

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS; DEVELOPMENT ACTORS IN BOLIVIA?

A CASE STUDY OF HOW 'COCALEROS' MOVEMENTS PERCEIVE THEIR ROLE IN BOLIVIAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

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This Master Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Master thesis

*Social Movements; development actors in Bolivia? A case study of how
'cocaleros' movements perceive their role in Bolivian development processes.*

By

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Abstract

In the last decades the Bolivian social movements started gaining force and raising their voices against the injustices and the inefficiency of the governments to give solution to their problems. During the last 20 years the movements have started to gain control and force, but many of the movements have a longer history. One of them is the *cocaleros* movement, the coca leaf growers' movement. They spent more than thirty years fighting for what they considered to be their rights; they practically started from zero and created a strong organization that represents not only their particular interests, but the collective identity of their people.

This thesis, based on a six months research among the *cocaleros* communities, academicians and civil society shows how this social movement emerged, how it has evolved over time and how its leaders managed to create perhaps the strongest social movement in the history of Bolivia. The *cocaleros* movement was the first social movement that created a 'political instrument' (the political party MAS), a party that won for the second time in the Bolivian history, with majority, the national presidential elections. As such, the movement has truly assisted in giving Bolivia its first indigenous president, the former *cocalero* leader Evo Morales. This thesis explores how the members of the *cocaleros* movement perceive their role in the Bolivian society; how they feel the impacts of their actions have changed Bolivia. The thesis will also discuss whether they are really changing the Bolivian context or if they are merely following a political discourse. Finally, the thesis also describes the way this social movement is seen by other sectors of society, sectors who may or may not agree with the new government that is somehow closely related to the *cocaleros* social movement.

Acknowledgments

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADEPCOCA	Asociación de Productores de Coca – Coca Producers Department Association
ANAPCOCA	Asociación Nacional de Productores de Coca – Coca Producers National Association
CAINCO	Cámara de Industria, Comercio y Turismo de Santa Cruz – Chamber of Industry, commerce and turismo of Santa Cruz
CIDOB	Central Indígena de Bolivia – Bolivian Indigenous Head Office
CNCB	Confederación Nacional de Colonizadores de Bolivia – Bolivian Settlers’ National Confederation
COB	Central Obrera Boliviana – Bolivian Workers’ Head Office
COFECAY	Consejo de Federaciones de Campesinos de Yungas La Paz - Los Yungas Country Communities Federations Council
COR	Central Obrera Regional – Regional Central Labour Union
CPE	Constitución Política del Estado – Bolivian State Constitution
CSCB	Confederación Sindical de Colonizadores de Bolivia – Bolivian Confederation of Settlers Joints

CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia - Bolivian Unique Country Workers' Confederation
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
EGTK	Ejército Guerrillero Tupac Katari – Guerrilla Army Tupac Katari
FDUTCLP-TK	Federación Departamental Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de La Paz ‘Tupac Katari’ – La Paz Unique Department Federation of Country Labourers
FEDJUVE	Federación de Juntas Vecinales – Neighbour Joints Federation
FTC	Fuerza de Tarea Conjunta – Mutual Task Force
MAS	Movimiento Al Socialismo – Movement Towards Socialism (Political Party)
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario – Nationalis Revolutionary Movement (Political Party)
MST	Movimento dos Tralbahadores rurais sem Terra – Rural Workers without Land Movement
PIDYS	Programa Integral de Desarrollo y Sustitución – Integral Program for Development and Substitution
PND	Plan Nacional de Desarrollo – Development National Plan
SM	Social Movements
UMOPAR	Unidades Móviles de Patrullaje Rural - Mobile Rural Patrol Units
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. Introduction

“In the last two decades Bolivia has seen great changes in the way the Bolivian society organizes, particularly with regards to the economic structures and political institutions that govern” (Hoffman, S. et al 2006:11).

According to Arnold, D. and Spedding, A. (2005:15) a social movement describes a mobilization group or unit that shares a position and / or special interests that will benefit a large portion of population. A social movement rises as a collective of actions before the existence of a conflict that the State is unable to give solution to. In this sense a social movement is able to influence political and social processes such as the improvement of the institutional basis of democratization. Its institutional base may be more or less formal, but in general, a social movement has a long life and a projection into the future. Social movements project their future with the aim of implementation and realization of their particular interests. Social movements are not static; they are highly dynamic, as the dynamic political and social cycles which they face.

Social Movements in Latin America have a relatively short history, gaining strong presence in the early 1990's. They had been characterized for dealing with specific issues that required community organization as a fundamental basis for their ways of gathering and action. Their actions were directed to criticize and find solutions to problems that attained human rights, ethnicity, social inclusion, and indigenous identities recognition and gender equality.

For example, the indigenous ‘Zapatistas’ movements in México fought for years for equality and better life conditions and opportunities of all community members, regardless of their ethnicities, in Chiapas México (Soto, J., 2005:1). Social movements can also attain habitat and property issues, like the MST in Brazil (*Movimento dos trabalhadores rurais sem terra*: people without land), that claim land for those who always worked the land, but never owned it. These social movements have achieved social change in their respective countries, being a development force for their communities.

Bolivia is not an exception to the social movements ‘phenomenon’. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have existed in the country since the 1950's. Social movements play an interesting and very active role in the history of Bolivia. Since 1952 civil society and indigenous groups have played a key role for the achievement of universal social rights for all Bolivians; rights as universal vote (for women and indigenous), universal and mandatory education and land distribution reform, among others (Toussaint, E., 2008:3). Labour organizations and workers federations were the ‘opposition’ force to the governmental decisions that affected negatively their integrants. Over the years these labour and workers federations evolved into social movements and their actions have had important effects and impacts on Bolivia.

Considering the context outlined above and the current political situation, the study of Social Movements is a topic of great relevance and interest for the present political and social settings in Bolivia. A fact that characterizes the present decade in Bolivian politics is the presence of Social Movements (SM) as participative actors that combine demands with proposals of political transformation (Mayorga, F. 2007:1). The relationship between social movements and the political institutions in Bolivia were for many years characterized by

confrontations with the government. From mainly demanding the implementation of social rights, social movements have begun to widen the policy space and promoting reforms of the State and citizenship in several dimensions: civil, political, social and cultural dimensions.

Social movements have extended the exercise of social and political rights; they have institutionalized the political participation of citizens. Regarding the cultural rights, the *cocaleros* (coca growers) social movement has particularly raised the attention towards local customs and practices as a basis for a culturally diverse society. With the current president, the former *cocalero* grower leader Evo Morales, there is an unprecedented situation where there is a close relationship between the ruling political party (MAS: Movement Towards Socialism) and many of the country's social movements. The Government itself has defined its administration as closely related to the social movements, establishing new relationship landmarks for the State with such social movements (Lora, J., 2007:2). The election of Evo Morales as President of the Republic of Bolivia was historic for many reasons. Besides being the first indigenous president, the revolution Morales is encouraging is not only political or economical, it is cultural, as the president himself states (Poggi, N., 2008). This cultural change is precisely where the social movements of Bolivia play a key role. As previously said, Evo Morales has a background from the *cocaleros* movement and he has received their support since the beginning of his political carrier.

The electoral triumph of Morales had drawn a symbolic frontier between two epochs: one, the so called neo-liberalist period (1985-2004) which vanishes on the horizon after the success of the political party MAS (in 2005). And the new epoch, whose contours have not been defined yet. This new period emerges as the contingent result of social struggles; it is the result of social conflicts, sacrifices, what may be perceived as heroic acts for some and foolish choices for others. The triumph of Morales can be translated as a turning point in the collective action of the coca growers syndicates as these social movements focused on struggles for the rights of indigenous people and became a political movement with an adopted strategy of power involvement and a strong cultural identity.

There are many different social movements in Bolivia, but this research focuses on the *cocaleros* (coca growers) as this social movement nowadays it is the strongest, the better organized and the one which seemingly has the most decision power in the country. Throughout this thesis I explore the components of the movement, how the *cocaleros* are organized, how they perceive their role in the development of the Bolivian country, how they manage their actions, and how they interact with the State. In other words, the focus of this research is to understand the *cocaleros* and their movement from their own point of view. Moreover, I focus on how the movement and its members perceive their role in society and in current development, as well as how they are perceived by the other sectors of the population in Bolivia.

The study will cover a time period starting with the birth of the movement but placing more emphasis on the time span from the early 1990's till the present. An important reason for emphasising this period is that the government in the early 1990s adopted privatizations and market liberalization reforms that constituted a 'step backwards' for the labour movements. The reforms accelerated the evolution of the social movements. As Toussaint has pointed out; "During the 1990's the unions of coca leaf growers become the crucial element of social movements. The indigenous dimension of their social struggle becomes more extensively than in previous decades" (Toussaint, E., 2008:3).

The research explores the social movements from its members' point of view. Such an approach contributes to the study of social movements and their perspectives on the role they play in the Bolivian social development. The majority of the existing researches done in Bolivia on social movements are mostly descriptive as they focus on the nature of their collective action and the description of their struggles. This research, however, starts with an exploration of the identity of *cocaleros* social movement actors, it discusses what touches upon their unique way of organizing and responding to those identified as their opponents. Such an approach will help the reader to familiarize with the *cocaleros* movement, to understand the *cocalero*, their struggle and objectives, the growth of the movement and its participation and degree of influence in the Bolivian State

In this sense this work aims to contribute to the current debate on social movements and their role in the Bolivian social development, through a case study of the *cocaleros* movement. In order to do so, it is necessary to acquaint the readers with the creation and dynamics of social movements, and to make them realise how these social movements are challenging the structural flaws and forms of exclusion and inequality accumulated throughout the history of Bolivia.

1.1. General Objective and Research Questions

As briefly outlined above, the general objective of the research is to study the *cocaleros* social movements; how they are organized, their way of action and ability of influence in the political and social sphere, the way in which members of this social movement perceive the movement as developer of political and social change. Moreover, it seeks to understand how other actors in society perceive the movement's political and social influence.

In this thesis I provide a precision of the definition of social movements and the conception of *cocaleros* movement as a social movement in Bolivia, given that the proliferation of other concepts as 'social organizations' can at some times be used indifferently in the political or social discourse in Bolivia. I outline the characteristics that distinguish a social movement from other collective associations in Bolivia through giving emphasis to their organizational, institutional and historical factors (Touraine 1996 cited in Zapata, A., 2006:14). These aspects will help to understand the conception of *cocaleros* as a social movement in a Bolivian perspective, their evolution during history, and the aspects that were key in that evolution, the way they are organized and what kind of institution they are in the Bolivian country.

In order to respond to the objectives, a range of research questions have also guided the research; these latter ones with the aim of analysing the *cocaleros* social movements in Bolivia. Therefore the interest of the research is implied in answering the identified research questions.

- What social movements are in the Bolivian context?
- What is the particular history of the *cocaleros* movement in Bolivia?
- Who are members of the *cocaleros* social movement? How are they structured and how are they organized?

- How do leading actors and members inside the *cocaleros* Social Movements perceive their own role in current politics and in the development process in Bolivia? To what extent do they find that they have influence?
- To what extent does the *cocaleros* social movement influence affect the development in Bolivia?
- How is the role of social movements perceived by the different sectors of the society in Bolivia?

1.2. Guidance to further reading

In the following chapter I provide an outline of the research area. This chapter is divided in two subsections where the first shows the characteristics of two differentiated geographical regions in Bolivia *los Yungas* and *el Chapare* since these are known as the *cocaleros* movements' headquarters. The second section is an outline of the history of social movements in Bolivia where my aim is to provide the reader with knowledge about the Bolivian context and the level of participation and involvement of social movements in Bolivia.

Chapter Three is dedicated to the theoretical framework; after the literature review was realized the theories used to shape the research about social movements in Bolivia were selected and showed. In this chapter there is also a section outlining a specific theory used by the indigenous and *cocaleros* movements. I have included this theory to illustrate how members of the studied movement think about themselves. Chapter Four is devoted to the methodology of the research; the approach selected for the research, how the field work was realized, the information analyzed and the shortcomings experienced during the study.

In Chapter Five I present the analysis of the findings collected during the fieldwork. This chapter is divided in three subsections; the first explains the *cocaleros* way of organization, how they are structured and how decisions are taken inside the organization. The second subsection shows the analysis of the *cocaleros* movements as a social movement in Bolivia, identifying its characteristics and actors. The final section is dedicated to the analysis of how members of the *cocaleros* movements' perceive their actions and role on the Bolivian development, the achievements they consider they've had and their level of influence in the actual political regime. This section also shows how other actors of the Bolivian society perceive *cocaleros* involvement in the government and role in society. Finally, the thesis has a concluding chapter where the main details are recapitulated.

2. Geographical and thematic study Area

In this chapter I describe the regions of Bolivia where coca social movements arose and I also make a historical review. However, before going into details, I will start this chapter by explaining the importance of coca leaf for indigenous people in Bolivia.

Coca leaf is important for a great part of the Bolivian population for many reasons. The coca cropping is an economic and cultural activity with more than a thousand of years of history in the region now known as Peru and Bolivia. According archaeological evidence all the indigenous cultures from the Andean Latin American has chewed coca. And the coca leaf for all these cultures has been sacred "a gift from the gods" (Silva, S., c.a 2003:1).

The coca leaves has had many uses during its history. It has always had a great importance as a religious symbol in the Andean spirituality used to conduct religious rituals. At important festivities coca leaves never lacked. Ancients Andeans used coca for medical purposes. Until today the uses described above are still employed, not only by the indigenous people, but by a large part of the Bolivian population. Workers use it to gain resistance, deceive hunger and work hard for more than ten hours on a row; students and transporters use it to avoid falling asleep at night. Among the medicinal uses, coca tea is good for the altitude sickness, and many anaesthetics are derived from the decomposition of coca (Cajías F., and Cajías, M., 1994:2).

The coca leaves has been produced in Bolivia since ancient times, and it was a very valuable good in pre-Columbian times. Traditionally, the region of *Los Yungas* represented the main area for growing coca in all the semi-tropical valleys. Besides, in the 1970's, regions such as *El Chapare* and bordering places to Santa Cruz came up as increasing coca growing centres. This way, coca growing turned out to be an ideal crop. Moreover, it has the advantage of being a sort of crop that is not attacked by plagues which wreak havoc on other sort of agricultural products. What is more, the bushes produce almost three or four harvests a year, which allows farmers to have regular incomes. Last, but no least, is the fact that the coca leaf has a higher price compared to those of alternative products such as fruits or coffee.

According to an economical study made by Silvia Rivera (2003:150), the legal coca activity is estimated to amount to around fifty million dollars a year. And according to Dr. Spedding at the University of San Andres in La Paz, the illegal coca activity (traffic of coca leaves, not cocaine production) helped Bolivia in the times of the economic crisis in the 1980's. In other words, the economical significance that coca has for indigenous people dedicated to this activity are sometimes not measurable. What is clear however, is that with the earnings of the coca farming, Bolivians are able to sustain a family, to educate their children and also to save a little for future emergencies. This is why the coca leaf is important for a large part of the Bolivian population.

2.1. Geographical Area of Study

The base of the coca grower movement is located in the regions of *Los Yungas* in La Paz, and in the tropical area of Cochabamba, since it is in these regions where coca leaves are cropped.

2.1.1. *Los Yungas* in La Paz

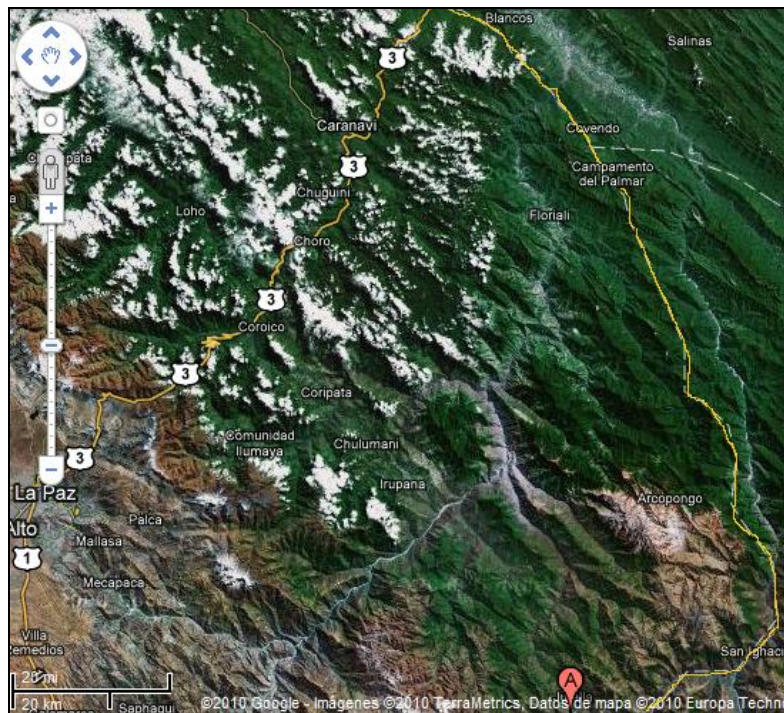
Los Yungas lie in the tropical region of the department of La Paz. *Los Yungas* are made up by the three provinces of *Yungas*: *Nor Yungas*, *Sur Yungas* and *Inquisivi*. The province of *Nor Yungas* is composed by two municipal areas: *Coroico* and *Coripata*, which are located in the traditional region of *los Yungas*. There is also an independent province called *Caranavi*. This also belongs to *Nor Yungas*. The province of *Sur Yungas* includes a part of the mountain range, the region of *Lambate*, part of *Irupana*, *Yanacachi* and *Chulumani* sections (considered traditional zones), whereas *La Asunta* and *Palos Blancos* are colonization zones, as their colonization increased during the agrarian reform in 1953. Finally, we can mention *Inquisivi*, composed of: the *Inquisivi*, *Jutalla* and *Quime* sections.

Los Yungas is a purely agricultural region where there is no cattle raising. The population is composed mainly by farmers. Only small parts of the urban population, the so-called “neighbours”, receive their income from other activities, such as trade, transport and tourism. Some of them are also civil servants or professionals (Spedding, A., 2004:83). But by and large, this is a region in which, even though coca growing is not general, there is a big consumption of coca, both as the traditional infusion and the “*akhullico*” (chewing the leaves and keeping them in the mouth). Their use is not confined to *Los Yungas*, but spreads all around Bolivia.

Coca is the main crop and the only one in several regions. In others, people also grow coffee and various fruits. However, for a long time, and until today, coca might have been the only product whose price justifies the exhausting journey through the mountain range in order to put it on the market. We may say that all farmers coming from *Los Yungas* own coca fields and orchards. Their production for self-consumption can vary according to the family needs as well as to the availability of the fields. Nevertheless, both in the traditional zone and in the colonization one, the productive system is centred on coca growing, which is annual, complemented by coffee, citrus fruit and crops for self-consumption. The latter ones are seasonal. It is worth noticing that a traditional zone can be defined as the one in which coca has been grown since the time before the colonial period, that is to say by the Incas, whereas a colonization zone refers to an area where coca started to be grown during the colonial time. This terminology is used among local residents. The production system in *los Yungas* focuses on coca cropping which is annually harvested, in addition to coffee, citrus and self-consuming crops (Spedding, A., 2004:79-84).

Consequently, all the population of *Los Yungas* (approximately 100.000 people), including the ones who do not receive their income primarily from agriculture, make their living from coca. This also includes the transport workers, that is, the people who do not grow coca, but get their income from working with the transport to the markets of La Paz, as well as retailers, who sell coca and other coca products. According to Spedding, who has done extensive research on the coca production sector, “these people believe that if coca were eradicated, their only chance would be to leave the region for good” (Spedding, A., 2004:84).

Picture 1. Los Yungas Geographical Location



Los Yungas (Google Maps, 2010)

The field work in *los Yungas* was carried out in communities where coca is the main product, mostly in *Nor Yungas* and part of *Sud Yungas*, as the roads joining other communities, including the *Irupana* province, were being maintained. For this reason, the “Roads and Motorways Superintendence” of La Paz department warned motorists to be careful, due to the high rainfall, which causes road to be very dangerous. In *Nor Yungas*, I had the chance to visit the communities of “*Dorado Chico*” and “*San Agustín*”, in *Arapata*, belonging to the township of *Coripata*. This region is regarded as a traditional coca growing zone. These communities were chosen for two reasons: easy access and relevance, as they are the biggest ones in the region and they encompass the rank and file of the coca grower movement. The leaders (representatives) live in La Paz city, near *Villa Fatima* coca market.

2.1.2. *El Chapare Cochabamba*

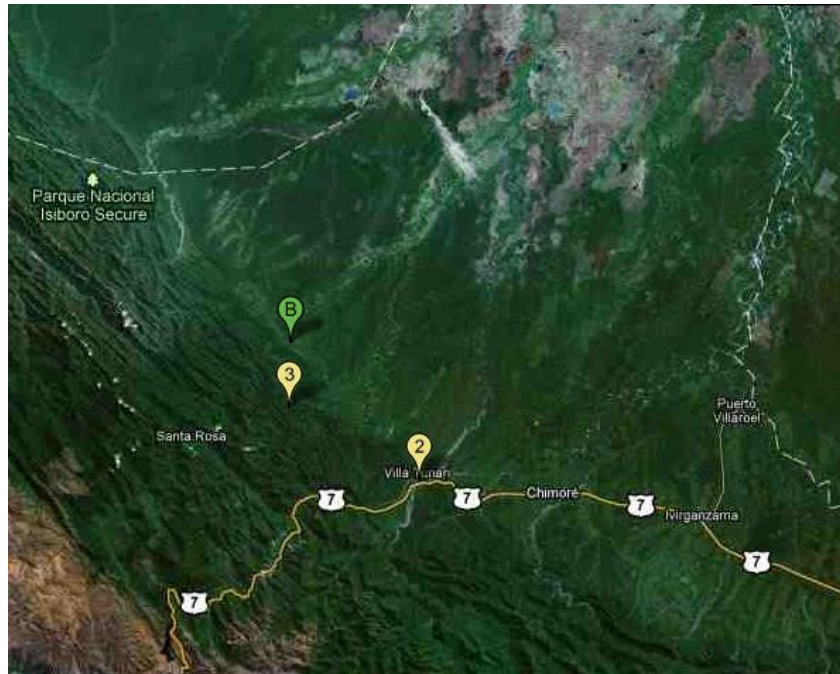
El Chapare, in the department of Cochabamba comprises three provinces: *El Chapare*, *Carrasco* and *Tiraque*. *Villa Tunari* is the capital and the very centre of economic and social activity of the region. Nearly all of *el Chapare* is a colonized region.

The great majority of the current colonies established in a spontaneous way. A group of people arrived at the zone and they settled on an inhabited piece of land. Later, they sought more people, who would be willing to get into the zone. They organised a union together and distributed the land (Spedding, A., 2004:92).

Even so, the unions kept a similar organisation to the “*ayllus*”, which is the Andean indigenous way of organizing the territory. Consequently, in order to become a member of a union, the people owner of land, not only had to pay the initial fee, but also commit to

residing in the place permanently, participating in meetings or assemblies, as well as in “community work” (opening new paths, improving dwellings, and so on) (García, A., 2004:400).

Picture 2. El Chapare Geographical Location



El Chapare (Google Maps, 2010)

Around the 1970s, people moved to more unpopulated land, which caused the conditions of the incoming roads to be improved. It was in that time that coca growing started to spread, due to the high demand from the cocaine industry (Spedding, A., 2004:93; Escóbar, F., 2008:140). It was the beginning of the economic growth of coca, as its price raised, as well as the workers' wages. This encouraged those who grew other products such as fruit, corn and rice to change them by coca.

This way, in the 1980s, certain political events were crucial for the social and political future of *el Chapare*. The most important one was the enforcement of the 1008 Law, a law which catalogued the zones of coca growing in traditional, transitional and exceeding zones. I will return to this law later in this thesis, what is important to understand here is how it instructed the eradication of almost all the crops existents in the considered exceeding and transitional zones (this was in fact a great part of coca growing land in *el Chapare*). It was under these circumstances that coca growers' social movements started to emerge from coca growing unions (Escóbar, F., 2008:146).

