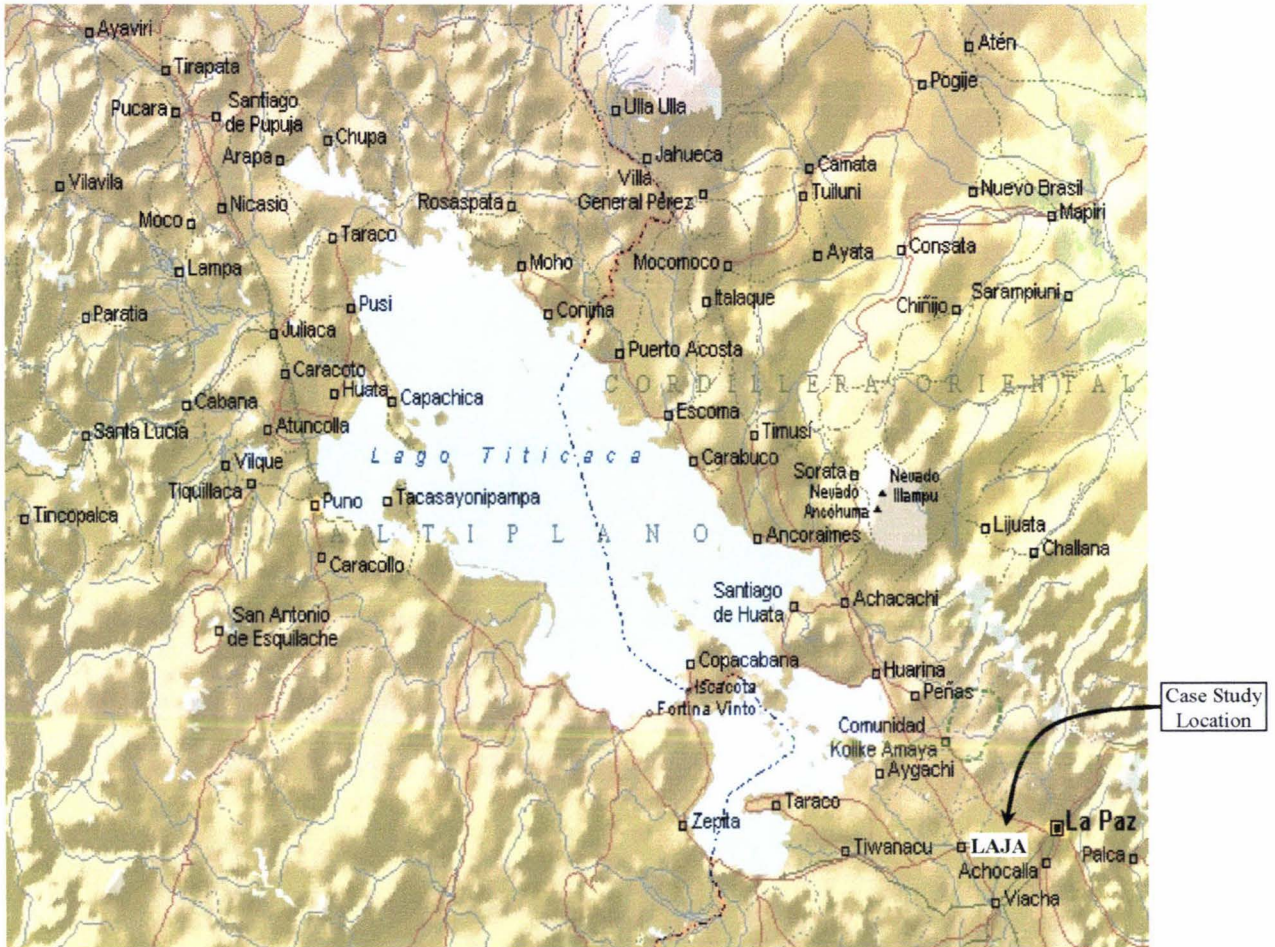
There is a total absence of privately owned vehicles²⁵ but there is a regular public bus service to La Paz. Mini-buses arrive to and depart from the main square approximately every 30 minutes during the day. The trip to La Paz takes a little over an hour (45 minutes to El Alto) and costs 2.70 Bolivianos (approximately NZ \$0.75c).

According to the 2001 Bolivian National Census, the Municipal District of Laja has a population of 707 inhabitants (355 women and 352 men) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001), making it the third largest of the 65 rural communities which form the Municipality of Laja, itself home to a total population of 16 311 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001). The Municipality of Laja covers an area of 75 285 Hectares. The location of the township of Laja on the Aymaran Altiplano is shown on Map 2.

²⁴ There was literally not a blade of grass on the field, although this does not stop frequent (weekly) and very competitive inter-community soccer matches, one of which I had the opportunity to observe (Sunday 7th September).

²⁵ The absence of vehicles becomes vividly apparent on weekends when the odd vehicle appears from La Paz.

Map 2
Laja and Lake Titicaca



Source: <http://www.peru-explorer.com>

One of the key foundations for the concept of ethnodevelopment is the presence of a strong, active cultural identity. This chapter has shown that the Aymaran people have maintained such a cultural identity for a long time. Through history and despite the efforts of outsiders, this identity remains strong and Bolivia today is primarily an indigenous country, with 62% of citizens identifying themselves with a particular indigenous group. Therefore Bolivia, and more specifically the rural community of Laja, makes an ideal location for testing ethnodevelopment.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

In this chapter I will detail the research methodology used in this study and write up the fieldwork that I undertook. Initially, I will explain why Laja was chosen as the location for my fieldwork, and then the information that was required to carry out the study will be set out in detail along with an explanation of the methodologies that I chose to utilize to obtain this information. Next, an explanation will be made of the people that were chosen to participate in the study and in the second part of the chapter I will explain the fieldwork that I undertook, mentioning many key considerations that significantly affected the research.

As explained in Chapter 2, Partridge et al. set out ten conditions which characterize ethnodevelopment (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 8). These ten conditions reflect quite consistently the conditions proposed by earlier authors such as Hettne (Hettne 1993, p. 6); however they adopt a more operational approach than had earlier been taken. This operational focus was consistent with the evolution of ethnodevelopment from a merely theoretical concept to a practical discipline with the first implementation efforts being undertaken in the early 1990s.

The ten characteristics proposed by Partridge et al. as conditions for ethnodevelopment are the following:

1. Possession of secure property rights to territory, land, water and other resources that are duly demarcated and titled.
2. Maintenance of food security through protecting and enhancing culturally appropriate activities including hunting and gathering, farming, fishing and animal husbandry.
3. Promotion of income-producing activities, including agriculture, craft production and wage labour, which lead to investment and improvement in the quality of life and well-being of the entire community.

4. Priority accorded to improving health conditions, including basic services such as potable water and sanitation measures, disease prevention and cures.
5. Maintenance of strong social organizations and the encouragement and enhancement of the ability to protect property, human and civil rights.
6. Respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of indigenous people.
7. Support for bilingual and multicultural education and training.
8. Granting political “voice” to indigenous people, including the acknowledgement by the government of political and human rights as citizens, the right to vote, equal participation and representation, and the promotion of indigenous legislation.
9. Respectful interaction and interchange with the national society and world including government and nongovernmental organizations, international development organizations and religious groups.
10. Promoting the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation.

It is the objective of my thesis to examine the extent to which these ten criteria satisfactorily represent the ideal conditions for ethnodevelopment. To do this I will ask questions such as; are any of the above mentioned conditions superfluous? Are there other factors that are more important but that have been overlooked? Or do these ten conditions adequately explain the reality of development that protects and promotes the interest of ethnic groups? Implicit in this analysis will be the issue of how the conditions for ethnodevelopment differ from those of other theories of alternative development. How do cultural issues need to be identified and promoted through the development processes?

To investigate these issues within the context of the Aymara culture I choose the rural community of Laja to serve as a case study.

Choosing Laja

I choose Laja as the centre of my investigation for three main reasons. Firstly, because it is made up of a predominately Aymara population, secondly, because it is a rural community and thirdly, because it is large enough to be classified as a municipal district.

Despite having become “*an endless source of investigation and study*” (Berg and Schiffers 1992, p. 16) it is still an immense challenge to try and understand the Aymara people. For centuries they have endeavoured to maintain their unique cultural identity and despite the consequences of the Inca invasion, Spanish invasion and the Republican State of Bolivia they have managed to do this better than most indigenous cultures in Latin America.

Barnadas et al. conclude the following;

The Aymara, more than other Andean human groups, has a strong group spirit and cultural identity and have collectively resisted cultural disintegration better than their neighbours, and have lead, on various occasions different ethnocentric movements.

(Barnadas et al. 1976, p. 26)

Xavier Albo recognized in his 1980 publication KHITĪPXTANSA ¿Quienes somos? (*Who are we?*), writing on the Aymara of the rural Altiplano;

There was all the written tradition, of anthropologists, authors and others, that made the Aymara out as an impenetrable enigma and with a series of negative attributes.

(Albo 1980, p. 478)

Since coming to Bolivia in April 1994, I have been fascinated by the Aymaran people and have long strived to start to understand their complex culture and to try and break into this impenetrable enigma. Having lived in the World's two largest conglomerations of Aymara people for over five years; La Paz (1994) and El Alto (1999-2003) and two years in the predominately Aymaran rural community of Coroico (1995-1996) have given me a deep curiosity to know more.

Although the Quechua now outnumber the Aymara in Bolivia, the Aymara are still the historical dwellers of the Altiplano and the choice to study them was a straight forward one.

According to the 2001 Census, 83% of the population of Laja identified themselves as Aymara²⁶ (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001) and during my study 96% of those that I interviewed classified themselves as “100% Aymara”, thus Laja can clearly be defined as an Aymaran township, thus comfortably fulfilled the first requirement that I had established for the location of my fieldwork.

Once I had decided that I wanted to investigate ethnodevelopment within the Aymara people, the question became exactly where to study this. I wanted to get away from the city and research a rural community. Although either of the cities of La Paz or El Alto would have given me a wide scope of possible investigation with the Aymara people, I decide that a small rural community was more likely to provide a more practical and realistic case study for analyzing ethnodevelopment than would an urban centre. The levels of human development are much more advanced in the cities than in the country side and the ten principles of ethnodevelopment, although applicable in an urban context; appear to have more relevance through their application in a rural context, as that is where there is more poverty.

Also, identifying myself in Robert Chamber's compelling description of the urban trap; “*Foreigners are also urban-based and urban-biased*” (Chambers 1983, p. 9) confirmed my desire to undertake rural research. The Municipal District of Laja, with a population of 707 falls into the classification of rural²⁷. In fact all of the Municipal Districts and communities that make up the Municipality of Laja are defined as rural.

The third condition that I had established for selecting the community where I would undertake my research was that it was large enough to be classified as a Municipal district. The Republic of Bolivia is divided into nine Departments for political and administrative purposes. The nine departments are shown on Map 3.

²⁶ In the 2001 census, 15% did not identify themselves with any particular indigenous group and only 2% identified themselves as Quechua.

²⁷ According to Article 28 of the #24447 Supreme Decree (1996), an area is defined as urban if it has a population in excess of 2000 inhabitants.

Map 3
Bolivia by department



Source: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bolivia.html>

These Departments are in turn divided into provinces of which there are 110. The next political – administrative classification is the Provincial Section, or Municipality, of which there are currently 314 (set to increase to at least 320 for the next Municipal

elections in December 2004). Each Municipality is made up of numerous Municipal Districts according to the size of the Municipality.

In Bolivia, most useful statistical information is available at either the Municipal or Municipal district level. The municipal level was too large a geographical division for my research therefore I choose to go down one level to the Municipal District, that is, from the Municipality of Laja to the Municipal District of Laja (essentially made up of the community of Laja itself). This enabled me to obtain important statistical information to use as a cross check to the statistics that I obtained from my survey.

Therefore, Laja satisfied each of the three conditions that I established as selection criteria for the place where my research would be carried out. It is a predominantly Aymaran, rural community at the municipal district level.

The Information Requirements

In order to evaluate the conditions for ethnodevelopment I prepared a set of information requirements for each of the ten conditions. An eleventh category was also added; an evaluation of the existence of ethnodevelopment. For each of these eleven categories a broad set of information requirements was then used as a basis for preparing specific questionnaires containing the questions that would give the data that would be required to satisfy the information requirements.

The aggregations of fulfilled information requirements will allow me to make an evaluation of each of the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. and also make some conclusions on the presence or absence of ethnodevelopment in Laja.

Table 6 shows the information requirements that I identified for this research.

Table 6
Information Requirements and Sources

Ethnodevelopment Category	Information Requirement	Research Methodology	Information Source
1. Existence of property rights to territory, land and water?	1.1 Does Bolivian law allow legal title to land and water?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Lawyer
	1.2 Does the law grant any special privileges or impose specific difficulties on indigenous peoples?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Lawyer
	1.3 Do people in Laja have legal title to their properties?	➤ Semi-structured interviews ➤ Internet Research	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	1.4 Are there restrictions in the use of land and water?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Lawyer
	1.5 History of land issues/disputes in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Lawyer ➤ Aymaran advisor
2. Degree of food security?	2.1 Do shortages of food exist?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	2.2 How are shortages met?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ World Health Organization
	2.3 General dietary habits of Aymara?	➤ Semi-structured interviews ➤ Internet research	➤ World Health Organization ➤ Ministry of Health ➤ Household representatives

Ethnodevelopment Category	Information Requirement	Research Methodology	Information Source
3. Existence of income-producing activities and investment?	3.1 What are the main economic activities that take place in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Local bank manager (or equivalent)
	3.2 Socio-economic profile of Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Local bank manager (or equivalent)
	3.3 Patterns of investment in the Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Local bank manager (or equivalent)
4. Health conditions?	4.1 Existence of health care providers in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household Representatives ➤ Local health clinic
	4.2 General sanitary conditions in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household Representatives ➤ Local health clinic
	4.3 Health conditions of residents?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Local health clinic ➤ National Statistics Institute ➤ World Health Organization ➤ Ministry of Health
	4.4 General health conditions of Aymara?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Semi-structured interviews ➤ Internet research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ministry of Health ➤ World Health Organization ➤ National Statistics Institute

Ethnodevelopment Category	Information Requirement	Research Methodology	Information Source
5. Existence of strong social organizations?	5.1 Existence of social organizations in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	5.2 Role of these organizations in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	5.3 Attitudes of Laja's residents towards these organizations?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	5.4 General role of social organizations in Aymara culture?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Aymaran advisor
6. Respect for cultural self-identity?	6.1 Respect for and protection of Aymaran cultural identity in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	6.2 Respect for cultural elements on behalf of outsider organizations in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household Representatives
	6.3 Respect for cultural self-identity within Aymara overall	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Aymaran advisor
7. Existence of bilingual education?	7.1 Existence of bilingual education in Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Local School Principal (or equivalent)
	7.2 Existence of bilingual education to Aymara in general	➤ Semi-structured interviews ➤ Internet research	➤ Local School Principal (or equivalent) ➤ Household representatives ➤ Aymaran advisor

Ethnodevelopment Category	Information Requirement	Research Methodology	Information Source
8. Existence of political “voice”?	8.1 Full human rights to residents of Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Lawyer ➤ Aymaran advisor
	8.2 Full political rights to residents of Laja?	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Lawyer ➤ Aymaran advisor
	8.3 Indigenous (Aymara) representation in politics	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Lawyer ➤ Aymaran advisor
	8.4 Existence of indigenous legislation	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lawyer ➤ Aymaran advisor
9. Interaction with national and international organizations	9.1 Existence of interaction with national and international organizations	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household Representatives
	9.2 General attitudes of residents of Laja towards outside organizations	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	9.3 General attitudes of Aymara towards outside organizations	➤ Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Aymaran advisor

Ethnodevelopment Category	Information Requirement	Research Methodology	Information Source
10. Involvement in natural resource conservation?	10.1 Existence of initiatives to conserve natural resources	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	10.2 Participation of residents of Laja in such initiatives	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ SIRENARE (Government regulatory agency for natural resources)
	10.3 General attitudes of residents of Laja towards natural resource conservation	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives
	10.4 General attitudes of Aymara towards natural resource conservation	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Aymaran advisor ➤ SIRENARE (Government regulatory agency for natural resources)
11. Existence of ethnodevelopment?	11.1 Objective Indicators	➤ Background Research	➤ National Statistics Institute (INE)
	11.2 Subjective Indicators	➤ Semi-structured interviews	➤ Key community representatives ➤ Household representatives ➤ Aymaran advisor ➤ Local bank manager (or equivalent)

The Research Methodologies

The principle research methodology that I used was the semi-structured interview of the different stakeholders involved in and affected by the development process. The semi-structured interview technique was chosen as the most appropriate methodology because it allowed me the flexibility to obtain the specific information desired whilst leaving the possibility for the interviewees to offer information and opinions that were not specifically asked for.

An informal interview approach was rejected due to the high possibility of distraction and “drifting” within the conversation and it was considered that a completely structured technique would not allow the flexibility to obtain additional informal information that it was expected would be offered and that was desirable to have.

I spent a lot of time deciding whether to use any other research methodologies. Different Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technologies were analyzed, including focus group exercises such as participatory mapping, preference ranking or seasonal diagramming; however after much consideration I choose to use just the semi-structured interviews²⁸. There were two main reasons for this decision:

- a) The wide variety of information requirements.

Due to the fact that I needed data on eleven different subject areas and that the depth of information required for each of these areas was not necessarily very extensive, group exercises were impractical. My experience in the field over the last ten years has shown me that the strength of the majority of PRA techniques is that when you can spend a reasonable length of time on one issue and explore different facets of it extensively, then PRA allows you to do that.

