



UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

# **The agency of Andean agrarian NGOs in the relationship with Bolivian state's political models during the last 20 years (1996-2016)**

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(1996-2016)**

**By**

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This Master's 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.

University of Agder, 2017

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## **Abstract**

Bolivia changed its state model in 2006 with the entrance of Evo Morales to the presidency. He assumed the presidency representing indigenous, peasant and social movements. The country had a new constitution in 2009 that included different cultures and indigenous nations. However, the regulatory framework changed its focus. For instance, in 2011 the Communal Agrarian Productive Revolution law was enacted, so as the Patriotic Agenda 2025 in 2013. The laws carried a new conception of the state related to the increase in the production and exportation of natural resources. This model has been called “commodities consensus”.

With the change of the national state models, there is a change in the relationship of the state with the civil society, and in this specific case of study, in the relationship with the NGOs. Through a qualitative research strategy, the research aims to analyse the agency of Andean agrarian Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the relationship with Bolivian state’s political models (neoliberalism and post-neoliberal/commodities consensus) during the last 20 years, from 1996 to 2016.

The exercise of agency of the NGOs in their relationship with the state has taken two lines: “NGOs agency for reproduction”, applying the demands of the state and global civil society trends, and “NGOs agency for social change”, where NGOs have been working to support indigenous and peasant communities beyond the state. The major example of the exercise of agency for social change was the constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Currently, in the commodities consensus model, the state enforces NGOs to reproduce the official development model. The state wants to use the NGOs as instruments for its governmentality, with rigid laws that shows a regimen on the path towards authoritarianism.

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**Declaration by candidate**

I, Andrea Alemán-Andrade, hereby declare that the thesis “The agency of Andean agrarian NGOs in the relationship with Bolivian state’s political models during the last 20 years (1996-2016)” has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder, Norway, for any type of academic degree.

.....  
Andrea Alemán-Andrade

.....  
Kristiansand, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017  
Place/Date

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## **Abbreviations and acronyms**

ADN	Nationalist-Democratic Alliance
CENDA	Communication and Andean Development Centre
CIPCA	Centre for Research and Promotion of the Peasantry
CIP	International Potato Centre
COB	Bolivian Workers Union
COSUDE	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)
CSUTCB	Unique Confederation of Rural Labourers in Bolivia
IBTA	National Institute for Agrarian Technology
INIAF	National Institute of Agrarian Innovation and Forestry
INRA	National Institute for Agrarian Reform
MAS	Movement toward Socialism
MNR	National Revolutionary Movement
OECAS	Peasants' Economic Organisations
OTB	Grassroots Territorial Organisations
PROINPA	Promotion and Innovation of Andean Products
SIBTA	Bolivian System of Agrarian Technology
SINARGEAA	National System of Genetic Resources for the Agriculture and Food
TCO	Community Lands of Origin
UDP	Democratic Popular Union
UNITAS	National Union of Institutions for the Social Action Work

## **CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Background**

The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) were created to complement the development process of the countries, promoted by the United Nations after The Second World War. Tvedt (2007, p. 30) mentions that the role of the NGOs is to fill the niches produced by the 'government failure', especially in the production of public goods. As a result of the coproduction strategies of neoliberal governments, where the state contracts civil society organisations in order to produce public goods and services (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073), the NGOs used to receive funds from the governments and the international state system (Tvedt, 2007, p. 29). Hence, the services and methodologies of the NGOs not only responded to their own philosophy and vision, also to donors' demands and national and international policies, being involved in political arena.

During the last 20 years, Bolivia has faced changes in the state model. The country has moved from being a neoliberal state (1985-2005), open to civil society's private initiatives and organisations, into a state between the commodities consensus and the post-neoliberalism, from 2006 onwards (Katz, 2015). This last state model, characterised by the government of Evo Morales-Ayma, maintains a position against NGOs, considering them as channels of neoliberal ideas connected with foreign interests (Córdoba, 2014, p. 31; García-Linera, 2011). Hence, unlike the neoliberal state model, the state has now decided to take the responsibility and presence in rural development. This is for instance seen through the creation of the National Institute of Agrarian Innovation and Forestry (INIAF), which takes some roles of the agrarian NGOs during the neoliberal state. Currently, a main role of the INIAF is research, innovation, technical assistance and support to the production of seeds, as well as the recuperation and the spread of knowledge about technologies and management of genetic resources (Supreme Decree 29611, 2008).

The agrarian rural development cannot be conceived without understanding the political context. All knowledge and technologies are related to the economic and social process, interlinked with political discourse and strategic lines of the state. That is the main reason why it is relevant to analyse how these policies of the last 20 years (1996 – 2016) have affected the

national NGOs, and in this specific case, the NGOs that work with Andean agrarian development, where agriculture is one of the main economic activities for the smallholder families and part of their culture and life system.

## **1.2. Problem statement**

Following the line of the left-wing populism in Latin America, with Hugo Chávez in Venezuela (2002-2013), Néstor Kirchner in Argentina (2003-2007) and Lula da Silva in Brazil (2003-2010), Evo Morales assumed the presidency in Bolivia as head of the Movement towards Socialism (MAS) political party in 2006. He did this with the support of social movements, peasants and indigenous peoples. After more than 20 years of neoliberalism in the country, the change of model implied changes in the relationship between the state and the civil society. It also meant changes in the strategies of development.