Currently, the economic activity in *el Chapare* is diverse because of the characteristics of land and its climate. Agriculture is the major activity, though. A great percentage of the population derives its income from coca growing, whereas other farmers have started growing alternative crops with great success, in particular banana, pineapple and palm heart (for exportation). As there are humid wooded areas, the wood industry is also significant in this region. Other people grow fruit and coca at the same time. There are also people who do get their main income from agriculture but from the gold mining industry. Tourism is also a source of

income in the district, due to the beautiful natural scenery. Thus, coca dependence is less than in *los Yungas*, mostly due to the youth, fertility and length of the fields. Yet there is a “productive coca chain”, which has been developed in *el Chapare*. Besides the producers themselves, transport workers, wholesalers and retailers also make profit from coca.

For this research, the province *Tiraque*, in the “*Shinaota*” sector were selected for field work because of the easy access, as well as the significance of these areas. According to Spedding, A. (2004:99): *Shinaota* is the area that has experienced all recent processes in *el Chapare*, starting with the initial spontaneous colonisation, going on with the emergence of unions, and getting to the slow improvement of local and regional infrastructure. *Shinaota* also witnessed the economic growth of the coca leaf, followed by a compensated eradication and a forced one. Therefore, the inhabitants of this region are important sources of information with respect to the *cocaleros* social movement. *Shinaota* is the economic centre of coca trade in *el Chapare*. Likewise, I visited the coca market in the area of *Sacaba*, in Cochabamba city. In this place producers sell coca to retailers. The retailers distribute it around the department, around the country and even abroad. The coca market is the “base” of *Tropico* coca growing movement in *el Chapare*.

2.2. Thematic Area of Study

Given the fact that social movements – including the coca growers’ movements – do not have one single area of influence in Bolivia, the area of study of this research is not purely defined by the geographical characteristics of Bolivia, nor is it by the regions where social movements’ bases are located. Although field work has been conducted in two particular regions, the movements have to be interpreted against the historical and political background of the movements in Bolivia, mainly the indigenous and coca growers’ movements. Particular attention is therefore in the following paid to these types of movements. In this context it is important to notice that the official use of the term ‘social movement’ in Bolivia refers in many cases to what in reality are ‘popular organizations’ (Arnold, D and Spedding, A 2005:16-17). Agrarian unions, neighbourhood organizations, labour federations, or any other sector with disposition to mobilize and claim their demands to the State are included inside the conception of ‘social movements’. Arnold, D. and Spedding, A. (2007:156) find that “the coca grower movement and various indigenous organizations (the union itself and those based on original authorities) are social movements because of their long-lasting struggle and clear objectives”. Social movements are not static organizations/institutions. They direct their actions to dynamic and changing alliances, from different positions to shared interests in some point of the dynamic cycle. This means that their demands are not static either, but vary with the political alliances. This is also why it is important to take a closer look at the historical and political background of the movements.

2.2.1 Historical political Background of Social Movements in Bolivia

As said in the introduction, social movements have played a key role in the changes of the political life in Bolivia (Chamorro, J., 2008:1) since the 1950’s and continue playing an important role today.

According to Félix Patzi *et al* (2003:199), in Bolivia, from 1952 until the start of the new century, capitalism tried out two policies. The first consisted of State capitalism (1952-1985),

and the second was a policy of “laissez faire”, which means the government intended to interfere as less as possible with the economic system (1985-2005).

In 1951, a political party called the *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario*, (MNR) won the presidential election in Bolivia. The inclination towards the political left of this party was seen as a threat by big mining enterprises and foreign investors. In order to prevent the MNR from taking power, the president at that time, Jaime Urriolagoitia, organized a self coup d’etat, annulled the elections and gave the conduction of the government to a military board led by General Ballivián. In 1952, workers organized a revolt supporting Victor Paz, the candidate of the MNR, and overthrew Ballivián (Valencia, A., 1984- Vol3:290).

Victor Paz assumed presidency with the support of Bolivian people. The revolution of 1952 is therefore considered one of the most important revolutions on the continent, besides the Mexican one in 1910 (Mesa *et al.* 1997:275). The indigenous population had been totally isolated from political and economic life of the country until the National Revolution of 1952. This revolution marked the beginning of great changes in Bolivia. Among such changes were the universal right to vote, which included women, as well as illiterate and indigenous people; the first natural resource nationalization; where the first nationalization decrees were signed; the first educative reform, which made primary education universal and mandatory, and promoted the creation of rural schools for peasants. Before the revolution, country people were only allowed to receive ‘special for peasants’ education (Mesa *et al.* 1997:300; Chamorro, J., 2008:6).

The social movements played an important part in the changes following from the revolution. According to Alvaro Garcia *et al* “For more than 50 years, social movements have become centres where strategies are devised for political struggle of popular and indigenous sectors of Bolivia. This refers to either the nationalisation of mines, universal voting, labourers’ co-government in 1952 and the establishment of democracy. (...) Social movements have worked as “strategic power factories” (García, A. *et al* 2005:40).

The different social movements have been working as collective and plural scenes, which carry out a series of projects concerning social change, the increase of citizens’ rights, the nationalisation of collective wealth and the organisational agreements made to fulfil these demands.

This ‘post-revolution’ period was also characterized by the creation of the first social organized syndicates such as: the COB (Labour Central of Bolivia), an organisation integrated by thousand of workers from all across Bolivia that defended the demands of the workers of the country. Another example is Civic Committees, a form of civil organization that transmitted the demands of the citizens to the authorities and the Federations of Neighbourhood Boards (FEDJUVEs). During the 1950’s, neighbours spontaneously started to organize themselves to express the demands of their neighbourhoods. Nowadays, there are FEDJUVEs all around the cities in Bolivia, and the FEDJUVE from El Alto is one of the most important organizations, as it played a highly relevant part in the so called “War of Gas” in October 2003. These labour unions and indigenous organisations constitute important building bricks for social movements in Bolivia.

The history of Bolivia was, from the late 1950's until the early 1980's, marked by a succession of military coups and regimes that despised the value of social movements. They also prevented them from acting, through the use of violence and repression (Guzmán, A., 1998:500). The political situation that Bolivia faced during the period from the 1950s to the 1980s used to see any socialist approach as an enemy, so the government should fight all civilisation forms associated to a Social State. The results of this were seen immediately through the "silence of social struggle", this means the minimizing of the resistance of social movements due the militarization of the State (Patzi, F., 2003:205). This was a 'dark' period for social movements. Since then, the history of indigenous social movement has become a series of military pacts and subordination to current government. In other words, the role played by social movements has changed over the years that they have been active, at all times reflecting the political situation and regime.

2.2.2 The new political context, from the 1980's to the present. The participation of social movements

After the times of dictatorship regimes, democracy was re-established and along with it, various social movements. The social movements that rose primarily from that period were the indigenous and the coca growers' movements. And they gained strength in the years to come.

a) The rise of Indigenous Movements

In 1970, there was a rebirth of indigenous independence, in a multicultural and self-deterministic positional debate. The multicultural position was represented by "*Katarismo*", whereas as the self-deterministic one disappeared in the 1980s. The name "*Kataristas*" was chosen referring to the indigenous revolution of Tupac Katari, an Indian Aymara who led an uprising against the colonial powers in the 18th century. The *Kataristas* wanted the inclusion of the indigenous to the political life of Bolivia. In the 1990s, a leader of the indigenous movement emerged. He started a guerrilla movement called EGTK (Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army), which fought against the State. Felipe Quispe Huanca, A.K.A "*el Mallku*" (which means condor in *Aymara*), head of the EGTK, was condemned to prison under terrorism charges (along with Álvaro García Linera, current vice-president of Bolivia). Five years later, he was released. He became the head leader of the CSTUCB (Confederation of Farm Workers of Bolivia).

b) The rise of the *Cocaleros* (Coca Growers) Movement

In 1985, tin prices fell radically. In Bolivia at this point in time, tin was the main mineralogical resource and its main export product. Consequently, thousands of mining workers became unemployed. The former miners, looking for a way of survival and work opportunities migrated from the mountains to the valley regions known as *El Chapare* and *Los Yungas* and started to cultivate the coca leaf. The number of the coca worker movement increased. The miners' descendants, that is to say, the new coca growers, copied the organizational structure from the mining workers (Mesa, C. *et al*, 1997:600; Chamorro, J., 2008:16).

At the end of the 20th century, *Siglo XX* mine was closed, located in Potosí, the mining centre of Bolivia. It was from this mine that union and political leaders emerged. At the beginning of the 21st century, indigenous people changed history and entered the 21st century with new civilisation projects (Escóbar, F., 2008:181). After the miners had left their job, most of them returned to their *ayllus*, while others took the way to colonisation in *El Chapare*. There were also others who went back to the land that they had been given in times of the Agrarian Reform. The proletariat had moved to rural areas, in particular to the tropical zone of Cochabamba. This part was colonised by a population dominated by the *quechua*, followed by the *aymaras*, as well as hundreds of miners. They were all made redundant by the 21060 supreme decree which closed down the mines. Around 250.000 inhabitants populated the tropical part of Cochabamba.

This is how the associations of coca growers were created in *el Chapare* (Cochabamba) and in *los Yungas* (La Paz). The defenders of the coca leaf were the *quechua* and *aymara* indigenous groups themselves, as the migration of miners was part of these people (Escóbar, F., 2008: 182). From the 1970's to the 1980's, the demands of this sector had a peasant tone in the sense that they argued their right to cultivate the coca leaf, which they considered to be sacred, against the State policies of eradication. In the 1990's the coca grower movement had changed their arguments applying more of an indigenous based discourse – defending the production of coca as a traditional and millenarian practice (Guzmán, A., 1998:500). I will come back to this history in Chapter Five.

In 1995, a leader of the coca grower movement of *el Chapare* valley gained reputation. His name was Evo Morales. He defended the legalization of the production of coca and opposed to the compulsory eradication program of the government and other measures that were in opposition to the interests of coca producers. Not long after that, Morales was elected Delegate to the National Parliament (Landes, A., 2006).

From this point on, indigenous-peasants unions started to organize and gained control of different government departments. For instance, social movements came to be in charge of Municipal governments and were to have more representation in the Parliament. “*Los movimientos sociales*” as they commonly call themselves in Bolivia, decided never to delegate political representation to others again. They rather decided to assume their own political representation and occupy political positions in the government (Chamorro, J., 2008:29; Landes, A., 2006). As Alvaro García Linera, the current vice president, a staunch defender of social movements said: “In Bolivia, we have two kinds of social movement resistance strategies: One has a defensive character in corporate groups (workers, teachers), and the other has an expansive character (coca growers). These will confer the indigenous movement more and more political prominence” (García, A., 2001:96).

Coca growers put forward the most important political resolution, to promote their own “political instrument” of anti capitalist and anti liberal liberation (Escóbar, F., 2008:196). The coca producers living in the tropical area of Cochabamba, along with the Bolivian Unique Country Workers’ Confederation (CSUTCB), the Bolivian Indigenous Head Office (CIDOB), the Bolivian Settlers’ National Confederation (CNCB) and others, conceive and elaborated the organic structure of the political instrument. They convoked other social movements such as the Bolivian National Miners Union Federation, as well as other union movements. The party currently in power, MAS, (Movement Towards Socialism) was born, powered, sustained and supported by social movements. At the beginning, MAS was formed by leaders

of *el Chapare* Coca Producers' Confederation, the institution where Evo Morales was the highest rank leader. Today, MAS represents many social movements from across the country and is the strongest political party in the country. The present government is frequently referred to as the 'government of social movements' (Zegada, M., 2007).

2.2.3. The role of movements in the present Bolivian Political Context

A succession of events that started in the year 2000 gave even more power to social movements in Bolivia. The indigenous-peasant and the coca grower movements were protagonists of the most important demonstrations that took place in the country. The so-called "War in Defence of Water", a conflict that resulted from the privatisation of the company that supplied water to Cochabamba, made the strength of social movements clear to society (Aira, M., 2003). While social conflicts had been social claims so far, the situation changed with the "Water War", where the movements deeply questioned the institutions and the democratic process of the country. Social groups started to demand benefits for the civil population, from the government, and they also questioned the way in which the government had been managing the resources of Bolivia.

In February 2003, also called "Black February", President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada announced a tax raise of between 4.2% and 12.5% on incomes. The hard reactions from the Bolivian population through the movements nearly paralysed the country. 33 people died and 210 were injured in violent encounters between social movements and security forces. The government finally desisted from the tax raise. Another conflict occurred the same year, in October, referred to as the "War in Defence of Gas". The conflict was sparked off by the announced intention of the president Sánchez de Lozada to sell gas to Chile.

When the government expressed that the decision would not be altered, a revolt started in the city of El Alto. Peasants, miners and coca producers took over the streets of La Paz and El Alto. The roads towards the occident of the country were blocked, creating a shortage of food and hydrocarbons. Finally, the Bolivian Army was deployed. The result was a massacre against civilians, where 60 people died and more than 400 were injured. Sanchez de Lozada, pressured by the people and a part of the media demanding his resignation, finally fled from Bolivia to USA as a fugitive of justice (Aira, M., 2003). The vice-president Carlos Mesa took control of the government, and social movements exerted great pressure in order to set forward the date of the elections.

The president of the Supreme Court of Justice, Eduardo Rodríguez, then assumed presidency of the Republic. In December 2005, Rodríguez called general elections. The two most important candidates were Jorge Quiroga, representing the right and Evo Morales, representing the left (Petras, J. and Veltmeyer, H., 2005:175). To the surprise of many, Evo Morales was elected with almost 54% of the votes. It was the second time in the history of Bolivia that a candidate had won with more than 50%. Evo Morales assumed the role of president in January 2006 in *Tiwanacu*, in La Paz – in the presence of representatives from the social movements of Bolivia. Morales was the first indigenous leader to occupy the position of President of the Republic (Petras, J., 2005:2). In many situations from 2000 onwards, the movements have played a key role, and as such showing how social movements increasingly have gained power and political influence.

3. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1. Conceptualisation

Although social movements have been a widely discussed issue, nowadays there is not a general, unifying theory, providing definitions to make its comprehension easier. Hence there are various approaches and definitions of what is a social movement. The Social Movement Theory was born, according to Sydney Tarrow (1997, quoted in Arnold, D. and Spedding, A., 2004:23), in the 18th century. However, there are records of the first indigenous insurrections in Egypt, in 1500 B.C. (Vitale, L., 2001:6). This form of uprising was not conceptualised as the result of collective action until the end of the 18th Century, when structural changes related to capitalism took place.

The study of social movements has increased in time, particularly over the past 30 years. One reason for this may be that the social movements have also started to be regarded as an alternative to the State political parties, whose reputation has been seriously damaged. Alan Touraine was one of the first theorists to study this matter. He affirms that social movements question cultural patterns within a society (Touraine, A., 1979). The movements show defensive behaviour; they demand social inclusion of marginalised groups, as well as a fair distribution of wealth.

As said by Ibarra, P. (2000:9) a social movement is a form of collective expression and the existence of a collective action implies the pre-existence of conflict or tension. This is what the collective action – making it visible– tries to resolve. It is worth mentioning that not all conflicts lead to collective action that takes shape as a social movement. Coca producers' movements saw the conflict in the imposition of the government to eradicate coca fields. This conflict grew with the inclusion of the Bolivian army into the eradication. This subject will be analysed later in the research. It is also worth pointing out that social movements are recognized, approved and even supported by the current Bolivian government. Their involvement with the government raise questions about mobilizations directed to solve conflicts. In fact, nowadays some social movements in Bolivia are not considered social movements anymore by a large part of the population, but 'social organisations' that work for the government aims. This means that those social movements lose their particular aims and became a force that works with the government against the opposition creating conflicts.

Paloma, F. (2002:2) refers to social movements as "collective expressions of a conscious will to intervene in the process of social change". This will is expressed by the collective of individuals that are in a position lower than the hegemonic power (political economic or cultural), and whose preferred field of action (but not exclusive) is the extra-institutional. For Paloma, F. (2002), all social movements have been characterized as a collective form to express the "power of the streets" against authorities or other members of civil society. The movements are the final resource of those social collectives that have seen their demands excluded from the political institutional process. They are also a way of showing social dissatisfaction for the lack of good living condition. Finally, social movements are a way of exerting the right to speak, in order to articulate a specific and effective alternative to what is commonly accepted in social life (cultural identity).

Revilla, M. (1994) defines a social movement as a “process of remaking of a collective identity, out of the field of institutional politics. For this reason, more significance is given to individual and collective action when articulating a social nature project” (Revilla, quoted in Molina, W., 1998:15). This approach encompasses several new elements. Firstly, as Revilla says, they have the element of collective identity, within a social movement. This makes the difference and shows its relation with other forms of collective behaviour. Secondly, Revilla states that the movement’s existence does not depend on “results which are external it itself, but it depends on its effects and achievements among its members”. Thirdly, he defines a social movement as an alternative sense producer for individuals excluded from existing identities. They are a place where there is a symbolic integration of such individuals and where there is a process of shaping a collective identity.

According to Revilla, M. (1994), the main outcome of the movements would be to give sense to individual and collective action, though this quality would make the difference from other forms of action where a social movement also exists. As seen by Revilla, in social movements there is a symbolic integration of individuals whose voice is not heard in the existing projects of society. In other words, a process of identification and society building takes place within social movements

3.2. Dominant theoretical perspectives on the emergence of social movements

A study made by Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (2006:5) focuses on the analysis of social movements, making use of four primary dimensions. The analysis of the four dimensions is oriented to understand the reasons why social movements come together. The aforementioned four pillars are applicable to understand the rise of social movements in Bolivia and I present them below.

The first pillar “refers to the connection between structural change and transformation in patterns of social conflict” Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (2006:5). As outlined in the descriptions in previous sections, the identity of a social movement is reflected in the dissatisfaction and discontent with an undesired situation and the search to transform it. In this case, the history of Bolivia reveals different processes of change that the country has been through. History also shows the relation between the structures of classes. These facts can help us understand the factors that prompted the formation of social movements in Bolivia – and the coca farmer social movement among them- as well as helping us understand their identity.

The second pillar has to do with the role of cultural representations in social conflicts, this means that every social movement has a particular culture within it, this is to say that the members share a culture, and that culture comes to the ‘surface’ during conflicts. The reason of this demonstration of culture during social conflicts is to gain empathy form the collective. (Della Porta, D. and Diani, M., 2006:5). Many authors refer to the cultural aspect that surrounds social movements. Johnston, H. and Klandermans, B. (1995:3) define culture as “the symbolic expressive aspect of social behaviour” and identity culture as a determining factor of social behaviour, knowledge applicable to social movements. They argue that “a performative view of culture stresses that social movements are not just shaped by culture; they also shape and reshape the latter (...) Symbols, values, meanings, icons, and beliefs are

adapted and moulded to suit the movement's aims and are frequently injected into the broader culture via institutionalisation and routinisation" (Johnston, H. and Klandermans, B., 1995:9).

Finally, Swilder, A. (1995:25) states that even cultural patterns that appear to be independent inventions (or innate needs) of individuals or groups can be produced or reproduced by the challenges with which institutions confront actors. With reference to the Bolivian situation, we find that Bolivia is a multi-ethnic and plural-cultural country. Social behaviour depends on and varies in proportion to ethnicity and origins and the latter's present in social movements of any kind in Bolivia.

The *cocaleros* social movement has had an own shared 'culture' among their members. This goes hand in hand with their ideology and ways of action. For instance, within coca producers' culture, coca leaf is a sacred inheritance from their ancestors. Any offence to the leaf is also an offence to their people. Therefore, the coca growers search for international acceptance of coca leaf production and consumption. *The cocaleros* movement, like many others, is guided by the actors' own culture, and culture, based on their own view of the world, is reflected in the organization of a social movement and in their demonstrations during conflicts. This is something that will be analysed further in the research. The *cocaleros* social movement is an example.

Following the analysis of Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (2006:5), a third factor to be pondered when studying social movements is 'collective action'; the fact of identifying with a cause and act in favour of it. Melucci, A. (1995:42) considers collective action as "the result of purposes, resources, and limits, as a purposive orientation constructed by means of social relationships within a system of opportunities and constrains". In such a way, collective action cannot be regarded as the simple effect of structural preconditions of the values expression and beliefs. In order to understand the actions of a social movement, it is necessary to understand the very theory of action, known as Actionalism in sociology (Zapata, F., 1992:483). It defines the "reality in terms of social relations". Actors are not part of society, they make up society. Men/humans build society and take part in its self-construction. For the Actionalist Theory, the study of society is replaced by the study of 'social relationships'; the latter ones are responsible for the generalization of social movements as foundations of society (Zapata, F., 1992:473; Zapata, A., 2006:17). Quoting Melucci, A. (1995:43) "Individuals acting collectively 'construct' their actions by means of 'organised' investments (...) as to give sense to their 'being together' and to the goals they pursue". In that way, collective action can be defined as the process of 'constructing' an action system.

Pinto, M. (2004:4) states that social movements are a collective rebellious action, and sometimes, a resistance one. They are mechanisms that aim at determining the political agenda of a certain society, as well as defining strategies for secondary sector so that they can confront the State. Anderson, V (2008: 2) claims that "The coca producer movement in Bolivia can be seen as a collective action of social resistance to neoliberal globalisation and struggle for State power". His point is that the defence of the coca leaf against 'neoliberal' governments requiring its eradication has guided the formation of the coca grower movement throughout the last decades.

Finally, the fourth dimension of the analysis of social movements made by Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (2006:6) is represented by the social, political and/or cultural contexts that

affect social movement's chances of success. Studying the context of the place where social movements are formed will help understand how external and internal factors are determinant for collective action, interaction and relationships that a social movement forms. Therefore, it is important to study the political, cultural and historical contexts in order to understand why and how the coca farmer social movement arose in Bolivia and then succeeded. Such a perspective supports the choice of exploring social movements through a qualitative, ethnographic approach, as done in the research forming the basis of this thesis.

The first analysis of the definitions and actions of social movements gave us a glimpse about how social movements can be understood as a collective of people with mutual aims and goals, and how they act and interact with the context that they are in. Now, in order to understand the definition with reference to the Bolivian coca growers, there is a need to look upon the movements not as a cognitive structure previously shared by its followers, but as a process in which consensus is built. This consensus is done through negotiation and conflict, between the members of the social movements regarding the definition of the issues that motivate action and the need for intervention (Zapata, A., 2006:39).

According to Ibarra, P. (2002:10) a social movement arises due to structural tensions that generate structural gaps to concrete and sensitive interests. A social movement emerges because other pre-existing organisations cannot solve or are not interested in bridging the gaps in question. Social movements are born due to organisational shortcomings and because of people who are not satisfied with their current situation, as they have to deal with the denial of solutions to their collective interests.

3.2.1. The Structuralist Approach

Cohen (cited in Molina, W., 1998:14) identified two theoretical paradigms that had been dominating the study area of social movements. These are the structuralist and the functionalist approach. Within the structuralist approach, emphasis is laid on searching structural factors that may explain the emergence of Social Movements. Alberto Melucci, and Alain Touraine were two authors who contributed to this field to a great extent. On the other hand, we have the functionalist inspiration theory supported by north-American theorists like Sidney Tarrow who seeks the internal factors of movements and its actors, that is to say, how social movements are born.

Melucci, A. (1992), working from a structural perspective approach, puts forward a theoretical proposal, grounded on social movements. For Melucci, A. (1992), what he refers to as the Social Movements Theory is part of collective action. Other theorists follow this approach too. For example, Denise Arnold and Alisson Spedding, (2005:207) state that the answer to the question of why social movements emerge in Bolivia is found in the existence of failures within the Bolivian State, failures from both the government and the opposition- posing a viable government program for the country, helped by consult mechanisms. The governments should have the capability to listen to the demands of the people and turn them into public policies, all accompanied by social control mechanisms to ensure the full implementation and management of those policies.