However, when you prefer to have some quick, short observations to a long list of points a participant interview is more efficient both in terms of time and effort in

²⁸ The semi-structured interview is a central component of all participatory research methods (Pretty and Vodouchê, nd, accessed 2003, p. 7)

relation to the results that will be obtained. In order to ensure that the interviews were not just directed, response-prompting activities, the style of interview was semi-structured with numerous open ended questions included.

b) The culture of the target population.

The second, and more important, reason why semi-structured interviews were utilized in place of other PRA techniques was because of the culture of the Aymaran people. Traditionally a very introverted people who are very suspicious of outsiders I considered it very probable that a group exercise would be dominated by only one or two people. Although there are undeniably ways to minimize this I decided that the best way to get twenty peoples opinions would be to speak individually to each one of them.

One of the fundamental requirements for success with any PRA technique is that there are participants willing to take part in the group activities. In Laja, it was difficult to get people to speak with me, often because they feared what other people from Laja would think. In this context a group activity was out of the question because people simply would not give their opinions in front of other people. In most cases they would not even have been prepared to participate in such an event.

The Information Sources

For each of the information requirements I prepared specific questions that were then grouped into questionnaires for the different information sources.

I decided to prepare a complete questionnaire for a select group of people whom I considered could speak with authority on most, if not all the issues. This group will be known as the *Key Community Representatives* and will be made up of the Mayor of the town, the President of the Municipal Council and the President of the Municipal

Vigilance Committee²⁹. I planned to hold semi-structured, individual, private interviews with each of these three community authorities.

The second main primary source of information will be called *Household Representatives*. This group will be randomly selected from households in the community. Due to the wide breadth of information requirements and the many questions that were needed to obtain this data, I decided to implement a interpenetrative interview technique, whereby some questions were asked to all household representatives and others to only one of three groups that were formed. This reduced the interview time by approximately a third meaning that people were less likely to become bored or tired and were more likely to give high quality responses.

As mentioned, there were a number of key questions for which I wanted feedback from as many people as possible. These were questions related to the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja, there were nine of them:

1. What things do you do, which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymara?
2. What measures do you take to protect your cultural identity as an Aymara?
3. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? How? Why?
4. Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years? How? Why?
5. How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity?
6. In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years?
7. How have levels of employment in Laja changed over the last five years?
8. How has your quality of life changed over the last five years?

²⁹ The Mayor of Laja is democratically elected every five years. In these same elections five Municipal Counsellors are also elected, the head of this Municipal Counsel is called the President of the Municipal Counsel and s/he always represents the opposition party (to provide a counter-balance with the Mayor). The Vigilance Counsel is made up of representatives from wider society who are elected to supervise and control to ensure that the activities set out for the year are actually undertaken. The operation of the Vigilance Counsel is a key element in the wider decentralization and popular participation process in Bolivia.

9. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development?

In order to make a quantitative judgement on these issues I decided that all of the household representatives should be asked these questions and so they were put on each questionnaire. The other issues, relating to one of the ten conditions of ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al., were divided into three groups. The reason for this, apart from the principal motivation of reducing the size of the questionnaire, was that many questions did not need many responses because they were straight forward and objectively verifiable, for example;

1. How many schools are there in Laja?
2. What national social organizations are active in Laja?
3. What national or international NGOs work in Laja?
4. Do you know of any outside agency that works in the conservation of natural resources?

Other issues did call upon more subjective opinion but I decided that they weren't as crucial as the central ethnodevelopment issues and that a lesser quantity of responses would be sufficient to enable me to make a qualitative commentary on the particular condition for ethnodevelopment. Therefore both qualitative and quantitative information was collected and both qualitative and quantitative judgements and conclusions will be drawn.

To ensure the equal representation of both women and men in the household interviews, initially people were randomly interviewed on the streets or by knocking on doors. Tallies were kept of how many women and men were answering each specific questionnaire. Once trends become apparent women were specifically selected to answer the questionnaires where more men have answered and vice versa to obtain as close to a 50-50 balance on each of the three questionnaires as possible.

Other primary sources of information in the community who were to be interviewed were representatives from the health and education sectors. These sources were only asked the questions directly relating to the area or areas in which their input was

required, although they were invited to make general observations or comments as were all the participants.

Although I had initially planned to interview a representative from the financial sector, such as the Director of a Bank or other financial institution, in order to obtain information over the economic situation in Laja and investment patterns there, it was discovered that no such entity existed in Laja. Consequently the data that I was to have obtained from this source had to be obtained from the key community representatives and the household representatives as appropriate.

A number of secondary sources were also selected for each point in order to provide independent, neutral verification to either support or challenge the results obtained from the primary sources. These sources were outside experts who I deemed could make an important contribution to the process of investigation. An example is the issue of the existence of legal property titles. Although it was crucial to hear from the town's authorities and general citizens it was equally important to hear from a Municipal Lawyer with expertise in this issue to ensure that a possible lack of knowledge on behalf of the town's residents didn't affect the validity of the research.

These *outside experts* included representatives from the Ministry of Health, the World Health Organization, the National Statistics Institute, the Governmental Regulatory Institution for Naturally Renewable Resources and Lawyers with expertise in indigenous issues. Lastly, an expert on Aymara culture was consulted. This person, the *Aymara advisor* was an authority figure from the wider Aymara community and he was asked to give his opinion on most areas of interest in order to obtain a wider perspective of how these issues affect the Aymara people.

Once my research methodologies had been established and all the questionnaires had been prepared, I submitted them, along with an ethics discussion document for approval internally within the Institute of Development Studies at Massey University. Numerous recommendations for improvement were made, and the respective adjustments realized before Dr. Barbara Nowak, Dr. Susan Maiava and Dr. Donovan Storey authorized the research on August 18th.

The Fieldwork

The fieldwork itself was undertaken from August 26th to October 8th, 2003. Numerous full days were spent in the community of Laja over that period and some people (both primary and secondary sources) were interviewed in the city of La Paz.

Unfortunately the fieldwork was interrupted due to serious incidents of social unrest on the *altiplano*. From September 15th until October 17th indigenous (predominately Aymaran) country folk blocked numerous roads all over the *altiplano*. The blockades were originally in protest at the potential Governmental move of exporting natural gas through Chile³⁰ but were later used to express frustration and discontent at the Government in general and the lack of attention that is being given to both indigenous issues and more general complaints from wider society. The main *hot spots* in the country blockades (where a number of deaths occurred) was around Achacachi and the roads to Sorata and Copacabana but the highway to Laja, Tiahuanacu and Desaguadero was also blocked off and travel was discouraged by all foreign embassies and representatives.

This caused a particularly frustrating period for me due to the fact that I had programmed to use the weeks from September 15th to 26th to interview authorities in Laja who are absent during weekends (as they live in La Paz) when most of my research up until that point had been undertaken. I was unable to travel to Laja and my field work was effectively cut off as from September 15th (my last day in Laja was the Saturday 13th September).

I had been well aware of the possibility that protests of this nature may occur and had taken this risk into account in planning the fieldwork. I had actually mentioned this risk in the thesis proposal that I submitted in December 2002, at which time I concluded that

³⁰ Bolivia has recently discovered vast reserves of natural gas which have opened the possibility of exporting this resource to California (U.S.A.) and/or Mexico (as well as the current export market of Brazil). The Government is currently (October 2003) analyzing whether to transport the natural gas through Peru or Chile. Chile, while arguably more convenient from an economic view point, is not an acceptable option for many Bolivians due to historical reasons – Bolivia lost their sea coast in the Pacific War to Chile in 1884 and in the process became a landlocked nation. This event has never been forgotten and diplomatic relations between Chile and Bolivia have never been fully restored.

even if protests of this nature occurred I should still be able to conclude the thesis transferring the research to another destination³¹. However, the timing could not have been worse, by September 15th the majority of the household interviews had been done but I still needed to speak with the School Director, the Director of the Medical Clinic and the President of the Municipal Counsel (all of whom live in La Paz but work in Laja Monday to Friday) in order to have complete data. I also wanted to undertake more household surveys because in two of the three household questionnaires I needed more female feedback in order to achieve the 50-50 gender balance that I had planned for.

The important role of Laja in terms of the organization of social protest movements was something I learnt first hand on one of my weekends in Laja (Sunday 7th September) when the town became a gathering point for hundreds of begrudged indigenous farmers to start a protest march to La Paz. To the detonation of dynamite and chants of “*Que muera el Presidente Gringo*” (Death to the Gringo³² President!) and “*Que muera el neo-liberalism*” (Death to Neo-liberalism!) the angry groups stormed past me (with looks characterised by unbelief and astonishment that I was there) and out onto the road to La Paz. Later that evening when I was returning to El Alto by public transport the minibus that I was travelling in was forced to take a detour to pass the group that was blocking the flow of traffic to the cities of La Paz and El Alto.

Unfortunately, the social unrest that began with protest marches and blockades across the altiplano became more intense in the month of October. On the weekend of the 11th and 12th of October, indigenous protestors and military forces clashed in the city of El Alto with over 50 people killed over the two days. This led to a widespread call for the resignation of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, from a variety of social organizations and political parties.

As the week of 13th – 17th of October past the situation became increasingly more delicate. The cities of El Alto and La Paz were totally paralyzed by protests and sporadic acts of armed conflict, and other cities throughout Bolivia also started to

³¹ By mid-September, with 26 household interviews already done transferring to another destination was not a viable alternative.

³² Although technically referring to people from the United States of America the expression gringo is more widely used in Bolivia to mean any foreigner. The ex-President of Bolivia, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, who lived for many years and was educated in the United States, is often labelled a gringo.

become centres of violent protest. By Friday October 17th, the President wrote a letter to the National Congress confirming his resignation and fled with his family and numerous Cabinet ministers to the United States of America.

Vice-President Carlos Mesa, who had successfully distanced himself from the previous president and his party over the issue of the civilian casualties (which rose to a total of 79), was sworn in as the new President and a tense calm descended over the country.

Even when the residents of Laja were not directly involved in protest activities, there was always a very evident hostility towards me as an outsider, and worse as a gringo. I had expected the people in Laja, as in all small rural Aymaran communities, to be reserved, timid and perhaps distrustful but the near-aggressive attitude was surprising. I recorded more than a dozen people who forthrightly and with no indecision or pity completely refused to talk to me, much less to participate in the survey.

I was told that there had already been many university studies done in Laja (which is possibly very true) and that they were too busy (which is also possibly very true) but I was also told that “I just don’t want to talk to you” and, on at least four occasions I was asked how much I was paying for an interview, if the price was right they would consider participating. Upon explaining that there were no payments for participating many turned angrily away (although others did decide to participate regardless).

Some people shut themselves inside when they saw me approach. There was a total suspicion and lack of trust of outsiders who are seen as possible agents from the Government or from different political parties who have been proven to be dishonest and even openly deceitful in their dealings with indigenous country people in the past. The letter of introduction from my thesis supervisor, Dr. Barbara Nowak and my Massey University Student I.D. card were read by several potential participants but often made little headway in convincing some people to take part.

The excessive formalism which characterises Bolivia was also evident in my fieldwork. Despite having the letter of introduction and Massey I.D. card, some authority figures (including the Mayor of Laja) asked me to write another letter, directed specifically to them asking permission to interview them, before they would take part in the study.

In honour to fairness, I must add that some people were happy to participate and took the time to answer the questions as best as they could. However, even in these cases, it was an inquisitiveness that characterized their attitude more than any semblance of friendliness.

The ability to return to Laja on numerous occasions over a relatively long period of time (nearly a month) meant that some people became more open to the idea of talking with me with the passing of time. One particular gentleman (who never told me his name) who was openly hostile when I met him early on my first morning in Laja later approached me, on one of my return visits, to chat about everything from the weather, to politics to football, but refused until the very end to officially participate in the study.

A number of initial meetings were held with Mr. David Mamani³³, Mayor of Laja, to coordinate the research. Mr. Mamani was very helpful and willing to allow the research to be undertaken within his jurisdiction. It was however, often logistically difficult to actually hold meetings with him, and this delayed the start of the research.

Due to the social unrest and political instability I was unable to speak to the other community representatives that I had prepared questionnaires for. It was not possible for me to interview the President of the Municipal Counsel, the President of the Vigilance Counsel, the Director of the local high school, or the Director of the medical clinic. The inability to speak to these people probably didn't significantly affect the results of the field work. Although it may have been beneficial to have additional opinions on some issues, the household surveys provided the majority of the information that I would have received from these sources.

For the reasons mentioned above, it was also not possible to interview the number of households representatives that I had initially planned to interview. Given that the total population of the Municipal District of Laja is 707 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001) my initial desire had been to interview 71 people and thus obtain a survey sample

³³ Real names have been changed to protect the identity of the participants.

of 10% of the population. After the first two days of interviewing, however, it was apparent that this figure was not realistic.

In order to evaluate the degree of coverage of my survey it is important to analyse the demographic breakdown of Laja.

Table 7
Demographic breakdown of the population of Laja

Age group	Women	Men	Total
0-9 years	78	82	160
10-19 years	59	66	125
20-29 years	54	44	98
30-39 years	52	47	99
40-49 years	36	28	64
50-59 years	29	29	58
60-69 years	23	19	42
70-79 years	20	28	48
80-89 years	4	9	13
Total	355	352	707

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2001

In my research I asked the participants to which of three age groups they belonged. The results are shown on Table 8.

Table 8
Participants in research by age group

Age group		Percentage
Under 30 years	9	34.62
30-50 years	7	26.92
Over 50 years	10	38.46
Total	26	100

Therefore it can be seen that I interviewed 4.04% (9/223) of people aged between 10-29 years³⁴, 4.29% (7/163) of people aged between 30-50 years and 6.21% (10/161) of people aged over 50. Another way of analyzing the degree of coverage is that I spoke with 26 people out of a total of 240 households. Therefore 10.83% of the households of Laja were represented in the study.

This amount of participation is sufficient to be able to make some preliminary conclusions on the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja, which is the central focus of my thesis. Obviously more detailed research would be required before full, complete conclusions could be drawn.

For the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment (with the exception of the sixth condition – respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of the indigenous people – for which feedback was received from all 26 participants) only one third of those interviewed answered questions relating to any one specific condition. This is because the questions on the ten conditions were spread across three separate questionnaires. Unfortunately, this means that only eight or nine people answered questions on the remaining nine conditions for ethnodevelopment. The number is far too small to be able to extract any firm conclusions but rather essentially qualitative commentaries³⁵ are made on each of these conditions, in the following chapter.

Although the numbers of participants are low (especially from the point of view of the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment) the decision to divide the household questionnaire into three separate questionnaires was still a good one. A complete questionnaire (three times longer than those that I used) would have been totally inappropriate given the hostile environment in which I had to pose the questions. In many cases I had to plea to the participants to finish the questionnaire and if it had been any longer I would have been fortunate to get any results at all. Therefore, although the numbers are low, they are the best that could be achieved under the circumstances.

As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons that I needed to undertake more household surveys was to try and correct the gender imbalance that had occurred up

³⁴ No body under the age of 10 was interviewed.

³⁵ The numbers will be presented in any case, for the sake of completeness.

until that time because there had been more men than women willing to participate in the survey. For the women of Laja, the natural suspicion of outsiders was probably increased because I was male and they were less likely to accept to be questioned.

The breakdown of the quantity of women and men interviewed for each of the three household representative's surveys is shown in Table 9.

Table 9
Household survey statistics

Survey	Women	Men	Total
Household Representatives "A"	5	4	9
Household Representatives "B"	2	6	8
Household Representatives "C"	3	6	9
Total	10	16	26

As mentioned earlier in this chapter a number of secondary sources were consulted to provide further background information on the key areas of interest in the study. In many cases the institution that I approached simply referred me to their Web Page instead of giving me an interview. In some cases (Ministry of Health, World Health Organization) the web page provided sufficient information and so I pressed the matter no further. In other cases (Instituto Nacional de Estadística - INE, the Naturally Renewable Resources Superintendence - SIRENARE) I spoke with representatives of the organizations that I had identified. A list of the secondary sources that I consulted is shown on Table 10.

Table 10
Secondary sources consulted

	Name	Position	Questionnaire	Date
1	Johnny Suxo	Director of National Accounts	INE	September 16 th
2	Eduardo Quiroga	Land Specialist	SIRENARE	September 16 th
3	Efrain Paz	Mayor of Pucarani	Aymaran Advisor	October 8 th
4	Mauricio Riveros	President of the Bolivian Society of Municipal Lawyers	Lawyer	October 8 th

Although it may have been beneficial to interview more secondary sources I decided to emphasize the results obtained from the household representatives and compare these results with the quite extensive amount of statistical information that was available from different sources on the Internet, especially the Bolivian National Statistics Institute web page www.ine.gov.bo .

Therefore, the dramatic events which lead to the resignation of President Sanchez de Lozada on October 17th meant that I was unable to carry out all the fieldwork that I had originally planned. Many of the authority figures that I would have liked to have spoken to, were unavailable and the closed nature of the Aymaran people meant that I was also unable to interview the full amount of residents of Laja that I had desired. This lead to a gender imbalance that I had originally planned to avoid, but in practise was unable to correct.

Fortunately the secondary sources (although I also interviewed less of these than I had originally planned) that I spoke to were very helpful and provide lots of high quality information. In the next chapter I will set out the results that I obtained in the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In this chapter I will show the results of the survey that I undertook and will analyze and evaluate these results as well as the information received from the secondary information sources. I will not yet initiate an in-depth discussion on the implications of these findings; this will be done in the following chapter.

As explained in Chapter 4 on Research Methodologies and Fieldwork my investigation was focussed around eleven key areas, the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment as set out by Partridge et al. and an eleventh aspect; the existence of ethnodevelopment. I will evaluate the results obtained in each one of the ten areas proposed by Partridge et al. in this chapter and will investigate the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja in Chapter 6.