At the end of 1990s, the NGOs, as well as civil society organisations, were considered strategic development actors. For instance, the law of Popular Participation (Law 1551, 1994) puts the NGOs as part of the law enforcement team. During this period, the international and national forces were together to promote a state based on democratic values (plurality, participation, freedom, among others), decentralised and with private enterprises, opened to national and foreign investments. This last characteristic is related to the coproduction strategy of the model, where the state takes products and services from the private sector and civil society. Hence, most of the NGOs provided services to the state taking the development responsibility, in this specific case, the rural development.

With the party of MAS in government and the New Constitution in 2009, in the framework of independence and sovereignty, the state centralised the development responsibility based on the Patriotic Agenda 2025. Hence, there is currently more control of the NGOs statutes, regulations for their functions and control for their access to international funds. Moreover, if they want to continue working as NGOs, they are request to focus on the development vision established by the Patriotic Agenda 2025 (Eróstegui, 2017).

After the regulations for the NGOs, some NGOs are still active, but with less personnel due to the reduction of funds. This change, from a period where the context allowed NGOs to exercise their agency (knowledge and capabilities) in high potential to a scenario where there is more control to the NGOs, brings the main question of this thesis: *How was and is the agency*

*exercised by the Andean agrarian NGOs in the relationship with Bolivian state's political models during the last 20 years?* Here I consider 10 years of neoliberalism, and 10 years of the state between the post-neoliberalism and commodities consensus.

Even though there are studies about the role and perceptions of the NGOs in Bolivia, especially conducted by UNITAS Foundation, there is a lack of studies about the implications of the new policies and the exercise of agency by the NGOs, considering them as collective social actors. The study therefore analysed the relationship between the NGOs and the state from this point of view. It was focused on the Andean agrarian NGOs due to the Andean geographical, cultural, economic and organisational characteristics, and the high presence of NGOs in the area since the 1980s.

### **1.3. Main objective and research questions**

The main objective of this study is *to analyse the agency of Andean agrarian Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the relationship with Bolivian state's political models during the last 20 years (1996-2016)*.

- What has been the positions of the Bolivian political models towards the Andean agrarian NGOs and rural development from 1996 to 2016?
- What have been the Andean agrarian NGOs policies and actions towards the state's development plans during the last 20 years?
- How have NGOs influenced the Bolivian state during the last 20 years?

### **1.4. Study area**

This study explores three Andean Agrarian NGOs that are situated in Cochabamba, working in the Andean and inter-Andean valleys of Bolivia. This area is expanded in the departments of Cochabamba, Potosí, Oruro, Sucre and La Paz. Its geographical altitude goes from 2000 to 4000 meters above sea level.

**Figure 1. Bolivian Andean and Inter-Andean Valleys**



Source: ESRI (2016).

The lifestyle of the Andean communities is related to family farming, which has been changing due to the entrance of technology, capitalist economic system, *minifundia*<sup>1</sup> (smallholdings) and environmental effects of the climate change. The climate change showed effects on the frequency of rain, climatic extremes, salinity, drought, soil fertility, and water drain that affects the local production (Canqui & Eddy, 2009, p. 15). Agriculture is one of the main economic activities for rural families, but, the above mentioned situations imply considerable effort by the families and the continued risk of losses among the production for food security and market. These factors, in addition to the social and political interventions, has led to the Andean area being considered as one of the poorest regions in the world.

A peasant of a community in Cochabamba said the following about his situation: ‘*There are changes, but... the weather and the drought. People are migrating. They are going out*’ (personal communication, February 1, 2017). Climate change is increasing the migration in the area, which means that there are fewer funds from the state for the communities, since the state’s fund distribution is according the number of people in each municipality.

Despite these circumstances, indigenous communities and peasants keep their own strategies to face challenges caused by climate change and the capitalist economic system. An example of their local coping strategies is the use of native seeds during the short rainy season. Their native *Quechua* traditions and knowledge that allow them to continue with inter-familiar

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<sup>1</sup> The *minifundia* is the extreme division of land. Since its main consequence is the ground overexploitation, its long-terms impact is a not fertile soil for farming.

networks of cooperation to deal with the climate, soil erosions, drought, allowing them to live in acceptable conditions (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

### **1.5. Methodology in brief**

The study has applied a qualitative research strategy, with an inductive analysis based on grounded theory. The research was founded on a comparative design of multiple-case study, considering three NGOs for the analysis, CENDA, CIPCA and PROINPA, which have different policies/actions in the Andean agrarian development with more than 20 years in service. Due to the qualitative methodology, qualitative interviews and documents are the main sources of data. In addition non-participant observation was also applied as a method for data collection.

### **1.6. Thesis outline**

The study is presented in seven chapters:

**Chapter One. Introduction.** Contents principally the problem statement, the clarification of the main objective and research questions and the study area.