In the words of Touraine, A. (1979:100) and Zapata, C. (2005:1), "a social movement is understood as a collective action through which one social class questions how other dominant social class acts against its values and general orientations, which society shares

with its adversary to deprive it of legitimacy”. This means that social movements “question general orientations of society and express clearly their own nature and the nature of their adversaries, such as the State over the control of the issue that originated the conflict” (Touraine, A., 1979:116).

Touraine, A. (1979:112) points out that, what characterizes a social movement is “a category of actors engaging in conflict with an adversary for the management of the main resources of action of society”. “Every social movement has two sources; one utopic: the actor identifies itself with the right of the subject; and one ideological: it focuses on the fight against a social adversary. A social movement cannot exist if there is lack of any of these elements” (Touraine, A. 1979:119). In the context of the *cocaleros* social movement, the utopia is the international recognition of coca leaf crops and the social adversary is the government and foreign organisations.

Once again, according to Touraine, A. (cited in Romero, S., 1987 and in Zapata, A., 2006) the defining elements of a social movement can be synthesized in three: Firstly, Touraine points out that a social movement must start by building an identity, an “us”. This way it is possible to enquire whom the movement represents and on behalf of which groups it speaks or intends to speak. In addition, which interests it defends or protects. This is the principle of identity. Secondly, we refer to the principle of opposition, which refers to the identification of the adversary.

Thirdly, we have the principle of social objective, which affirms that it is necessary to question the basic orientations of society. A movement arises because certain ideas are not accepted or because certain collectives are repressed or refused, even if they are legally acknowledged. When a social movement defends or represents the interests of a group in particular, it does it on behalf of universal values and realities, aiming at being accepted by most members of the community. This way, to strengthen its influence on society, a social movement demands a right or interest that stems from it. Nevertheless, it is important to be recognised as favourable for the whole society, rather than only for those who are part of the movement.

To sum up, a social movement as seen from a structuralist view is a kind of non-institutional collective action that goes beyond the set of rules with an identifying sense. It is conflict and mobilization that defines its action. In the case of Bolivian coca growers, they follow the three principles quoted by Touraine. Their common identity are as coca leaf producers; they have an opponent (the State and foreign organisations) that forced them to eradicate coca crops. Finally, the principle of social objective that they pursuit even above the right to grow coca is acceptance and participation of indigenous people in Bolivian politics. How the coca movement reflects these three principles will be clearly seen in Chapter Five where I present the empirical data and analysis.

In this sense, for Alberto Melucci, in agreement with Alain Touraine’s standpoint, a social movement exists when its members go beyond institutionalized regulations and rules of the political system and/or when they go against the social class structures within a society (Melucci, 1988:109). Melucci, A. (1988) highlights the conditions that awaken a social movement, defined as a collective action that makes a conflict known and implies the breaking-off of the system compatibility limits to which action refers to. Collective action, in

the strict sense of the word, means the presence of two vital elements: solidarity, that is to say, a social relation system, which brings together and identifies those who participate in it. Conflict is another factor that causes collective action. In other words, there should be a struggle between two collective actors, each one defined by a specific solidarity (Melucci, 1988:109).

Thus, in Melucci's view, (Melucci, A. 1988:100) a social movement is born when three elements are present: A conflict, which needs at least two collective actors in the scene, solidarity inside the movement, and a need to overcome the system limits through conflict between the adversaries confronted for the appropriation and the final use of social values or resources.

Melucci, A. (1988:120) also gives a structural definition of social movements, sorting them into the ones that fight for the rights of these groups, and others which are political and class movements: Melucci, A. (1986) explains why social movements arise, from the needs that a class system has in order to stay in power, controlling the structural opposition that goes through it. Then conflicts emerge, between the power holder and the opposition.

Along this process and with the need to control these conflicts, certain contradictions arise, to be precise, imbalance and tension. It is at this moment that social movements are born. They combine the structural existence of a conflict and current conditions of a system. Movements, for their part, produce new changes, which reduce contradictions. (Melucci, A., 1986:113). Starting from structural contradictions of a society and the need of change, Melucci puts in plain words why social movements that precede change arise. A system changes because the conflict it goes through is to be controlled and it has to do with production and distribution of social resources.

3.2.2. The Functionalist Approach

From the view of the functionalist theory, Sidney Tarrow, an American intellectual, makes a systematic analysis of the research on social movements that took place at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s in Italy. This analysis does not include a particular theoretical standpoint, but rather a general framework that enables to understand social movements.

Tarrow also starts to make an analysis of the Collective Action Theory, as Melucci and Touraine do, but with the difference that this approach is not based on the reasons why a social movement arises, but it lays emphasis on "how" it emerges. He tries to explain the dynamics of social movements as well as their outcome. Moreover, he relates the Collective Action Theory with social network, ideological speech and the political struggle among people. Tarrow, S. (1997) begins with the explanation of the existing relation between power and social movements, through three questions he attempts to answer all the way through his research:

- In what circumstances does the power of movements' power arise?
- Is there a common dynamics among the social movements linking their eager beginnings with their struggle peak and disillusioning end?
- Does their impact go beyond the ephemeral demonstrations appearing on the evening news programs?

Tarrow, S. (1997:21) defines social movements as collective forms of challenge, presented by people who share objectives and solidarity in interaction with the elite, with opponents and with authorities. From this definition, he gives four empirical qualities of a social movement:

- Collective challenge, expressed by social movements by means of direct open action against the elite, the authorities and groups of cultural codes. They have the characteristic of interrupting, obstructing or introducing uncertainty in other people's activities.
- The shared objective, which corresponds with the question why people join social movements. The reason is a mutual goal. For example, to put forward shared demands to the opposition, the leaders or the elite.
- Solidarity, as interest is the shared characteristic of all social movements. What pushes it to go into a collective action is the awareness of a community of interest. The leaders, however, can create a social movement only when they exploit deeply-rooted solidarity and identity feelings.
- Keeping collective action, as a social movement will be unsuccessful and may even disappear unless it keeps up challenge against its opponents.

For Tarrow, S., social movements exploit external resources to coordinate and keep collective action. These fundamental resources are: the social network in which collective action occurs, as well as cultural and ideological symbols that provide the setting for this action. These, together with political opportunities, repertoires and framework build up social movements.

1. The range of political opportunities

In this view, people join social movements as an answer to political opportunities, creating new ones through collective action. The structure of political opportunities makes an effort to explain why people rely on these movements in certain periods of history, while they do not do it in other times.

Tarrow defines "political opportunities" as consistent dimensions – not necessarily formal, permanent or national, though – belonging to the political environment, which may both promote or discourage collective action among the people. The notion of political opportunity gives emphasis on resources that do not belong to the group, unlike money or power, and can be even exploited by weak and disorganised fighters.

This concept of structure of political opportunities also explains, according to Tarrow, how movements spread, how collective action extends and how new networks take shape. These open out from one group to another, as opportunities are created and exploited (Tarrow, 1997:49). The political atmosphere that is of benefit to the emergence of a social movement, the most relevant changes in the structure of opportunities stem from the opening of power access, from changes within governmental regulations and the availability of influential allied, as well as from division among the elites and inside them.

Therefore, social movements are born when there are political opportunities. These explain largely why social movements emerge. In Bolivia, social movements involved in the "War in Defence of Water" and the "War in defence of Gas" are clear examples of mass mobilizations due to current political factors.

2. The conflict by convention

Also named confrontation repertoire, it refers to the fact that action is not conceived in the organisers' minds, but registered and transmitted through culture. Conventions learnt from collective action are part of public culture in a society (Tarrow, 1997:50).

Every society has common ways of demonstrating, inherited collective actions. This also contributes to the movement cohesion. Thus the repertoire used in the indigenous movement of 2000 showed exactly a series of well-known concrete forms of thousand-year-old collective actions. In this process, the role of leaders was imperative, as they invent, adapt and combine different forms of collective action in order to receive the people's support. Otherwise, these people may well stay at home (Crespo, Y., 2005:52).

3. Protest structures

Something that attracted Tarrow's attention was the way of triggering social movements, no matter the individual decisions to participate in a collective action. This is kept on, well-coordinated, and spread through social networks and social institutions. This is what turns a demonstration into a social movement.

4. Mobilization by consensus

But, as said by Tarrow, for the spread, cohesion and support of social movements, not only a social network, but also trust and cooperation among the movement actors is necessary. In other words, there should be a real consensus with shared purposes that encourage people to collective action. (Tarrow, 1997:57).

In this factor also called collective action frame, there are trends that point out what cultural elements gain importance within the emergence and the development of social movements and revolutions. "Specialists in new social movements noticed that, in many cases, it was these cultural elements that turned new social movements into movements with willpower to break up with the past." (McAdam *et al* 1999:174 cited in Crespo, Y., 2005:40).

3.3. Analysing social movements in Bolivia

Until now I have referred to how foreign –to the Bolivian reality- academicians conceptualize and theories around social movements. Now I will show how national Bolivian academicians have analyzed and adopted the foreign theories to the Bolivian context. Moreover, I will discuss which theories I consider helpful to approach my research about the *cocaleros* movement.

Among the national authors, is Luis Tapia, a Bolivian political analyst, who builds on Alberto Melucci and Alain Touraine's proposals, in order to present his own theoretical proposal about Bolivian social movements. The fact that he uses the approaches of different theorists and adapts their theories to the Bolivian context was the reason why I selected him.

According to Tapia, L. (2002), we have to take into account that the characteristics of multi-social countries like Bolivia are that not all the forces head towards the same direction. The existence of opposite trends (opposing social groups) produces a subterranean flow of unarticulated national social processes of governmental and economic nature. According to Tapia, L. (2002:26) the history of Bolivia teaches us that multiculturalism and diversity of social classes have been responsible for resistance and changes within the State. In this view,

some processes are not only social movements, they do not just involve mobilization and political action of some forces, or a sector of society aiming at reforming certain structures, but they are also movements of social sectors in process of a sort of colonial conflict within a structurally heterogeneous country.

Social movements in Bolivia, according to Luis Tapia arise as chunks in society; they hope for finding a balance of powers through collective actions inside the society and political spheres. They tend to change the relationships of the dominated social class with respect to the dominant one. In other words, social movements are characteristic of a multi-cultural society. Every social movement is a political form that is in conflict with the established social order. The inrush of a social movement implies the set up of political subjects. If it does have the ability to have a self-government and setting-up beyond the existing practices and institutions, it is not a real social movement (Tapia, L., 2002:37). For Tapia, L. (2002) that is how movements have been emerging in Bolivia in recent times. They are born when the moment or the political chance that Tarrow refers to makes it possible for them to arise.

Denise Arnold D., and Allison Spedding, respectively a sociologist and an anthropologist who have worked extensively with social movements in Bolivia and are familiar with its context, state that Bolivian social movements are “a mobilization instrument able to influence on democratization improvement processes (...) These movements seek the setting-up of a new form of social inclusion. This may change gender, race and ethnic relations and even revert to the State the private appropriation of public resources” (2005:15). In this respect, the authors identify the characteristics of social movements, among them, their ability to mobilize, the fact of sharing a point of view or mutual interests, the possibility of being or not being institutionally formal and their impact on time (duration and a future scope), as they are not static movements with static claims. Referring to these characteristics, Arnold and Spedding consider that “the coca grower movement and different peasants organizations” (unions themselves and those that are led by indigenous authorities) can be regarded as social movements (Arnold, D. and Spedding, A. (2005:16).

3.3.1 Structuralist and Functionalist approaches in Bolivian Social Movements

Going back to the structuralist and functionalist approaches it can be stated that social movements, according to Alberto Melucci, take shape from the definition of an identity, opposition and conflict, as structural factors. As said by Alain Touraine, social movements arise due to conflict and mobilization, and they should be understood in terms of social relations between two actors in opposition to each other, and an identity that stems from the opposition and definition of conflict or historicity. These authors tend to define social movements from a structural perspective, with more similarities than differences.

On the other hand, Sidney Tarrow’s proposal confines itself to the fact that the problem of collective action is also social, rather than individual. These become social movements through the transformation of mobilization ability into action, by means of organisation, mobility, consensus and the structure if political opportunities, which make up the foundations of the contemporary social movement theory (Tarrow, S., 1997:40).

Bolivia is a multicultural society, where social movements rediscover a wide variety of cultural identities, the complicated process of returning to the past, of appreciation and criticism of everyday subjectivities and cultural domination (Calderón, dos santos, 1995:226).

Consequently, in order to be able to analyse how social movements appeared, it is not enough to distinguish the Social Movement Theory from other forms of collective actions, but also try to understand the circumstances in which social movements are born, their dynamics and results. Although this does not necessarily imply to discard theoretical proposals, since they serve as the topic general framework.

In my opinion, this way of tackling the social movement theory will help analyse the *cocaleros* social movement, concerning its dynamic (way of organising and action), as well as its results (accomplishments). I find that elements from two different theories can be combined in order to make this analysis:

- Structuralism, which will help us have a clear idea of the factors that drove the emergence of this movement in Bolivia. The structuralist approach will allow us to study its actors, opponents and goals. Alberto Melucci gives a structural definition (that can be used on the *cocaleros* movement), by classifying it according to its nature. To sum up, structuralism helps us learn about the organisation of this movement and each one of the parts that make it up.
- Functionalism, which will make it possible to study the inside of the movement organisation, its dynamics, way of organizing, its struggle and its accomplishments.

3.4. “Suma Qamaña” the art of the “well-living”: The Andean view of the world as an alternative to the western development conception

In this section I will try to explain a particular way of conception of life which is the “Suma Qamaña” (this means well-living in *quechua*) in order to introduce the reader to the Andean world and to emphasise with the indigenous culture. The aim of this section is to induce the reader to see the ‘world’ through other eyes, Bolivian natives, indigenous eyes, *cocaleros* eyes. Another aim is to make the reader aware of how their way to see reality differs greatly from the so called ‘western’ way of see the world. Maybe if we get to understand this, we may be more open to understand the social movements that have an *indigenist* identity like *cocaleros* does.

Now, why is it so important to understand the Andean view of the world while we intend to explain the role that *cocaleros* social movements play in Bolivia? There is a simple answer, and it is that the vast majority of Bolivian coca leaf producers are of indigenous descent. Their ancestors had a lifestyle based on the “well-living”, which is supported by the Andean cosmovision ideology. They inherited culture and ideology from their ancestors and this culture and ideology is practiced and lived today. Hence the coca growers have certain rites and traditions, and they interpret their daily life the way they have been taught by their grandparents. Here is a difference between what they know as “the good” and western practices of progress and development. It was from this difference in understandings that problems of indigenous movements arose, the coca producers’ ones among them.

Bolivia and other countries that share the Andean territory have experienced since the second half of the 16th century (when the Spanish colonization started), two views of the world and life beliefs. The first is the millenarian view of the world of Andean native people (called “indigenous” by some and “amerindians” by others). The second view of the world is from a Western-European-Spanish source, well-known before the creation of the republic as a State-

Nation, supporting a western culture view of the world that hopes to nationalise (Yampara, S., 2001:27). After colonization, like history remind us, the Spanish colonizers were suddenly the new 'owners' of the land, and instituted their ideologies, culture and religion. Even though they tried to build a new society identical to theirs, the difference existent between both cultures derived into a merging, between native inhabitants and the 'new' habitants of the Andean part of South America. But some ideologies were imposed, among those ideologies were the ones related to progress and grow.

3.4.1. The Well-living Vs the western development

In Bolivia, 62% of the population is made up by Andean indigenous people. Andean culture has been preserved through time. During the colonial period, western culture (Spanish) mingled with Andean culture, creating new forms of culture and ethnic identities ("*chola*", "*mestiza*", "*mulata*"). The colonial period implicates, among other elements, a covering up of the cultures that dwelt in this land. Many possessions owned by the indigenous cultures were also covered up, with the same strength and with no apparent reason, for instance, stories, knowledge, views of the world, everyday expressions, clothing, languages and rites (Rodríguez, M., 2009:1).

Despite the occidental influence, Andean indigenous people keep their lifestyles, their Andean view of the world, their understanding of "development", which is a far from its usual concept used in the so-called developed countries. Javier Medina, a specialist in the study of the Andean cosmovision, states that the notion that is behind the misfortune of Bolivia is the myth of "development" brought by the Spanish colonizers. He also believes that nowadays this myth from the western civilizations – in Bolivia – is dying due to the "change of scientific paradigm and the resulting mutation of cosmological system (...)" (Medina, J., 2009:40). By this he means that Bolivians realized that the way the intentions of the State to plagiarize western development, used to ignore the Bolivian reality and culture, therefore the efforts were vain, and the results failed. But this awareness arrived at the Bolivian time, that is to say 'late'.

For Medina, J. (2009) western development is a myth that expresses the combination of the vision of the world, from a historical perspective that prescribes to take control of the land. Industrialism and capitalism are simple tools to lead the dominating process of the man as focal point of economy and main actor of the people's development. This can be understood as the excessive and uncontrolled accumulation of capital to "live better". From this perspective, the globe has been split into two poles: the developed and the underdeveloped one, the latter also called developing. Xavier Albó, another Bolivian theorist who writes about Andean cosmovision argues that under the myth of underdevelopment – created by western civilizations – Bolivia has become a "second-hand" country. He implies that the "detritus coming from the North, feed our eagerness to fake, to copy, to imitate (...)" we (Bolivians) are satisfied with the leftovers; we are losing our dignity, our pride and our self-esteem. It is there that the Bolivian underdevelopment lies (Albó, X., 2003:24). Instead of searching in the core of the ancient culture and listen to the 'mother earth' and the cosmos, we look for answers in foreign and completely alien cultures.

As will be seen further in this thesis, the internal organisation of a social movement follows the rules of communal association skills belonging to the Andean view of the world. In brief, it is vital to know and understand the way the *cocaleros* see life, to know their utopia,

recognise and appreciate their struggle. This is even more important if we seek to understand the *cocaleros* movement, whose symbol is the protection of the sacred millenarian coca leaf.

Thus, in order to understand the way of action of the *cocaleros* social movements in Bolivia, first we must learn about their indigenous identity, as well as their way of seeing the world and the things that surround it. The *cocaleros* movements are all entirely composed of indigenous coca growers. These groups, both in the region of *Los Yungas*, in La Paz and in *El Chapare*, in Cochabamba, have something in common: Andean indigenism. This term is understood as ethnical identity and behaviour that characterizes indigenous people.

Indigenism or indianism, as Michaux, J. (2009) explains it, does not know anything similar to western philosophy. Last century, in Bolivia, philosophy was considered the ultimate in human thought. Consequently, as indigenous thinkers do not have less value than western ones, there is also an “Andean philosophy” that explains the way in which an Andean man understands the universe and what surrounds it. Therefore, it would be this philosophy the one to conduct his actions.

As said by Medina (2009), in the traditional world of Andean cultures and indigenous people, different expressions from capitalist globalisation arise. Andean cultures show interpretations, whose nature is alternative and different from that of modernity and postmodernism. Andean cosmovision is different from western culture, as it affirms that the man stands in the centre (ethnocentrism), laying the foundations of culture, philosophy, ethics and a pattern of society based on possessive individualism. The Andean view of the world has a “cosmocentred” feature, where the cosmos lies in the centre. An Andean man admits his passive and subordinate role with respect to the Natural Being who governs everything in harmony and order. This order determines how relationships occur between people, with their ecological surrounding and with deities. (Lozada, B., 2005). That is why nature is the most important thing for Andean people. They are in charge of its care and protection. The needs of the earth and nature are before a human being’s needs.

Both Xavier Albó and Javier Medina agree on the supposition that the current western conception of development is the opposite of the Andean conception of development. The notion of an organic, living and spiritual universe was replaced by that of the world as a machine. According to these authors, the effect of the relation between the *Ayllu* (community) and their environment is perceived as “bliss and well-being” Some indigenous people express: “although some may think we are poor (in terms of financial income), we enjoy a level of happiness that the “well-living” has offered us.

Mario Torrez (cited in Medina, J., 2006) claimst that the “Bolivian State also seeks for development as a synonym of well-being.” So, how can we understand the development of *qamañas* of *markas* (communities)? The sense of *qamañas* (well-living) has to do with the existence, with life, with what is sacred, with the well-being of your home and your community. For this reason, from the point of view of Andean development, the western definition of this term seems to be reductionist and materialist, centred on the individual and his own interests, rather than on nature, on the cosmos and on collective communal interests.

In consequence, country people talk about “sweet life” when referring to well-living. In other words, to live well is a situation in which they have enough of what they need within their

reach in their everyday life. This outlook on life shows an austere and diverse lifestyle, in perfect balance with mother earth and nature. Indigenous people search to live the *Suma Qamaña* (Well-living). They only work the earth enough to get products for own-consumption or to exchange for other needed goods. They do not seek to accumulate goods or money in order to get richer. That is why they are against capitalism and neoliberalism. They do not understand the way western capitalists see life, the way capitalist are eager to have more money and to be more powerful and richer. They find it difficult to understand that such a way of life, of accumulation and enrichment can be seen as progress and development. Indigenous people in Bolivia are sceptical to the western idea of development; they do not understand it and are not in agreement with it. The indigenous people in Bolivia seek the recognition of their cosmovision, they want the rest of the Nation adopt it and learn to live well, without destroying earth and taking advantage from the less fortunate. They want to end with the myth of development. They want to build a new society, which means paradoxically to go back on time and rescue the Andean civilization. In my research I have found this sentiment to be strongly present. However, before I present the data from the research, I will outline my methodological framework and my approaches to the process of fieldwork.

4. Methodological Framework

4.1 Qualitative Approach of the investigation

As mentioned in the introduction, the objective of the research is to comprehend and gain knowledge about a particular social movement in Bolivia; the *cocaleros* social movement; the way the *cocaleros* movement act and interact with different actors in the Bolivian society. The way it is organized, also the way it is structured, and more important, the way its members perceive themselves, how they perceived their role and participation in the developmental process in the Bolivian society. It is also the interest of the research to compare the way this social movement see itself with the way in which different actors of society perceive it.

Considering the objectives above, I found that the best methodological approach was to apply qualitative methods. Qualitative research is, as Arnold *et al* (2006:124) describe it; “more particularistic and relativist, it aims to identify and understand what people consider desirable, - in front of a particular circumstance - and why”. Also Hernández, R. *et al*,(2003:448) mentions that “what the qualitative approach seeks is to obtain information from subjects, communities, contexts, variables or situations in the depth of the ‘words’, ‘definitions’ or ‘terms’ of the subjects in their own context”. This was exactly what this research aimed to do, to grasp how the members of the movements looked upon their selves, their movements and actions.

As described by Taylor, S. and Bodgan (1990), the qualitative method is used when there is a need to interpret a situation or, a state of things, from the point of view of those involved. And as was explained, in this research there is a need to interpret the point of view of leaders and members of the *cocaleros* social movement. The selection of the approach was based also in the ontological and epistemological characteristics that distinguish the qualitative method. First of all the qualitative approach is epistemologically interpretivist, this means that the concern is focused in the emphatic understanding of the human behaviour and human action. Alan Byrman points out how interpretivism is concerned with the fact that “social reality has a meaning for human beings and therefore human action is meaningful, it has a meaning for

them and they act on the basis of the meaning that they attribute to their acts and to the acts of others” (Byrman, A., 2008:16). Therefore the social scientist – according to Byrman, A. – have to gain access to people’s common-sense thinking and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view.

Interpretivists recognize that the knowledge they build reflects the particular goals, culture, experience, history, and so on of the ‘study object’. As Weber eloquently puts it “... they try to make sense of the world, recognizing their sense-making activities occur within the framework of their life-worlds and the particular goals they have for their work” (Weber, R., 2004:4). Knowledge therefore is built through social construction of the world; this means that knowledge of the world is intentionally constituted through a persons lived experience. Thus, what interpretivism tries to show is that people are different: the action is meaningful to the actor, and must be interpreted from their point of view. This particularity of the qualitative approach calls my attention in the sense that this is exactly what this research is about. It tries to understand a particular social group in Bolivia, the *cocaleros* and to interpret their actions. These actions exist because of their history, culture and the particular way the *cocaleros* have of seeing the world.