Also noted in Chapter 4, the number of people that I interviewed was lower than I had originally expected. For each of the three individual household questionnaires that I prepared, only eight or nine participants were interviewed, and the total number of participants in my research was 26. This means that the conclusions that I state for the ten conditions of ethnodevelopment are very preliminary conclusions. The exception is the sixth condition, respect for the cultural self-identity of the indigenous people, for which I received feedback from all 26 participants. Where possible and where appropriate I have included statistics from secondary sources to either support or challenge the numbers that I personally obtained in Laja.

The conclusions on the existence of ethnodevelopment are more trustworthy given that I obtained feedback from 26 people on this issue.

The ten conditions for ethnodevelopment

1. Possession of secure property rights to territory, land, water and other resources that are duly demarcated and titled.

The first condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. centres on the ability of indigenous people to obtain legal title to their properties and the other resources, including water, that are fundamental to their existence and livelihood.

In order to ascertain the degree to which the people of Laja hold legal title to their territories and resources I included four questions on one of the household questionnaires and consulted a Municipal Lawyer.

The questions that I asked in the household survey and the responses that I obtained are shown on Tables 11 to 13.

➤ Do you have legal title to your property?

Table 11
Legal title of property held in Laja

Legal title held?		Percentage
Yes	4	44
No	2	22
Renting	2	22
No reply	1	11
Total	9	100

Nearly half of the survey's participants have the legal paperwork for their properties in order and only 22% of those interviewed didn't. Many expressed that this is a new occurrence due to the fact that it is just in the last few years that the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) have been resolving land disputes and issuing official titles to the owners of properties.

➤ If not, what holds you back from obtaining this title?

Of the two participants that stated that they did not have legal title one said that the reason for him not having legal title was financial (due to the need to pay for the legal paperwork required to obtain the legal title) and the other did not offer an explanation to justify the absence of title.

- Approximately how many of your friends hold legal title to their property?

Table 12

Legal title of property held in Laja (friends)

How many friends hold title?		Percentage
All	3	33
Nearly all	1	11
About half	2	22
Hardly any	1	11
None	-	0
No Reply	2	22
Total	9	100

Those participants who held legal title to their land expressed that nearly all, or all of the people they knew, held such legal title. Of the four who held title two answered “all”, one “nearly all” and one “about half”. One person who was renting was the third to answer “all”. Of the two who did not have legal title to their properties one answered that “about half” would have such title and the other thought that “hardly any” have such title. Mayor David Mamani estimated that 40% would hold legal title.

- Do you know of anyone who has had their land title taken away from them?
How? Why?

Table 13

Land title confiscated in Laja

Land title confiscated?		Percentage
No	5	56
Yes	2	22
No reply	2	22
Total	9	100

Only two of the people interviewed knew of anyone who had their legal title taken away from them. The first case was where land had been confiscated in order for the local Government to create what in Bolivia is commonly called a green area (that is, a park). This comment was directly contradictory to the statements made by Mayor David Mamani who stated that the local Government had never confiscated privately held land and that; in fact, it was more common for people to take possession of public land through the strong protection that Bolivian law grants to squatters. The second participant who knew of someone who had had their land confiscated was referring to a time when paramilitary officials took (public) land for their own use.

In terms of water Dr. Riveros, the Municipal Lawyer who I interviewed, clarified that Bolivian law does not contemplate the possibility that individual people, or communities, hold title over water. This resource, according to the Constitution of Bolivia, belongs to the State. Water is considered a national asset, or resource, which is provided to the citizens at a fee in the cities by concessionary water companies who pay tariffs to the state for the right to provide water to the population at a profit that has been negotiated with and approved by the Government. In the countryside, water is essentially free as it is collected from rivers and streams. In Laja water rates are charged.

From the feedback that I received and the information obtained from the complimentary sources I would conclude that the first condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. is fulfilled in Laja. Secure property titles are possible and, in most cases, held and although legal title over water resources are not held this is because that is the national policy regarding this resource.

2. Maintenance of food security through protecting and enhancing culturally appropriate activities including hunting and gathering, farming, fishing and animal husbandry.

Food security is a complex issue, therefore a number of different questions were included in the household questionnaire on this area. The questions and responses are detailed in Tables 14 to 20.

- What are the foods you most eat?

Table 14
Foods eaten in Laja

Foods most eaten?	
Potatoes	7
Chuño*	6
Rice	2
Vegetables	2
Tunta*	1
Yams	1
Pasta	1

**Chuño* is a potato that is frozen and dried over a period of weeks to create a small dense potato that is black. *Tunta* is also a dried potato but it is frozen in rivers so consequently maintains a white appearance

Potatoes and *chuño* are clearly the foods that are most eaten in Laja. These are grown or processed locally as are the *tunta* and the yams, and some of the vegetables. The rice and pasta are purchased commercially in the shops in Laja as are the rest of the vegetables – which essentially refers to green vegetable such as beans and peas.

The heavily carbohydrate diet would be supplemented occasionally by meat, chicken or eggs although the fact that these were not mentioned at all is an indication of the lack of frequency with which they are consumed.

- Do you grow any of your own food, or obtain it by hunting or fishing?

Table 15
Own food grown in Laja

Own food grown?		Percentage
Yes	8	89
No	1	11
Total	9	100

As is evident in Table 15, nearly 90% of the residents of Laja that I interviewed grow some or all of their own food. Hunting and fishing are not practised in Laja; it is agricultural farming production that is being referred to.

All of the people that I interviewed who grew their own food, grow potatoes and processed some of them into *chuño* and *tunta*. Then there was some variety with grains such as wheat, barley and *quinea* being mentioned, as well as broad beans.

There is a little, small scale livestock industry with sheep raised for their wool and meat. Although Andean cameloids such as Llamas, Alpacas and Vicuñas are commonly breed on the altiplano there does not appear to be much activity of this nature in or around Laja, and no-one that I interviewed mentioned it.

- Do you ever suffer from a shortage of food?

Table 16
Food shortages in Laja

Food shortages?		Percentage
No	6	67
Yes	3	33
Total	9	100

It would appear from the survey that most residents of Laja do not experience times of the year when there is not enough food. Of the three participants who answered “yes”, one explained that when there are blockades on the main roads, some products run out, one explained that by December their agricultural production has been all consumed and one did not give additional details.

The fact that 67% replied that there are no food shortages in Laja does not mean that the food that they grow sustains them all year; it means that they have food all year around although it must be purchased commercially during a certain period of the year. This was confirmed by one of the household participants who explained that this is exactly what he does.

- If so, for how many months a year?

Table 17

How many months of shortages

Duration of shortages?		Percentage
1 month	1	11
Not applicable	6	67
No reply	2	22
Total	9	100

- How do you meet these shortages?

Table 18

How shortages are met

How shortages are met?		Percentage
Purchasing commercially	1	11
Not applicable	6	67
No reply	2	22
Total	9	100

The responses to these last two questions are reflections upon the earlier question as to the presence of food shortages. As two thirds of the participants interviewed do not perceive food shortages to occur they obviously do not mention how these shortages would be met. However it is important to note that a number of the interviewees (benefiting from the semi-structured interview approach) mentioned that *“when the potatoes run out, they can get some at the market”* or *“when there are no potatoes left they will lend some off a neighbour and return them later (next season)”*. Evidently some people sell parts of their agricultural production to have some cash available to buy food after their own harvests run out.

It is clear that many of the residents of Laja are involved in a wide range of agricultural activities³⁶ and that these activities provide the majority of their yearly food requirements. It is, however, also clear that the residents of Laja do not cultivate sufficient crops to feed themselves all year and that there are times of the year when their basic food needs are met by purchasing commercially or by exchanging products with other farmers.

Another important consideration in the analysis of food security is the issue of water. There were two questions about this issue;

- Where do you get your water from?

Table 19
Water sources

Water source?		Percentage
Piped into home	5	56
A common well	3	33
From neighbours	1	11
Total	9	100

More than half of those interviewed have water piped into their homes, where they have tap access, whereas one in three receives water from a common well.

These results were consistent with the results of the 2001 Bolivian national census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001), which upon surveying all 240 homes in Laja concluded that 61% had water piped into the homes and that 32% took water from a public well or public tap.

- Do you have sufficient water for your use?

³⁶ This statement is supported by the fact that 33% of participants answered that agriculture was the source of the majority of their income.

Table 20
Sufficient water?

Sufficient water for use?		Percentage
Yes	6	67
No	3	33
Total	9	100

The water in Laja is pumped into the homes from a large community well for one or two hours each morning. Due to the expense of working the electrical pump, water is not pumped into the homes all day. The residents of Laja are, therefore, forced to collect water in buckets and other containers in the morning for their use throughout the day. This applies not only to those who collect their water from common wells but also to those who have water pumped into their homes and available through a tap. Despite these somewhat restrictive conditions, the majority (67%) of those that I interviewed stated satisfaction at the degree of availability of the water. However, a significant minority (33%) were not satisfied, indicating the need to eventually seek an improvement in the supply of water.

Therefore, in terms of the second condition set out by Partridge et al. I would conclude that food is available all year round; when people's crops run out they can obtain the same food from other sources (and it is important to note that the purchasing of food was seen as an acceptable and economically viable alternative). Although water is only available a couple of hours a day this was classified as sufficient by the majority of the residents that I interviewed. Food security does not appear to be a problem in Laja and the second condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. is fulfilled.

3. Promotion of income-producing activities, including agriculture, craft production and wage labour, which lead to investment and improvement in the quality of life and well-being of the entire community.

I believe that the presence or absence of income-producing activities is a fundamental issue for Laja. In order to investigate this issue I asked the survey's participants an open ended question; "how do you obtain your income?" This was, of course, an

extremely delicate question and really there were few cases in which I had been able to develop the necessary confidence to speak about this issue. Despite this limitation, eight of the nine people that I questioned responded. The answers are shown on Table 21.

Table 21
Income-producing activities in Laja
(My results)

Income-producing Activity	
Agriculture	3
Bakery	1
Nurse	1
Local Government Employee	1
Salesperson	1
No income	1
No reply	1
Total	9

The responses reflected the primary income source for each participant. It is important to note that, since the people who answered this question were the same as those who answered the question as to whether they grow any of your own food – and eight of the nine did – that many of the residents of Laja cultivate food for their own consumption as well as having another income-producing activity/job. The only person out of the nine participants who didn't cultivate any of their own food was the nurse.

An interesting comparison in this area can be drawn with the results of the 2001 Bolivian national census. The income-producing activities in Laja, according to this census, are shown on Table 22. To allow for a comparison with my results, these have also been included in Table 22.

Table 22
Income-producing activities in Laja
(Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001)

Income-producing Activity		Percentage	My results
Manufacturing	100	16.9	0
Mechanics and repairs	59	10.0	0
Agriculture	55	9.3	3
Social Organizations (e.g. Nurse)	27	4.6	1
Construction	21	3.6	0
Community service organizations	17	2.9	0
Transport	12	2.0	0
Public service/Local government	12	2.0	1
Others	25	4.2	3
No reply	264	44.6	1
Total	592	100	9

The interesting result in the INE census was the high number of people involved in the manufacturing industry of which I didn't see any activity in Laja personally. I imagine this refers to the self-employed people involved in producing sweaters and handicraft products to sell in La Paz and/or El Alto. Mechanics and other repair people was another high number in this census and surprisingly agriculture came in third³⁷.

From my survey it would appear that there is an absence of wage labour and employment generating activities. Employment opportunities are scarce; with only 23% of the 26 participants interviewed responding that the levels of employment in Laja are the same as five years ago and 69% stating that they are worse than five years ago (a more complete explanation of the employment statistics is found in Chapter 6, the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja, as shown on Table 53). It is also extremely important to take into consideration the contextual base level. The truth of the matter is that there was very little employment five years ago and there is even less now.

Interestingly, and significantly, there is no market place in Laja, only a few multi-purpose stores around the main square. Most rural communities in Bolivia, of the size of Laja would have a market place where goods (meat, fruit, vegetables, groceries, etc.) are sold. The fact that there is no such market in Laja is a reflection both on the lack of

³⁷ It is evident that even the Census interviewers had problems in Laja with 44.6% not responding to this question!

economic activity in the community and on the relative closeness of Laja to El Alto, a large economic centre where commerce abounds.

Although handicrafts (knitting and weaving) are important to the Aymaran people in general there was no evidence of the commercialization of these products in Laja. This does not mean that handicrafts are not produced, just that they are not sold in Laja. It is likely that handicrafts are produced in some scale and taken to the cities of La Paz and/or El Alto for sale. I did not ask about this in my survey but it would be an important consideration in a fuller analysis of ethnodevelopment in Laja, especially in light of the identification of handicraft production as an element of cultural expression for the Aymaran people (two people mentioned typical clothing upon being asked “what things do you do which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymaran?” in the household questionnaire and one mentioned knitting as a measure that they undertake to protect their cultural identity, see Tables 32 and 33).

Outside private investment in Laja is essentially non-existent. The only source of income/investment is the finance available to the Municipal Government from the Bolivian central Government. The amount of money which is invested in Laja through the Municipal Government structure is shown on Table 23.

Table 23
Income to the Municipal Government of Laja (US\$)

Income Source	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Tax Co-participation*	372 448	412 996	467 907	399 068	429 830	377 908	n/a
HIPC*		-	-	-	-	106 377	607 620
Other taxes*	519	13 375	30 555	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total	372 967	426 371	498 462	399 068	429 830	484 285	607 620

***Tax Co-participation:** Twenty percent of all Bolivian state income is spent through the local Governments according to their size; this is called the tax co-participation.

***HIPC:** The HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor Country) figure represents the amount of money transferred to the Local Government of Laja to spend in poverty reduction programs, from the forgiving of the Bolivian international debt by foreign nations.

***Other taxes:** Property and vehicle taxes are collected by the local government. As is evident in this table there is very little income from these sources in Laja.

Source: Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Planificación 2002

Unfortunately, in practise there is often little investment made in poverty reduction programs (the stated destination of these resources) as the vast majority of public funds are spent on human resources (wages) in the Municipality. Therefore, although the totals in this table may look attractive they seldom lead to a better standard of living for the people of Laja. Additionally, it is important to mention that a number of the people interviewed (at least five) stated that one of the main reasons that Laja was struggling economically was due to the theft and corruption on behalf of the local Government authorities, especially the mayor.

In order to obtain more information on the economic situation of Laja I had initially planned to interview a local bank manager or the manager of any small financial institution operating in Laja. This was not possible because there is no such institution in Laja. For small micro credits the residents of Laja are forced to go to El Alto, where such credit is available.

Therefore, there is a real absence both of income-producing activities and investment in Laja which are resulting in economic stagnation and regression in this rural community. This harsh economic reality is repeated in rural townships all over the altiplano and is partly responsible for the frustration that is leading to social unrest and protest in this part of Bolivia.

The third condition set out by Partridge et al is clearly not fulfilled in Laja.

4. Priority accorded to improving health conditions, including basic services such as potable water and sanitation measures, disease prevention and cures.

There is one conventional health care facility in Laja, a medical centre that is located on the main square, immediately next door to the town hall. There is one doctor who works there Monday to Friday and there is a staff of nurses and nurse aides. Treatment is basically of a primary health care nature with patients travelling to La Paz or El Alto if the condition is serious or if more complex treatment is required.

In the household survey I asked two questions relating to the health issue:

- If you are ill, where would you seek medical assistance?

Table 24

Where would you seek medical attention?

Medical attention?		Percentage
Laja hospital	4	50
La Paz	2	25
Natural healing – herbs etc.	1	12.5
“God heals me”	1	12.5
Total	8	100

- For what reasons do you chose that option?

Table 25

Why was the Laja hospital preferred?

Reasons for Preference		Percentage
Better attention	1	25
Closeness	1	25
No Reply	2	50
Total	4	100

Table 26

Why was La Paz preferred?

Reasons for Preference		Percentage
Better attention	1	50
Insurance	1	50
Total	2	100

As shown in Table 24, half of the people that I interviewed stated that they would go to the local hospital to receive health care and only two stated that they would either look after themselves through their own healing methods or would rely on God to heal them.

As shown on Tables 25 and 26, of the four who preferred to be treated at the local Laja clinic one said that it was because the “*attention was good*”; one because it was “*close*” and two offered no explanation. Of the two who would chose to go to La Paz, for one of them it was because of the better attention there (La Paz) and for the other because they have medical insurance that covers treatment for them in a clinic in that city. The sample size is too small to draw any conclusions as to which offers better attention in the minds of the residents of Laja.

I also asked two questions on the sanitary services:

- What facilities exist for garbage disposal/sewerage systems?

Table 27
Garbage disposal facilities?

Garbage disposal facilities?		Percentage
None	5	56
Municipal Government collects	2	22
Dump spot exists	1	11
Don't know	1	11
Total	9	100

- What do you think about the sanitary conditions in Laja?

Table 28
Opinion of sanitary conditions in Laja?

Opinion of sanitary conditions?		Percentage
Bad	7	78
So-so	1	11
Don't know	1	11
Total	9	100

The majority of the people that I interviewed (78%) agreed that the sanitary conditions in Laja are not good; one said that they are “*absolutely terrible*”.

Two people claimed that the Municipality collects the garbage although one of them specified that the garbage is only collected from the homes on the main square but not any of the surrounding streets. One participant answered that a dumping spot exists. However, more than two thirds of the residents interviewed knew of no such spot or any other facility for disposing of the garbage. Consequently, this was probably a reference to where that particular participant dumps their rubbish.

As far as the existence of potable water is concerned we have seen earlier (Table 19) that 56% of the residents of Laja have water piped into their homes. However this is not potable water in that it is not drinkable without boiling³⁸. The geographical location and climatic conditions of Laja (high on the altiplano and cold all year round) helps prevent numerous diseases which are very abundant in rural communities in the tropical parts of the Bolivia lowlands in the north of the country.