**Chapter Two. Theoretical framework.** Develops the necessary concepts for the thesis analysis. It provides an introduction to the topic NGOs and government, as well as to the concepts governmentality, power, social actors, agency and local and global society.

**Chapter Three. Methodology.** Presents the description and justification of the methodology applied in the thesis in relation to the research strategy and design, data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and challenges in the field.

**Chapter Four, Five and Six. Findings and analysis.** The three chapters present the findings and analysis related to the research questions in order to analyse the Andean agrarian NGOs agency in the relationship with the state political models during the last 20 years. Hence, **chapter four** looks at Bolivian governments' position models, and their influence in NGOs and agrarian development; **chapter five** outlines the work focus of the three cases to recognize their capabilities and knowledge; and **chapter six** discusses the influence/impact of the NGOs on the various Bolivian development plans/models, as the enforcement of their agency.

**Chapter 7. Concluding remarks.** This chapter presents the concluding remarks of the study, together to an analytical overview of the findings.

## **CHAPTER TWO. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Taking into account that the NGOs are part of the civil society, the theoretical understanding of their relationship with the state will consider them as social actors, with knowledge and capabilities through their agency.

For the analysis, this section reviews pertinent literature on government, governmentality, civil society, the social actor approach, agency and NGOs. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the second part, I elaborate on the concept of NGOs as social actors. The first part, based on Foucault's discussions about power, aims to theoretically explain the relationship between the government and the civil society.

### **2.1. A definition of NGO and its role**

Much of the research related to the Non-Governmental Organisations comes from the late 1980s, a decade when the NGOs have been considered as the major actors of development by researchers and policy makers (Opoku-Mensah, 2007, p. 9). In the global neoliberal context, the growth of these organisations has restructured the state-society relations; creating, according to Opoku-Mensah (2007, p. 10), 'a significant and far-reaching change in development theory and practice'.

The first's studies about NGOs in the late 1980s defined them as a third-sector organisation; where the state figures as the first sector and the market as the second one. The position of the NGOs in this scheme is lied between the state and the market (Tvedt, 2007, p. 28). During the 1990s, the studies about NGOs consider them as part of the civil society organisations (CSOs), so they are not part of the market and state organisations (2007, p. 29). The conception of NGOs as CSOs gives them the attribution of independence from the state, but with a work regulated by the state and/or international state system (2007, pp. 29-30).

Tvedt studies these organisations through what he refers to as "the aid system", which includes NGOs, donors and state (2007, p. 30). Although donors and NGOs can be seen to be in an opposite role (the donor finance and the NGOs implement), the main binary opposition is between the state and the civil society. The donors are necessary for the survival of the NGOs, and it is known that 'many NGOs would immediately collapse without donor support' (2007,

p. 29). Yet, Tvedt (2007, p. 29) mentions that there is also the possibility of NGOs financed by states, even in countries like the United States, opening up question about their independence in decision-making.

Considering the development of NGOs in the neoliberalistic model, the state applies strategies of coproduction. The state contract civil society organisations to produce public goods and services (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073). This relation gives to the NGOs a role to relate to civil society as well as between state/society (Tvedt, 2007, p. 30). Thus, as the NGOs are ‘the major actors of development’, they have been formed in the society to fill niches created by the ‘government failure’, particularly in the production of public goods (2007, p. 30).

The neoliberal economic policy agenda has opened a space for growing importance to the NGOs, with decentralisation of power, and the state strategy of coproduction. The coproduction involves the state contracts with the civil society, organisations or enterprises, to produce public goods and services (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073). Yet, the independence of the NGOs, even though they act inside a regulatory framework, give NGOs the possibility to be constituted from the society as a site of resistance by citizens to national or global neoliberal policies (Opoku-Mensah, 2007, p. 9). Hence, the NGOs can have a relationship of synergy with the state or a divide, but its role to link state/society and society/society in terms of development does not change.

## **2.2. Social actor and agency**

The NGOs as social actors<sup>2</sup> are conceived as active participants that process and strategize information with different actors around (e.g. local actors, outside institutions, personnel) (Long, 1992, p. 21). This interaction makes the social actor a social construction, far from the meaning of a simple individual (Long, 2001, p. 18). The social actor is developed in a cultural context, with own/shared strategies and conceptions of power.

Whenever we refer to the social actor, we talk about its agency, which is the force behind social actions (Newman & Dale, 2006, p. 482). Constituted culturally, agency is possessed by all

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<sup>2</sup> The literature classifies the organisations as ‘collective actors’, which are at the end social actors. The notion of the NGOs as collective actors is related to organisations that share similar goals, interests or values, and who agree to pursue certain courses of social action (Long, 2001, p. 56).



social actors, which applied in their conceptions of power, influence, knowledge and efficacy, shapes their responses and strategies (Long, 2001, p. 19).

Agency gives to the social actor the capacity ‘to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life’ through the ‘knowledgeability’ and ‘capability’ (Long, 2001, p. 16). Hence, social actors can solve problems, learn, act and monitor their actions in interaction with others (2001, p. 16), while developing a know-how, competencies, and abilities that are part of their capabilities.