The ontological orientation of the qualitative approach is the constructionist. The constructionist wave asserts that “social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (...) constructionism essentially invites the researcher to consider the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment – in a constant state of revision- of social actors, rather than something external to them and that totally constrains them” (Byrman, A., 2008:19-20). Constructionist ontology views the perception of the world as being internally constructed by social actors. Thus, these social actors individually and collectively create meaning from their experiences and interactions. Therefore the knowledge of the world is intentionally constituted through lived experiences of persons, and social phenomena is created by constant social interaction and therefore constantly revised.

This position implies that constructionism theorists believe that thoughts, concepts and memories arise from social interchange. According to constructionists all knowledge evolves in the space between people and the “ordinary world.” And it is only through constant conversation with his intimates that the individual develops a sense identity or an inner voice. The resulting knowledge is inherent to life, as Jubés *et al* (2002:4) asserts “To live is to know”. Therefore in order to understand the indigenous *coca* culture, (*Suma Qamaña*, good living) that *cocaleros* have, it is necessary to know their “ordinary world”, to know how they operate in their environment. The constructionist ontological position of the qualitative approach helped in order to understand how *cocaleros* interact in their communities. In other words, how they create their culture and knowledge how they understand the world.

Also the inductive nature of qualitative research was considered for the selection of the research approach. As Byrman, A. (2008:11) states “with an inductive stance, theory is the outcome of research (...) the process of induction involves drawing generalizable inferences out of observations”. And that is what this research practically did. As it can be observed in this work, there is an iterative process between theory (cited in the theoretical framework) and the assumptions made after the collection of information result of the fieldwork, the analysis is based on the theory but at the same time the theory is accommodated to the findings. At the end generalizable inferences were made.

4.1.1. Qualitative research methods used in the work

“Participant observation provides several advantages to research. First, it enhances the quality of the data obtained during fieldwork. Second, it enhances the quality of the interpretation of data, whether those data are collected through participant observation or by other methods. Participant observation is thus both a data collection and an analytic tool”(DeWalt, K., and DeWalt, B., 2002:10).

Qualitative research has as its goal gain an understanding of the nature of phenomena, and is not necessarily interested in assessing the magnitude and distribution of phenomena (Byrman, A., 2008; DeWalt, K., and DeWalt, B., 2002; Arnold et al, 2006). Participant observation is just one of a number of methods that are employed to achieve this understanding. The method of participant observation is a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by researcher who observe and take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied.

The main research method used to gain and collect information for this research was participative observation, complemented by simple observation and informal, structured and semi-structured interviews. A great amount of the information collected from *cocaleros* was product of consented recorded conversations with the coca growers and leaders in their fields, homes and meetings in their communities and during the development of their activities in the central’s *coca* markets in *Villa Fatima* in La Paz and *Sacaba* in Cochabamba.

The participative observation method was chosen because participant observation is a qualitative method whose objective is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by their informants; the group or phenomenon being studied. When a researcher engages in participant observation he or she is trying to learn how life is like from an insider perspective (remaining as an outsider). The participant observation is the only way to acquire a general knowledge about quality of people, their social positions, the pace of its activities and other items and then decide, for example, develop models that interview subjects, how and who implement these schemes (Arnold, D. *et al*, 2006:153). I found that what is expressed by Arnold, D. *et al* and Mack *et al* was important in order to select participative observation as my methodological approach, since my aim was to get to know *cocaleros*, and understand them, and the only way was through sharing time and their daily lives with them.

According to DeWalt and De Walt, “Participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (DeWalt, K., and DeWalt, B., 2002:2) . Through the use of this technique I was able to gain knowledge about the explicit culture that the *cocaleros* represent, and tacit aspects of such culture that until this point were unknown to me. Living, working, laughing, and hanging out with people whom one is trying to understand provides a tacit understanding that informs the form of research, the specific techniques of data collection, the recording of information, and the subsequent interpretation of materials collected. The knowledge gained through this technique helped me to get a deep insight understanding of the actors of study.

Participant observation worked well with many of the other techniques used in this qualitative research; these included informal, structured and semi structured interviewing, observation, and collection and analysis of texts, and one focus group. The backup instrument used for all

the interviews was a digital recorder for the interviews. All the interviewees consented to be recorded. I also kept a field diary where I took notes of observations that I consider important to my research as well as notes of informal conversations and relevant facts that happened during the fieldwork.

The interviewing process considered three types of interviews; informal, semi-structured and structured interviews. I consider as informal interviews all the informal conversations I had both with *cocaleros* and academics. Semi-structured interviews were elaborated in order to obtain specific and relevant information from the academics specialists on social movements and *cocaleros* in Bolivia. The semi-structured interviews allow focusing on the relevant issues, and its flexibility allows new topics to emerge. The structured interviews were applied to the *cocaleros* leaders, since I knew what specific information was needed from them. Also one focus group was carried on. This focus group study was ‘unplanned’; the circumstances of having the opportunity of joining representative leaders from each region in *Yungas* one time and for a short period of time forced me to run a collective interview to grasp the different opinions. More details on how the group interview was conducted will be show further on in this chapter.

Parallel to the interviews, simple observation and text analysis was used also as a technique. The sampling method was partially snowball sampling and convenience sampling. Snowball sampling implies to establish initial contact with key informants relevant to the research topic and then this first approached group of people helped to establish contacts with others. This sampling method was applied to the *cocaleros* leaders and the academics since they were introduced to me by a previous “key informant”. I can also say that they were partially purposively selected. At least when dealing with *cocaleros* leaders I knew I wanted to interview them, they were selected strategically before, I can say there was the purpose of interviewing them. While other coca growers were interviewed by virtue of their accessibility at that time in that place, here I used the convenience sampling both in the communities to the *cocaleros* families that were close to me. There was not a previous stated sample size. The fieldwork was done together with the interviews, conversations, etc. until I reached a ‘saturation point’ (where after interviewing a certain number of interest subjects, hardly any ‘new’ information occurs). I reached this saturation point after interviewing in total thirty people among coca growers and *cocaleros* leaders and seven academicians and a few representative members of the Bolivian society. There I knew that all the main interest topics were addressed and there was no radical new information emerging (maybe different interpretations but somehow similar to one another) that a new interview can deliver.

In total I spent four months and a half collecting information from all sources. My time was distributed as follows; two months and a half moving from *los Yungas* to La Paz city; in that time I carried out twenty five interviews between coca growers and *cocaleros* leaders and five interviews with academicians. The next month and a half I did the field work in Cochabamba and *el Chapare*; there I manage to interview 10 coca growers and leaders and one member of society highly involved with the emergence and building up of the political party MAS. Then followed two weeks in Santa Cruz, interviewing members of society and analysts of economics and history. Parallel with the analysis of data and writing process I continued interviewing people in Sucre (where I spent the rest of the time until the end of the work), this time two important persons were approached and interviewed.

I consider the time I spent doing fieldwork as ‘sufficient’ in order to collect all the needed information, but I recognize that I would have liked to spend more time in the field in order to derive even more thorough insight about the *cocaleros* social movements, their culture, the real economic income derived from coca and the earnings derived from alternatives products, their plans of industrialization of coca and so on. However, time was limited and the information collected is considered as sufficient to reach the objective of this research.

4.2. How the field work was conducted

4.2.1. Primary Information collection; interviews with local coca growers

The field work had a “bottom-up” structure; in the sense that first I assess the bases of *cocaleros*, in the coca-growing communities selected as the study area. These areas were chosen based on determining factors for selection, including ease of access via road and the presence of a “key informant” who helped and facilitated my work in the study area. Luckily it was possible to do all the fieldwork in Spanish, even in the communities in the countryside of La Paz and Cochabamba, where I had expected that quechua or aymara would be more common. Hence I was fortunate to avoid the ‘losses of translation’, that meaning got lost when translating from one language to the other.

Dr Allison Spedding was one of my key informants for this research project and I met her at the University of San Andres, in La Paz city; where she works as a professor. After several meetings and interviews with her, she invited me to visit a community in Nor Yungas where she has a property. On my arrival to the community of “*Dorado Chico*” (in the sector *Arapata* of the municipality of *Coripata* in *Nor Yungas*) Dr Spedding officially introduced me to the community at a general meeting of the syndicate. The official presentation had two objectives, the first was to gain the “permission” from the community, so I could stay in the place, and the second reason was to make the community known the purpose of my presence and to request their collaboration. Before that introduction, there were no qualms about me staying at *Dorado Chico* and after the meeting I was treated as an “active member” of the community.

The participant observation was conducted on two levels. Primarily, I followed the daily activities of the “coca-growing circle of women of *Arapata*”. From the beginning I had their support and they allowed me to attend meetings with them, and to participate of all the activities they had. They quickly became accustomed to my presence, my questions and my steps right behind them all the time. The *Dorado Chico* community is a small community and my presence was thus very visible. . The time coincided with the celebration of “*Carnaval*” (traditional cultural festival in Bolivia). During preparations for the celebrations, I met the women representatives of the *cocaleros* community of “*San Agustin*” who invited me to the community (larger than *Dorado Chico* with approximately 1,200 inhabitants). After an initial two weeks with the women of *Arapata*, I spent the next two months moving between *Dorado Chico*, *San Agustín* and the city of La Paz.

As stated earlier, I was initially received by the ‘circle of *cocaleras* women’; I accompanied them in their daily activities, which were not very different to the activities of the head of the family (the man). Women as well as men take part in the planting and harvesting of the coca leaf. While women are responsible for the drying of the leaf process, men are responsible for accommodating the production in *taques* (50 pounds of coca in a sealed package) and the

transportation to the market in La Paz city. However, the woman often accompanies the man in all the process until reaching the market. During meetings and assemblies that I participated on, I saw how women were listened to and had the right to vote in the decision making process and were as well organized as men. Based on these observations I do not find this community of workers a sexist community.

The reason the community first sent me with the women was because the community members thought that it was wiser and prudent for an outsider woman to be surrounded by the women croppers since they are respected in the community, and if I was seen with them it was easier to have respect from the society and to be taken seriously. Their judgement seem to have been good, after some time I gained the confidence of the community members and could move without the company of the ‘*cocaleras* women circle’ and get to know the coca growers families. Then I took part in daily activities of at least 25 families in the communities of *Dorado Chico* and *San Agustin*. Family activities were many and I could choose which of the family members to go along with. Sometimes I join men in the coca fields (between planting and harvest the men attend daily the fields in order to verify that the plants are growing well and healthy), the youngest of the family also are in the fields where they scare the birds from the fruit plantations if there are any, other occasions I remain with the woman who is responsible of drying the collected coca, and selecting the leafs in first, second and third class. In this way I became familiar with many people and could collect information from several coca growers, their stories, anecdotes, experiences, “first-hand information” from all the battles fought, and how they see the future horizon for them. It was from them from whom I got the names and contact numbers of the coca growers’ leaders of the six federations of Los Yungas.

Picture 3. Women Drying coca near an unused road in *Dorado Chico*



Source: Own, los Yungas 2010

4.2.2 Interviews with coca leaders

The next step was to contact the leaders of COFECAY (Council of Federations of Peasants of Los Yungas) and ADEPCOCA (Coca Growers Association). During my fieldwork in the Yungas communities I met Maruja Machaca, producer of coca and leader of the women coca growers’ division of COFECAY. She was a very important “key informant” in order to contact all the leaders of that organization. She also helped presenting me before all the

leaders of COFECAY, explaining the reason for my presence; she gathers all the men and women leaders of Nor Yungas, Sud Yungas and Inquisivi. We first organized a meeting with all the six women leaders, and at this meeting I interviewed the group. This was a focus group (collective) interview, where six members of the women division of COFECAY were present with the result of long hours of conversation with relevant information for my research. I interviewed them all in one because they meet in COFECAY facilities only once a month, at the beginning of each month, so I had to take that opportunity to get representatives from all corners of Los Yungas. As referred to above there are both advantages and disadvantages of conducting focus group interviews. In this case the group was relatively small therefore all the participants spoke and gave their points of view and anecdotes, they were all leaders (they all have the same 'level') so there was not the susceptibility of speak their minds out. From the males COFECAY leaders I could only interview two due to their other commitments.

Picture 4. ADEPCOCA and COFECAY building in Villa Fátima, La Paz city



Source: Own, La Paz 2010

Picture 5. ADEPCOCA and COFECAY building in Villa Fátima, La Paz city



Source: Own, La Paz 2010

In between the interviews I conducted my participant observation. Among the greatest achievements of the participative observation was the chance to see how the *cocaleros* are organized, to attend their meetings, to have access to the minute books and private 'meetings keeping' booklets from some of the attendees to those meetings. In *San Agustín* I found records of proceedings, in *Dorado Chico* they told me that those records were non existent, often because the directives of the time did not have a clerk or the secretary who could write,

or even, in some cases records had been destroyed. The gap created by the absence of those files that show how the associations are organized was filled by my opportunity to attend special assemblies, where the *cocaleros* themselves showed me how information flowed from union to union, from the leaders to the basis and vice versa. This way of gaining information added to the interviews with leaders answering my questions about how decisions were made in the movement. Hence based on this combined approach of participant observation and interviews I was able to establish a clearer picture of the *cocaleros* organisational structure and ways of transmitting information.

In the facilities where COFECAY has its headquarter (in the area of Villa Fatima in La Paz city), ADEPCOCA also has its offices. There I managed to make an appointment with several of the current leaders of the six federations of coca growers of Yungas, after many attempts I succeeded and met with six of the twelve secretaries of ADEPCOCA, and the Executive Director of the organization. This time I used structured interviews with informants representing perspectives that I thought were missing or thought that nobody in the community could answer. I also asked them about matters related to the structure and self-sustainment of the movement in order to complete the information that had been collected during participant observation in the communities of Nor Yungas.

In ADEPCOCA I could also observe the infrastructure of the coca market, the dynamics of entry and exit from the production of coca, the facilities offered to the coca producers who travelled long hours to deliver their production, at the same market they have sanitary facilities, hospitals in case of accidents, rooms where they can stay and rest among others. Right there I could talk with coca producers from other regions of Sud Yungas and Inquisivi and collect more interesting “first hand” information.

Picture 6. Coca sheds inside the coca market in *Villa Fátima La Paz-City* (coca *taques* prepared for sale)



Source: Own, La Paz 2010

Picture 7. Inside the coca market in *Villa Fátima*



Source: Own, La Paz 2010

4.2.3. Interviews with academicians:

In the city of La Paz I continued the data collection work, now in search of academics specialising in social movements or who had worked with coca growers. Again, my “key informant” Dr Spedding gave me new contacts. She introduced me to Denise Arnold, an English anthropologist who worked with *Aymaras* communities in Bolivia for many years. I managed to meet with her and other colleagues such as Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, a Bolivian sociologist with expertise in issues related to the coca. The interviews with academics were more of a semi-structured nature, and with some of them I had more than one interview, the latter being more informal conversations.

The “snowball” sampling continue and I got to interview Luis Tapia, a well known Bolivian political analyst, who has worked a lot with social movements in Bolivia, and had established his own concept about social movements. I also interviewed Felix Patzi, ex- education minister from the first period of government of Evo Morales, who at the moment of the interview was a solid candidate of the political party MAS to the governance of the department of La Paz. Some time after the interview he broke relations with the political party MAS and resigned from the candidature. I tried to reach him once again but without success.

4.2.4. Field work in Cochabamba: different from Los Yungas

The collection of information continued in Cochabamba, both in *el Chapare* and in Cochabamba city in the coca market in *Sacaba*. There the experience was different compared with the one lived in los Yungas. I had access to *Shinaota* where the hosting at the beginning was different to what I was used in *los Yungas*; firstly because I was not presented formally by a member of the community. This occasion I introduced myself to the community family by family so it resulted more difficult to them to get used to my presence. Also *el Chapare* has the reputation of harbouring illicit coca producers, therefore – as I got to know afterwards - they are suspicious and reserved with strangers to the community, because they have the susceptibility that those who come close to the coca growers in *el Chapare* are there with

hidden intentions. Either they want to know specific details about the illegal coca market (which they claim to unknown) or they intend to propose illegal business regarding to “coca products” (which, they said is common, but they never accepted those proposals because they have “dignity”). Also because of matters of remaining time I could not stay longer in *el Chapare* and Cochabamba. In total I spent only about one month in Cochabamba and *el Chapare*.

That made the fieldwork in *el Chapare* a little bit difficult than expected. It took longer to get access to coca producers and their families, but at the end I was able to interview approximately 10 families in *Shinaota*. The time at the place was also shorter than the dedicated to *los Yungas*. But I was able to get good first hand information. Also in *el Chapare* the participant observation somehow ended being more observation than participation, although I was able to share all the “day activities” of the families, and one general assembly where I interviewed and hold conversations with coca producers and some leaders. Anyhow I felt there was a distance between them and I, translated in secrecy from them to me.

I continued the fieldwork in the coca market in *Sacaba* in Cochabamba city. The access to this cited market was more than difficult since there seems to be no activity there. I approached the installations many times and just once I found it open. There is no activity compared with *Villa Fátima* coca market in La Paz. There they were very well organized, in *Sacaba* on the other hand, any register about the entrance or exit of coca *taques* was found. The directory of the coordinator of the six federations of *el Tropico*'s office was at all times closed, because of that the construction of an organizational chart of the *cocaleros* movement in *el Chapare* was extra hard. In Cochabamba I could contact Filemón Escóbar, one of the ideologists behind the conception of the political party MAS. He worked close to Evo Morales since this latter was a *cocalero* leader, therefore he helped me to understand the way of organization of this movement. An interesting fact is that Filemón Escóbar was expelled from the political party MAS before Evo Morales reached the presidential chair. But I realized that Mr. Escóbar does not mind the fact that he was expelled, he still believe in MAS as the *cocaleros*' ‘political instrument’ and its importance in what he called process of change.

Picture 8. Cocaleros in *el Chapare*



Source: Own, *El Chapare* 2010

As part of the fieldwork I also conducted interviews in Santa Cruz and in Sucre. I selected these two cities because they are known as the cities with the biggest levels of opposition. This ‘oppositions’ concerns political opposition, cultural opposition and ideological opposition, for example in Santa Cruz there are no *aymaras* nor *quechuas* there are less indigenous people than in the rest of the country, and the indigenous people belong to the *guaraní* ethnicity. Therefore this people do not the culture that *aymaras* and *quechuas* do share. Also Santa Cruz is known as the industrial and business capital of Bolivia, many of those businesses are supported by private external capital and private national capital. The economic flow in Santa Cruz is described by the actual government as ‘neoliberal and capitalist model’ and the government calls the owners of those businesses ‘oligarchs’ (meaning private owners of what suppose to be national, for all the people). Finally about 70% of the population in Santa Cruz is against the political party MAS and the president Evo Morales. This is the only city that has municipal and departmental authorities belonging to the opposite political party to MAS.

In Santa Cruz I had no problems accessing economic analysts as Ricardo Baldivieso and historians like Paola Peña. These two academicians are important for my work because of their known positions as opponents to the government, therefore their opinions hold a different perspective. I also was able to interview other members of the so called “opposition” to the governmental regime of Evo Morales, the director of the CAINCO (chamber of industry, commerce and tourism of Santa Cruz). I chose to do this because of as said before, I am interested in knowing what other sectors of the society perceive the *cocaleros* social movements, and since this movement is so close to the government, I looked for people who does not agree with the ruling political party, in order to know what they think, and embrace different points of view.

In Sucre I approached people who work closely with the government such as Marianela Paco and Ignacio Mendoza in order to know more about social movements from an ‘official point of view’, by this I mean that they gave me the point of view of the government itself about how close government and social movements work together, if they consider this government as a ‘government of social movements’, the level of influence of social movements over the political decisions, etc.

4.2.5. Secondary Information Collection

The primary collection of information was at all times followed and supported by secondary information revision or “second hand” information. This was useful at the same time for the construction of the theoretical framework. Research works about topics related with social movements in Bolivia and *cocaleros* in Bolivia and South America were reviewed. Books about social movements from both, international and national authors were also reassessed.

Documentaries from all kinds of nationalities were reviewed. Audiovisual documentaries released during the recent years that show in a detailed way the contemporary history of the social movements in Bolivia and recent events related to their actions were also reviewed. These included events like the revolt that lead to the resignation of President Sanchez de Lozada, and the election that made Evo Morales President of the Bolivian Nation; among this documentaries I count the one made by Emilio Cartoy Díaz titled “*Bolivia para todos*” (Bolivia for all) (Poggi, N., 2008:3), ‘*Fusil Metralla, el pueblo no se calla*’ (rifle bullets, the

people don't keep quiet) a documentary that tell about the problems and violent conflicts during 2003, the trigger for the resignation of the president Sanchez de Lozada and the rise of social movements. Another highly relevant documentary is the one titled "*Cocalero*" made by Alejandro Landes that is in some ways a biography of Evo Morales, his raise to the power and also the inclusion of the Social Movements to the political life of the country. Documentaries as '*Humillados y ofendidos*' '*La Guerra del Agua*' '*Guerreros del Arcoiris*', and more that explain the way in which some sectors of society treated the indigenous during the different periods of time, will also be used as a source. The documentaries helped to strengthen the conception of social movements in the Bolivian context previous and posterior to the new governmental regime.

The films have been seen with careful detail and with consideration of the country of origin, and time of release, since many of the cited documentaries were made before the presidential elections where Evo Morales was chosen as president of Bolivia. This means that the context was different and the objective of such documentaries in many cases were to serve as propaganda for the elections parties. Also the nationalities of many of those documentaries were considered at the moment of the analysis, since many were made in cooperation with Venezuela, Cuba and Argentina, countries that share the political line of the actual government of Bolivia and tend to be pro government and less critical.

I also intended to review internal documentation of *cocaleros* movements such as constitution acts, records of members and meeting agendas, if them were available for external scrutiny. I found out that in some places like in the coca market in *Sacaba* that documentation was inexistent, or like in ADEPCOCA part of the documentation was there, but it was incredibly disorderly. I got permission to go through it and fell the gaps with the first hand information collected and the revision of particular notes taken by *cocaleros* when assisted to the meetings. All of that allowed me having a general understanding of their way of organizing and their general structure.

4.3 Analysing the collected material

Since the approach of the investigation was qualitative, the resulting collected information was extensive, having at the end many hours of recorded interviews, notes of informal conversations, field diaries and secondary data. Therefore the next step was concerned to the arrangement of the information, the transcription of interviews, revision of notes and field diaries. I transcribed all the primary information to a digital format, with the aim of a uniform format and to facilitate the codification of the data. I did not wait until having the last interview to make the transcription. I did it right after each interview, so I could add some notes taken about relevant information that were added right after the interview was over and I turned of the recorder, and an informal 'post-interview' conversation started taking place. I did the same with informal conversations that could not be recorded nor annotated. Right after the conversation took place I wrote down all the aspects I could remember and the particular things that call my attention.

Once I had all the information unified I start the coding process, separating the information in subcomponents finding patterns among them and labelling the subcomponents in tags that approached to answer my research questions. From the interviews I selected the most completes 'quotations' that enlightened in the best way the points I was trying to find out. The mechanism was similar to the one used in grounded theory (a framework for analysing

qualitative data) which implies the systematically gather and analysis of data throughout the research process “in this method data collection, analysis and eventual theories stand in close relationship to one other” (Strauss and Corbin 1988 cited in Byrman, A., 2008:541).

Therefore the process of analysis of data included some of the tools of grounded theory like coding and constant comparison between theory and findings. The big difference in this case is that the outcome of the research was not the formulation of theory. In the following chapter, my empirical data is presented and analysed.