One very important complementary statistic, which is very telling in the analysis of sanitary conditions, is that only 36 of the 240 homes in Laja (15%) have bathroom facilities, 85% do not (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2001).

Therefore, although Laja has only very basic health facilities, there does appear to be confidence within the population of the services that exist. The sanitary conditions on the other hand are fairly much non-existent and the residents of Laja are rightly concerned about this. Here too, I would conclude that there is not being a priority accorded to the issue of health conditions, the fourth condition proposed by Partridge et al. is not fulfilled.

5. Maintenance of strong social organizations and the encouragement and enhancement of the ability to protect property, human and civil rights.

Social organizations play a key role in Aymaran culture. It is extremely common for community organizations, federations or union organizations to be very active in promoting the interest of its members. The C.O.B. *Central Obrero Boliviano* (Bolivian

³⁸ A common definition of *potable water* is water that is "fit to drink".

Workers Centre) is a very influential organization in national politics and the CSUTCB *Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia* (Sole Confederation of Unions of Bolivian Country Workers) is very influential with indigenous people in rural areas. The strong sense of community in the Aymaran people mean that they often seek a wider *allyu* to gain support and this is often found in wider community organizations.

Given this cultural context it was surprising that the residents of Laja struggled to identify the social organizations present in Laja. The questions asked and the answers received in the household survey are shown on Tables 29 to 31.

- What national social organizations are active in Laja?

Table 29
Social organizations in Laja?

Social organizations?		Percentage
None	5	56
Neighbourhood group	2	22
Unions	2	22
Total	9	100

- What do these organizations do?

Table 30
Activities of social organizations?

Activities of social organizations?		Percentage
Represent interests	2	22
Organize activities	1	11
"Nothing"	1	11
No reply	1	11
Not applicable	4	44
Total	9	100

- What is your attitude towards these organizations?

Table 31
Attitudes towards social organizations?

Attitudes towards social organizations?		Percentage
Very necessary	2	22
Not necessary	1	11
No reply	2	22
Not applicable	4	44
Total	9	100

More than half of the people that I interviewed could not identify any social organization active in Laja. Two people mentioned union groups (for public transport drivers and bakers) and two mentioned neighbourhood organizations.

The people who mentioned the union movements were convinced of their value, stating that they “*represent interests*” and “*organize activities*” and that they were “*very necessary*” and “*no reply*”. The neighbourhood groups on the other hand had a mixed response with one person saying that they “*do nothing*” and that they are “*not necessary*” and the other saying that they “*represent interests*” and that they are “*very necessary*”.

It is quite possible that people from Laja are active in larger social organizations that operate out of El Alto and possibly La Paz, but none of these organizations were mentioned. Both Mayor David Mamani and Aymaran advisor Efrain Paz mentioned that the CSUTCB was very active in the region but none of the household representatives mentioned this organization. Organizations such as the CSUTCB represent the interests of all rural Aymaran irrespective of whether they are agricultural workers or involved in other activities. I think that it is safest to conclude that the household representatives did not understand by my question that I may be referring to this kind of organization.

Therefore, the responses obtained in these three questions are a little puzzling and are definitely non-conclusive. Given the cultural context and the current tense socio-political environment, I believe that there is good reason to question the validity of the results I obtained.

If the results that I obtained are valid then the fifth condition proposed by Partridge et al. is not fulfilled in Laja, however I consider it more prudent to conclude that more research would be required on this point before passing judgement.

6. Respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of the indigenous people.

The cultural identity of the Aymaran people in Laja is clearly a fundamental issue in ethnodevelopment, the central basis of which is the protection and promotion of ethnicity in the process of development. The questions that I asked and the responses I received from the household representatives in this area, are shown on Tables 32 to 37.

- What things do you do, which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymara? (That is, things that Bolivians from other ethnic groups wouldn't do)

Table 32
Aymaran cultural expressions?

Aymaran cultural expressions?		Percentage
"It is important"	9	29
Speaking Aymara	5	16
Music	2	6.5
Dance	2	6.5
Clothing	2	6.5
Don't know	1	3
No reply	10	32
Total	31	100

Unfortunately this question was either misunderstood or very difficult for the participants to answer. Many participants were confused and didn't respond or reacted with a general comment such as "*it is very important to me*".

Speaking Aymara was the next most common response. This is a confirmation of the observation made in Chapter 3, that speaking Aymara is one of the main expressions of

the Aymaran cultural identity and that it is difficult for many Aymara people to identify other expressions of their culture. The results shown on Table 32 also confirm the earlier observations (Chapter 3) about the importance of music, dance and customary clothing to express the Aymaran cultural identity.

- What measures do you take to protect your cultural identity as an Aymara?

Table 33
Measures to protect cultural identity?

Measures to protect cultural identity?		Percentage
Dancing	6	20
Music	3	10
Working	3	10
Nothing	3	10
Speaking	2	7
Cooking	2	7
Knitting/clothing	2	7
Agriculture	1	3
Teaching the children	1	3
No reply	7	23
Total	30	100

This question appears to have been better understood because, although 23% couldn't think of a reply, there were a wider range of responses from the other participants. Folkloric Aymaran dance and music were common as was "*hard work*" ("*not being lazy*" in the words of one participant), speaking, cooking and the weaving and knitting of typical clothing. Only three people said that they don't do anything.

- Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? How? Why?

Table 34
Change in Aymaran cultural identity?

Change in Aymaran cultural identity?		Percentage
Stronger	14	54
Same	7	27
Weaker	5	19
Total	26	100

This is one of the most important questions in the whole survey in order to determine the existence of ethnodevelopment. If “conventional” development is occurring but the cultural identity is being lost then ethnodevelopment is clearly not happening. Ethnodevelopment protects and promotes indigenous expressions while the development process takes place.

In Laja, the Aymaran cultural identity is being conserved and strengthened. Over 80% of the people that I interviewed consider that it is as strong, or stronger than it was five years ago. This means that the ethnic base is strong and that, consequently, potential exists for ethnodevelopment to occur.

The next question was designed to ascertain how the cultural identity has changed over the last few years.

- Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years?
How? Why?

The examples given by those who considered that the Aymaran cultural identity has become stronger over the last five years are shown on Table 35.

Table 35
Examples of cultural change?
(stronger cultural identity)

Example of cultural change?		Percentage
More political representation	2	14
More speaking in schools	1	7
Aymaran achieving higher education	1	7
More typical food	1	7
Youth more interested	1	7
No reply	8	57
Total	14	100

The examples given by those who considered that the Aymaran cultural identity has become weaker over the last five years are shown on Table 36.

Table 36
Examples of cultural change?
(weaker cultural identity)

Examples of cultural change?		Percentage
Less Aymara spoken	2	40
Aymaran leaders integrating	2	40
No reply	1	20
Total	5	100

It is interesting to observe that over half of the participants whose opinion was that the Aymaran cultural identity is stronger now than five years ago could not give any specific examples of why it was stronger. The examples that were given were accompanied by comments such as *“we have seen that the other cultures are no better than our own”* or *“there is a kind of renaissance happening”* which indicate a greater awareness of their own culture and a pride in it. However no specific example, other than the increased level of political representation, was mentioned more than once.

Among those who thought that Aymaran culture in Laja was getting weaker the only reasons given were the reduction in the amount of Aymaran being spoken and the fact that Aymaran political leaders were becoming “integrated” into general Bolivian society and hence losing their Aymaran roots.

- How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity?

Given that there are no outside organizations present in Laja (or at least none that are known to the residents) I opened this question to “outside organizations in general”.

Table 37

Outside organizations respect culture?

Outside organizations respect culture?		Percentage
Yes	11	42
No	7	27
Some	3	12
No reply	5	19
Total	26	100

The most emotive opinions came from those who thought that the outside organizations didn't respect Aymaran culture, with comments such as *"they deceive us"* or *"they try to make us lose our culture"*, but as shown on Table 37, the largest group (42%) thought that the outside organizations indeed respect Aymaran culture, *"sometimes more than we do"*.

A number of important conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the sixth condition for ethnodevelopment. Initially, although it is often difficult for the Aymaran people to identify exactly why, their culture is very important to them and the majority (90%) are doing something to maintain this culture. Secondly, according to the participants in my study, Aymaran culture is stronger now than five years ago and thirdly, 42% of the Aymara in Laja believe that outside organizations respect their culture.

This means that a great potential exists for ethnodevelopment among the Aymara. Also, it clearly means that the respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of the indigenous people, the sixth condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. is being fulfilled in Laja.

7. Support for bilingual and multicultural education and training.

In order to establish the degree of bilingual education in Laja I put three questions on one of the Household questionnaires. The three questions and the responses obtained follow and are shown on Tables 38 and 39.

- How many schools are there in Laja?

There are two schools in Laja, one high school and one primary school. Eight of the nine people interviewed identified the existence of these two educational establishments whilst one person didn't want to respond to this question.

- In what languages do these schools teach?

Table 38
Languages taught in schools?

Languages taught in Schools?		Percentage
Aymara and Spanish	8	89
Spanish	1	11
Total	9	100

The one participant who said that just Spanish was used in the schools was an elderly gentleman who was either mistaken (because all the other participants responded that classes in both schools are held in both Spanish and Aymara) or perhaps misunderstood the question and was expressing an opinion as to what languages should be used.

- In what language would you prefer your children to be taught?

Table 39
Preferred language in schools?

Preferred language in schools?		Percentage
Aymara and Spanish	4	44
Aymara, Spanish and English	2	22
Aymara	2	22
Aymara, Spanish, Quechua and English	1	11
Total	9	100

The responses to this question show that the residents of Laja value the bilingual education that their children are currently receiving. 78% of the participants preferred

that their children receive a bi- or multi-lingual education, whilst only two of those interviewed preferred that their children were taught only in Aymara.

We can clearly conclude that in Laja there is both bilingual education available and that this bilingual education is valued by the residents. However the seventh point of Partridge et al. goes further than the simple existence of bilingual education, it includes multicultural training. In Laja this is also happening because there is a technical institute³⁹ that is teaching classes on Aymaran cultural principles on Saturday mornings. It is attracting students from other rural communities and even some students from the nearby city of El Alto.

Therefore bilingual education and multilingual training are present in Laja; the seventh condition proposed by Partridge et al. is clearly satisfied.

8. Granting political “voice” to indigenous people, including the acknowledgement by the government of political and human rights as citizens, the right to vote, equal participation and representation, and the promotion of indigenous legislation.

This condition for ethnodevelopment included at least three distinct facets, each of which I endeavoured to research individually;

- i. Political Voice
- ii. Human Rights
- iii. Indigenous Legislation

i. Political Voice

In order to ascertain the degree to which indigenous people in Bolivia, and more specifically the Aymara are taken into consideration in politics I asked three questions. The responses are shown on Tables 40 to 42.

³⁹ The organization does not have any infrastructure, it is using the classrooms from the primary school and the teachers come from El Alto to give classes.

- Do you know of any Aymaran politicians in national politics?

Table 40

Aymaran in national politics?

Aymaran in national politics?		Percentage
Yes	7	88
No reply	1	12
Total	8	100

- Do you know of any Aymaran politicians in local government politics?

Table 41

Aymaran in local government politics?

Aymaran in local government politics?		Percentage
Yes	7	88
No reply	1	12
Total	9	100

- Do you know of anyone from Laja in national politics?

Table 42

Representatives from Laja in national politics?

Representatives from Laja in national politics?		Percentage
Yes	2	25
No	5	63
No reply	1	12
Total	8	100

The reason for asking the questions in this way was to obtain an objective reply of who people could identify instead of asking more generally “Do you think Aymara are sufficiently represented in national/local body politics?” This was to help me understand reality, as opposed to people’s perception of reality.

Seven of the eight participants who were questioned on this issue stated that they knew of Aymaran people involved in both national and local body politics. It is important to note that during the last Presidential elections (June 2002) two indigenous parties were

very successful and consequently are now very well represented in the National Congress. The MAS *Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement Towards Socialism) party lead by Coca leaf producer Evo Morales won 21% of the vote and the MIP (*Movimiento Indigena Pachaceuti* (Pachceuti Indigenous Movement) party lead by Felipe Quispe won 6% of the vote. The MIP Party is essentially a regional party with its power base upon the Aymaran part of the Bolivian altiplano, especially around the area of Achacachi.

As a result of the success of both MAS and MIP in June last year the indigenous component of Bolivian Congress has increased dramatically with most of Bolivia's largest indigenous groups now represented⁴⁰. There are numerous Aymaran leaders, including Felipe Quispe now involved in national politics.

Partridge et al. make mention of the launching of "*a new era of multiethnic governance*" in Bolivia in the wake of the election of Aymaran Vice President Victor Hugo Cardenas in 1993 (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 23). The election of Cardenas was an important moment in Bolivian political history and the levels of indigenous representation today (significantly higher than in Cardenas' time) are no doubt a consequence of the work done by Cardenas and other pioneer Aymaran politicians.

At the Municipal level the great majority (if not all) of the Mayors and Municipal Counsellors on the Aymaran altiplano would be ethnically Aymaran, hence the overwhelming response to the question of Aymaran in local body politics (88% of those questioned knew of an Aymaran person in local government politics).

There was some source of confusion as to the question of whether there is anybody from Laja involved in national politics. The majority thought not, whilst two participants begged to differ and suggested the name of Teodoro Valencia. Both Mayor David Mamani and Aymaran advisor Efrain Paz, however, assured me that as of the moment, there is no one from Laja involved in national politics.

⁴⁰ This was the cause of mayhem when the new Parliament sat for the first time in August 2002, when indigenous representatives choose to speak in their own languages and no facilities existed for translation to Spanish.

In any case, the majority of the people of Laja recognise the high degree of representation that Aymaran people have in both National and Local body politics. Whilst the majority of participants thought that this was positive, one participant suggested that it was not a good thing for Aymaran to be so involved in politics because they *“forget they are Aymaran and betray their roots”*.

ii. Human Rights

I split this section into two aspects; political rights (right to vote, fair trial, equality before the law etc.) and human rights (racial discrimination, gender discrimination, religious discrimination, etc.). The questions asked and the answers received from the household representatives are shown on Tables 43 to 49.

- Did you exercise your right to vote in the last Presidential elections in 2002?

Table 43
Exercised right to vote?

Exercised right to vote?		Percentage
Yes	7	88
No applicable	1	12
Total	8	100

- If you committed a criminal offence, do you believe you would receive a fair trial?

Table 44
Would you receive a fair trial?

Would you receive a fair trial?		Percentage
No	7	88
Yes	1	11
Total	8	100

- Do you believe that, in practise, all Bolivians are equal before the law?

Table 45
Equality before the law?

Equality before the law?		Percentage
No	6	75
Yes	2	25
Total	8	100

In terms of political rights, the citizens of Laja who participated in this research categorically rejected the suggestion that they have full political rights. They did not believe that they would receive a fair trial and they did not believe the law was the same for all Bolivians.

They said that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor, that justice is bought by the powerful and the poor don't have a chance. President of the Bolivian Association for Municipal Lawyers, Dr. Mauricio Riveros expressed a similar opinion when I interviewed him in October. He recognised that in practise there is one law for the rich and another for the poor; however he drew an important distinction from the ethnic viewpoint. Dr. Riveros claims that if an Aymaran (or other indigenous person) has money then they will get off the charge and if a *mestizo* does not have money, they will not get off. Therefore the key determinant for justice is not race but wealth.

- Have you ever felt that there is discrimination on the basis of race? If so, please explain.

Table 46
Discrimination on the basis of race?

Discrimination on the basis of race?		Percentage
Yes	5	63
No	3	37
Total	8	100

Table 46 shows that the majority of participants have felt discriminated against on the basis of their race. Examples of this that were given, were that when the residents of Laja travel to La Paz, they feel “*looked down upon because they come from the country*”. The fact that the participants identified themselves as from the *country* and not as Aymaran despite the question specifically referring to race, is clear confirmation of Albo’s analysis, as detailed in Chapter 3, that the Aymaran classify themselves as country folk, from a particular community, before identifying themselves Aymara.

Another specific example that was given, was that when they work as construction site labourers in the city of La Paz they are made to eat outside when others are allowed inside to eat. This discrimination was considered to be due to their ethnic background.

- Have you ever felt that there is discrimination on the basis of gender? If so, please explain.

Table 47
Discrimination on the basis of gender?

Discrimination on the basis of gender?		Percentage
Yes	4	50
No	4	50
Total	8	100

Unfortunately only two women were asked this question and my inability to return to Laja meant that I was unable to correct this imbalance. It is interesting that both women responded “*no*” and 4/6 of the men recognised that there was indeed discrimination against women occurring in Laja. Although specific examples were not given, the responses reflect the stereotypical image of women in rural Aymaran society as having little influence in decision making within families and very little representation in the predominately male-dominated community organizations.

- Have you ever felt that there is discrimination on the basis of religion? If so, please explain.

Table 48

Discrimination on the basis of religion?

Discrimination on the basis of religion?		Percentage
Yes	5	63
No	2	25
No reply	1	12
Total	8	100

The rapid growth of protestant dominations on the altiplano over the last twenty years has meant that a degree of conflict has occurred between the followers of the catholic religion and these protestant groups. Although specific examples were not given in my survey, general examples of religious discrimination in Bolivia would be distrust and the cutting off of friendships upon people changing dominational allegiance.

- Have you ever felt that there is discrimination on the basis of political opinion?
If so, please explain.

Table 49

Discrimination on the basis of political opinion?

Discrimination on the basis of political opinion?		Percentage
Yes	5	63
No	2	25
No reply	1	12
Total	8	100

The influential role of political parties within wider society means that members of certain parties are overlooked for jobs, purchases are made from the shops of supporters of the same party and opposition party supporters are distrusted and even hated. In Bolivia every time that the Government changes, the great majority of public service employees are fired and supporters of the new dominant party hired by party leaders to replace them. In the Municipal Government of Laja this is also clearly the case.