Taking account of the cultural component of the social actor, the interactions are not only dealing with a multiplicity of social actors, it also implies ‘multiple realities’. It could mean potentially conflict between social and normative interests, and diverse and discontinuous configurations of knowledge (Long, 2001, p. 19). Knowledge implies power, authority and legitimation; elements that are lead to establish common perceptions, interests and intentionalities (2001, p. 19). Therefore, agency (knowledge/capability) contributes to the conflict or cohesion between actors and social groups. In this sense, the use of knowledge and capabilities gives the possibility of a social change, which comes from actions that recreate or alter the world (Seur, 1992, p. 119). Yet, not all actions and perceptions of the social actors are open to a social change. As Seur mentions, social actors also can play a role in the reproduction of the social world (1992, p. 119). Hence, NGOs as social actors have the possibility to evoke social change, so as reproduce the state model and approaches.

### **2.3. Government, state and civil society**

The perspective of the state and civil society of this thesis is based on Foucault’s approaches to government and power. The dichotomy between public and private spaces, or state and civil society, is developed in a relationship of power. Government, which according to Foucault is ‘the conduct of conduct’, affecting others’ conducts (Gordon, 1991, p. 2), takes a regulatory framework that is a continuity, or graft, of the exercise of power in the society (Burchell, 1991, p. 140). Hence, the regulatory framework becomes a mechanism of the state to exercise power in the relationship with/inside the civil society.

Gordon defines government as ‘a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons’ (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). The author mentions that this term could applied to any relation with oneself, between private interpersonal relations, relations within

social institutions and communities and, relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty (1991, pp. 2-3). The state is involved in all of the mentioned relationships, exercising power over itself and others. Government is not exclusive for the state, it is also immersed in all of society's relationships. The government can be reproduced in the state by the discipline, 'which seeks to reform designated groups through detailed supervision in confined quarters' (Murray Li, 2007, p. 275), or the governmentality.

Foucault adds economy as a variable of government and political practice (Foucault, 1991, p. 92). The economy becomes part of 'the art of government', defined as 'the correct manner of managing individuals, goods, and wealth' to achieve prosper ends' (1991, p. 93). Therefore, to govern a state means,

[...] to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods (1991, p. 92).

The art of government that relates to the economy is considered as "governmentality", in Foucault's term. The author bases his theory on a neoliberal context. Hence, government is reproduced in different spheres of the civil society, and through institutions creates responsible subjects (citizens) in relation to their self-government. Rose (1996, p. 42) explains that governmentality extends a regulatory background, stabilizing divisions for actions and different types of authority, over a territory and its population in order to ensure its wellbeing. Governmentality is presented as 'political rationality', which is 'a kind of intellectual machinery' that creates ideologies for representing, analysing and rectifying reality; likewise, governmentality as 'technologies of government' is related to strategies, techniques and procedures to enact programmes of government, regulating decisions and actions of the civil society in relation to the authoritative criteria (1996, p. 42).

Is in that sense that the governmentality (governmental rationality) has two main ways to operate: through the persuasion that implies consent from the society, and at a distance, which implies no consent (Murray Li, 2007, p. 275). Murray explains that 'the governmental interventions as assemblages', erase the idea that power comes only from the government, and gives power also to the 'parties', which are part of the civil society (2007, p. 276). These parties

can be used to expand the state inside the society (governmentality at a distance), becoming tools of the state for the control of the society. Murray (2007, p. 276) mentions the NGOs as parties.

The scheme that divides/relates the civil society and the state, marks a relationship of power exercising (Burchell, 1991, p. 141). According to Burchell and Foucault, the civil society is 'the correlate of a political technology of government' (1991, p. 141). Therefore, governmentality implies 'to structure the possible field of action of others' (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). This scheme gives power to the state through the regulatory framework, among other resources, exercising power by its institutions over the civil society, even in their internal relationships.

### ***2.3.1. Power in the relationship.***

To aim the understanding of the relationship state/civil society, it is necessary to focus on *power*. Foucault works the concept of power as the main part of any relationship, explaining that 'power exists only when it is put into action' (Foucault, 1982, p. 789). Power is not possessed, it is constituted in the interaction between individuals or groups (Verschoor, 1992, p. 177).

Power is created in a relationship between partners. In a power relationship, the one over whom power is exercised is also an individual or a group who *acts*. Of course, the fact that he/she/they act, does not exclude that there could be violence in a relationship or consensus, like instruments and results of power (Foucault, 1982, p. 786). As the author explains, power 'can be the result of a prior or permanent consent, but it is not by nature the manifestation of a consensus' (1982, p. 789).

For power relations' analysis, Foucault (1982, p. 792) mention five concrete elements: the system of differentiations which permits one to act upon the actions of others; the types of objectives purposed by those who act upon the actions of others; the means of bringing power relations into being; forms of institutionalization; and the degrees of rationalization since the exercise of power is a process more or less adjusted to the situation.

Power use resources as a media to produce and reproduce social systems (Giddens, 1984, p. 16). Although, it does not mean that there is not a possibility for change or a relationship of confrontation between two adversaries. For instance, at the level of the social body, the massive

and universalizing manifestation, with relations of strategy that opens the possibility of a change, from the locking of power relations (Foucault, 1982, p. 795).