5. Analysis of findings

In these sections, the way how the *cocaleros* movement is structured will be explored, as well as how it is organized and how decisions are made inside it. In a following section an analysis of the *cocaleros* movement will be made according to theories and outlooks stated in the theoretical framework. Alberto Melucci and Alain Touraine’s structuralist approach will be applied to the existing collective action in this group; this will let us identify it as a social movement (identity, resistance, social goals). Sydney Tarrow’s functionalist focus will be of great help to study the arising and development of the *cocaleros* movement.

A third section is directed to analyse the effects on the members themselves regarding their role in society, whether their actions and demands have had impact on the development of Bolivia in line with their own outlook. And the reactions of other society members will be studied concerning the role that the coca grower movement plays in Bolivia.

5.1. Analysis of Cocaleros Social Movement: Organisational Structure and Management

The *cocaleros* social movement is known for having a political-unionized **organisational** structure. This movement has a vertical and horizontal organisation, although these structures become crosswise in dispute times. The organisation of *Los Yungas* union differs from the way *El Chapare* union is structured. Thus in this section they will be studied separately, due to the fact that they are both in two very different areas of Bolivia. However, when it comes to the crunch, both unions join to protect the coca leaf and its producers, no matter which union they belong to.

5.1.1. Organisational Structure and Management of the *Cocaleros* Social Movement in *Los Yungas*, in La Paz

Los Yungas coca producers union flourished through a solid and sound organisation after several prior attempts. The first attempt took place in the early 1980s, when ANAPCOCA (Coca Producers National Association) was born. This encompassed all the coca producers throughout the country (especially *Los Yungas* and *El Chapare*). Its main aims were: coca leaf industrialization and its direct marketing from the producer to the consumer. This eagerness yet failed in trying to consolidate a nationwide organisation (Garcia, A., 2008:465). A second attempt occurred when a “Coca Industrialization Pilot Plant” project arose, built and managed by producers’ own financial sources. Eventually, this second try failed as well.

Finally, a new organisational project was set up, the ADEPCOCA (Coca Producers Department Association), founded in 1989. Among its main objectives, one was to remove the “intermediary wholesaler” so as to sell its products directly.

“The ADEPCOCA foundation stems from the time (1985-1988) when our parents were victims of exploitation, when they got their products purchased by people and these people set the tariffs they wanted. Since then, they have joined forces to get a fair trade for the production. Here in the Villa Fatima coca marketplace belonging to ADEPCOCA, the producers set the price according to the kind of leaf (high-quality, second- quality and third-quality). Now we have free retail.”

(Sanchez, V., 2010, coca producer, *los Yungas* personal interview)

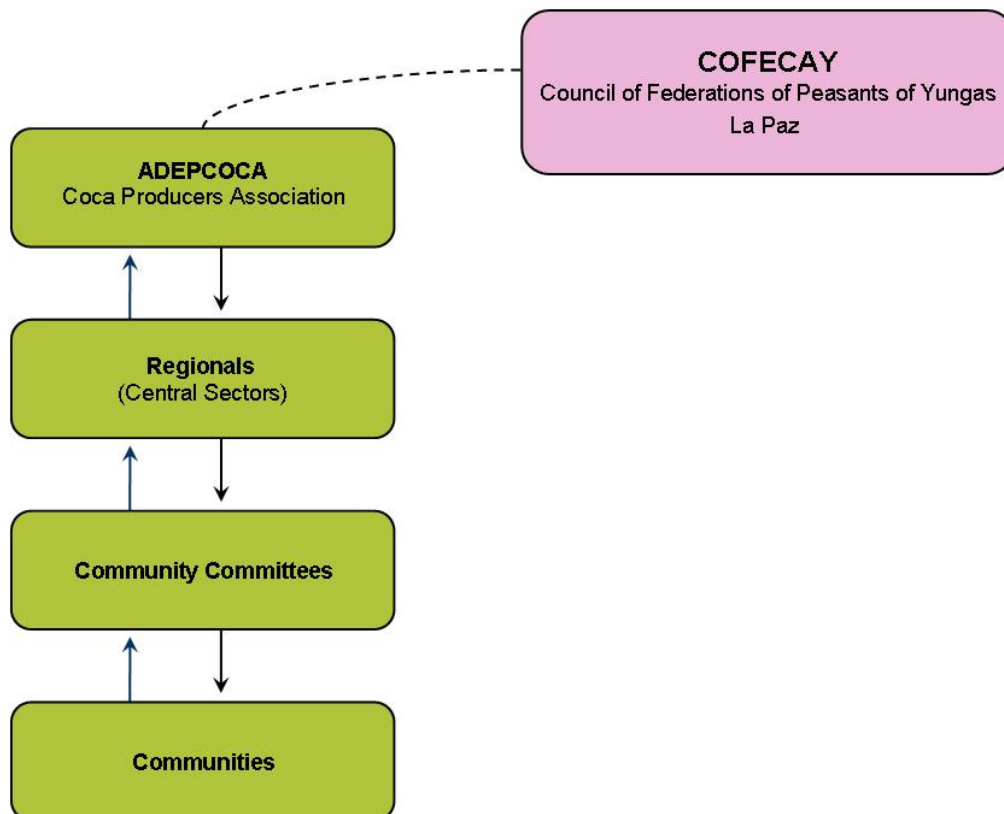
Currently, ADEPCOCA is composed by about 30.000 members, all of them coming from the three townships of *los Yungas*: *North-Yungas*, *South-Yungas* and *Inquisivi*, which live on legal coca growing. ADEPCOCA represents producers of traditional regions. According to the head of this institution, Víctor Sánchez, around 100.000 family members are supported by APDECOCA and make profit from coca growing. Almost all the people from *los Yungas* produce coca for a living. ADEPCOCA is the financial wing of the coca grower social movement, represented by COFECAY (Los Yungas Country Communities Federations Council). This wing is in charge of setting the price to the coca leaf, selling it in the market and managing COFECAY budget. It is vertically organised from “bottom to top”.

“Everybody here has a duty with our rank-and-file; decisions arise there and come to us”

(Sanchez, V., 2010, coca producer, *los Yungas* personal communication)

ADEPCOCA has an organic structure simpler than COFECAY’s, which is shown in fig. 1

Fig.1 Organic Structure ADEPCOCA (Coca Producers Association)



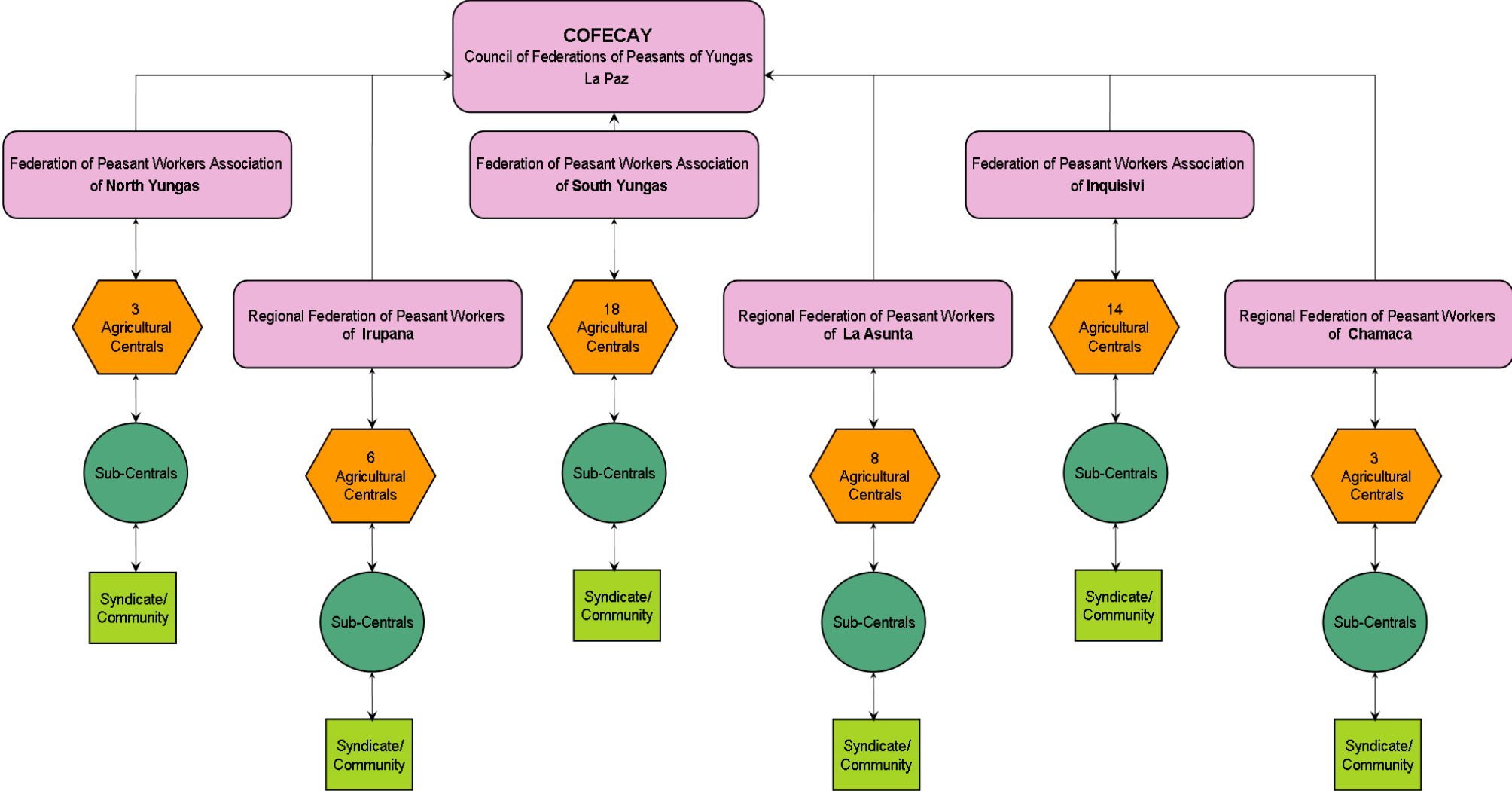
Source: Montellano, M. 2010

How does ADEPCOCA work? *Los Yungas* townships join the union, the number of members varies according to the size of the township, ranging from 30 producers to even 300. A communal committee is elected and it is in charge of communal organization and to keep in order the production of coca. They carry records including the amount of coca produced by the township and for all the production counted they deliver a ‘declaration’ which is a piece of paper that states the name of the farmer, the name of the community and the amount of production of coca. With this “declaration”, the producers are “allowed” to take their production to control centres of the government in “*La Rinconada*”, in La Paz city. There, the “*taques*” (a “*taque*” equals 25 kg or 50 pounds of coca leaf) are checked to confirm if the amount of coca matches the one that was taken from the township. When arriving at the coca marketplace in Villa Fatima (La Paz city), the communal declaration is checked again and the amount of coca delivery is weighed. In the marketplace, in which the infrastructure is shared with ADEPCOCA offices, a fee of 2.50 Bs. is to be paid (about 0,36 USD) per “*taque*” checked in. It is through this payment that ADEPCOCA is self-financed.

In terms of decision making, the structures are the following; ADEPCOCA council takes responsibility for the financial management of the *cocaleros* movement. When an order of the day comes to them they summon the 12 region unions that constitute the whole organisation. They inform the leaders of these regions, who, at the same time, summon the communal committee to a meeting called “*ampliado*”. Every committee carries out a general-purpose meeting to inform its township (30 to 300 members) about the order of the day and the matters on the agenda. From each township, points of view and demands are collected. The committees inform the region unions about the decisions made by the rank-and-file (townships). The region committees take the list of demands and/or suggestions to the ADEPCOCA council, which, according to majority’s claims, will make a final decision.

Los Yungas Country Communities Federations Council (COFECAY) was founded in La Paz, November 20th, 1994. The council was born with the primary objective of coordinating the smaller coca grower federations of three provinces: *Nor-Yungas*, *Sud-Yungas* and *Inquisivi* and their region federations, such as *La Asunta*, *Irupana*, *Chamaca*. COFECAY is constituted by six unique and particular federations: ADEPCOCA and its region unions, cooperatives and other financial organisations from the three provinces: Nor Yungas, Sud Yungas and Inquisivi. COFECAY structure is shown in figure two.

Figure 2. COFECAY Structure Chart



Source: Montellano, M., 2010

Outlined above in figure two we find the COFECAY council, which at the same time works horizontally with La Paz Unique Department Federation of Country Labourers “Tupac Katari (FDUTCLP-TK), lowering from this leadership level there are region federations, which consist of associations of several agrarian unions, delimited in territory. These unions are likewise the combination of numerous rank and file unions. Each individual is the smaller structured nucleus and is vital in the whole structure of associate federations. The union, although its name just refers to a trade labour union, is a sort of region-micro state that organises the economic regime of producers. It also represents a political, moral and law authority; this “state” encompasses all the producer families. These are the “cells” that constitute unions and movements. COFECAY uses the financial resources for public works in its regions: it builds schools, and even has a project called “Coca Hospital” in La Paz City. Moreover, it supports small health centres in communities. It is this organisation that keeps clear the highways to *Sud-Yungas* during the rainy season.

“A rank and file agrarian union is not only a labour union, it is more than a formal representation of financial interests belonging to its members, whose social class faces up employer’s organisations and governmental power. A country worker joins a union not only because he wants to be an agricultural producer, but also because his union is the formal demonstration of social and political organisation in his community. What is more, a communal union does not accept individual membership but household units (families).”

(Enríquez, M., 2010, coca leader, La Paz personal interview)

The head and its council are the authorities in the community, and as local government, they intervene in family disputes, boundaries, affronts, thefts and everything that affects the legal matters inside the community. They also face foreign threats. Besides, it is the council’s duty to watch the proper usage of goods and services belonging to the community, that is roads, schools, drinking water, lands for common use etc.. Moreover, they organise public work for the people welfare as well as presiding over and directing religious, public, and political ceremonies.

The meetings for coordination are regular. Depending on each union and head office, they hold monthly meetings, whereas every federation gathers every three months.

“The organisation discussed several issues regularly... in every union there are monthly meetings, in each head office a monthly meeting is held in addition to federations having assemblies every three months.”

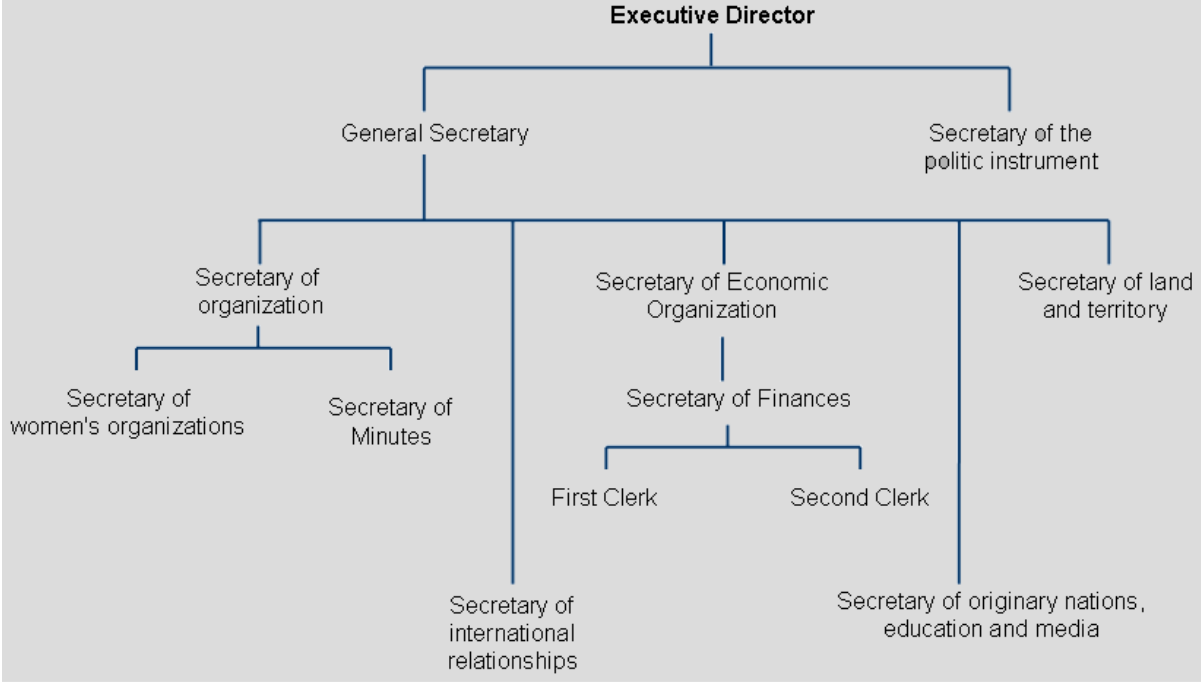
(Núñez, D., 2010, coca producer, *los Yungas* personal interview)

Nevertheless, when a conflict or a denunciation arises in some federation, the authorities of the six federations are summoned to evaluate the situation.

Deliberation, decision and management procedures focus on congresses and meetings, so-called *ampliados*. An “ordinary congress” is carried out every two years, after a notification 45 days in advance. While the ordinary meetings are held twice a year, the extraordinary ones are held when required.

The COFECAY council is composed by 13 portfolios, all of them chosen in a vote by the rank and file, as illustrated in figure three:

Figure 3. Organisation Structure Chart



Source; Montellano, M. 2010

5.1.2. How decisions are made in los Yungas coccaleros movement; a personal experience

While this research field study lasted, I witnessed a special meeting in the ‘unique country workers federation of *North Yungas*’. In this assembly, a strategically decision was to be made about how to face the government decision to eradicate the coca leaf in a traditional area highly regarded by *Los Yungas* locals. The way decisions are made inside the movement flows from bottom to top and from top to bottom. During the meeting at the syndicate (community) level they elaborate a list of demands. The local demands of the syndicates are presented to the sub-centrals. The latter ones join the demands of all its syndicates, and present them to the Federations. The six federations of *Los Yungas* meet in ADEPCOCA installations and prepare a final document of demands to present to the government, and wait for the response of it. But they are sometimes not answered until several months have gone by. If they do not get a positive answer, a situation which frequently occurs, the six federations and their affiliates are summoned to finally decide which action to take.

When there is no goodwill from the government to agree to local demands, a call to all the federations is made, either to make demonstrations or to blockade. The decision is not made “up” by the council directory but by the rank and file of the basis in the communities. The demands are presented in the following words ‘Comrades, these are our demands; they have not been satisfied by the government, what are we going to do now?’ The members decide between marching and blockading roads. Once they have reached an agreement, instructions are delivered, arranged among all the unions, where the blockades are going to be and how many people will participate representing every union. People do not organise until the instructions are sent through the media available in *Los Yungas*. They hold meetings in each union, in every agriculture centre and the people start to take the approved measures.

In the special meeting I attended, the rank and file union agreed on obstructing the streets; in view of this decision a “blockade committee” was created. The blockade committees are structured not only in the federation but also in the region and local unions. Blockade committees take charge of logistics and relieves. These committees are activated in conflict circumstances and go on until the protests end. They are organised in hierarchies: president, head and assistants. This council is chosen in assemblies by the community members rather than by authorities. They do not belong to the head offices of federations and unions either.

“The eradication threats in Los Yungas have perfected organisation skills, not only within the unions of coca growers but also in transport and trade unions; even in elementary schools, in other words, when a conflict arises, only COFECAY summons to demonstration. Everyone organises in a week in advance or so, it calls for all the unions, and federations get together. In their meetings they decide whether to go to the streets, what area they are going to act in, how many of them and they should bear logistically, and so on”.

(Chincha, N., 2010 secretary ADEPCOCA, La Paz personal interview)

Just as it was agreed, after two weeks, coca growers went to the roads into La Paz city in response to the government measures to eradicate the surplus coca in La Asunta township.

5.1.3. Organisational Structure and Management of the *Cocaleros* Social Movement in *El Chapare*, Cochabamba

El Chapare coca grower movement was born through the foundation of Six Federations of “Trópico” Coordinating Organisation, arisen as a project since 1988. It was eventually set in motion in 1992, to build an organisational entity for coca producers. This would constitute the top resort to coordinate with other social sectors and mainly with the State. Its organisational structure may look like the “know how”, inherited from the indigenous communities, relocated miners and agrarian unions, originally coca producers in El Chapare.

The Coordinator Organisation is responsible for calling to meetings and protests, that is to say the entity that coordinates the six federations of Cochabamba “Trópico”. It is said that there are about 160 unions in El Chapare, under the supervision of 30 region unions, which at the same time are members of six federations. These represent 40000 country families that benefit from coca growing.

“We are six federations, with a complex organic structure; they are members of two head office unions. One of them is ‘Union Confederation of Bolivian Settlers’, which draws together 4 federations of El Chapare (Carrasco, Los Yungas del Chapare, Chimoré and Trópico). The other two federations (Centrales Unidas and Mamoré) are members of ‘Unique Federation of Country Workers of Bolivia’ (CSTCB). Both of these federations represent us before the Bolivian Workers Headquarters (COB). That is more or less the structure used in Cochabamba Tropic, dealing with Unions, Region Unions, Federations and Coordination Committees.”

(Parra, J., 2010, former coca leader of *Mamoré* Federation, personal interview)

The structure of the Coordinating Organisation consists of very complex networks. Nowadays, the head office of the Tropic Federations is established as figure four shows.

On a first level (from bottom to top), we find the “rank and file unions”, which were instituted in order to organise the settlements of colonists. All the families settled in their “*chacos*” (plot of lands) and joined the union, accepting its structure and respecting its management. El Chapare unions (locally known as communities) were born because of the affiliation of 10 to 500 coca producers. The members must contribute with a monthly fee of Bs. 1.5 (around 20 dollar cents), distributed equally among the union levels. They must attend frequent meetings, where they discuss and sort out problems inside the community. There must be a representative for every “*chaco*”, whose attendance to the assemblies is compulsory; otherwise he has to pay a fine.

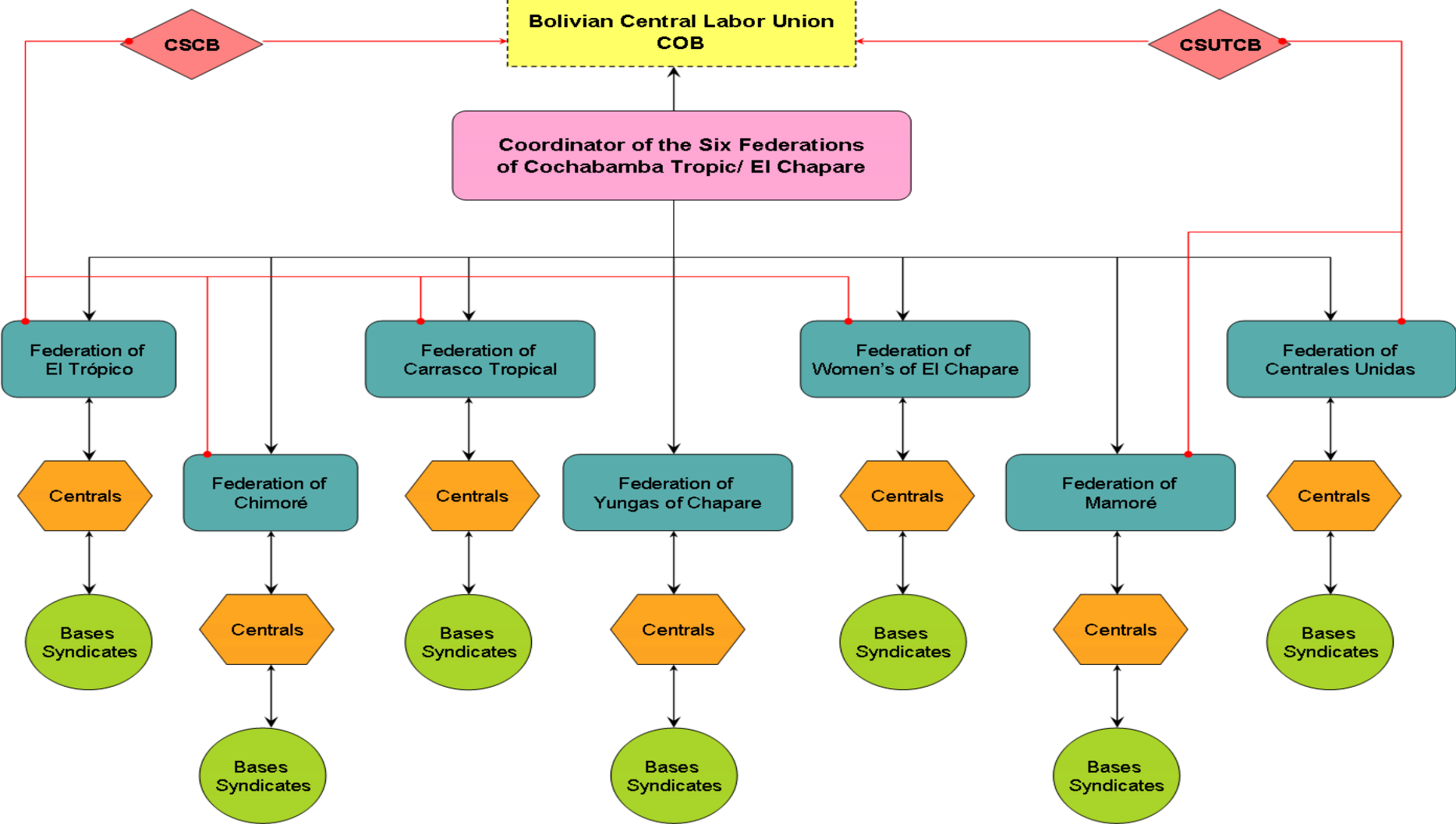
“The union role in El Chapare changed eventually. At first, its role was to be a representation before the national government and the whole society. Currently, it is the entity that organises the distribution of land. They control the labour force movement (...) the Union is the local authority for the daily management.”