Therefore, in terms of human rights the participants returned troubling results. In three of the four areas that I asked about, a majority (63% each time) stated that discrimination does exist. Although the sample sizes are obviously too small to draw

real conclusions it would be difficult to argue that human rights exist for the people of Laja.

iii. Indigenous Legislation

The third aspect is whether indigenous issues are promoted through legislation and the wider normative framework. In order to find out about this issue I asked Municipal Lawyer Dr. Mauricio Riveros if there are any laws that specifically recognise the rights of indigenous peoples and more directly the rights of the Aymara. With respect to the latter there are none, with all indigenous groups being treated equally. With respect to the former, there are no laws specifically dedicated to protecting indigenous rights, rather, given that indigenous rights is a transversal issue (along with gender and the environment) there is mention of indigenous rights and the legal protection of those rights in numerous different laws and decrees in different areas. In the opinion of Dr. Riveros, indigenous peoples are well protected and recognised by the current normative framework.

In Bolivia, a common problem is not so much the absence of legal protection, but rather the lack of enforcement of the legislation. This occurs not only in relation to indigenous rights but across many areas. Given this context, it is probable that Dr. Riveros' opinion is correct. Indigenous groups are protected (in theory) by legislation, but the lack of enforcement of that legislation, and the lack of knowledge as to these rights, means that indigenous people's rights are not exercised in practise.

The three facets of political/human rights show differing results. In terms of a political voice, the Aymara seem to be very well represented both in national and local politics and the people of Laja recognise this. In terms of political and human rights there appears to be a big problem with the residents of Laja clearly expressing that they do not consider that they have such rights. In terms of indigenous legislation, in the opinion of the expert that I consulted, there is ample protection.

Therefore, in terms of the eighth condition for ethnodevelopment established by Partridge et al. Laja has an uncertain qualification. In some aspects important advances have been made but in others there is much improvement needed.

9. Respectful interaction and interchange with the national society and world including government and nongovernmental organizations, international development organizations and religious groups.

Despite being less than an hour's drive from the Bolivian seat of Government in La Paz, Laja is essentially isolated from both national society and the international community. Of the nine people that I asked, all nine responded that there are no international NGOs active in Laja.

One of the most puzzling and concerning findings from my research was over the existence of *Plan International*. This organization, although not currently implementing projects in Laja uses the local health clinic as a base for its work in basic health care in the surrounding communities. Unfortunately none of the people that I asked (with the exception of Mayor David Mamani) knew of the presence of Plan International.

It was only the Mayor who knew of the presence of Plan International and even he was sketchy on details as to what this organization actually does. Given the overall context of distrust and even hostility towards outsiders I consider it very significant that the presence of this NGO is so little known and understood. Although the organization may well be undertaking important work and achieving good results it would appear to me from the responses that I received that it is involuntarily⁴¹ contributing to the lack of understanding and interaction between the citizens of Laja and outside organizations, something that is important for ethnodevelopment according to the analysis proposed by Partridge et al.

There are a number of religious organizations in Laja; the largest is the Catholic establishment. There is one large Church building where mass is celebrated but unfortunately CARITAS, the Catholic assistance program, does not appear to be operating any assistance projects in Laja at this time. Certainly there are none that the residents of Laja are aware of.

⁴¹ I certainly do not have sufficient evidence to conclude that they would be doing it intentionally.

More significant than the presence or absence of NGO project initiatives or interaction with the wider international community is the fact that it is apparent that the majority of the residents of Laja do not want interaction with outsiders, or at least, they want to have it under very restrictive conditions. Over the last few years numerous development initiatives in the altiplano between La Paz and Lake Titicaca have been closed due to the constant climate of antagonism and social unrest. There is a very strong anti-western feeling in the Aymaran people, as a result of what has been seen as arrogant intervention on behalf of foreign governments in Bolivian affairs⁴². This has even lead to development initiatives being sabotaged and rejected. Consequently many agencies who were investing heavily in projects in the region decided to cancel their support. This undeniably explains the current day isolation of Laja (and many other rural Aymaran communities) from assistance programs.

This represents an immense challenge both for Laja and to the international development community who wish to contribute to the development of this part of Bolivia. Meaningful interaction must be initiated whereby the independence and sovereignty of the Aymaran people is respected but under which significant initiatives can be planned and carried out in order to assist the reduction of poverty in Laja.

As far as the ninth condition established by Partridge et al. is concerned we can conclusively state that the respectful interaction and interchange with the national society and the world is not happening, this condition is not fulfilled.

10. Promoting the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation.

The tenth condition set out by Partridge et al. is another for which the conclusion is clear and definitive. All of the responses from the household representatives were the same; that there are currently no initiatives to conserve natural resources in Laja. I asked both whether there were initiatives from locals in Laja and whether there were any projects from outside agencies or NGOs operating in Laja, there were neither.

⁴² The main issue being the Bolivian Government's policy – under pressure from the United States of America – to eradicate the Coca plant from large regions of Bolivia.

To the question; “what is your opinion about these initiatives?” the responses are shown on Table 50.

Table 50
Involvement in natural resource conservation?

Involvement in natural resource conservation?		Percentage
Very important	5	56
Not important	1	11
Don't know	1	11
No reply	2	22
Total	9	100

The majority of the household representatives (56%) expressed their opinion that natural resource conservation was necessary suggesting that it is an important issue to the people in Laja. The other 44% seemed to brush off the question as if it were a question of little importance. The Mayor of Laja made a very straight and direct comment when I interviewed him on this issue, his opinion was; “*people don't care about it*”. This opinion was supported in conversations with numerous people, including officials from the Governmental Agency for Naturally Renewable Resources (SIRENARE).

SIRENARE official Eduardo Quiroga confirmed the hypothesis that rural indigenous people on the altiplano often have other more pressing issues, principally survival, that keep them from worrying about “secondary” matters such as natural resource conservation. Significantly neither Mr. Quiroga, nor any other SIRENARE staff member present at the meeting I held with him, could identify any initiative from the Aymara on the Altiplano to conserve natural resources. Despite the occasional comment to the contrary, it appears not to be an operational priority to them yet. Increased levels of education in rural areas has lead to an increased awareness of the need to conserve natural resources (Paz, 2003), hence 56% of participants identified this as *very important* but as of the moment none of these 56% are involved in any practical activity to actually conserve natural resources.

At a national level there are Aymaran people involved in natural resource conservation (working in governmental departments and/or environmental NGOs) but it appears that there are currently few or no initiatives being implemented in the Aymaran regions of the Altiplano to conserve these resources.

In Laja itself, there are clearly no projects or initiatives being undertaken or planned at this time to conserve natural resources, therefore the tenth condition for ethnodevelopment set out by Partridge et al. is not fulfilled.

Conclusion

I have analyzed in detail each of the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 51.

Table 51
Conclusions

	Condition for Ethnodevelopment	Conclusion	Comment
1.	Property rights to territories	Fulfilled	
2.	Food security	Fulfilled	
3.	Income-producing activities	Not fulfilled	
4.	Health and sanitation	Not fulfilled	
5.	Social organizations	Unclear	Secondary information sources confirmed that these organizations exist but household representatives didn't mention any.
6.	Cultural self-identity	Fulfilled	
7.	Bilingual and multi-cultural education	Fulfilled	
8.	Political voice and human rights	Partially fulfilled	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political voice is fulfilled • Human rights not fulfilled • Indigenous legislation fulfilled
9.	Interaction with outside world	Not fulfilled	
10.	Natural resource conservation	Not fulfilled	

Four of the conditions set out by Partridge et al. are fulfilled in the case study that I undertook in Laja, four are clearly not fulfilled whilst two are only partially fulfilled or are otherwise unclear. In the next chapter I will examine the implication of these

findings on the wider theoretical framework and also evaluate the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPLICATIONS

The objective of this chapter is to relate the results detailed in Chapter 5 back to the original theoretical framework for ethnodevelopment, set out in Chapter 2. I will begin by evaluating the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja and will then set out the implication of the findings of this research for both Laja and for the corresponding theoretical framework.

Measuring ethnodevelopment

The biggest hurdle to evaluating the existence of ethnodevelopment is the fact that there are really no generally accepted indicators for measuring ethnodevelopment. The article by Partridge et al. does not mention any, nor do any of the texts on this subject. For the study of ethnodevelopment to be established as a viable discipline within the field of development studies it is necessary that a set of indicators be accepted as a credible way to measure the existence of this phenomenon. In response to this gap I have developed a model to measure ethnodevelopment. This methodology contains three key components:

- i. The degree to which **conventional development** is occurring. As has become evident in this case study in Laja, if there is no development as such then there can be no ethnodevelopment either. The early writings on ethnodevelopment, in their rejection of conventional development and focus on issues such as participation, culture and the environment were silent as to the role of economic development within ethnodevelopment. Neither Stavenhagen (1986) nor Hettne (1993), the two most important early authors on ethnodevelopment, stressed the need for economic development within this new concept of ethnodevelopment and Hettne did not consider it

necessary to include it in his “*contents of a development strategy*” (Hettne 1993, p. 17).

It has only been more recently, as ethnodevelopment has been put into practise that authors have started to recognize that conventional development is an essential part of ethnodevelopment. Partridge et al. identified it as a key issue and consequently included it in their ten conditions for ethnodevelopment (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 14). Clarke wrote of the benefits of economic change for indigenous people through ethnodevelopment in Southeast Asia (Clarke 2001, p. 430) and van den Berg stated the need to retain “*economic lifestyles*” (van den Berg 2002, p. 1).

The defining characteristic in this component is that I will use subjective opinions of common indicators such as economic growth, quality of life, employment etc. Therefore, in this aspect, I am not primarily interested in whether the Statistics Department in La Paz think that the residents in Laja are better off but rather if the residents themselves think that they are better off. This supports the statement made by Hettne;

The goal of territorial development, then, is to improve that specific situation, to realize those values and to maintain the habitat, not to bring about “development” in terms of GNP or some other abstraction.

(Hettne 1993, p. 9)

In my case study, this component will essentially focus on economic development but ideally this element of evaluation will need to incorporate issues such as the environment and gender. It will be measured by the results of the surveys of the residents of Laja.

- ii. The degree of **self-determination**. The ability of the indigenous group to take decisions over the development processes that will dictate their destiny is the second key component to ethnodevelopment. Writing in the Indonesian context, Meutia Swasono states that; “*They* [native Indonesians]

have the rights (sic) to decide their own destiny with dignity” (Swasono 1997, p. 2).

The importance of the concept of self-determination evolved from the people-centred development paradigm with authors such as John Friedmann being very influential. Friedmann’s work was important because it developed meanings to expressions such as empowerment and participation. For Friedmann;

Alternative development must be seen as a process that seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members through their involvement in socially and politically relevant actions.

(Friedmann 1992, p. 33)

That is, the empowerment of people is one of the goals of the development process, people must be empowered to make the decisions that will affect their own destiny, if development is to be successful.

This focus on the empowering of people through development has been continued in the ethnodevelopment literature. Van den Berg, in his critique of the World Bank’s ethnodevelopment initiatives recognises that; *“The core premise of the Bank’s ethnodevelopment policy is to provide ethnic groups with the means to partake in development on their own terms”* (van den Berg 2002, p. 2). Self-determination continues to be emphasized in the wider academic world; Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz in his recent book *Globalization and Its Discontents* also argues strongly for the important role of self-determination in the process of development; *“The essence of freedom is the right to make a choice – and to accept the responsibility that comes with it”* (Stiglitz 2002, p. 88).

Therefore, in light of the strong theoretical backing for this concept, the second element of the analysis of ethnodevelopment is that of self-determination; whether the residents of Laja consider themselves in control

of their own development. This will be measured through direct surveys with the household representatives of the target population.

- iii. The degree of **cultural preservation and promotion**. This is the third key component for ethnodevelopment because the real test of whether ethnodevelopment is occurring or not is that the cultural expressions of the indigenous group are being preserved and that the cultural self-identity of the indigenous group continues to be active and strong.

The need to consider the cultural question was another result of the people centred development school. The need to be sensitive to cultural issues had not previously been promoted in development strategies but now there was a realization that each ethnic group had unique development requirements and that purely Eurocentric, western-style policies were not being successful; *“The cultural dimension of development became an important part of theory building and project design”* (Escobar 1997, p. 500).

Within the specific ethnodevelopment literature, unique cultural identities had always been a central element. Hettne stated that ethnodevelopment *“implies development within a framework of cultural pluralism, based on the premise that different communities in the same society have distinctive codes of behaviour and different value systems”* (Hettne 1993, p. 7). This specific recognition of the individual systems and their preservation through the development process is what sets ethnodevelopment apart from conventional sustainable development. Ethnodevelopment is therefore, based around development initiatives which promote and preserve the cultural identity of the indigenous group. According to Swasono;

The goal ... is to provide the means to strengthen their own cultural resilience so that they have the capacity to overcome helplessness and dependency.

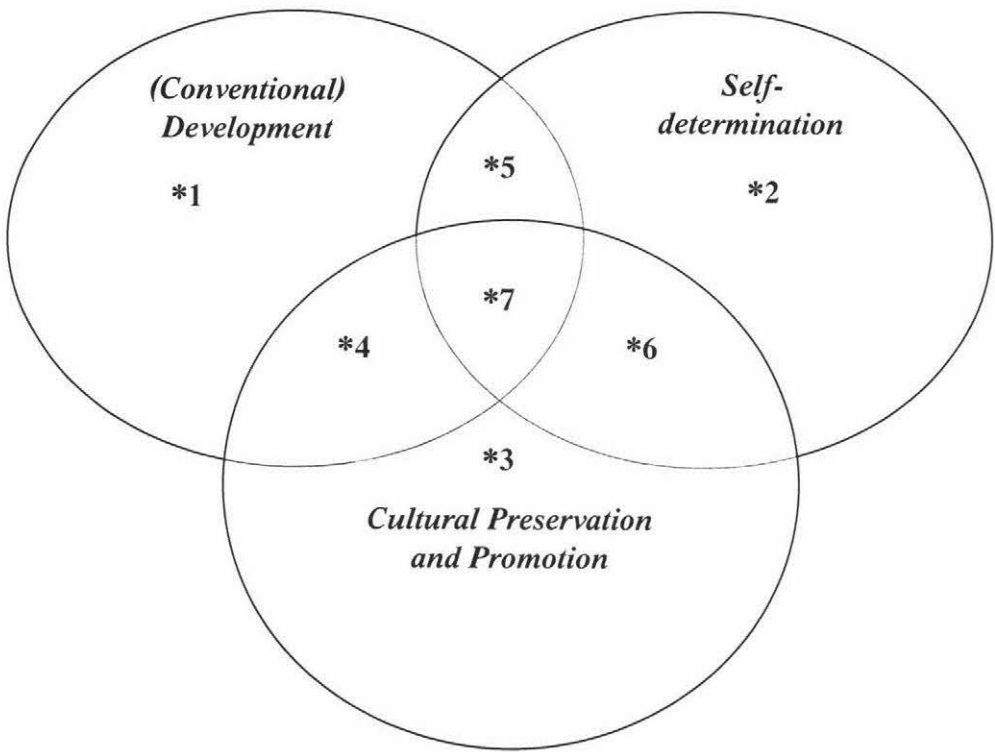
(Swasono 1997, p. 2)

This element will be measured from the results of the household representatives' survey as detailed in the sixth condition of Partridge et al.

for ethnodevelopment. The evaluation of the degree of cultural preservation and promotion shall be measured over the same time frame as is the conventional development mentioned above (in this case, five years).

Represented graphically, this model for evaluating ethnodevelopment is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Model for evaluating ethnodevelopment



*1 Development is occurring (incorporating issues of economic development, quality of life, environmental sustainability and gender equality) but there is no ownership of the process by the indigenous group and the culture of this group is being lost.

*2 The indigenous group is in control of its destiny, taking the decisions over its own development. However, there is no development taking place and the culture is also being lost.

*3 The culture of the indigenous group is being preserved and protected but the decisions are not being taken by the group itself and no development is occurring either.

*4 There is development occurring and the cultural identity of the indigenous group is also being preserved. The only problem is that the processes are being managed from outside the group, there is no mechanism of self-determination that is required to ensure the long term sustainability of the process.

*5 There is development and it is the indigenous group that is responsible for the decisions over that development process, however, in this process of development the cultural identity of the indigenous group is being lost.

*6 The indigenous group is in control of their destiny and is taking decisions to preserve its cultural identity. However, there is no development occurring.

*7 Ethnodevelopment! The indigenous group is in control of its own destiny and is taking decisions to preserve its cultural identity in the process of development which is also positive.

I accept that there are limitations to this approach. I have identified three main weaknesses:

1. It places too much emphasis on subjective opinions. The people of a certain indigenous group may feel that they are in control of their destiny when really it is objectively evident that they are not. This weakness may be overcome by incorporating objective indicators into each of the three components to balance the subjective opinions.

2. There will be a tendency to ignore social and environmental issues. Therefore it will be necessary to develop an evaluation instrument that ensures that all of the key elements of development (economic, environmental, gender, etc.) are included in the analysis.

3. The model assumes that each of the three components are of equal importance. However, one or two of the elements may deserve a weighting that gives them more influence in the evaluation than one or two of the others. Further study is required to be able to determine how this weighting should work out.

Using this model for evaluation of ethnodevelopment, the case study in Laja provides the following results.

Ethnodevelopment in Laja

Subjective indicators of conventional development

I included three questions on all three household representative questionnaires in order to obtain the maximum amount of feedback as possible. The results are shown in Tables 52 to 54.

- In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years?

Table 52
Change in economic situation?