Since power relations are present in all attempt at control, in the relationship between the state and the civil society, the state takes all forms of power. Hence, power has been governmentalized (elaborated, rationalised, and centralised) by state institutions (Foucault, 1982, p. 793). Is in this sense that the relationship between the state and NGOs is determined by the state control, being a framework for all kinds of relations in the society.

### ***2.3.2. Local and global civil society.***

Civil society, defined by Castells in a democratic political framework, is the organised expressions of citizens' autonomous views in the public sphere, which influence the political institutions of society (2008, p. 78). According to the author, it is the interaction between citizens, civil society, and the state that ensures the balance between stability and social change (2008, p. 79).

With the communication networks and the possibility of mobility, there is a distinction between "local civil society" and "global civil society". Local civil society is localised, characterised by 'actors who defend local or sectorial interests, as well as specific values against or beyond the formal political process' (Castells, 2008, p. 83). It includes grassroots organisations, community groups, labour unions, interest groups, religious groups, and civic associations (2008, p. 83). With these characteristics, also local NGOs are included in this group.

Castells and Lewis agree that with the rise of NGOs in the global perspective the concept of "global civil society" emerged (Castells, 2008, p. 84; Lewis, 2007, p. 66). The global civil society is constituted by 'private organisations (albeit often supported or partly financed by public institutions) that act outside government channels to address global problems' related in general to human rights (Castells, 2008, p. 84). Castells defines three characteristics of global NGOs: their considerable popularity and legitimacy, their labour focuses on practical matters (concrete expressions of human solidarity), and support for their causes is gained through media politics (2008, p. 85).

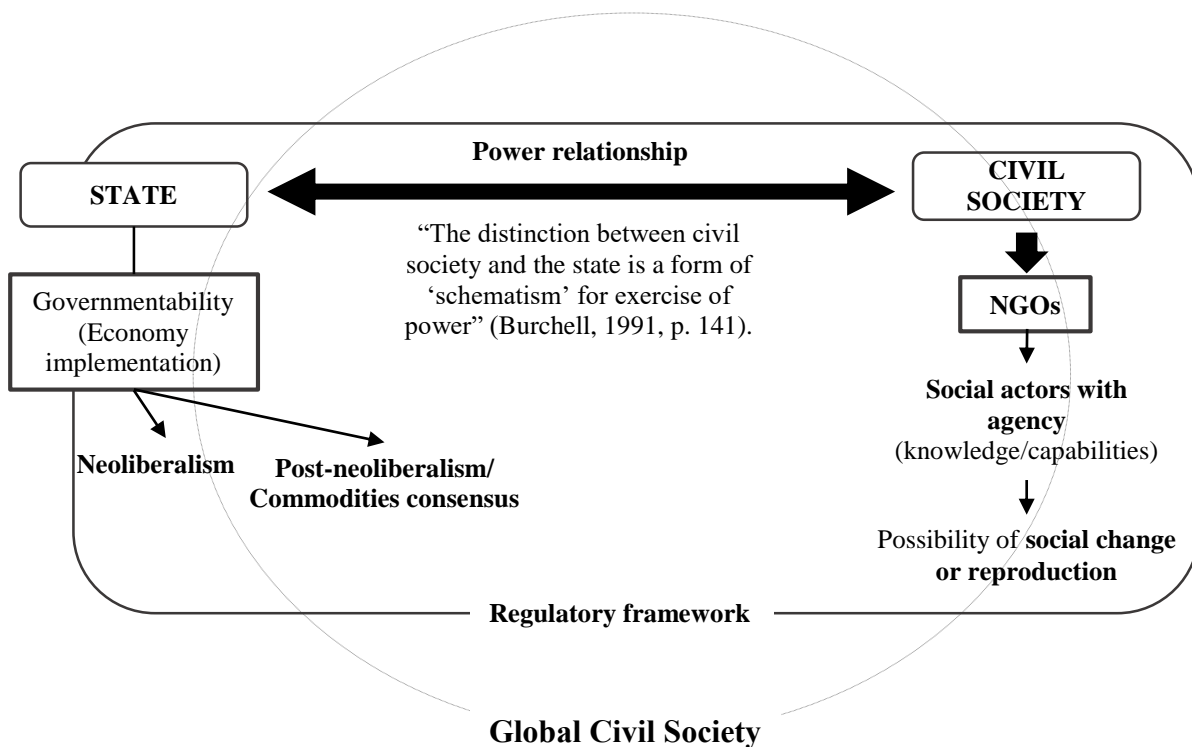
In parallel, there is the Marxist approach, seeing global civil society NGOs that are organised on a transnational scale as bourgeoisie, led by United States transnational and financial interests (Otero, 2004, p. 341). Otero (2004, p. 341) mentions that these financial interests are expressed

in organisations like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, with economic and political influences in the countries. Hence, an alternative to protect the local civil society from global neoliberal NGOs is to start resistance from a bottom-up linkage approach (2004, p. 341). This point will be relevant later in the analysis, and visible in the motivations and actions of the national process of change in 2006.