(Salazar, J., 2010 leader of *el Chapare* Tropico Federation, personal interview)

On a second level, we find the “head offices”, which join the forces of every local union. Every office may consist of 5 or 10 unions, reaching the number of even 65. The offices have their own unionized management chosen not only by the leaders but also by the rank and file. Each head office administration lasts a year. Their tasks are to summon to meetings at least three times throughout a one-year term. Afterwards, several head offices get together in a federation, which at the same time join the Coordinating Organisation of the six other federations.

On a third level, there are Federations, each of them gathering the head offices of an area or a province. They have their own executive committee, which is chosen in a congress and lasts for two years. These federations carry out assemblies, where they usually discuss their problems inside, such as memberships in CSCB, CSTUB or even COB.

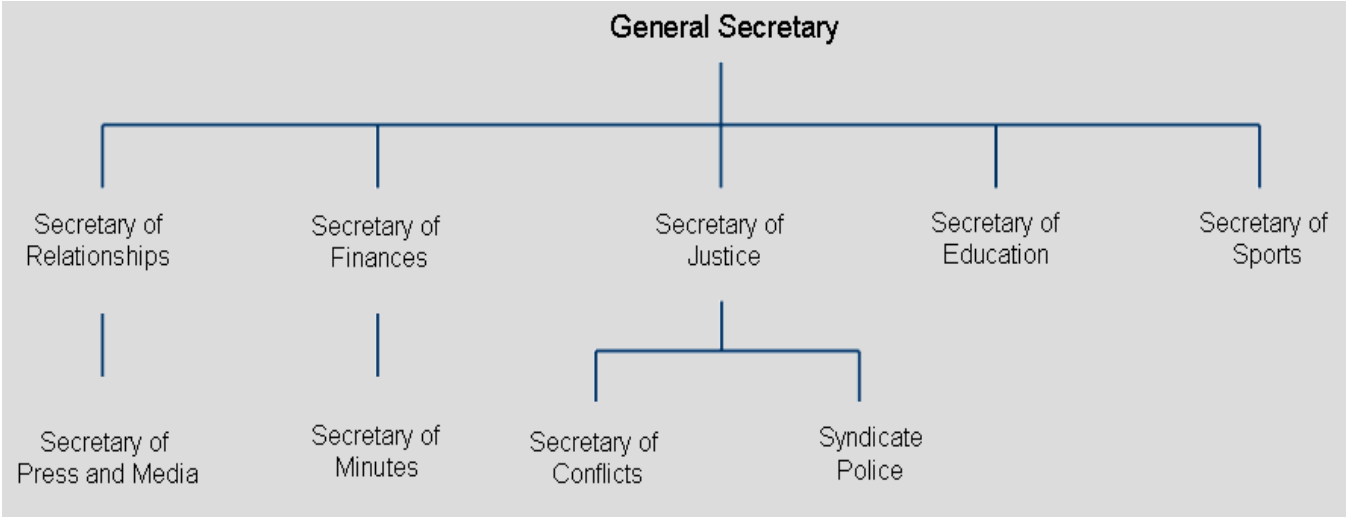
Figure 4. Tropic Federation Structure Chart



Source: Montellano, M., 2010

Every level of the movement is organised with the internal structure as figure 5 shows.

Figure 5. Organisation Structure Chart



Source: Montellano, M., 2010

The internal organisation of the unions is characterized by its democratically running. This is because head offices and federations use the participative democracy through the direct poll to choose their leaders and make decisions inside the union assemblies. The leaders manage the financial organisations of country people. This economic resource comes from the members’ monthly fee (in accordance with the coca production) and other sources, such as fining due to absence or failure to duty.

Throughout the field study, I had the chance to attend a union assembly in a community; the topic to deal with was the election of candidates for the township mayoralty. It caught my attention that the candidate was chosen by the rank and file, by the people belonging to the township, to represent in the political party of the coca grower movement, just like MAS party. There were several names that arose from the conference; they leant on those who had union leadership experience.

According to some accounts, the procedure in the case of demonstrations is similar to that carried out in Los Yungas. There is a coming and going movement, from the upper levels of leadership to the rank and file and vice versa.

“Straightaway, the leaders must inform the members at all levels, and they decide for this union. Then the unions advise the head office and the latter does it directly to the federation. In the federations, members summon to an ordinary assembly that has to get a resolution to determine what the demonstration decision will be. There must be a final decision, carried by general consent, in which the upper levels ask the lowers’ and if these do not agree, nothing is done, even if the leadership agrees on it.”

(Condori, W., 2010, coca grower leader, *El Chapare*, personal interview)

5.1.4 The association of Los Yungas and El Chapare *cocaleros* movements

There were several struggle circumstances when regions, *Los Yungas* and *El Chapare* coca growers joined forces in order to fight against a common ‘enemy’. However, there were others circumstances when both parts fought separately. Usually it is the coca growers in Los Yungas who have less “fight eagerness” due to the fact that they consider most of their territory as “traditional area”, whereas most of the territory in *El Chapare* is “either transition or surplus zone”. Therefore, the eradication efforts were the strongest in that region. *Los Yungas* tried to support *El Chapare* struggles, but it was not always quite like that, as sometimes their production was endangered due to the surplus output in *El Chapare*. This attitude changed in 1994, when a “political instrument” started to arise, instrument that would represent all coca growers equally, both indigenous and natives people.

This “political instrument” became the MAS party (Movement towards Socialism) current party that rules the country. In a previous section there is a study of how the coca grower movement turned into one, it united and won social political prominence.

5.2. Analysing the Cocaleros Social Movement: identity, opposition and social objectives

The *cocaleros* movement is an organization of country people who produce coca leaves. As it was studied in previous chapters, this movement arose from the 1980’s and 1990’s process, when the country people and peasants organised in Cochabamba Department (*El Chapare*) and La Paz (*Los Yungas*). According to Filemon Escobar, former miner, coca growers were the ideological fathers of what they often term their “political instrument”, the MAS party (Movement Towards Socialism). During our interview he asked “What integrated the six federations of Cochabamba tropic and the others from *Los Yungas*?” He responded to his own question; “It was simply the coca leaf”.

Coca producers regard their identity as indigenist who lives from the coca farming, just like Nicolas Chinchá, head of one of the federations in *Los Yungas* claims:

“We are indians, quechuas and aymaras indigenous, descendant of Incas. We have inherited the sacred coca leaf from our ancestors, and that is the only thing that many of us in Los Yungas live on, on cultivating our coca.”

(Chinchá, N., 2010, coca producer, *Los Yungas*, personal interview)

The *cocaleros* movement represents the coca producer countryman and it is the indigenous’ voice, the Indian who works on such a tiny plot of land, “drained land” after so many years of growing this leaf. This product is taken to the market, it is sold and the incomes allow him to support a whole family. A local coca grower expresses it in the following manner:

“This is not confined to the coca leaf defence; it is also the defence of a lifestyle. If we are deprived of growing coca, we are deprived of support”

(Zenteno H, coca growers’ leader, 2010, personal interview)

To this, Filemón Escobar adds:

“What do we, the indigenous want? We want our humanity dignity back, the respect to the indigenous individual not only as a human being, but also as person with dignity, life, habits, culture and land; someone with the rights of any citizen.

(Escóbar, F., 2010, coca producer, Cochabamba city, personal interview)

As we see from the above, the coca growers are explicit on how the coca growing represents a life style, a form of identity which they seek common recognition of.

For years, coca growers have been organized in their communities so as to distribute plots of land and fix the boundaries of output and fees, having the essentials for business.

“If our output was excessive, the prices went down and we could not sell our leaves at a good price to satisfy our needs (...) thus we organized so that there could be social control among us, to help us not to affect each other in a negative way”

(Man, 40 years old, 2010, coca producer, Los Yungas personal interview,).

Garcia Linera, A et al (2005:415) points out that the coca grower union is a mechanism where responsibilities, commitment, coordination and supply are interweaved. They are complex networks with organizational memory coming from indigenous communities, redundant miners and agrarian unions, where many current coca producers working in *El Chapare* come from.

As it could be seen in Chapter Three, Melucci describes a social movement that already existed, even before a conflict came up. For this conflict to emerge there must be two fronts, a defending one and another that opposes it. The existence of an opposition is the second of the three typical elements of a social movement mentioned by Touraine. In the case of the coca grower movement, it arises as a defence movement. As said by the political scientist Luis Tapia, who has written a lot about social movements in Bolivia:

“The cocaleros’ movement comes up when a collective action goes beyond civil and state action, that is to say when the matter set out to the social framework at a defining point is not be able to progress, despite the mediation stages represented by the State or the society. As a result, it arises from these spaces, sometimes from some pre-existing organizations.”

(Tapia, L, 2010, La Paz, personal interview)

What triggered the opposition force against the coca grower movement was the declaration of the “War Against Drugs”, decreed by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan in 1981. By 1982, Bolivia had returned to democracy after several dictatorship governments that had weakened the country financial structure. Due to this situation, the emerging government wanted to get the US aid to reform the economy, so the U.S.A. forced Bolivia to step back from coca and cocaine production. Under pressure, the Bolivian government undertook officially to fight the drug problem through the Triennial Plan to Fight Drug Trafficking, and on July 19th, the 1988 Controlled Substances Regime Law, known as the 1008 Law, was presented inside the financial package delivered to the International Cooperation for its new economic policy (Malá, S., 2008:102; Komadina, J. and Geffroy, C., 2007:40; Albó, X.,

2008:59). Among the 1008 Law regulations, it was established the replacement of coca leaf by alternative crops.

All the coca croppers interviewed in Los Yungas shared the perspectives of Maruja Machaca, a coca grower from Los Yungas and a representative of the women division of COFECA Y.

“Victor Paz’s administration and all consecutive governments sold out to the US and betrayed us. We as coca croppers have been ill-treated by our neoliberal governments. Also, the US governments have come to tell us that coca is cocaine, and it’s not like that at all, it is like saying that corn is “chicha” (an alcoholic drink made with corn), corn is corn but chicha is chicha. Likewise, coca is coca but cocaine is cocaine.”

(Machaca, M., 2010 coca producer and leader, *los Yungas*, personal interview)

Maruja Machaca, has a coca field in Los Yungas local, where she and her family have lived on coca crops for generations. She remembers the year when the 1008 Law was passed:

“Those neoliberal governments have abandoned us. They have not understood the importance of the sacred coca leaf for us. They promised alternative development but they have destroyed our crops”.

(Machaca, M., 2010, coca producer and leader, *los Yungas*, personal interview)

The fight against drug trafficking, boosted by foreign governments and institutions, can therefore be identified as an opposition force that drove the eradication of coca crops. One of my informants had the following perspective of these opposition forces; he saw them as a symbol of *“neoliberal globalization, neoliberal governments and their policies to fulfil an evil they had created themselves”* (Ágreda, C., 2010, coca producer in *el Chapare*, personal interview). Another coca cropper in Chapare, Crisologo Agreda Sr., looks back with outrage to 1994, when the US ambassador in Bolivia stated that Bolivian people, specifically coca producers had to be aware of their responsibility for the death of thousands of US citizens. For this reason, this bush (referring to the coca leaf) must disappear. Coca growers identified as their rivals all the right-wing governments and foreign organizations that supported the eradication process such as DEA, USAID, UN and all those that *“typify the coca leaf as cocaine and coca growers as drug-traffickers”* (Ágreda, C., 2010, coca producer in *el Chapare*, personal interview).

A very important way of defining the coca grower movement as a social one is to identify the existence of a social objective, as Alain Touraine describes it. Coca producers, belonging to the social movement, claim that their *“social objective goes beyond the defence and preservation of coca growing and consumption”*; they have a utopia which is the acceptance and appreciation of the coca leaf by the whole world in the same way it is accepted and appreciated by them. However, for foreigners to accept the coca as a sacred leaf, they have to accept and understand the Andean view of the world of native people that sanctify their heritage not only as simple rituals. Moreover, the coca producers dream of a society where equity prevails and ethnocentrism fades away and where there is no room for neoliberal politics:

Filemon Escobar explaining in deep the essence of the coca producers' social objectives, the kind of society they want:

“It is because of our ancestral roots that we know we were a brotherly and affluent society. We lived in democracy accepted by all the communities. We long for returning to that life in balance and symbiosis with our environment. This should be based on reciprocity and a redistributive economy aimed at preserving nature, since when respecting it, we get abundance and life. In this economy, individual interests are subordinated to the community interests; to exist and not necessarily to get rich... We have to duty to boost our ethical principles, not to rob, not to lie, and not to be lazy. We are to preserve the environment and produce what is enough in order to satisfy our human needs. We reject the endless western growth, for we know that renewable and non-renewable wealth is not endless.”

(Escóbar, F., 2010, coca producer, Cochabamba, personal interview)

“We want to prevent the individualist framework boosted by prior neoliberal governments. They used to ignore the Andean culture, they didn't bother on learn from it and understand the importance of coca in it, and the society tended to do the same, following the example given by the authorities of the State. It was easier to say coca is cocaine and to fight against it instead of learning its importance and share our culture.”

(Woman, age 25, 2010 coca producer in *el Chapare* personal interview)

The coca grower movement was born in view of the need to organize an economy and a lifestyle, and it grew stronger when they saw that their economy and life were threatened. The indigenous coca grower, like any indigenous person, has an ancient history. The growers and their fellow men were ignored during the invasion; they were enslaved throughout the colony as well as manipulated all through the republic times. Thus they now demand recognition, a long-standing demand. This makes the social *cocaleros* movement very particular because it has survived over time. Their demands may have changed depending on the circumstances, but the very social essence of them has always been the same: recognition, inclusion, dignity, and respect.

5.3. Analysing the Cocaleros Social Movement: record of clashes

In this section, the coca grower movement will be analysed through principles stated by Sydney Tarrow's functionalist approach. The political circumstances and structures that triggered the arising of this social movement are to be outlined, not only through the informants' narratives of their struggle history, but also by looking at the organisation of protests used by coca growers. All of this has the purpose of understanding the movement and its struggles.

Previously in this thesis, it was seen how the *cocaleros* social movement, along with its defensive and protest features, arose against the measures taken by the war on drugs trafficking. Its organizational existence dates from the 1950's, when the main community institution appeared as the agrarian union created by government decree. Its defensive importance during the 1980's and 1990's stems from the group action to defend the coca leaf.

As said in the introduction of this thesis, Bolivia can be described as a country with a weak State but at the same time, with strong civilian people. Among the main reasons for the emergence of demonstrations on the streets, is the lack of trust in democracy official institutions and particularly, in political parties (Crabtree, J., 2005:xxi). The strong civil society has provided the background for the social movements. In the following sections, I outline a chronology of the coca croppers struggle based on statements from my informants and records of specific events kept by some *cocaleros* in *los Yungas* and *el Chapare*, as well as written material from books about the subject.

“Bolivian people have never been ruled by Bolivians but by neoliberal countries. They have done what they wanted (...) Look at Bolivia; we have everything, gas, minerals, pursued by foreigners. That is why, they have manipulated our governments, so we distrusted our presidents, their promises (...) they gave us their word but the reality was another, we could only protest.”

(Manríquez, H, .2010 coca producer from Los Yungas, personal interview)

For the arising of protests and resistance, the policies adopted by several governments played a key role. In 1961, Victor Paz, President of Bolivia signed the “Vienna Convention” where he promised he would have eradicated coca crops by 1985 and would have eliminated the “*akhullicu*” (coca chewing practice) (García, A., 2008: 387).

“As they didn’t understand us, not even our culture and the importance of the sacred coca leaf for us, it was simple for them (foreign governments and organisations) to say “we’ll put and end to coca”, it is nothing for them, and that drove us to protest.”

(Manríquez, H, .2010 coca producer from Los Yungas, personal interview)

As previously remarked, when Bolivia returned to democracy after a military regime, Hernando Siles Suazo (1982-1985) inherited a weakened state machine. International aid arrived, not unconditionally though, as Bolivia had to promise before the US government to fight drugs. The anti-drug campaign encouraged by US started with the replacement and eradication of coca crops. For this purpose, American aid came through financial resources not only to compensate coca growers but also to support and upgrade the military capacities of Bolivian army with equipment and training. Finally, in 1982-1983, the campaign began with the creation of military special units called UMOPAR, rural patrolling mobile units, which were created in order to compensate the absence of governmental control in some regions of the national territory (Komadina, J. and Geffroy, C., 2007:20).

The efforts of the State to fight the drugs and eradicate the crops faced a fierce opposition of coca producers from the very beginning. The latter organised the first demonstrations, forcing the government to start negotiating. However, the State persisted in applying its eradication schemes and the negotiation with producers got into a vicious circle.

“The negotiations with the government were always the same, they made incursions into the coca crops and when they faced the croppers’ opposition (especially in Chapare), it was then that talks began; after it, we reached agreements which were

supposed to be respected by everybody. Nevertheless, at the end these agreements were broken and the government soldiers came back to burn the coca crops once more (...) probably many casualties could have been prevented if the State had respected the deals”.

(Zenteno, H., 2010 head of Coca Producers Association (APDECOCA) La Paz office, personal interview)

The Bolivian Administration took drastic measures against coca growers. A coca cropper from Chapare, Julio Salazar, who had experienced the clashes against the authorities since childhood remarked:

“The Government has always used the same weapons. They have denigrated us by criminalizing the coca leaf, calling us drug traffickers. Sometimes they gave in because they considered our pleas to be reasonable, but the US administration put them under pressure and then they forgot our demands”.

(Salazar, J., 2010, *el Chapare* Tropic federation leader, personal interview)

For its part, the *cocaleros* movement began taking definite shape on its opposition to eradication policies, ranging from the publishing of government-disregarded demands to straight actions such as demonstrations, street protests, road blockades, open meetings, hunger strikes – inherited from the workers’ and miners’ movements – and the search for national and foreign organisations, as well as support from the public opinion.

In 1986, during Victor Paz Estenssoro’s term of office the “Triennial Plan to Fight Drug Trafficking” was implemented. This plan was introduced by Bolivian representatives in 1987 during the Vienna Convention against Narcotics, under the official name of “Antinarcotics Triennial Plan of Bolivian government”. This scheme, after the analysis of Bolivian context regarding drug trafficking, stated that Bolivia was one of the world main producers. For this reason, there was need of international financial resources to end the drug trafficking problem.

The Triennial Plan stated that the solution entailed “To eradicate surplus crops in Bolivia so as to reduce the cocaine production” (García, A., 2008: 389; Komadina, J. and Geffroy, C., 2007:40). This initiative was welcomed by the international community as the first institutional step of the Bolivian administration to place limits on drug trafficking and the coca and cocaine output.

5.3.1. First Stage: Triennial Plan to Fight Drug Trafficking, the 1008 Law and its effects.

The Triennial Plan to Fight Drug Trafficking intended to replace the profits made by the coca leaf with similar incomes produced by alternative products. A financial compensation would be given to coca producers during the intermediate stage between eradication and output replacement. The *Chapare* region was declared “Military Zone” so as to be able to eradicate all the illegal coca crops by force, after the deadline of the voluntary period of eradication. The third stage consisted of the use of force to eliminate all remaining coca crops, 5000 square kilometres in *Chapare* and 5000 in *los Yungas* (Pinto, M., 2006:11; Andersson, V., 2008:2).

On July 19th, 1988, a Controlled Substances Regime Law was passed, widely known as the 1008 Law. This regulation penalized the growing of the coca leaf in Bolivia for the first time, except for the circumstances allowed particularly. It acknowledged “Coca cultivation is a farming-cultural activity legally addressed to personal consumption, medicine and rituals of Andean people” (Pinto, M., 2006:10). It recognizes that there is a legal use of the coca leaf in social and cultural practices under a traditional system, such as “akhullicu” (chewing), medicine and rituals” (Pinto, M., 2006:11; Andersson, V., 2008:2; García, A., 2008:390). Likewise, this law allowed an alliance among the unionized country people in CSUTCB (Unique Organization of Country Workers of Bolivia) and workers organised in COB (Bolivian Workers’ Head Office) centred on a specific demand: the respect to the coca leaf cropping as a ground to demand the non-intervention of US in the Bolivian domestic policy (Albó, X., 2009:59; Crabtree, J., 2005:21).

“I think that this struggle really took shape and became harsher when the 1008 Law was passed. That law was scathing when they penalized the most ancient practice, the akhullicu. The Andeans had already done this before Bolivia was born as a country and now they dare to say that akhullicu is against the law. It was unfair that we had to quit our coca habits because the Americans consumed cocaine. This has nothing to do with cocaine”.

(Male, 39 years-old, 2010, Coca producer, Los Yungas, personal interview)

The 1008 Law demarcated three coca production areas in Bolivia: a) the traditional production area, b) the surplus production area in transition and c) the illegal production zone. The traditional production area is the one where the coca leaf has been cropped historically, used only for traditional practices. This zone covers the regions of coca growing in *Los Yungas*. The eradication strategy proposed for these zones consisted of a medium-term plan. It was determined that the producing provinces in *Chapare* were surplus production areas in transition, which meant that such provinces in Cochabamba Department had to replace their coca plantations with other products, supported by the law-called Integral Program for Development and Substitution (PIDYS). On the other hand, in the illegal production zones “the crops will be eradicated by force without any kind of compensation” (Pinto, M., 2006:11).

Between May and June 1987, one of the toughest days when repression took place, about 10.000 coca croppers carried out a series of road blockades to force the government to give a favourable answer to their demands. They showed total opposition to the Triennial Plan to Fight Drug Trafficking and the 1008 Law. After the blockades, on May 28th 1987, the so-called “Villa Tunari Massacre” came about, The government called the police and the army to clear the roads – the military intervention caused the death of 8 people and 19 were seriously wounded – in the words of a Chapare union leader;

“Our cocaleros brothers have been slaughtered. They didn’t even care if they were women, kids or elderly people”

(Lazarte, S., 2010, *el Chapare* union leader, personal conversation).

Alter the clashes, a committee on behalf of the movement was sent to La Paz city, so as to start talks with the government. On June 6th, 1987, an agreement was reached by the administration and the coca growers from *el Chapare* and *los Yungas*. This agreement

included the promise of going on with the Integral Program for Development and Substitution (PIDYS). Coca producers agreed on the voluntary substitution and the financial compensation. The replacement had to be done without any chemical agents in order to avoid risking the quality of the land.