Change in economic situation?		Percentage
Worse	12	46
Same	8	31
Better	5	19
"Depends"	1	4
Total	26	100

- How have levels of employment in Laja changed over the last five years?

Table 53
Change in employment levels?

Change in employment levels?		Percentage
Less employment	18	69
Same	6	23
More employment	2	8
Total	26	100

- How has your quality of life changed over the last five years?

Table 54
Change in quality of life?

Change in quality of life?		Percentage
Worse	13	50
Same	7	27
Better	5	19
No reply	1	4
Total	26	100

From these results we can see that in terms of the conventional indicators of development, Laja's situation is very difficult. 77% of those questioned consider the economic situation to be the same or worse than five years ago, 92% think there is the same amount of employment or less and 77% consider that the quality of life has not improved. The subjective analysis of development indicates that there has been no development at all.

In the discussion of the weaknesses of the model for evaluating ethnodevelopment I suggested that it may be useful to incorporate objective indicators of development to compare the subjective responses that I obtained from the household survey. Unfortunately there was no such data available as the Bolivian National Statistics Institute (INE) does not calculate economic indicators at a Municipal level. This institute currently calculates Gross Domestic Product at a Departmental level but not at the Municipal level, therefore I was unable to obtain independent, objective statistics to show whether the economic situation in Laja improved or worsened over the five year period that I asked about in the questionnaires.

Self-determination

Unfortunately I only asked one question on this issue. However, it was asked to all 26 household participants.

- Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development?

Table 55
Control of own development?

Control of own development?		Percentage
Yes	16	62
No	7	27
No reply	3	11
Total	26	100

I am not satisfied that this question was really well understood, and many participants asked for clarification as to what was meant by it, far more than for any other question that I asked. In response to these requests I paraphrased the question, when necessary, by asking whether they thought that they were in control of their own *destiny*, a term that was more widely understood. Although not technically meaning the same as development, it is similar in the sense that it implies a future state, hopefully improved from today's, and the process of getting to that state.

More than half of the twenty six participants interviewed responded that the people of Laja are in control of their own development. Those that thought not, reasoned that there were no resources to be able to determine one's own destiny (*"I don't have enough money to do what I'd like"*), whereas those who insisted that they are in control seemed to consider it more an issue of pride and independence and consequently were unwilling to accept that they couldn't do as they wished.

It is difficult to accept this as a conclusive result and I would prefer not to do so. With the amount of research that I undertook (both in terms of the number of responses that I received to this question and in terms of the absence of other questions that could give feedback on this issue) it is just not appropriate to draw a conclusion.

It is also important to incorporate some objective indicators into this element of evaluation. Factors such as the level of participation in decision making, the role of social control organizations or the degree of representation of indigenous peoples in government structures could all be objectively measured, to be included in any conclusion that is reached in this area.

Degree of cultural preservation and promotion

The third component of this evaluation as to the existence of ethnodevelopment in Laja is the state of cultural and ethnic conservation and promotion. Partridge et al. dedicate one of their ten conditions for ethnodevelopment to this issue - the sixth, respect for the evolving self-identity of the indigenous people. From the analysis that I undertook on this issue it is possible to conclude that the cultural self-identity of the Aymara in Laja is strong and getting stronger.

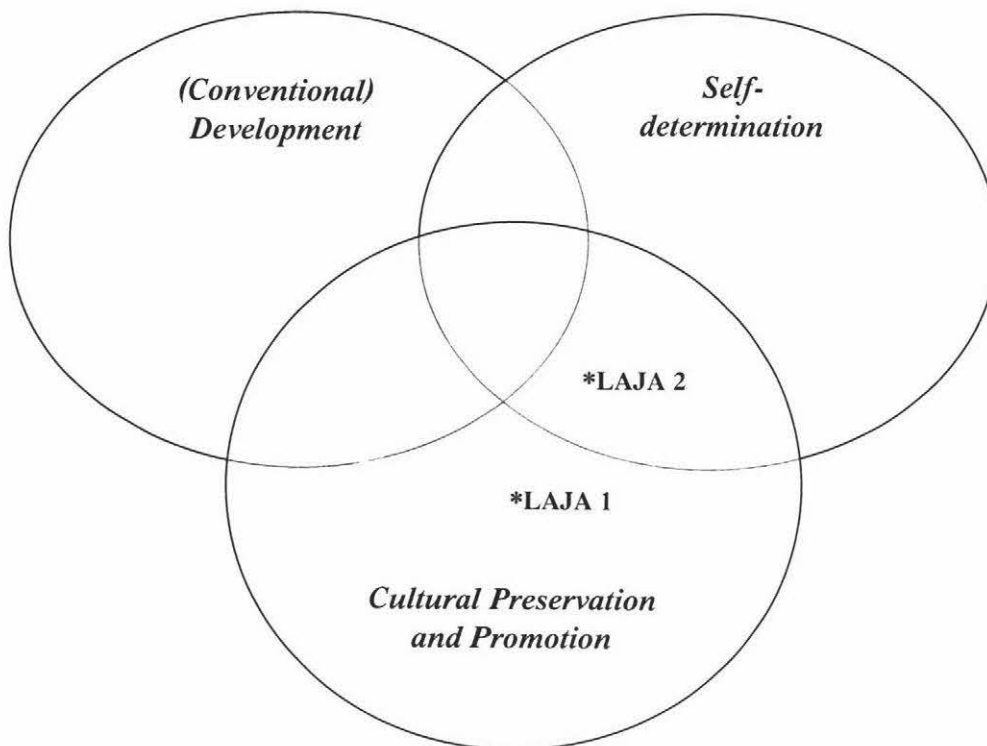
Over 80% of the 26 people interviewed thought that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja was the same or stronger than it had been five years ago and only 10% of the participants responded that they were not doing anything to protect this cultural identity.

There are also objective indicators which would support the conclusion such as the increased level of the Aymaran language being spoken in schools and the existence of Aymaran technical institute in Laja teaching Aymaran cultural subjects.

Therefore, using my model for evaluating the existence of ethnodevelopment the conclusion would be that there is no such development. The subjective evaluation of conventional development reveals that there is none, mainly due to the harsh economic reality of Laja. The component relating to self-determination is unclear, a majority of participants thought that they were in control of their own development but there is the need for an objective evaluation to balance this. The third aspect, the strength of the cultural identity is fulfilled, according to the results of the survey that I undertook.

Graphically, the situation in Laja would be represented as per Figure 2.

Figure 2
Ethnodevelopment in Laja



The current position of Laja in this model is represented by either *LAJA 1 or *LAJA 2. *LAJA 1 would be the position if there is no self-determination by the Aymara in the process of development and *LAJA 2 would be the position if there was this self-determination. My study is unclear on this point.

Two things are clear; firstly that there is no conventional development occurring and secondly that there is a strong degree of cultural preservation in place.

The implication for Laja

The most important finding of this study as far as Laja is concerned is the fact that there is no noticeable development occurring there, be that ethnodevelopment or any other kind of development. The two main hindrances to ethnodevelopment are the depressed economic situation and the closed attitude of the people of Laja towards outsiders.

In order for a process of ethnodevelopment to occur in Laja, in benefit of the local community, it is important that economic development be achieved; through the creation and promotion of local industries. Although handicraft production is one initial possibility there are many other industries that could potentially be developed in Laja; including commercial wool production (sheep, llama, alpaca), the production of meats (both mutton and the newly commercialized llama meat) and any other industry which can attract investment to cover the start-up costs. The initial investment required to start-up these industries would probably need to come from outside agencies such as non-governmental organizations from the international development community. This would provide an interesting link to the second obstacle to ethnodevelopment in Laja at the present time, the attitudes of the residents of Laja towards outsiders.

For a sustainable process of ethnodevelopment to happen in Laja, it is necessary for some kind of inter-relationship with the outside world to exist. This outside world may be La Paz; it need not be with a foreign agency, although reality would dictate that is unlikely that a national organization would have funds to invest Laja. Finance to build infrastructure for a tourist industry (public toilets, souvenir stands etc.) or to train tourist guides to take visitors through the Church, or to train handicraft workers in needed skills such as marketing, commercialization of products and business administration would help the situation in Laja. At the same time this will create a link with the outside world that is essential for sustainable development.

These relationships will only be forged if the residents of Laja adopt an openness to outsiders and a willingness to work together with people from outside the community that is currently not evident. Due to historical and cultural reasons the people of Laja are not open to dealings with outsiders. There is a hostility and aggression that characterizes their attitudes and although this is arguably more noticeable at this time because of the radical protest movements based in the altiplano against the Bolivian Government, it is also clearly a permanent characteristic of their very nature.

It may be observed that it is the same closed attitude and distrustfulness towards outsiders that has maintained the Aymaran culture strong and pure in the face of outside influences, that is now hindering the process of ethnodevelopment. It would initially

appear to be contradictory that ethnodevelopment requires pure cultural identities at the same time as suggesting that contact with the outside world is necessary, when it is precisely this contact with the outside world that hinders cultural preservation.

I believe that the key to understanding this apparent contradiction lies in the fact that the indigenous group must control the contact with the outside world so that negative influences over their culture may be minimized. As discussed later in this chapter, some interaction must take place but by limiting that contact, cultural identities can be preserved.

The implications for the theoretical framework

The objective of my thesis is to analyze the ten conditions for ethnodevelopment set out by Partridge et al. and to undertake a case study in Laja to evaluate whether the operational reality in this Aymaran community reflects the needs expressed in the theoretical writings. So, what do the results obtained in this case study mean for the wider academic context of writing on ethnodevelopment? Did the results support or challenge the validity of the arguments set forth by Partridge et al.?

Before proceeding, I must concede that the township of Laja turned out to not be such a good case study. The absence of development meant that it was difficult to draw any conclusions over the need to promote any particular condition as a requisite for successful ethnodevelopment. It would perhaps have been better to select a town where development was occurring and analyze why that development was occurring and what role each of the conditions for ethnodevelopment was playing in that process of development.

In Laja, several of the conditions for ethnodevelopment were clearly fulfilled but several clearly were not. It is not possible, however, given that there were ten different conditions proposed, to conclude that the absence of any one of them was the fundamental reason why ethnodevelopment was not occurring.

However, all is not lost. The results obtained in this study do allow me to make some qualitative value judgements on each of the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. Although they may not be totally conclusive they do give critical feedback on each of the individual conditions. As has been the practise throughout my thesis I will consider each condition in turn. As appropriate I will refer back to the wider theoretical framework, but as the central objective of my thesis was an evaluation of the work of Partridge et al. my focus will be on this article.

1. Possession of secure property rights to territory, land, water and other resources that are duly demarcated and titled.

Partridge et al. declare that the *main* condition for ethnodevelopment is secure land tenure (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 10) and that “*there is emerging evidence that when secure tenure to communal territories exists, ethnodevelopment quickly follows*” (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 13). I believe that the case study in Laja shows that it is not as easy as Partridge et al. claim and that they have adopted a position that is overly simplistic and optimistic on this issue.

As we have seen in Laja, there are many facets that are equally, if not more important, in the process of achieving ethnodevelopment, than simply having legal title to properties. Most residents in Laja held legal title to their properties but the absence of economic growth and the lack of contact with the outside world meant that ethnodevelopment was a long way from happening.

Van den Berg, quoting an earlier report by López and Valdés, state that “*farmers with secure land titles were found to be better off than those without, which lead the authors to conclude that land titling is a good investment*” (van den Berg 2002, p. 6). The need for secure land titles as a means of obtaining credit for investment and consequently for development, is set out at length by Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto in his book *The Mystery of Capital* (de Soto 2000). The absence of legal title limits growth and means that poor people remain poor.

The conclusion of both van den Berg and de Soto is that secure property titles is a key component for development and as such, they support the proposition of Partridge et al. that it should be a condition for ethnodevelopment. The case study in Laja neither supported nor disproved this proposal because although secure titles were present other factors hindered ethnodevelopment.

It is also important to note that for successful ethnodevelopment the key issue for indigenous people is access to natural resources and not just the fact of holding a legal title to them. It is the physical access to these resources that allows for food security and natural resource conservation. The security of access has been linked to both sustainable livelihoods and sustainable management of the natural resource base (Chambers 1988, p. 3).

Therefore, in light of the work of de Soto and others, and considering the spiritual and ideological link between indigenous peoples and their lands, secure land title are a central consideration for understanding these peoples and in many cases the obtaining of legal titles to their properties is a crucial first step for them in achieving stability and sustainability as a group in a modern context within wider society. Consequently, I would conclude that the ability of the indigenous people to obtain secure property rights to their territories is indeed an essential condition for ethnodevelopment.

2. Maintenance of food security through protecting and enhancing culturally appropriate activities including hunting and gathering, farming, fishing and animal husbandry.

The need to maintain and promote culturally appropriate activities that provide food security for the indigenous group must be central to any ethnodevelopment strategy.

At the risk of stating the obvious; there can be no ethnodevelopment of an indigenous group if that indigenous group has become extinct. For that reason there are a number of the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. that necessarily must form a key part of any ethnodevelopment initiative because in their absence the very survival of the group would be at risk. Food security is one of these conditions.

Korten points out that it is *“the economically and politically weak who inevitably bear the brunt of the burden of declining food security”* (Korten (1990, p. 12). The statistical reality of the growing inequality between the world's rich and the world's poor (Reid 1995, p. 6) means that the ability of the poor to provide for their own most basic needs will be an ever increasing challenge for them. For indigenous people this challenge rapidly becomes crucial because, if they can not guarantee their own food security, their existence comes into question.

Although the methods used for achieving food security will be different according to the indigenous group that one is talking about, the principle is the same; the indigenous group must be able to provide sufficient food to ensure their continuity without having to rely on outside sources. Food security must be guaranteed through activities that the indigenous people currently undertake, not by some future activities or tasks that it is planned that the indigenous group should be trained to do.

It should also be noted that the traditional activities used in the maintenance of food security often have an intrinsic value of their own aside from the role that they play in providing food. Hunting or farming practises are often century-old customs passed down from generation to generation and come to form key components in the cultural practises of the indigenous groups which are continued even after the food security question has been answered a different way.

In Laja, the food security issue was resolved by the fact that the residents could provide for their essential needs through their current agricultural practises.

3. Promotion of income-producing activities, including agriculture, craft production and wage labour, which lead to investment and improvement in the quality of life and well-being of the entire community.

One of the key conclusions to come out of the case study in Laja is that if there is no economic development, then there can be no ethnodevelopment. The total absence of income-producing activities, employment opportunities and general economic growth

meant that the rural community of Laja has stagnated. Worse than standing still, Laja is going backwards, there is no development at all. In the absence of this development, ethnodevelopment was not even a possibility.

It is important when talking of economic development to not lose sight of the possible negative consequences of economic development (the entrance of new consumer goods to the community, greater dependence on external conditions etc.) and not to be carried away by consumerism and make economic growth the central and sole focus of development, ignoring cultural and environmental issues. However, it is also important to not ignore the important role of economic development in providing opportunities for growth and investment in poverty reduction programs, aimed at improving the standard of living of the general population.

One of the first steps to achieving this improvement comes through economic growth and development at both an individual and at a community level. Van den Berg, quoting World Bank guidelines includes “*economic lifestyles*” as part of the ethnic identity of the indigenous group (van den Berg 2002, p. 1), thus emphasizing the central importance of economic development in the wider process of ethnodevelopment.

An interesting observation in the fieldwork in Laja was the fact that nearly all of the participants were involved in agricultural production but that many had other jobs. This diversification of income generation is something that was observed recently in another part of Bolivia, the departments of Chiquisaca and Potosí; “*Although most farmers still regard agriculture as their main activity, many derive most of their income from other sources*” (Zoomers 1999, p. 2). Van den Berg also comments on this phenomena when they state that “*rural is not synonymous with agriculture*” and that high percentages of indigenous people take on a “*secondary job*” to increase income (these percentages are higher than for non-indigenous people) (van den Berg 2002, p. 5). The fieldwork in Laja clearly supports the conclusions drawn by van den Berg and Zoomers in this regard.

Therefore, the third condition established by Partridge et al. is a fundamental cornerstone for ethnodevelopment and is totally justified in being there. The case study in Laja proved that.

4. Priority accorded to improving health conditions, including basic services such as potable water and sanitation measures, disease prevention and cures.

The background provided by Partridge et al. for their fourth condition for ethnodevelopment is based on two key observations. Firstly, that the percentage of indigenous people within the nation's total population, is relatively low in Latin America (about 10 percent of the total population) and secondly, that the disease profile of indigenous groups is characterized by high indices of "*maladies endemic to tropical and subtropical areas*" (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 15).

Neither of these observations by Partridge et al. are true in my case study. In Bolivia, the percentage of people who identify themselves with an indigenous group is higher than 60% with levels of Quechua at around 30% and Aymara at approximately 25%. Secondly, the Aymaran people dwell on the altiplano at over 4,000 metres above sea level in cold, harsh, desert-like conditions; therefore tropical diseases are the least of their concerns.

However, it is evident that in the development of a universally applicable strategy for ethnodevelopment that all possible scenarios are considered and it is clear that in many places the concerns expressed by Partridge et al. are very valid. Despite the different context, even in Laja itself health and sanitary conditions are indeed problem areas.

As previously mentioned, the preservation of the indigenous group itself is the first step towards ethnodevelopment, and this is even more of an issue for indigenous groups with smaller populations (as mentioned by Partridge et al.) so clearly a condition for ethnodevelopment must be the health care issue.

5. Maintenance of strong social organizations and the encouragement and enhancement of the ability to protect property, human and civil rights.

The fifth condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. is the first that I differ with. Strong social organizations⁴³ that promote the rights of indigenous groups have often played very important roles in the development of these groups. Uniting to share a larger cause has often brought positive results to the indigenous groups. According to Nieuwkoop and Uquillas;

Having strong social organizations is an essential entry condition because they are agents for change and are vital tools for self-management – a crucial element of ethnodevelopment.

(Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000, p. 6)

However, I would argue that these social organizations are not always necessary and their presence in the process is sometimes counter productive. The key issue is that the indigenous community finds cultural stability and opportunities for sustainable development. They may be assisted in this by wider social organizations but they may not. I would also disagree with Nieuwkoop and Uquillas' statement that social organizations "are vital tools for self-management" (Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000, p. 6). In many cases social organizations, in order to ensure their own existence, manage issues on behalf of indigenous groups instead of passing leadership and decision taking roles to these groups. This, in turn, hinders the indigenous group from taking ownership of the process, endangering the sustainability of the development initiative.

There is one highly publicized example in Bolivia of an eco-ethno-tourism venture in the north east of the country where an indigenous community started a project as a joint venture with finance from foreign funding agencies (both the World Bank and the UNDP were involved). In this example of ethnodevelopment (arguably a very successful example as the indigenous community has full ownership of the process

⁴³ In Bolivia, social organizations can technically mean just about any non-military organization but generally refers to trade union organizations, cultural groups, employer groups, employee federations, or social interests groups. In my thesis I am using the second, slightly more limited definition.

today, which is economically very sound) social organizations did not play a significant role.

Due to the fact that large social organizations necessarily represent the wider interests of a large group of people they are often better suited to defending the wider interests of the indigenous people before large stakeholders such as government but less suited to supporting individual indigenous groups in undertaking projects that increase their possibility of ethnodevelopment.

The very fact that the social organizations (whether they be union based organizations, territorial representations or others) are involved in lobbying greater causes means that the individual causes are often overlooked, and sometimes even run contrary to the wider objectives of the social organization. A common example is where a large social organization calls for protest measures to pressure the Government in a certain issue and these protests, strikes or marches restrict the ability of a rural community to transport their produce to markets in the city, causing an economic disaster for the individual community. This has happened on many occasions in Bolivia over the last few years.

Therefore, I am not saying that social organizations can never play a part in processes of ethnodevelopment but I am saying that their participation is not always necessary and consequently their participation should not be considered a condition for ethnodevelopment; I would take this one off the list.

6. Respect for the evolving cultural self-identity of the indigenous people.

The preservation and promotion of the cultural self-identity of the indigenous people is the central consideration of ethnodevelopment. Nieuwkoop and Uquillas state that the existence of indigenous populations with distinct characteristics is a “*rather obvious precondition*” (Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000, p. 11) for investment in ethnodevelopment. Hettne referred to ethnodevelopment as “*a model of development that releases the potential inherent in different ethnic groups*” (Hettne 1993, p. 2) thus emphasizing the fact that the development process must not alter the culture of the

indigenous group but rather use the cultural expressions already existent in the group to promote its development.

This of course requires that a strong cultural identity already exists in the indigenous group, and this may or may not be the case. When there is no such identity it is difficult for a process of ethnodevelopment to occur but when this identity is well established, and especially when the members of the indigenous group are aware of the importance of their culture and are actively taking measures to protect and maintain it, then ethnodevelopment is appropriate, and may well occur.

In Laja, the fieldwork clearly demonstrated that the Aymaran cultural identity is strong and is being respected by the community's inhabitants. Over 80% of the studies' participants considered that the Aymaran cultural identity was the same or stronger than it was five years ago (Table 34) and 67% could identify at least one activity that they were personally undertaking to protect this identity (Table 33).

There is no doubt that the sixth condition proposed by Partridge et al., respect for the evolving self-identity of the indigenous people, is a key consideration for any ethnodevelopment strategy, this condition clearly must stay.

7. Support for bilingual and multicultural education and training.

The preservation of the native language of the indigenous group and the promotion of their ways and interests within educational programs are important elements in maintaining the cultural integrity of the indigenous group. Van den Berg, in explaining that language spoken is one of the best indicators of ethnicity, point out that the United Nations accept language as "*a key variable in identifying ethnic groups*" (van den Berg 2002, p. 3).

The fieldwork in Laja clearly supports the importance granted to the speaking of indigenous languages by van den Berg and also by Partridge et al. Speaking Aymara was identified as the most common Aymaran cultural expression (see Table 32) and

78% of the participants expressed their preference for their children to receive some form of bi- or multi-lingual education (see Table 39).

As Partridge et al. point out, education has often been used as a tool for the assimilation of indigenous peoples into mainstream society (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 20) and therefore educational programs must be very careful in two issues. Firstly, to emphasize the use of the indigenous language and secondly to ensure that the amount of use of the dominate language and the speed at which it should be introduced into the indigenous group is controlled by the indigenous group itself. This grants the group ownership of the process and the ability to control the amount of usage of both the indigenous and the dominant language.

Despite the importance of bilingual education, I would argue that although it is a necessary condition for ethnodevelopment in all cases (because in its absence the sustainability of the indigenous group is at risk) it can be included in the previous condition, that of the cultural self-identity of the indigenous group. Instead of it being a distinct condition for ethnodevelopment, it is better to consider it an element of a strong cultural self-identity, as this will allow for a simplification of the conditions for ethnodevelopment, as explained at the end of this chapter.

Therefore, I would eliminate this seventh condition and incorporate bilingual education into the description of the cultural self-identity, as explained in the previous condition.

8. Granting political “voice” to indigenous people, including the acknowledgement by the government of political and human rights as citizens, the right to vote, equal participation and representation, and the promotion of indigenous legislation.

The need for the indigenous group to achieve recognition at an institutional level, thus granting a political voice and representation to promote the interests of this group is the eighth condition set out by Partridge et al.

In the Laja case study we saw that this has happened among the Aymaran people who have achieved levels of political representation previously unimaginable for this

indigenous group. This was very much related to the strong cultural self-identity of the Aymaran people today.

The presence of high levels of political representation ensure not only a political voice for the indigenous group today but also guarantees that the legislation that is enacted will protect and promote the rights and interest of these groups in the future. The absence of this political voice means that indigenous interests will not be protected in legislative initiatives today, thus making ethnodevelopment more difficult in the future.

The case study in Laja supports the conclusions of Clarke that;

The biggest explanation for this change [the progress of the indigenous groups] has been political liberalisation and movement towards more democratic and politically inclusive systems of government ... [which] ... has made governments more sensitive to the plight of indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities.

(Clarke 2001, p. 428)

In the case of the Aymaran people in Bolivia, it has been the decentralization and popular participation policy reforms of the 1990s which has increased the levels of participation in, and ownership of, the development processes involving these people. These policies have also helped facilitate greater participation in politics by the Aymaran people who have taken advantage of the favourable conditions to achieve a strong political voice.

The existence of full human and political rights to the citizens of the indigenous group is another essential element of ethnodevelopment. The absence of such rights, including the recognition of the indigenous people as full citizens, will restrict their exercise of legal mechanisms to achieve their objectives.

An important element that I believe should be included more explicitly in this condition is the gender issue. Gender equality is a key consideration in human rights but it is not mentioned at all by Partridge et al. The lack of gender equality will have the effect of continuing to reinforce unequal stereotypes which hinder the successful long term

development of the group. By including an analysis of gender equality it will require an evaluation of the state of progress in this area and hopefully create an awareness of the need to give greater equality to women (if that awareness does not exist). In indigenous groups where equality already exists, long term, sustainable processes of development, and ethnodevelopment, are more likely to occur.

Although I initially analysed the possibility of gender equality becoming a separate condition for ethnodevelopment I would propose that it be included within this condition (much as bilingual education should be included into the cultural self identity condition). In this way there will be a simplification of the conditions for ethnodevelopment, which I consider useful.

The eighth condition for ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. is totally justified and essential in any strategy for ethnodevelopment.

9. Respectful interaction and interchange with the national society and world including government and nongovernmental organizations, international development organizations and religious groups.

Partridge et al. claim that *"in nearly every example of indigenous development, the impetus towards organization has arisen out of contact, both positive and negative, with external forces ..."* (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 25). This may well be true but I am unsure that this should be the model that is aimed for in every case. Especially in light of the conclusions drawn by Gerard Clarke, in his analysis of ethnodevelopment in Southeast Asia; *"The activities of NGOs too can have a negative effect on indigenous people"* (Clarke 2001, p. 432). Also pessimistic is John Bodley who stated that; *"tribal peoples often do become impoverished by development, while only a few may benefit"* (Bodley 1983, p. 3).

I would contend that the possibility should exist for true indigenous development to be a product of a need identified by the indigenous group itself which has lead to an initiative that has improved living conditions for the group. However, having said that, I do accept that it is probably unlikely for a process of development to be initiated

without some contact with the outside world which lets the indigenous group know what it's missing or what needs exist. In this respect Partridge et al. are correct to maintain the need for interaction with national and international society.

In their definition of "*respectful interaction and interchange*" Partridge et al. include the concept of education. If the interaction comes through the education of members of the indigenous group who then have the ability to choose to either follow these patterns of development or not, then I would classify the interaction as beneficial and acceptable. Partridge et al., however, also stress that the interaction with the outside world may well be negative (for example, increased pressure on land or resources) and that this has often led to successful indigenous rights movements (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 25).

Therefore, the motivation for ethnodevelopment may come from either positive or negative contact with the outside world, but some contact is necessary. However, there is one thing that I believe is clear, that is, that the degree and characteristics of the contact must be decided by the indigenous group and not by the international development agency or other organization involved. Under these conditions, and with the guarantee of the ownership of the process of interaction in the hands of the indigenous group, I would conclude that this condition should remain as a condition for ethnodevelopment.

10. Promoting the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation.

The tenth condition proposed by Partridge et al. concerns the involvement of indigenous people in the conservation of the natural resources. Numerous studies explain the link between indigenous peoples and the conservation of the environment. The importance of indigenous knowledge of environmental conservation practises and the consequences when development agencies ignore such knowledge is explained by Behera and Erasmus (Behera and Erasmus 1999, p. 8) and Clarke draws a similar conclusion. In his research on ethnodevelopment in Southeast Asia, Clarke states that "*ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples have had their lifestyles and livelihoods eroded by exploitation of natural resources ...*" (Clarke 2001, p. 433).

Partridge et al. are therefore quite correct to point out that the participation of indigenous peoples is crucial if a strategy to conserve natural resources is to be successful. Interestingly, in this respect they mention that it is essential to promote the participation of both the Quichua (sic) and Aymaran people of the Andes if natural resource conservation strategies are to be successful in this area (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 27).

However, I would suggest that although the involvement of indigenous groups is undeniably essential for a natural resource strategy to be successful this does not necessarily mean that this is always an essential component for ethnodevelopment strategies. It may represent an important part of an ethnodevelopment initiative but it may not. Although it is true that environmental degradation undermines people's development efforts, it is also quite possible that a process of ethnodevelopment may happen without the involvement of natural resources or in which natural resources do not play a determinate part. It is also possible that a greater awareness of the need to conserve natural resources may result from a successful process of ethnodevelopment and not the other way around.

Therefore, I do not believe that the involvement of indigenous people in natural resource conservation should be on the list of conditions for ethnodevelopment because it is possible that ethnodevelopment may occur without this issue being central to the process at all.

I would conclude that seven of the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. are justified in being conditions for ethnodevelopment. Two conditions should be removed from the list and one should be incorporated into one of the seven conditions that remain. However, I propose that the conditions should be simplified through a process of reclassification. This reclassification, as well as some final comments on Laja, follows in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Towards a new classification

As will have been evident from my analysis of the ten conditions of ethnodevelopment proposed by Partridge et al. I am in general agreement with these conditions. Seven of the ten are of central importance and must form part of any ethnodevelopment strategy. One of the conditions, bilingual education, whilst important can be included in another of the conditions, the cultural self-identity of the indigenous group, and two of the conditions (the presence of social organizations and the need to involve the indigenous people in natural resource conservation) are not essential in all cases and therefore should not be considered conditions for ethnodevelopment.

Partridge et al. were no doubt motivated by a desire to make a comprehensive list of conditions that would include all possible circumstances and they did this well because there are few other conditions that I believe Partridge et al. failed to address in their analysis. There are only two elements which I believe must be added to the conditions set out by Partridge et al.

Firstly, as previously explained, the issue of gender equality is not mentioned by Partridge et al. and I believe that it should be considered in any ethnodevelopment initiative. The participation of women is central to the success of any development initiative because they bring opinions and perspectives of reality that are essential and often missed by men. The promotion of equality through the ethnodevelopment process should be an important goal and will therefore be included as part of the condition of the attaining of full human rights to the indigenous group.

Secondly, I believe that the concept of self-determination is essential for successful ethnodevelopment. This concept was introduced in the previous chapter, when I proposed a model for evaluating ethnodevelopment. I understand self-determination to

be a continuation from both participation and ownership, with self-determination including both of these important concepts but also implying that the indigenous group is in control of the wider processes of development that positively or negatively affect their community, more than just ownership of a certain development initiative.

I believe that self-determination is the third key element to ethnodevelopment, together with conventional development and the presence of a strong cultural self-identity. The absence of any one of these components means that a true process of sustainable ethnodevelopment will not be possible. This was shown in the three-circle model for evaluating ethnodevelopment that I developed and presented in Figure 1, Chapter 6.

Therefore, it is my opinion that the conditions for ethnodevelopment be rearranged around a framework set out by these three elements, as the three central components for ethnodevelopment. I believe that there could be benefit from reclassifying the conditions for ethnodevelopment to bring simplicity and thus promote better understanding. In light of this context (of simplification) I do not propose to create a separate condition for gender equality but rather to incorporate it into another of the existing conditions.

Before presenting my reclassification, it is important to note that there is no universal solution to ethnodevelopment. There are no special rules or formulas that can be applied in every case to guarantee success. What is required is a detailed analysis of the individual context and a consultation process, to promote, under local ownership, a development initiative that respects all the principles of ethnodevelopment and reflects the desires for development held by the indigenous group.

Another important consideration is that the conditions for ethnodevelopment can not be isolated one from another; rather they are inter-connected and inter-related (Partridge et al. 1996, p. 9). This is a principle that Hettne has earlier recognised; *“It should be stressed that the principles of ethnodevelopment are mutually supportive, constituting a package”* (Hettne 1993, p. 10). It is in the light of these observations of the inter-relationships that need exist, that I propose the following classification for the conditions of ethnodevelopment.

1. Development Conditions

- ✓ The presence of **secure property rights** to territories and (when applicable) other resources, including the natural resource base.
- ✓ The maintenance of **food security** through protecting and enhancing culturally appropriate activities such as hunting and gathering, farming, fishing and animal husbandry.
- ✓ Priority accorded to improving **health conditions**, including basic services such as potable water and sanitation measures, disease prevention and cures.
- ✓ The existence and promotion of **income-producing activities** which lead to investment and employment in the community.

2. Cultural Conditions

- ✓ Respect for the evolving **cultural self-identity** of the indigenous group, including the existence of bilingual education.

3. Self-Determination

- ✓ Granting **political “voice”** to the indigenous group, including the acknowledgement by the government of full political and human rights as citizens, the right to vote, equal participation and representation, gender equality and the promotion of indigenous legislation.
- ✓ **Respectful interaction and interchange** with national society and possibly the international community, under the conditions established by the indigenous group.

The conditions for ethnodevelopment reflect the model for measuring ethnodevelopment that I introduced in Chapter 6. That is because these are the conditions for the presence of ethnodevelopment and consequently the degree to which these conditions are present will also be the degree to which ethnodevelopment is successfully occurring.

It will be evident that there is no great differentiation from the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. and no apology is made for that. This is because the conditions set out by Partridge et al. in 1996 are, in general, very appropriate and accurately reflect the necessary characteristics of ethnodevelopment. It is, therefore, the conclusion of my thesis that, with the exceptions mentioned above, the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. have been validated by the case study in Laja.

Final comments

The Bolivian Aymara maintain a strong, active cultural identity that they have protected for centuries. This cultural foundation means that great potential exists for a successful process of ethnodevelopment to occur among them, although there are important issues that currently make this process unlikely. Economic opportunities need to be created on the altiplano and the Aymaran cultural characteristic of distrust towards outsiders must also be addressed.

A long history of oppression, by both Spanish conquerors and Bolivian *mestizo* leaders, combined with an introverted cultural nature due to the harsh climatic conditions on the altiplano mean that the Aymara are distrustful of their neighbours and aggressive towards other ethnic groups. These characteristics were confirmed both in my personal fieldwork in Laja and also in the wider social situation experienced by Bolivia in 2003.

An outbreak of significant social unrest and violence, beginning on the altiplano and then moving to the cities of El Alto, then La Paz and finally spreading to the rest of the country, led to the overthrow of President Sanchez de Lozada in October. This period of violence restricted the amount of fieldwork that I was able to undertake. However, I was able to interview sufficient participants to draw some preliminary conclusions.

The results of my fieldwork in Laja indicate that only four of the ten conditions proposed by Partridge et al. are currently fulfilled in Laja. Four are clearly not being fulfilled and two are unclear at this moment, requiring more investigation in order to make a conclusive judgement. In these circumstances it is not possible to conclusively identify which condition it was whose absence meant that no ethnodevelopment was

taking place, although I heavily suspect that the absence of income-producing activities has most to do with it.

The evaluation model for measuring ethnodevelopment that I develop in Chapter 6 contains three key elements; the presence of conventional development (that is, a process of development which incorporates economic, environmental and social issues), the presence of a strong cultural self-identity in the indigenous group, and finally the presence within the indigenous group of decision making powers, that is; self determination. In Laja at his time, due mainly to the difficult economic situation, there is no conventional development. There is a strong cultural self-identity within the Aymaran people but the level of control that the resident of Laja have over their own development is at best unclear and at worst very doubtful.