## 2.4. Application of theoretical concepts

Based on the literature review, the theoretical framework developed above will be applied to the study as it is presented in the figure.

**Figure 2. Theoretical application**



Source: Author (2017).

The discussions in the study will take elements of Foucault’s power relationship analysis, and NGOs as social actors with agency. Taking into account that the theory of the NGOs has been developed in a neoliberal context, it could present some gaps whenever I will analyse the relationship of these organisations with the state between commodities consensus and post-neoliberalism. Hence, the discussions will reflect the results of the analysis and allow for further theorisation about NGOs.

## **CHAPTER THREE. METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. Epistemological and ontological considerations**

Knowledge is constituted by ontological and epistemological concerns. Epistemology is known as the science of knowledge, based on the question ‘how do we create knowledge’ (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1169). Hence, epistemological issues make reference to ‘what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 27).

In contrast to naturalism, social sciences can broadly be said to create knowledge by positivism and interpretivism. Positivism is mainly connected to quantitative research strategy. It takes elements from the physical science as the experiment, ‘where quantitatively measured variables are manipulated in order to identify the relationships among them’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 5). In addition, positivism is characterised for being deductive, considering universal or statistical laws as the goal for science, and for using the test (observation) to verify of the phenomena (2007, p. 5). Although these methods are valid, they do not match with qualitative research strategy.

Regarding to exploration of the social phenomena, social sciences studies human actions, intentions, motivations, beliefs, rules, discourses, and values (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 7). Hence, in qualitative research it takes the interpretivism in order ‘to develop a standard measures of human behaviour’ (2007, p. 8). For instance, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 8) mention that with interpretivism, as participant observers, it is possible to learn about the culture of the people, and interpret the world more or less in the same way they do.

Moreover, ontological issues come from the question what is reality, wondering ‘what exists in the human world that we can acquire knowledge about’ (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1169). Hence, ontological issues present two positions: objectivism and constructionism. Objectivism follows the thinking that social phenomena is independent and separated from the social actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). On the contrary, constructionism ‘asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors’ (2012, p. 34). Ethnographers, for instance, describe the reality through their interpretations and actions that are based on the interpretations of the social world, which can reflect different cultures, and the constructing of diverse social worlds (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 11).

Since the study followed a qualitative research strategy, it worked through the interpretivism, in order to understand and explain the social phenomena, and constructionism perspective for the interpretation of the reality.

### **3.2. Research strategy**

Taking account that the research strategy is the orientation to the conduct of social research (Bryman, 2012, p. 35), the study followed a purely qualitative research strategy. The principal orientation to the theory is inductive, reflecting an ‘inductive mode of analysis or a process of moving from specific observation to a general theory’ (Byrne, 2001, p. 1155). Hence, the theory applied in the study depends on the observations and findings, not vice versa.

Due to this inductive thinking, qualitative research strategy takes grounded theory as the way of inductive analysis, which ‘can be thought of as a theory that is derived from or “grounded” in everyday experiences’ (Byrne, 2001, p. 1155). There is plenty attention by the qualitative strategy and grounded theory to the social actors’ communications, through words and actions (Bryman, 2012, p. 380; Byrne, 2001, p. 1155).

### **3.3. Research design: Case study**

The research design gives a framework for the data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2012, p. 46). This study applied a comparative design of multiple-case study, for a better understanding of the social phenomena through the comparison of cases.

Since the study analyses the relationship between the Andean agrarian NGOs and the Bolivian state in the last 20 years, I selected three agrarian NGOs with own characteristics and ideologies that have been working regularly during the defined period of time. CENDA, for instance, is a rural NGO that started its work in 1985 to show the shortfalls of the neoliberalistic model and the Green Revolution<sup>3</sup>; CIPCA, an NGO that was raised as a Jesuits development organisation in the 1970s (like a respond to the dictatorial model), is focused on the applied research of

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<sup>3</sup> The Green Revolution is related to research and development of agrarian technology for crops’ massive production for the market. The Green Revolution agriculture have been criticised to be connected to liberalised global markets (1960s-1980s) and its inefficient or inadequate application in local communities (Holt-Giménez & Altieri, 2013, p. 91).

peasantry and its organisations; and PROINPA, which started as a state program in the 1980s and became a foundation in 1998, works on agrarian research and innovation.

The three NGOs have bases in Cochabamba. In the case of CIPCA, the central office is in La Paz, but Cochabamba Regional Office work since 1976. In addition, the cases were selected due to their work in the rural areas for more than 25 years, being part of national models' transitions. Another reason that I considered for this selection, was that the three NGOs have different and clear ideologies, conceptions and strategies of rural development, so I have seen pertinent for the analysis to take a look at their agency in these contrasts.

### **3.4. Data collection**

Following a qualitative research, the data collection method involved qualitative interviews, documents as a source of data and non-participant observation. The data collection has been done from December 2016 to February 2017. Since the collected data was in Spanish, the information presented in the document was translated by myself.