Around April and September 1988, a second clash between the government and the movements took place. This time they demanded changes in the Controlled Substances Regime 1008 Law. In the same year, for the first time ever, a National Assembly of Coca Producers took place. There, a resolution was approved and handed in to the government. It stated that Bolivian coca croppers recognized and differentiated between the coca leaf and cocaine. They also agreed on penalizing cocaine but not the coca crops. Given the government's refusal of the statement, *cocaleros* from *El Chapare* and *Los Yungas* gathered in massive road blockades, where 25000 croppers participated. The government crushed these demonstrations by using military and police forces. After several days of conflict, the government proposed that the producers should be the ones to identify the surplus production areas to execute a gradual replacement (Komadina, J., and Geffroy, C, 2007:45; Pinto, M., 2004:9). In the words of Salazar, a local Shinaota coca producer:

“The talks came to a standstill because there was a clash in Villa Tunari on June 27th, 1988. On this date, the soldiers removed 5000 croppers who demanded the leaving of DEA contingent, for they were using herbicides to eradicate coca. 11 people were killed in incidents. This event made us distrust of the goodwill of the government for negotiating, so if we wanted our voice to be heard, we did not have to use traditional protest instruments, we had to be at the same level, we had to become politicians like them...”

(Salazar, J., 2010 personal interview)

Alter this incident, in July 1988, the government put into effect the Controlled Substances Regime Law, without taking into account the previous talks and coca growers' demands.

5.3.2. Second Stage: Alternative Production Program (1989 – 1993)

The second stage in the coca growers' struggle occurred during Jaime Paz Zamora's Administration (1989-1993), which continued with the Alternative Production Program. This way, eradication went on under the conditions set in the 1008 Law. Zamora's administration wanted to develop an anti-drug policy which would not be so close to the US government pressure. In September 1989, they supported a project called “coca for development” in a speech before the UN. This project suggested a joint responsibility among the different sectors involved in drug trafficking, classifying consuming nations, retailers and producing countries. It also claimed the need to include all these countries in the battle against drugs (Gamarra 1994, quoted in Pinto, M., 2004:11).

In 1992 Zamora's administration launched the known “coca diplomacy” when the President visited Spain, in July 1992. Through this rapprochement, the Bolivian administration looked forward to replacing the American aid with the European's via a “plan to legalize coca worldwide” (...) the coca diplomacy implied the legal export and marketing of the coca leaf and its derivatives for medicine and industry” (Pinto, M., 2004:13; Pinto, M., 2006: 45). The coca growers were more positive towards the Zamora administration, as expressed by Villca, a coca producer's leader from los Yungas.

“Paz Zamora attempted to have a more human administration. He understood that cocaine had not been created by Bolivian coca croppers, so he wanted to coordinate with all the countries that had the same problem as Bolivia, but the Americans catalogued him as drug trafficker. Eventually, he gave up due to the pressure and had to get in with American ideology (...) even his American VISA was removed,”

(Villca, J., 2010, coca producer leader, La Paz, personal interview)

In 1992, the government and the coca growers re-entered into negotiations after the Cartagena Summit. This time they brought up the issue of military involvement in the struggle against drugs. Coca growers demanded the total disengagement of the army, as well as more effectiveness of alternative development programs. These events generated new demonstrations reinforcing the internal structure of the movement. Therefore, current tensions, the distrust environment and the Chapare militarization in the 1980's caused conflicts to increase and measures to be radicalized.

The main forms of protests went on, such as road blockades, but as an alternative strategy, coca croppers tried to internationalize their movement through the First Andean Summit of Coca Producers, held in La Paz city in March 1991. Maruja Machaca, the union leader of female members of the Confederation of Federations of Los Yungas country workers, participated in this assembly. She describes the situation in the following words:

“We tried to carry out an international campaign about the cultural, political, economic and social importance of the coca leaf, natural resource of Andean countries. Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador were the most affected countries by eradication policies. We made the decision of gathering in assemblies every two years and give public conferences to teach people that coca is not cocaine.”

(Machaca, M., 2010 coca producer and leader, *los Yungas*, personal interview)

Also, during this cycle, coca growers tried for the first time to reach the government seat, marching in June 1991, but this attempt was violently broken up by security forces. Nicolas Chinchá claimed that this second stage marked the beginning of a more ethnical-indigenous discourse regarding the coca leaf defence. This action sparked off an “understanding process” of the struggle against the coca leaf as a fight against the Andean culture and coca consumption as an ethnical-identity symbol.

“For instance, coca growers’ union federations of Cochabamba Tropic organised a demonstration of ethnical-cultural nature, protesting for the American interference in our country’s internal affairs, specifically those related to coca crops eradication. This protest was named “Acullico’s Day” (...) consisting of a coca producers’ rally at roads and townships next to Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway. There they distributed coca leaves to the people who were present, adhering to the proposed chewing day as an expression of Andean culture and against coca crops eradication, which had been imposed by the 1008 Law.”

(Chinchá, N., 2010 secretary of press of the Coca Producers Association (APDECOCA) La Paz office, personal interview personal interview)

5.3.3. Third Stage: The clashes escalate into higher levels (1993 – 1997)

The third stage of the clashes between the government and coca growers started during Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada's Administration (1993-1997). His government launched the anti-drug program (Zero Coca Option) consisting of the complete eradication of coca crops inside the Bolivian territory. This new program aimed at the destruction of all existing crops in *el Chapare* and the transformation of the area into a National Park or an Industrial Area. As part of the zero vision project, croppers were tried relocated to regions where they would receive new plots of land and a financial compensation to develop new alternative crops (Pinto, M., 2004; Pinto, M., 2006; Malá, S., 2008). This policy upset coca growers even more, as the government would not only destroy their crops but also deprive the growers of their lands.

Sánchez de Lozada's Administration had the characteristic of being extremely repressive with coca croppers; the whole movement was criminalized. During his term of office, the leaders of coca growers' federations had to endure persecution, detentions and constraints on their liberty to hold meetings liberty (Malá, S., 2008; Andersson, V., 2008). One of my informants describes the situation in the following manner:

“The national government signed several agreements with the US, among them, the eradication of 5 thousand square kilometres of coca crops before 31st march 1994. In exchange, for 20 million dollars would be offered. This money would be used for making up for the deficit in the balance of payments.”

(Male 45-year-old, 2010, coca producer in El Chapare, personal interview)

This pact prompted the reaction of coca croppers against the imposed eradication in these areas and against the violation of human rights. In July 1994, the “New Daybreak” Operation began, with the purposes of fighting against drug trafficking in the tropical region of *el Chapare* and driving out 15 thousand people, from whom 10 thousand were coca-traders and 5 thousand were retailers. A persecuted coca leader during Sánchez de Lozada's administration declares:

“The government said that this operation had been conceived to fight drug trafficking exclusively, but the fact showed that the security forces launched attacks only against coca producers.”

(Sánchez, V., 2010, coca producer, *el Chapare*, personal interview)

This operation triggered major responses within the croppers' organizations. Thus this area became the focal point of the struggle against drugs, causing the militarization and the birth of a new spotlight of opposition to the program structured by coca producers (Pinto, M., 2004 y Pinto, M., 2006).

The government tried to reach an agreement with the coca growers' movement, so in May 1994, they issued the 23780 Supreme Decree that established the coca leaf industrialization in medical, food and cosmetic fields inside the borders of traditional-considered production areas by the 1008 Law. However, this decree excluded the regions considered in transition, which contradicted the pact reached with coca growers (Crabtree, J., 2005:25). This fact

generated several clashes with the government, and other social sectors joined this cause. Disagreement led to demonstrations with the motto “For life, for Coca and for National Sovereignty”. The demonstrations resulted in coca producers marching from *Villa Tunari* to La Paz city. The main demands stated the fulfilment of signed agreements and the departure of the army forces, the police and DEA personnel from the Tropic. The protest march reached La Paz on 19th September 1994, including 1500 coca croppers.

Coca growers’ second rebellious action against Sánchez de Lozada’s administration took place in the protest march of female croppers; this was summoned after the breaking-off of negotiations between the government and coca croppers in November 1995 (Agreda et al. 1996 mentioned in Pinto, M., 2006: 55). The female contingent left *Villa Tunari* on 17th December and it had the motto: “For the defence of life, of coca leaf, of human right and national sovereignty”. Their major demand was respect to the Human Rights, cessation of the by-force eradication, release of the arrested coca growers, guarantees for union leaders and legalization of the coca leaf. The purpose of female marchers was to negotiate “from woman to woman” with the President’s wife, Ximena Iturralde and the Vice-president’s, Lidia Katari, who were asked to sensitize their husbands to listen to their demands of not resorting to force for eradicating coca, in order to stop the violence in Chapare.

On January 18th, 1996, the female croppers were received by the heads of Sate’s wives in an open assembly witnessed by the media. The woman-to-woman talks extended to January 21st when the female coca croppers stopped the meetings, as it was not possible to come to an agreement about the cessation of the imposed eradication. Maruja Machaca took part in this event and the talks with the first ladies of the state. She remembers:

“It was impossible to talk to them because from our arrival, they treated us like drug traffickers. They claimed that it was our fault that our country was under the US pressure, they said that it was us who boosted drugs (...) when we didn’t even know what it was, those Americans were those who came to Bolivia to produce cocaine, but it was our fault.”

(Machaca, M., 2010 personal interview)

Alter this event; fifty female coca croppers started a hunger strike on January 23rd 1996.

5.3.4 Fourth Stage: Repression crops up (1997-2000)

During Hugo Bánzer Suárez’ administration, assumed in 1997, the so-called “Dignity Plan” was set up. Its policy focused on “zero coca”. His administration strategy tried to eliminate the coca crops aimed at the coca production in non-traditional areas, in a four-year term, from 1998 to 2002, looking forward to set Bolivia out of the drug trafficking circuit. This objective would be achieved through a “shared responsibility” with the foreign Mutual Task Force (FTC in Spanish) or “*coca t’iras*” (in quechua). This force, which was in charge of eradicating coca crops, was involved in clashes against the unions; these violent encounters between both sides became a daily thing, and caused serious denunciations about the security forces’ outrage, according to coca croppers’ testimonies (Malá, S., 2008; Andersson, V., 2008:4).

In the same period, the military played a leading role in illegal coca crops eradication, deploying the Mutual Task Force, with 500 police officers and 1500 soldiers. Likewise,

through the “Dignity Plan” the eradication policy reached a new stage. Over the last decade, Bolivia had destroyed 42,633 square kilometres of surplus coca crops and had paid the coca croppers nearly 101 million dollars for this. However, this changed, since the “Dignity Plan” meant the end of all financial compensations (from October 1st 1998) the only payments would be made to the community, receiving only 2.500 USD for each eradicated square kilometre. In January 2002, that compensation disappeared as well (García, A., 2008:400).

In view of the government policies, discontent was shown through two stages of protests. The first, in 1998, involved road blockades. 15.000 country workers blocked Cochabamba-Santa Cruz road and a big demonstration started to walk towards La Paz in August. The workers showed more and more rejection to the participation of the army in the battle against drug-dealing. The blockaders were harshly repressed, resulting in the death of many people, while others were wounded or missing. In view of this repression, country workers decided to carry out lightning blockades to avoid clashing with security forces. According to the data reported by the Human Rights Watch head in Bolivia, Marianela Paco *“The incidents caused 9 country workers to die, 5 to be missing, and 61 to be wounded. There were also more than 100 arrests”* (Paco, M., 2010 personal interview).

Alter the government refusal to reach an agreement, on Monday 18th August 1998, the third march of coca croppers set in motion from Chapare to La Paz. This march was named “For the demilitarization, for the land and for coca”. The demonstration showed once again resistance to the governmental “Dignity Plan”, whose purpose was to take Bolivia out of the coca-cocaine circuit in the following four years (García, A., 2008:502). After the government refused to negotiate with coca croppers about their demands, fifty coca growers who had participated in this march started a hunger strike and the main access to a district of La Paz city was blocked.

The second stage of demonstrations consisted of road blockades in 17 different spots of Cochabamba-Santa Cruz road on September 18th, 2000. Coca leaders and the government came to a pre-agreement on September 24th, where the national administration committed to making several public works. National authorities also undertook not to boost any plan to expel Cochabamba Tropic inhabitants to other regions of the country. But this pact was not accepted by the rank and file of the unions. Consequently, the government tried to clear the roads, resulting in the death of 2 people and 20 wounded (Pinto, M., 2004:52).

At this stage, the main coca croppers’ requests were the respect to human rights and the coca regions. It was during this period that the coca struggle acquired a nationalist-transversal character of remarkable nature. After the attempts to eradicate the crops in *Los Yungas*, the coca croppers of this region joined the cause. Likewise, self-defence committees sparked off to prevent the by-force eradication. The coca leader, Evo Morales claimed in those circumstances that the croppers would take drastic measures against the security forces of the government, so as to defend their rights and lands. “Our coca growing Comrades have decided in a single-minded position, in the case that the government does not change the eradication policy, going from defence to attack, we assure that we are going to face anything to defend coca and our families, even risking our lives. Therefore, we cannot allow the government to subjugate us eradicating our crops by force” (Evo Morales, 1997, cited in Pinto, M., 2006:60).

5.3 The coca growers' movement: how they see their own part in Bolivian development

At the beginning of this chapter, it was explained how and where the *cocaleros* movement was born. The review of the *cocaleros* movement may leave the reader with the perception that the coca growers' movement has been fighting for isolated demands typical of this sector. However, as said by the members of the movement, it has not been like that.

"We have not only fought for coca. It is true that coca has brought us together and has strengthened us, but it was not because of coca, but because we were tired of not being heard, being looked down on, of being taken for ignorant people unable to make decisions (...)."

(Man, 54 years-old, 2010 leader of coca growers, *El Chapare* personal interview)

According to a large number of coca growers interviewed, it was the imposed conditions of governments who have contributed to the creation of *cocaleros* movement.

"Though we knew that by means of protests and demonstrations, we would only show them our discontent. "We are against, so what now?" We could do nothing else. Anyway, the government always got away with it. Thus, we needed to do something else, as we have seen that the only way to be taken into account in time of making decisions is by becoming part of the highest political circles, of the State itself."

(Man, 39 years-old, 2010, a leader of coca growers, *el Chapare*, personal interview)

Leaders and coca producers declare that the movement of coca croppers has a supporting nature beyond its boundaries. Facts also back up this statement, as coca growers participated in the "War of Water", in 2000 in Cochabamba and the "War of Gas" in 2003 in La Paz and El Alto. The coca growers' movement has been present every time its members thought it was necessary, supporting the demands of their Bolivian comrades who were affected.

"Of course we support demands that seek most Bolivia people' well-being (...). In the case of the water conflict, they claimed for the water public utility company not to be privatized. It was obvious that we had to fight for this, as water is a right and they could not simply come and take it away from us. Concerning gas, it was a similar picture. They wanted to export it, but most of Bolivian people do not have access to it (...) then we have said that Bolivian citizens and the well-being of the poor - most of us- must be put first."

(Parati, H., 2010 coca grower, *el Chapare*, personal interview)

Leaders of other existing social movements in Bolivia, such as COR (Regional Labour Union) in El Alto, and the Coordinating Union of Water, in Cochabamba, admit that the coca growers were always ready to help them with their struggle, contributing to it with their organizational power and experience in resistance demonstrations.

According Marianela Paco, the government representative for Human Rights Watch in Bolivia, the *cocaleros*' social movement, is the only movement after the indigenous-

“katarista” – referred to in Chapter Two –, that has lasted in time. Its main characteristic is the permanent ability to integrate to different systems of the State. This means that this social movement in particular, can adapt to any state administration and acknowledge positive aspects or protest before what they consider injustices of the State. All good things, politics or directives can be accepted as long as they benefit and improve living conditions of most citizens. But the movement’s mutual goal is to keep searching for “well-living” for its members and other Bolivian citizens and have access to equity.

Nevertheless, economic analysts such as Ricardo Baldivieso agree on the fact the *cocaleros* movement, are ‘inclusive’ in the places where they operate, that means they are prone to defend other economic activities and sectors derived from the coca leaf productive chain. But despite the movement’s nature of solidarity with other sectors, the *cocaleros* movement are not substantially representative of other Bolivian social spheres. By spheres, Baldivieso refers to how the *cocaleros* movement represents the coca growers, but not necessarily all the indigenous people in Bolivia, nor the middle-class.

“Inclusive, to what extent? We are dealing with specific geographical areas like El Chapare and Los Yungas with about 200.000 inhabitants in a country of 10 millions. The coca growers’ movement is in fact an economic movement. Independent of any identity, of any ancestor, everybody takes part in the movement: quechuas, aymaras, guaraníes, even people of mixed race. Therefore, we cannot talk about an identity. This is something they (the movement) only use for their speeches. Their speech is very well worded and organised. It obviously reveals the presence of intelligentsia, which has been very skilful to identify the leader, Evo Morales in this case. He has a strong influence and he is influenced at the same time. (...) But having a leader who has come from the rank and file of coca growers’ social movement is not the same as daring to say that this movement represents the feelings of middle-classes and indigenous groups. This is not at all true.”

(Baldivieso, R., 2010 personal interview)

What Baldivieso explains is that for his point of view, *cocaleros* only look for their convenience, what they want is to grow and export more coca, to reach better prices in the markets. Therefore their objectives are of an economic nature. According to him, if the analysis goes deep into the movement, leaving aside the ‘indigenista discourse’ we can find the economic ‘selfish’ nature of its organization. And realize that the movement is inclusive, but only when dealing with coca growers’, not other spheres of the Bolivian society, and maybe not even all the indigenous people of Bolivia.

Now, if we want to see the coca growers’ point of view on the part they play in development, if we intend to identify the movement’s achievements, we should first identify different stages in time in their struggle. A first stage shows that the social movement struggles for demands of coca growers and other poor and oppressed social groups. At this first stage which can be connected to the specific time period of the 1980’s to the early 2000’s, the members of the *cocaleros* movement admit that not much progress was made, but there were considerable achievements in their struggle, which involved the whole of Bolivian society.

“In order to understand if we have won anything, if we have achieved anything, we should talk about the past and the present. In the past we could only put pressure on the government for a while when we wanted to be heard. After the negotiations, sometimes we obtained something positive, but sometimes our claims were seldom answered. However,

our effort was not fruitless at that time, as it allowed us to be appreciated by society. They saw us march on foot along many kilometres, with our feet full of blisters. They saw us arrive in La Paz just to be ignored by the government. These people, who were professionals, middle-class non-indigenous people gave us food to strengthen us and things to cover ourselves in case of rain (...) but the most important thing is that they realised the injustice that authorities did, not only to us but also to them, in fact, to all Bolivian people. This way, at that time it was our major achievement, to awake middle-class people and raise their awareness.”

(López, E., coca cropper El Chapare 2010 personal interview).

Amongst all of the coca producers and their leaders who were interviewed, about 70% of them agreed on the fact that the struggle was not only for coca, but also against the political situation dominated by neo-liberalism, foreign interference in decision making and the way of taking the *cocaleros* social movement for granted, they felt they were put aside. Policies were imposed without taking their (*cocaleros*) indigenous culture into consideration, rather it was simply ignored. Rather than being upset with eradication policies, the informants felt they were upset with neo-liberal governments, for their lack of respect of the land and its inhabitants.

“The neo-liberal governments distribute the resources to the highest bidder; they give away water, land, gas and minerals to foreign companies, whereas in the countryside, growers do not have water, ploughs somebody else’s land, getting an extremely low salary. These poor people do not even know gas, as they use firewood to cook. Needless to say, they do not know what minerals are, as they have probably never seen one in their whole life”

(Senas, L., 2010, coca Grower, *Los Yungas*, personal interview)

According to the *cocaleros* point of view, the governments made a serious fault by allowing interference from other countries and ignoring the ancestors and millenary culture, as it never existed, as it was not part of them.

“At that time we were against interference from the United States, for they wanted to rule Bolivia and distribute our resources among themselves. That is why we were against that. We used to say we were ready to die for coca. However, we not only protested in defence of coca but also against the injustice that was done by right-wing governments. They take a piece of the food out of our children’s mouth and want to erase our grandparents’ memory”.

(Senas, L., coca Cropper Los Yungas, 2010 personal interview)

In the coca growers’ mind, history was different than what was portrayed by the neoliberal government. The eradication policies of the governments that ruled Bolivia until 2004 did not aim for development as the *cocaleros* perceive it. Rather they find that the government had a politics with veiled motives, representing the interest of certain groups. The war against drugs was just an excuse so that the other interests could be brought forward.

“What has happened is that the Bolivian government, together with the US government, had other interests for El Chapare. In this region, there is a lot of water, as well as gold and gas. They intended to remove us from there to be able to exploit the resources and make profit from them. It was just like that. We did not get any benefits at all from capitalization. Here it would be the same (...) and they were going to damage the Mother Earth that we respect. We plough her; we treat her well, while they come with bulldozers, cut down trees and pollute rivers. They damage the planet disrespectfully. They do not deserve it.”

(Colque,F., coca cropper El Chapare, 2010 personal interview)

Hence in the *cocaleros* view, their demands have aimed at raising awareness, and they have sought for equality of opportunities, respect towards different cultures and a better distribution of resources. They felt that the upper and middle class do not consider them part of Bolivia, as these social groups did not care about getting to know about the situation of other more marginalised groups. Moreover, most members of the upper and middle class did not do anything either, when *cocaleros* demonstrated in the streets. Some social groups, mostly producers, private entrepreneurs and traders were against the *cocalero* movement, not because of its demands, but because of its way of organising protest. During the years of *cocaleros* protests, road blockades and demonstrations caused these sectors economic losses worth millions. The *cocaleros* movement is aware of this effect of their protests, but they justify their own actions by saying that they sought a mutual goal to benefit most people. Although a minority would lose “a little” along this process, the losses should not stop them. Moreover, most of my informants claim that this money may be recovered in the long term. A coca leader from El Chapare recalls:

“Long lines of trucks carrying fruit sometimes got stuck on the road for several weeks, even for months during the blockades we organized. Once a banana producer told us that it was our fault that he had lost about 6 million dollars because his four trucks with banana cargo had been stuck for six weeks. There were economic losses. Fruit rotted, meat went bad, and so on. It is true that businesspeople were damaged a little, but we could not give up. If we had done it, we wouldn’t have been taken seriously.”

(Man, 49 years-old, 2010, coca Copper El Chapare, personal interview)

The *cocaleros* can summarise the achievements of their movement in an initial, past stage by referring to certain events. I will not analyse deeply the President Sánchez de Lozada’s administration, as it is not relevant here, but it is worth saying that the coca growers’ movement played a significant part when it comes to moving him out of office. By overthrowing him, they proved that the neoliberal policy was not accepted by a majority of Bolivians, and if the government intended to make use of Bolivian people rather than serve them, there would be serious trouble between the State and the rank and file.

On their achievement list we can also include the battles they participated in winning, such as the “War of Water” and the “War of Gas”. Although they were not the ones to organise this protests, they took part in them, which makes them consider the triumph as the result of a mutual effort.

“From 2000 to 2003, together with many comrades from the country and from the city, we were able to expel the most neo-liberal president that Bolivia had ever had, Sánchez de Lozada. Besides, we were able to cancel contracts with transnational companies, even

though these had already been signed. It was because they did this in pursuit of their own benefits.

(Mamani M., coca croppers' leader, COFECAY, 2010 personal interview).

Another achievement that they consider as a result of their own involvement is the general raising of awareness among parts of the Bolivian population, who, until then, had never had interaction with members of the indigenous *cocaleros* movement. Here I particularly refer to the middle class and how they started to open their eyes for the *cocaleros*' situation. Most of the *cocaleros* that I have interviewed are sure that a large section of middle-class people sympathised with the movement's objectives and became aware of the injustice committed by the government through the movement's actions. The increased awareness led them to support future projects of the social movement.