Therefore, it does not matter which method of evaluation and measurement that is used (whether it be the conditions proposed by Partridge et al. or my simpler evaluation model) the results are the same; there is no ethnodevelopment occurring in Laja.

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Appendix 1

The Questionnaires

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey



Participant Interview
“Households”
(A)

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Do you have legal title to your property? (1.3)
2. If not, what holds you back from obtaining this title? (1.3)
3. Approximately how many of your friends hold legal title to their property? (1.3)

All	.....
Nearly all	.....
About half	.....
Hardly any	.....
None	.....
4. Do you know of anyone who has had their land title taken away from them? How? Why? (1.5)
5. Where do you get water from? (1.4/4.2)
6. Do you have sufficient water for your use? (1.4/4.2)
7. How do you obtain your income? (3.1)
8. What are the foods you eat most? (2.3)
9. Do you grow any of your own food, or obtain it by hunting or fishing? (2.1)
10. Do you ever suffer from a shortage of food? (2.1)
11. If so, for how many months a year? (2.1)
12. How do you meet these shortages? (2.2)
13. What things do you do, which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymara? (That is, things that Bolivians from other ethnic groups wouldn't do) (6.1)
14. What measures do you take to protect your cultural identity as an Aymara? (6.1)
15. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? How? Why? (11.2)

16. Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years? How? Why? (11.2)
17. How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity? (6.2)
18. In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
19. How have levels of employment in Laja changed over the last five years? (11.2)
20. How has your quality of life changed over the last five years? (11.2)
21. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?

Under 30	.....
30 to 50	.....
Over 50	.....
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.

First	.....
Second	.....
Third	.....
Fourth	.....
Fifth	.....
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?

100%	...
75%	...
50%	...
25%	...
0%	...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey

Participant Interview **“Households”** **(B)**

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. If you are ill, where would you seek medical assistance? (4.1)
2. For what reasons do you choose that option? (4.1)
3. What things do you do, which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymara? (That is, things that Bolivians from other ethnic groups wouldn't do) (6.1)
4. What measures do you take to protect your cultural identity as an Aymara? (6.1)
5. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? How? Why? (11.2)
6. Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years? How? Why? (11.2)
7. How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity? (6.2)
8. Did you exercise your right to vote in the last Presidential elections in 2002? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
9. If you committed a criminal offence, do you believe you would receive a fair trial? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
10. Do you believe that, in practice, all Bolivians are equal before the law? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
11. Have you ever felt discriminated against on the basis of your race? If so, please explain. (8.1)
12. Have you ever felt discriminated against on the basis of your gender? If so, please explain. (8.1)

13. Have you ever felt discriminated against on the basis of your religion? If so, please explain. (8.1)
14. Have you ever felt discriminated against on the basis of your political opinion? If so, please explain. (8.1)
15. How many Aymaran politicians do you know in national politics? (8.3)
16. How many Aymaran politicians do you know in Local Government politics? (8.3)
17. Do you know of anyone from Laja in National Politics? (8.3)
18. In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
19. How have levels of employment in Laja changed over the last five years? (11.2)
20. How has your quality of life changed over the last five years? (11.2)
21. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?

Under 30	.....
30 to 50	.....
Over 50	.....
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.

First	.....
Second	.....
Third	.....
Fourth	.....
Fifth	.....
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?

100%	...
75%	...
50%	...
25%	...
0%	...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey

Participant Interview **“Households”** **(C)**

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. What facilities exist for garbage disposal/sewerage systems? (4.2)
2. What do you think about the sanitary conditions in Laja? (4.2)
3. What national social organizations are active in Laja? (5.1)
4. What do these organizations do? (5.2)
5. What is your attitude towards these organizations? (5.3)
6. What things do you do, which you consider are expressions of your identity as an Aymara? (That is, things that Bolivians from other ethnic groups wouldn't do) (6.1)
7. What measures do you take to protect your cultural identity as an Aymara? (6.1)
8. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? How? Why? (11.2)
9. Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years? How? Why? (11.2)
10. How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity? (6.2)
11. How many schools are there in Laja? (7.1)
12. In what languages do these schools teach? (7.1)
13. In what language would you prefer your children to be taught? (7.2)
14. What national or international NGOs work in Laja? (9.1)
15. What is your opinion about these organizations? (9.2)

16. Do you know of anyone in Laja who works, or is active in the conservation of natural resources? (10.1/10.2)
17. Do you know of any outside agency that works in the conservation of natural resources? (10.1)
18. What is your opinion towards these initiatives (conserving natural resources)? (10.3)
19. In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
20. How have levels of employment in Laja changed over the last five years? (11.2)
21. How has your quality of life changed over the last five years? (11.2)
22. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?
 - Under 30
 - 30 to 50
 - Over 50
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.
 - First
 - Second
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?
 - 100% ...
 - 75% ...
 - 50% ...
 - 25% ...
 - 0% ...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey

Participant Interview **“Key Community Representatives”**

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Does the law allow for people to hold legal title to their property? (1.1)
2. What percentage of people in Laja would you estimate hold legal title to their property? (1.3)
3. What is the main obstacle to people obtaining legal title? Why? (1.3)
4. Is water available to everyone in Laja? (1.4)
5. In the past, have there been conflicts or disputes over land? (1.5)
6. Have land title ever been taken away from people? How? Why? (1.5)
7. What crops are grown by the residents of Laja? (2.1)
8. Do families grow enough food, or obtain enough food through hunting or fishing, to feed themselves? (2.1)
9. For how many months of the year are there food shortages? (2.1)
10. How are the shortages met? (2.2)
11. What are the main economic activities of the residents of Laja? (3.1)
12. Which of these activities provide the most income? (3.2)
13. Which of these activities provide the least income? (3.2)
14. The money that is invested in Laja, where does it come from? (3.3)
15. Can you give an estimate of the amount of money that is invested in Laja? (3.3)
16. What health care facilities exist in Laja, both “modern” medicine and traditional health care people? (4.1)
17. To what percentage of the population of Laja is health care affordable? (4.1)
18. What percentage of homes have access to potable water? (4.2)
19. What facilities exist to take care of sewerage? (4.2)
20. Do you have any other comments on the sanitary condition in Laja? (4.2)
21. What national social organizations are active in Laja (5.1) and what do they do? (5.2)

22. What do you believe is the general attitude of the residents of Laja towards these organizations? Why? (5.3)
23. What cultural expressions best typify or represent the Aymara people of Laja? (6.1)
24. How do you think that the residents of Laja feel about their cultural self-identity as Aymara? (6.1)
25. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity in Laja is stronger now than five years ago? Why? (11.2)
26. Have Aymaran cultural expressions in Laja changed over the last five years? How? Why? (11.2)
27. How do you think that the outside organizations (both national and international) present in Laja respect the Aymaran cultural identity? (6.2)
28. How many schools are there in Laja? (7.1)
29. In what languages do these schools teach? (7.1)
30. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full political rights, for example; the right to vote? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
31. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full political rights, for example; the right to a fair trial? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
32. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full political rights, for example; the right to equality before the law? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
33. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their race? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
34. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their gender? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
35. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their religious beliefs? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
36. In your opinion, do the people of Laja have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their political beliefs? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
37. How many Aymaran politicians do you know in national politics? (8.3)
38. How many Aymaran politicians do you know in Local Government politics? (8.3)
39. Do you know of anyone from Laja in National Politics? (8.3)
40. What national or international NGOs work in Laja? (9.1)
41. What do these organizations do? (9.1)
42. In your opinion, what is the attitude of Laja's residents towards these organizations? (9.2)
43. Does anyone in Laja work in the conservation of natural resources? (10.1/10.2)
44. Does any outside agency work in the conservation of natural resources? (10.1)
45. In your opinion, what is the attitude of Laja's residents towards these initiatives (conserving natural resources)? (10.3)
46. In your opinion, has the economic situation in Laja improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
47. How have levels of employment changed in Laja over the last five years? (11.2)
48. How has the quality of life changed in Laja over the last five years? (11.2)
49. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?
 - Under 30
 - 30 to 50
 - Over 50
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.
 - First
 - Second
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?
 - 100% ...
 - 75% ...
 - 50% ...
 - 25% ...
 - 0% ...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey

Participant Interview “Health Care Clinic”

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Please tell me about the health care facilities that exist in Laja, both “modern” medicine facilities and traditional health care people. (4.1)
2. To what percentage of the population of Laja is health care affordable? (4.1)
3. Please tell me about the general health conditions of the residents in Laja (as compared with other rural areas, the city, etc.)? (4.3)
4. Please tell me about the sanitary conditions in Laja (4.2)?
5. What percentage of homes have access to potable water? (4.2)
6. What facilities exist to take care of sewerage? (4.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?
Under 30
30 to 50
Over 50
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.
First
Second
Third
Fourth
Fifth
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?
100% ...
75% ...
50% ...
25% ...
0% ...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Participant Interview **“Local School Principal”**

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. How many schools are there in Laja? (7.1)
2. In what languages do the schools teach? (7.1)
3. Why is/are this/these the language/s that are taught? (7.1)
4. In which languages do Aymaran parents prefer their children to be taught? (7.2)
5. Please tell me your opinion on the availability of bilingual (Spanish – Aymara) education to Aymaran people in Bolivia? (7.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?
Under 30
30 to 50
Over 50
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.
First
Second
Third
Fourth
Fifth
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?
100% ...
75% ...
50% ...
25% ...
0% ...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

Brent Rapson
University of Massey

Participant Interview **“Local Bank Manager”**

(A) GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How long have you lived in Laja?
2. If less than five (5) years, where did you live before?

(B) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Can you please tell me what the main economic activities of Laja are? (3.1)
2. Which of these activities provide the most income? (3.2)
3. Which of these activities provide the least income? (3.2)
4. The money that is invested in Laja, where does it come from? (3.3)
5. Can you give an estimate of the amount of money that is invested in Laja? (3.3)
6. Does the financial entity that you represent, grant loans to people in Laja? Please explain. (3.3)
7. In your opinion, has the economic situation improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
8. How have levels of employment changed over the last five years? (11.2)
9. How has the quality of life changed over the last five years? (11.2)
10. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

(C) PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. To which age group do you belong to?
 - Under 30
 - 30 to 50
 - Over 50
4. Please list the languages you speak in order of fluency.
 - First
 - Second
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth
5. To what degree do you consider yourself Aymara?
 - 100% ...
 - 75% ...
 - 50% ...
 - 25% ...
 - 0% ...

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information **Aymaran Advisors**

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Can you please tell me about the history of Aymaran peoples on the Altiplano with respect to the issue of land titles? (1.5)
2. Can you tell me about the role that social organizations play within Aymaran culture? (5.4)
3. Can you tell me about how Aymaran people on the Altiplano (preferably in Laja) view their cultural identity as Aymaran and what practical steps do they take to protect this identity? (6.3)
4. What expressions are the most typical of Aymara culture? (6.3)
5. Do you believe that the Aymaran cultural identity is stronger now than five years ago? Why? / Why not? (11.2)
6. Have Aymaran cultural expressions changed over the last five years? How? Why? (11.2)
7. Can you tell me about the availability of bilingual education (Spanish-Aymara) to Aymara people on the Altiplano (preferably in Laja)? (7.2)
8. How much representation is there within National Government by indigenous groups? (8.3)
9. How much representation is there within Local Government by indigenous groups? (8.3)
10. How much representation is there in National Government by Aymaran people? (8.3)
11. How much representation is there in Local Government by Aymaran people? (8.3)
12. Do you know of anyone from Laja in National Government? (8.3)
13. What explanation would you give to explain these patterns (questions 6-10)? (8.3)
14. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to vote? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
15. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to stand for election? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
16. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to a fair trial? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
17. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to be treated equally before the law? Why? / Why not? (8.2)

18. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to liberty and freedom of movement? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
19. In theory, are the political rights (for example, those mentioned above in questions 12-16) of the Aymara (specifically those from Laja) in any way different to those of general Bolivia citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
20. In practise, are the political rights (for example, those mentioned above in questions 12-16) of the Aymara (specifically those from Laja) in any way different to those of general Bolivia citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
21. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to life and security of person? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
22. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to freedom of thought and expression? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
23. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their race? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
24. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their gender? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
25. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their religious beliefs? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
26. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those from Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their political beliefs? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
27. In theory, are these human rights (mentioned above in questions 19-24) of the Aymaran people (specifically in Laja) in any way different to those of Bolivian citizens in general? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
28. In practise, are these human rights (mentioned above in questions 19-24) exercised by the Aymaran people (specifically in Laja) the same way as by other Bolivian citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
29. Does Bolivia have any laws that you know of that specifically recognise the rights of indigenous people, or more specifically of the Aymaran people? (8.4)
30. What is the general attitude of Aymaran people towards National and International NGOs, social organizations and religious groups? (9.3)
31. What is the general attitude of Aymaran people towards natural resources conservation? (10.4)
32. In your opinion, has the economic situation of the Aymara townships on the Altiplano improved, worsened or remained the same over the last five years? (11.2)
33. How has the quality of life in these townships changed over the last five years? (11.2)
34. Do you believe that the people of Laja are in control of their own development? (11.2)

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information **Lawyer**

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Please explain how Bolivian law treats the issue of legal title over land and water? (1.1/1.4)
2. Therefore, according to Bolivian law, legal title over land is possible? (Y/N) (1.1)
3. Therefore, according to Bolivian law, legal title over water is possible (Y/N) (1.1/1.4)
4. In your experience, what percentage of rural Aymara on the Bolivian Altiplano hold legal title to their property? (1.1)
5. In your experience, what is the main hindrance to them obtaining legal title? (1.1)
6. Does Bolivian law grant any special privileges or impose any specific difficulties on indigenous peoples (specifically Aymaran people) that affect the ability of these people to obtain legal title? (1.2)
7. Is there a history of disputes or conflicts over land titles in the Aymaran Altiplano, more specifically in Laja? (1.5)
8. Have land titles ever been taken away from Aymaran people on the Altiplano (specifically in Laja)? (1.5)
9. Does Bolivia have any laws that specifically recognise the rights of indigenous peoples? (8.4)
10. What is the scope of these laws? (8.4)
11. How do they affect, in practise, the indigenous peoples? (8.4)
12. Does Bolivia have any laws that specifically recognise the rights of Aymaran people? (8.4)
13. How much representation is there within National Government by indigenous groups? (8.3)
14. How much representation is there within Local Government by indigenous groups? (8.3)
15. How much representation is there in National Government by Aymaran people? (8.3)
16. How much representation is there in Local Government by Aymaran people? (8.3)
17. Do you know of anyone from Laja in National Government? (8.3)
18. What explanation would you give to explain these patterns (questions 13-17)? (8.3)
19. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to vote? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
20. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to stand for election? Why? / Why not? (8.2)

21. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to a fair trial? Why? /Why not?(8.2)
22. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to be treated equally before the law? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
23. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (specifically those from Laja) have full political rights, for example; the right to liberty and freedom of movement? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
24. In theory, are the political rights (for example, those mentioned above in questions 19-23) of the Aymara (specifically those from Laja) in any way different to those of general Bolivia citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
25. In practise, are the political rights (for example, those mentioned above in questions 19-23) of the Aymara (specifically those from Laja) in any way different to those of general Bolivia citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.2)
26. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to life and security of person? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
27. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to freedom of thought and expression? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
28. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their race? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
29. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their gender? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
30. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their religious believes? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
31. In your opinion, do Aymaran people (more specifically those form Laja) have full human rights, for example; the right to not be discriminated against on the basis of their political believes? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
32. In theory, are these human rights (mentioned above in questions 26-31) of the Aymaran people (specifically in Laja) in any way different to those of Bolivian citizens in general? Why? / Why not? (8.1)
33. In practise, are these human rights (mentioned above in questions 26-31) exercised by the Aymaran people (specifically in Laja) the same way as by other Bolivian citizens? Why? / Why not? (8.1)

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information
National Statistics Institute (INE)

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Health statistics for Laja? (4.3)
2. Health statistics for Aymara? (4.4)
3. Bilingual education statistics for Laja? (7.1)
4. Bilingual education statistics for Aymara? (7.2)
5. Economic statistics for Laja? (11.1)
6. Employment statistics for Laja? (11.1)

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”


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Background Information
Ministry of Health

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Please tell me about the dietary habits of rural Aymara people, if possible from the Laja region (2.3)
2. Therefore, what would be the staple diet? (2.3)
3. Please tell me about the health conditions of rural Aymara people, if possible from the Laja region? (4.3/4.4)

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information
National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA)

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. What percentage of people in Laja have legal title to their property? (1.3)
2. Those that do not have legal title, what would be the main reasons for them not having this document? (1.3)
3. Currently what are the main issues in Bolivian land reform?
4. Are there any plans for future land reforms that may enable the residents of Laja to obtain legal title to their lands?

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information
Regulatory Superintendence for Natural Resources
(SIRENARE)

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Please tell me about the Aymaran people’s philosophy regarding natural resource conservation. (10.4)
2. How would Aymaran theories and practises of natural resource conservation differ from other Bolivian ethnic groups? (10.4)
3. Do you know of any Aymara-based initiatives to conserve natural resources? (10.4)
4. Do you know of any initiatives to conserve natural resources in Laja? (10.2)

“Ethnodevelopment within the Bolivian Aymara”

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Background Information **World Health Organization (WHO)**

(A) ETHNODEVELOPMENT INFORMATION

1. Please tell me about the dietary habits of rural Aymara people, if possible from the Laja region (2.3)
2. Therefore, what would be the staple diet? (2.3)
3. How do people get the food they need for their subsistence needs? (2.3)
4. Do shortages of food exist? (2.2)
5. How are these shortages met? (2.2)
6. Please tell me about the health conditions of rural Aymara people, if possible from the Laja region? (4.3/4.4)