- ***Qualitative interviews.*** The study applied semi-structured interviews. The informants were NGOs' managers and staff, national authorities that are related to the rural development and social researchers with experience in the topic. In total, the study counts with the participation of 26 informants. The informants of the NGOs' have been chosen by snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). In a first step, I contacted the managers of the NGOs, and through them, I have been introduced to the organisation. In interaction with the initial informants, they proposed other participants that were considered relevant to be interviewed.
- ***Documents as sources of data.*** For the study, I used three types of documents: state laws, regulations and official document; plans, reports and organisational memories from the NGOs; and six national newspapers from 1996 to 2016: From the city of Cochabamba, *Los Tiempos* and *Opinión*; from La Paz: *La Prensa*, *El Diario* and *La Razón*; and from Santa Cruz, *El Deber*. The review of the newspapers in the 20 years, have been done through the use of the Bolivian Documentation and Information Centre (CEDIB), which has a collection of national newspapers from 1970s to the current years, categorised in more than 500 topics. The activities of NGOs and the state's perspectives on the NGOs is one of their categories.



- ***Non-participant observation.*** Observation was not a prime source of data, but during the data collection, I had the opportunity to follow some of the NGO's interactions in the communities and municipalities, to understand their work and to have informal conversations with the personnel. This material has been saved as field notes.

### **3.5. Data analysis**

The data collection has been treated in an ethical way, ensuring the anonymity of the informants, except social researchers. During the interviews, with the authorization of the participants, the data has been recorded for the transcription and the categorising. Likewise, the observation involved field notes and direct interaction with the informers. In case of documents as a source of data, the field worked applied the compilation of different laws and policies for the analysis, and some reports of NGOs and their organisational memories. Also, the collection of news related to the NGOs from the last 20 years.

The data analysis applied grounded theory, constructing the theory through the analysis of data (induction process), where the data collection has been parallel to the process of analysis. Byrne (2001, p. 1155) explains, 'the method used to reach a grounded theory is termed *the constant comparative method*. During data collection, data usually are analysed concurrently. As the data are analysed, the researcher searches for a core variable, which will serve as the foundation for theory generation'. For the data analysis, it is important the creation of categories after examining the data, and then, the concepts and theory development (2001, p. 1155).

### **3.6. Ethical considerations**

Part of the ethical consideration of the research is related to the confidentiality of the information and the anonymity of the informants. In order to not affect the relationship between the NGOs and the authorities, and NGOs personnel with their organisation and the state, the confidentiality became one of the most important ethical considerations of this study. Likewise, the interviews respected the autonomy of the informant to consent the interview voluntarily, taking account that the collected information will be used only for academic aims.

In addition, the study has been guided by the standards of the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH), following the principles of respect, good consequences, fairness, and integrity (The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees, 2014).

### **3.7. Challenges in the field**

Due to the current regulations and restrictions related to NGOs in Bolivia, one of the main challenges is the managing of the information without affecting the NGOs that are part of the case study. In that sense, taking account the ethical considerations, the information is aimed only for academic uses. In addition, part of the field work challenge was getting the trust of the NGOs' personnel and authorities for the consent of the interviews. The strategy applied in the NGOs was related to an official entrance by the managers' acceptance; hence, the personnel were open to the interviews. Before each interview, I explained the topic of the study, objectives and the academic ends of the research to create a zone of frank dialogue. Despite the sensitive topic, NGOs' managers, personnel and authorities were open to present their perceptions, with the agreement of a properly use of the information.

## CHAPTER FOUR. BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENTS' POSITION TOWARDS THE NGOS

After 18 years of military governments, in 1982 Bolivia regained democracy. A centre-left coalition formed by the COB, CSUTCB, left political parties, and progressive fractions of the middle class, called Democratic Popular Unity (UDP), assumed presidency (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 90). The president at the time, Hernan Siles-Zuazo, called for elections in 1985, and Víctor Paz-Estensoro, with the MNR political party, won the presidency. The first aims in that moment were to defeat a high inflation and to redesign the relationship state-society-economy. Supported by Gonzalo Sanchez-de-Lozada, a young American-educated technocrat, Bolivia took the neoliberalism as a political model (2007, p. 95).

In 1993, Sánchez-de-Lozada became president of the country. With the idea of modernising neoliberalism and the state management, this government proposed the decentralisation of power and “inclusion” of the indigenous peoples, the privatisation of national enterprises and the promotion of external investments.

In the light of economic globalisation, it is important to recognise how global political models influence the national states. From the late nineteenth century, we can talk about a market-dominated world (Gilpin & Gilpin, 2000), lead by neoliberalistic ideas. At the start of this millennium, Latin America presented different development directions, with a new left governance that demanded more ‘state’ and less ‘market’ (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2012, p. 12). Some Latin American states like Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia embraced this model and developed political economies in relation to the state responsibilities for an immediate response to face the global political economy (2012, p. 4). Hence, quoting Regalsky (2017), *‘the policies of the government are not from the government. Those are international policies that the government follows’*. It is relevant to notice that the policies are not particular from each country, they are part a global current that has influence in national policies, laws and regulations (Regalsky, 2017).