“Middle-class people saw that the government did to them the same as they did to us, in other words, they lied to them, they deceived them, and they stole from them. It was then that the drowsy middle-class was awakened and joined our cause. As a result, demonstrations have become bigger and the government has started to realise that more people were aware of the situation.”

(Mamani M., coca croppers' leader COFECAY, 2010 personal interview)

Still there is one achievement that *cocaleros* considers the most significant one, not only for them but also for all spheres of Bolivian society. It is the creation of a “political instrument”, that is the way they use to call the political party known as MAS. They say it is an “instrument” and not a political party, because it is a political organization ‘sui generis’ that arose from indigenous and social movements, which stemmed from the coca growers' movement itself. This instrument represented by Evo Morales and his team altogether under the name of “Movement Towards Socialism” (MAS) became a political force in Bolivia, and it has become the current government. This is perceived to be the greatest achievement, as my informants find that through the government, their demands will increasingly be heard and something will be done to improve the situation of the vast majority of Bolivian population, who used to be totally ignored. The “political instrument” would be in charge of the so-called “process of change.”

“We have realised that sometimes so much work, so many demonstrations were not as effective as we would like them to be. Something was missing, the power to decide, and the chance to give our opinion and to be heard. If we wanted that, then we needed state power, our own political instrument to become our own government. We wanted power that may benefit the masses.”

(Senas, L., 2010 personal interview)

Filemon Escobar, who was one of the ideologists behind the creation of the political party MAS affirms that “The *cocaleros* expressed the most important political resolution, that of promoting their own liberation anti-capitalist and anti-colonial political instrument” (Escobar, F., 2008:196). He, as well as my other informants all agree that the only way to be free from the U.S government interference was to be in control of their own decisions, and the only way to do so was to be in control of the State.

Until that point in time (before the political party MAS gained force), the opinion of other sectors of society was regarded as “moderate” with reference to their support of the *cocaleros*, as they supported the movement from a distance, without intervening, letting them exercise their right to protest the way they wished to. There were no physical reactions from civil citizens anywhere against the movement. However, people seemed to be annoyed, unhappy and tired, mostly when the blockades denied access to the most important cities, which resulted in lack of food supplies. Nevertheless, after so many conflicts, the citizens learnt to foresee these situations in order not to be affected by the lack of products for sale. This made *cocaleros* think that, though there was not a direct support, there was not interference from other social groups either. In other words, the lack of direct interference is interpreted by the *cocaleros* as a sort of indirect support.

Concerning the economic losses of the affected during the *cocaleros* protests, there is no way of quantifying them, as there are records of the several kinds of losses. Some had been experienced by producers of many products (like fruits, coffee, palm trees among some), others by cattle growers and others by coca growers themselves, as due to eradication they lost their crops. Besides, some alternative development projects carried out in the region damaged the land and other crops. At the turning point of conflicts in the year 2000 “there were economic losses of more than 100 million dollars, some factories closed down, many workers were made redundant, the exportation rate went down, many roads were destroyed and high investments were necessary to repair them. Also, there was a high rate of internal default and the image of the country was seriously deteriorated (Evia, J. *et al*, 2000:8). The coca growers’ movement justified these losses as necessary for the “process of change”.

5.3.1 The coca growers’ movement and the power seizure by their political instrument.

“The MAS party is the coca growers’ child, the coca leaf has given birth to it” (Evo Morales, 2005)

Earlier in this chapter I pointed that there were different stages in time in the evolution of the movement; the first one was described in the previous section. Now I will continue with the second ‘stage of time’. The idea of reaching state power circles through politics came up in 1995. After years of development, MAS (Movement towards Socialism) party appeared on the political scene. The special feature of this political party was that it was “acting as a political movement beyond the civil society boundaries and the political field of representative democratic regime” (Komadina, J., and Geffroy, C., 2007:7). A more specific characteristic of the moment was the strong popular support MAS had among the social movements, essentially amongst social movements (*cocaleros* mostly) and country workers.

This party was considered by many as a branch of the *cocaleros* social movement. The *cocaleros* movement contribution to the making of MAS is seen as its most remarkable achievement, not only because of its arising, but also because of its triumph at the elections.

“MAS was the first experience as a party that blooms from a social movement and on top of that it succeed at the polls, besides the obtaining of national support (...) there had been some attempts before, but they failed.”

(Tapia, L., 2010, La Paz personal interview)

Both Filemón Escobar, one of the ideological founders of MAS, and Luis Tapia, distinguished Bolivian political analyst agree that the political party of MAS was an instrument devised to represent the masses' voice. Therefore, the people see the party, through its representatives, as the nearest gate to enter the State.

Maria Teresa Zegada and Yuri Torrez, Bolivian sociologists, have written about this Bolivian political phenomenon. They claim that the social movements' actions in Bolivia have reassigned the socio-political agenda in the country, leading it to important changes such as the empowerment of the first indigenous as President. This has marked the beginning of a new stage in the social movements history, where they play a key role in their relation with the State (Zegada, M., and Torrez, Y., 2007:34). It is not a minor thing that the current administration is called "the social movements' government" since there is an awareness that the government stems from the movement. A contributing factor is found in the part played by the current president of Bolivia, Evo Morales in the *cocaleros* movement. He was the president of the six federations of the tropic region before becoming the president of Bolivia. But he ran the Presidency, as well as being top head of the six unions federations of the tropic region, all at the same time throughout his first three years of governance of Bolivia.

From the above, it is evident that we can consider this period, during which the party MAS is the ruler, as the second stage of the social movements achievements, the "present" as referred to by *cocaleros*. And from now on, the "achievements" by this movement are to be considered to their full extent, especially those with a macro-scope, such as of State policies, development strategies for Bolivia, State reforms and so on. Marianela Paco, the government representative for Human Rights Watch in Bolivia, thinks this government has a "unique" characteristic.

"The government surrounds itself with social movements and organisations from all over Bolivia, from every region, and listens to their proposals. Social sectors are also aware of the fact that they are just proposing, not demanding, so "the rank and file proposes but the government provides."

(Paco, M., 2010 personal interview)

Felix Patzi, former Education Minister in the first Evo Morales' term of office and now current La Paz governorship candidate, explains the existing dynamics in the Executive Power (specifically the State) for enforcing of laws, as well as for devising development strategies and policies.

"The social organisations' proposals are laid on the table, the Executive Power analyses them and chooses the most important ones for most of the people, the ones that require immediate attention of those that had been ignored for a long time through several governments. Then a group of experts studies the chosen ideas in order to devise a policy and attach it to the year development plan."

(Patzi, F., 2010 personal interview)

According to Felix Patzi and Marianela Paco's statements, *cocaleros* and indigenous' demands are already expressed in the "National Plan for Development: Bolivia honourable, sovereign, productive and democratic for the "well-living" (PND, 2006). The introduction of this document states; "The proposals and the approaches of the National Plan for development

(PND) are the transition basis so as to dismantle colonialism and neo-liberalism. This will build a multinational and Communitarian State leading to the empowerment of the social movements and emerging indigenous. Its major aspiration is for Bolivian people to live well according to the Andean view of the world inherited from our Ancestors” (PND, 2006:2).

In the new PND, the references go into great detail about the “well-living” theory belonging to the Andean view of the world. Coca croppers’ movements perceive their culture represented in the PND as their development vision. For his part, the analyst Luis Tapia thinks that the “well-living” theory is just part of current political rhetoric since the two previous development plans (2006 and 2010) did not really focus on this matter. In his opinion, there are very few who understand and know what this theory is about.

“This is the work of aymara intellectuals and has been adapted to the political discourse of MAS. There are no real ideas attached, they are not in the development plan. It is very common to use it as an alternative discourse to western development, but if we look closer, we will see that the proposal offered by the government, the real development proposal of MAS party is simply modernist, as it does not have anything to do with the original plan.”

(Tapia, L., 2010 personal interview)

Alison Spedding, sociologist and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, anthropologist, agree with Luis Tapia. They think that the *Suma Qamaña* (well-living) is very hard to define, let alone to apply it on a national wide scale. They both believe that the government is taking advantage of indigenous people and social movements’ theories so as to catch international attention through “demanding indigenous people’s rights”.

“The term social movement has become a cliché. Nowadays, every demanding sector calls itself a social movement. The government uses them as banner, as puppets. When the government wants to pass a ridiculous law, the opposition refuses to support it, so social movements are sent to put pressure on them, like messengers. Cocaleros movements are not what they used to be. They have weakened, broken up; they were shock troops, the opposition itself, but now they have turned into a political tool, operated by the government.”

(Rivera, S., 2010 personal conversation)

Many of my informants agreed with Silvia Rivera’s statements. In eastern Bolivia, especially in Santa Cruz – a city officially declared as in opposition to the current regime – professionals, merchants, middle class and industrialists have similar perspectives on the movements and its connections into the government. Social movements are being manipulated by the Government. Informants from Santa Cruz state that coca growers’ movements, whose influence is overwhelming, are quiet since now they grow coca with no restrictions and the once fearsome 1008 Law now mean’s nothing.

“There have not been changes for the good of all. The poor are still poor, used by the government, one that claims to defend them, a two-faced government; on the one hand, they talk to the communities about the Andean view of the world, decolonization, the Pachamama (mother earth) and so on. However, when they come here (to the cities) they talk about the importance of each one of us for the country’s improvement, modernization,

increased use of technology and private investment. Yet in front of the aymaras we are described as enemies of the process of change.”

(49-year-old business man, 2010, Santa Cruz, personal interview)

Now in terms of economics, the financial analyst, Ricardo Baldivieso claims that the PDN is a development plan that technically lacks financial support. It does have an ideological basis, but from his point of view, economically it is neither feasible nor sustainable, let alone workable in the Bolivian context. He argues that the new PDN tries to minimize the external market share in the financial growth of the country, which is simple unfeasible.

“We cannot think of process of growth if we do not think about foreign markets. If we consider that there are 10 millions of inhabitants, 60% of them are poor and 40% of them live in abject poverty. Their idea is to boost the “well-living” process through the increase of self-production and self-consumption. What self-consumption? E.g. in Chuquisaca there are two square kilometres of land per family, but only 40 %of this plot is cultivable and its yield has reduced due to the lack of manure and chemical fertilizers. This is very clear: we do need the rest of the world to get financial resources letting us into technologies to increase the output.”

(Baldivieso, R., 2010 personal interview)

Leaving the political discourse aside, I will return to what I have termed the achievements reached by social movements. As said by Felix Patzi, the main achievements are the Constitutional Assembly and the reform in the constitution, the latter being especially remarkable. Luis Tapia supports this statement, but he makes it clear that this proposal is born from the “Unity Agreement”, which is the allegiance of indigenous people from the mountains and plains, *cocaleros* included. He also recognizes that social movements are full of alternatives. What is more, to his mind most of the Bolivian administration decisions were proposed and enhanced by them.

“The Constitutional Assembly was like a second foundation of Bolivia. The first time, the National Constitution had been written by only three counsellors. This time representatives from all over the country, including the indigenous sector, were in charge of rewriting our history. That is why indigenous people now feel to be part of this country.”

(Lazarte, S., 2010 cocalero leader, *el Chapare* Personal interview)

The Constitutional Assembly was responsible for reviewing the Constitution. There were changes, which are considered significant by some, whereas they are seen as simple and format-like changes by others. The Republic of Bolivia became the Communitarian and Pluri-National State of Bolivia. This new constitution acknowledges indigenous people, their habits and customs and integrates them to the Bolivian State. There is even an article involving the coca leaf. It says: “The State protects the ancient and native coca leaf as a natural and cultural renewable resource of Bolivia biodiversity, as well as the social unity factor in its natural state. It is not a narcotic. The increase in value, production, marketing and industrialization are to be regulated by law” (CPE, 2009: art. 384). Therefore, a great achievement is that the

coca leaf is no more ‘demonized’ by the Government of Bolivia. Today the coca growers can cultivate it without fear.

Social movements claim the credit for another achievement, the nationalization of Natural resources. First it was water, then hydrocarbons and minerals, and currently it is the electric utilities enterprises, and the cement enterprises that are in the same process. These nationalizing laws were proposed by indigenous social movements. The incomes obtained from those laws were used to promote social bonds such as “Dignity Bond” for the elder, “Juancito Pinto bond” for schoolchildren to prevent them from dropping out of school, and “Juana Azurduy Bond” for pregnant women. It is necessary to point out that these bonds are not sustainable for long due to several causes, but it must be acknowledged that these “aids” are a way of redistributing the wealth to the weakest social classes of Bolivia. A policy never after carried away by any government (Laserna, *et al* 2009:61).

“We are paid 200 Bs (approximately 30 American dollars) for every child that attends school. It is very useful for buying them stationery for school, so they can go to classes. Not only poor children get these bonds. Also private-schools students receive 100 Bs, the half, but no child is forgotten. Our senior citizens who have worked all their life in an office are able to retire and get a pension for it. And now our elderly country workers can be paid something since they have spent their lives working and have never got a thing. At least they can live on a little money they receive every month.”

(40-year-old woman, 2010, La Paz personal interview)

On the other hand, the people who disagree with these ‘bonds’ policies claim:

“These bonds are not sustainable; these resources were distributed at first due to the increase in the hydrocarbons taxes. However, when these taxes declined because the output dropped, the government started using the money from the pension plans. That is to say, it began spending the professionals and workers’ contributions saved for so many years so as to have an Old Age Pension. Now they fear their savings will run out because the government is spending them on bonds.”

(60-year-old woman, 2010, Sucre city personal interview)

In other words, the opinions about the bonds policies are divided, as the population is with reference to the success of MAS. The part of the population who never received anything from the former governments before, now feels included with this government, and the bonds are a way to remember them that there is a change. While other sector of the society feels that the government is “buying” votes with their money.

Ultimately, the *cocalero* movements focus on the fact that they are heard and recognized more now than ever. The government has a Vice-Ministry for Coordinating with the Social Movements and Civilian Society. As the vice-ministry data show, there have been 262 meetings with social movements; they also claim there are still many to be held. Several accords and agreements have been signed by the government and the movements, causing social conflicts and protests to stop. Nevertheless, despite the authorities’ efforts, they admit it is sometimes difficult to put these agreements into practice. So far, 45% of them have been fulfilled, which is a record figure (Zegada, M., and Torrez, Y., 2007:47).

Other achievements by *cocaleros* focus on acknowledgement and respect to their culture, habits and custom; acknowledgement of indigenous identity, included in the new

Constitution, and the formal education in their language (*quechua*, *aymara* and *guaraní*), as well as their natural traditional medicine.

“The fact that it is no longer us who have to adapt to the rest of the country, but that the country has to adapt to us is a victory.”

(49-year-old man, 2010, *Los Yungas* personal interview)

From the various stages and achievements described in the above, we may say the *cocaleros* social movement in Bolivia really started from below and has not stopped until reaching the top head in the nation. The movement grew from below, its strength arose from the rank and file, and its demands were answered to a great extent never reached before. Now the movement's leaders state that lower classes rule. But their achievement is beyond the success in achieving political power, now they can be the spokesmen of the poor class in Bolivia. The social movements who came from the unprivileged classes get to know in a better way the real needs of the poor class in Bolivia. They can now speak for them (the poor) and be heard and attended.

Regarding how the remaining part of the Bolivian society perceive the role of the *cocaleros* movement for development there are two well-defined sides. On the one hand the middle-class composed by professionals has always been on the left-wing side, on the other hand there are social classes with neo-liberal leaning. Most of the latter are not happy with the left-wing victory, embodied by MAS. They may even feel they have been put aside from the power circles, traditionally under their control. They associate this as a backward movement, a stone for the progress and modernization. Yet the first group believes that the movement represents a new political chance for their country, for them and a personal chance to take part of the process in the government and in their own territory.

Thus, to sum up, it be said that there are different trends among Bolivian citizen as they differentiate MAS party from social movements. In some places, people approve of the movements but disapprove of the party, above all because MAS neglected the particular requests of some social sectors (mostly from the pro-opposition ones). Many people have seen the movements organize themselves and their hard work; they have seen their struggle and processes. That is the reason why they support social movements more than the party itself. However, others approve the party as a result of a great effort of the movements. Ultimately, opinions encompass a wide range of overtones. However, if we are to look at official figures revealing the support the current government is given and assuming there is a minor margin of error, 64%, claims that a bigger part of the country is in favour of MAS party.

6. Concluding Remarks

As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the main objective of this research was to study the *cocaleros* social movement; its particularity as a social movement in Bolivia and its history. Through my work I wanted to get to know who forms part of the movement and how are they organized. Moreover, I wanted to understand how members of the movement perceive the part they play in the political and social context of Bolivia.

The conclusions I have drawn after the realization of the field work and through analysing my findings can be resumed as follow:

a) Regarding the *cocaleros* as a social movement in Bolivia

As demonstrated through the thesis, the *cocaleros* movement can be considered as a social movement in Bolivia. By following well known and internationally accepted theories of social movements, I have found that the identity of the movements' members can be termed as *indigenista*, in the sense that they search for an ideal world where humans and nature live in harmony, and where humans do not exploit the latter in a ruthless way. An ideal world is one where the coca growers' culture and beliefs are accepted and included, a world where everyone is equal to the other. This is what can be termed the "utopia" of *indigenistas* and that is essentially also the utopia of *cocaleros*. As coca is part of their ancestral culture the *cocaleros* seek society's overall respect and acceptance of it.

Through my analysis I have also showed who form the main opponents to this social movement. In this particular case they are clearly what the *cocaleros* term 'neo-liberal' oriented governments and capitalist countries; particularly the U.S. and its politics of coca eradication. The fights of the *cocaleros* can be summed up as the resistance to foreign intervention in the decision making processes of the Bolivian government and to the hidden agenda of 'right-oriented' governments behind the "war against drugs" plans.

From the compilation of *cocaleros* struggles and the history of the movement it can be said that *cocaleros* social movement started from below and now have ended at the 'peak'. It evolved as a movement in defence of the coca leaf. And currently at its pinnacle the movement has clearly increased its presence and influence through the creation of what it call its 'political instrument', the political party MAS with its leader Evo Morales at the head of the presidency. Morales is a former *cocalero* leader and has as such started a process of deep changes in Bolivia where *cocaleros* are intensely involved.

b) Regarding the *cocaleros* as an organization

The *cocaleros* social movement is characterized by its strong and well functioning organization. Even though they do not have all paper work about how they function in order or the documentation is inexistent at times, they know well the way things work inside the organization. They have a democratic structure and trust the leaders they select. The grassroots are at always consulted and their demands taken into consideration. They also keep strict order regarding the production which is taken to the markets. At least in los *Yungas*, the coca market is constantly working without any interruption and with documentation of entrance and delivery of coca production to date. The reality of the coca market of *el Chapare* is different, in the sense that it is permanently closed, and without any trade or movement. Considering how the extension of production of coca in *el Chapare* is similar or perhaps even

larger than the one in *los Yungas*, it is hard to believe that the markets can be so different from each other. The situation can create susceptibility among visitors in the sense that one may at some point believe that illegal activities related to coca take place in el Chapare. However, my research cannot contribute to either confirming or denying suspicions of illegal actions. The *cocaleros* movement organization is also characterised by how it seemingly always looking for the well being of its members. The movement is constantly improving the services it offers both in the rural communities and in the city (such as health care, education, and technical instruction). The movements both in *los Yungas* and *el Chapare* look for the improvement of infrastructure of the coca market. Moreover, they seek for opportunities for dialog with the present government, in order to further improve the conditions of its supporters.

c) Regarding the *cocaleros* achievements

When it comes to what the *cocaleros* have achieved, one may say that what members of the movement consider as achievements are not necessarily thought of as such by other sectors of the Bolivian society. Any triumph resulting from the struggles the movements have had against the former governments concerning coca growing processes can be considered as achievements only for *cocaleros* growers', as they do not benefit any other sector of the Bolivian society besides the members of the movement.

Since the creation of the *cocaleros*' political party MAS, the social movement has become more inclusive on a macro scale. In this political context all policies, laws, and initiatives taken by the government are considered by *cocaleros* movement as initiatives that arose at the core of social movements and hence they are direct results of the movements' agenda and needs.

It is evident that the present government has a thriving relationship with almost all the social movements in Bolivia. And social movements are, at least for now, in peace with the State. *Cocaleros* argue that the calm situation exists because the current government attends the demands of the movements and frequently enter into dialogue with them. In other words, they find that they have a strong possibility to directly influence and interact with the current government, which obviously represents a strong achievement for them.

d) Regarding how other sectors of the Bolivian society perceive the *cocaleros* movement's role

At present, the Bolivian society is divided when it comes to the role of the social movements in the country. On the one hand there are those citizens who believe that the processes guided by the government and the social movements will carry Bolivia to a change of structures with equality among all the people, and assisting the poorest.

On the other hand there is another line of thought, shared by a portion of the Bolivian population. They disagree with what they find to be a strong left-side inclination of the government and their overall perspective seems to be that the social movements are being used by the government in order to construct a certain discourse believed to provide international acceptance and collaboration towards the ongoing, so-called 'process of change'. The critical voices this group represents do not find that the ongoing processes of change are actually beneficial for Bolivia as a nation, rather the other way around. They find

that the government's consent with many of the demands of the social movements are directly harmful to other sectors of the the Bolivian society.

As I see it, this disagreement will always exist, as there is always an opposition to the forces and demands of the social movements. However, looking beyond all the discourses and perceptions described above, I find that *cocaleros* movement in fact have played and keep on playing an important role in the social and political spheres of Bolivia. They are a clear example of how organized civil society can access power and make their struggles and demands national or even international if needed. Organized civil society can change the injustices made in a particular place. The collective action can raise the voice of those who are not been heard. And that is what has happened in Bolivia with the *cocaleros* movement.

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Appendices

Appendix I : List of Interviewees

Coca Producers and leaders

Ágreda, C. (man), coca producer in el Chapare,

Chincha, N. (man), secretary of press of the Coca Producers Association (APDECOCA) La Paz

Colque, F., coca cropper in El Chapare

Condori, W. (man), coca grower leader, El Chapare

Enríquez, M. (man), cocaleros leader ADEPCOCA La Paz

Escóbar, F. (man), former coca producer living in Cochabamba city

Lazarte, S. (woman), cocalero leader of el Chapare union

López, E., coca cropper in El Chapare

Machaca, M. (woman), coca producer and leader of COFECAY women division, los Yungas

Núñez, D. (man), coca producer, los Yungas

Parra, J. (man), former coca leader of Mamoré Federation in el Chapare

Salazar, J. (man), leader of el Chapare Tropic Federation

Sanchez, V. (man), coca producer in los Yungas

Senas, L (woman) coca Grower, Los Yungas

Mamani M. (man), coca croppers' leader, COFECAY

Manríquez, H. (man), .2010 coca producer from Los Yungas

Parati, H. (man), coca grower, el Chapare

Villca, J., coca producer leader of los Yungas La Paz

Zenteno, H., head of Coca Producers Association (APDECOCA) La Paz

25 year-old woman, coca producer in el Chapare

40 years old man, coca producer in Los Yungas

54 years-old man, leader of cocaleros in El Chapare

39 years-old man, leader of coca growers in el Chapare

39 years-old man, coca producer, Los Yungas

40-year-old woman, head of Bartolinas' association in La Paz

45-year-old man, coca producer in El Chapare

49 years-old man, coca grower in El Chapare

49-year-old business man in Santa Cruz city

49-year-old man, coca grower in Los Yungas

60-year-old woman, retired worker from the National University in Sucre city

Academicians

Arnold, Denise (woman) anthropologist La Paz

Baldivieso, Ricardo (man), economic analyst Sucre

Tapia, Luis (man), political analista La Paz, personal interview

Paco, Marianela. (woman), Human Rights Watch Bolivia representative, Sucre

Patzi, Felix. (man), sociologist La Paz

Rivera, Silvia (woman), anthropologist La Paz

Spedding, Alison (woman), sociologist-economist La Paz