The chapter analyses the neoliberal period (1996-2005) and the period of the MAS (2006 to 2016), in relation to the policies and actions that affected the labour of the NGOs and rural development. The information of the chapter comes from the interviews and document review.

#### **4.1. First period (1996 – 2005). Neoliberal governments**

The first period (1996 -2005) is characterised for two relevant laws that impacted Bolivian national history: the law of Popular Participation<sup>4</sup> and the law of Decentralisation. Both marked the neoliberal modernization in the country, along with the Privatisation law and the Educational Reform. The period includes the governance of the political party MNR (1993 – 1997), followed by the ADN (1997 – 2002), and the last neoliberal period headed again by MNR until 22 January 2006, when Evo Morales became president.

##### **4.1.1. MNR 1993 – 1997.**

The MNR was led by the President Gonzalo Sánchez-de-Lozada. During this period several neoliberal reforms and economic policies connected to the privatisation, education, participation and decentralisation of power were enacted. After the “Indigenous March for the Territory and the Dignity” in 1990, by peoples of the Isiboro Sécure National Park (between the north of Cochabamba and south of Beni), the MNR government’s agenda focused on including the excluded (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 99). This purpose carried a multicultural project that involved the Educational Reform and the municipal decentralisation of resources by the Popular Participation law (2007, p. 99). The main idea of these laws was to fix the rupture that had occurred between the peasants and the state after the break of the Military-Peasant Pact 1964-1974<sup>5</sup> (Regalsky, 2017).

In addition, following the neoliberal model, the government enacted the Privatisation law that opened for foreign capital and the privatisation of national enterprises. Contrary to what had been expected, the privatisation ‘did not bring the touted benefits of economic reactivation and employment’ (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 100). This law became the starting point for the continued conflicts against the governmental decisions and neoliberalism in the country, which gave rise to the Water War in 1999 and the Gas War in 2003.

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<sup>4</sup> As pluralism and participation are democratic values of the neoliberal system, the law of Popular Participation promoted, first of all, the participation of indigenous, peasants and urban communities in the legal, political and economic life of the country (Law 1551, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> With the break of the Military-Peasant Pact in 1974, the state lost the control of the rural space; therefore, the control of indigenous and peasants’ communities.

#### *4.1.1.1. Popular Participation.*

The purposes of the Popular Participation law were to recognise, promote and consolidate the popular participation, articulating indigenous, peasants and urban communities in the legal, political and economic life of the country; improve the life quality with fair distribution and administration of public resources; and strengthen the political and economic instruments to refine the representative democracy (Law 1551, 1994).

Through the law of Popular Participation, the state established the grassroots territorial organisations (OTB) for the representation and reorganisation of peasants' communities, indigenous peoples and neighbours. In the new model, the OTB was in a province with own municipal government (Law 1551, 1994). Therefore, it was required for indigenous and peasant communities to be subscribed as an OTB in order to enforce their rights and receive economic resources through the municipalities. Even at the beginning the communities rejected the law, they realised the necessity of the legal entity as OTB for their participation in the state and national policies. In this sense, the law became a double-edged sword; when the state promoted the participation of indigenous and peasants, it also provided the state an opportunity to get inside local communities and organisational forms through this law and the law of Decentralisation. As such, the new laws allowed for a slow breakdown of the communities sense of autonomy (Regalsky, 2017).

In addition, the NGOs are in the law mentioned as part of the executor institutions, along with state instances and development organisations. Hence, some municipalities started to work closely with NGOs for the implementation of the law. Also, for attracting funds to implement its activities, since it was more efficient than obtaining national funds (Nijenhuis, 2010, pp. 85-86). The work of the NGOs in the framework of the law will be analysed in Chapter Six.

#### *4.1.2. ADN 1997 – 2002.*

The Nationalist Democratic Action won the elections in 1997, and consequently, the former dictator Hugo Bánzer Suarez became president. His government focused on the eradication of coca plants through the *Dignity Plan* funded by the US Embassy, increasing tensions with the

unions of Chapare<sup>6</sup> that were led by Evo Morales. In addition, his administration faced economic conflicts with the demand for funds for local development and the payment of public salary arrears (Laserna & Villarroel, 2013, p. 49).

For many years, there was a dependence on foreign funds for basic expenses as the salaries of public employments. Due to the repeated protests by the civil society, the president imposed energy taxes as a way to look for more incomes, affecting directly poor consumers (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 102). In addition to this measurement, following some ideas of the former government and the World Bank to reduce the debt, the government leased Cochabamba's water supply in 1999 to an Italian transnational consortium called *Aguas de Tunari*<sup>7</sup> (2007, p. 103). This situation led to the Water War in 2000, and the active presence of social movements until the recovery of the resource management.

In 2001, Bánzer Suarez died, and the vice president, Jorge Quiroga Ramirez, succeeded him. The conflicts were still present in the country, especially those related to land and the eradication of coca (Laserna & Villarroel, 2013, p. 51).

#### **4.1.3. MNR 2002 – 2006.**

The last neoliberal period in Bolivia presented more conflicts than the others. Privatisation has had the effect of creating rising budget deficits, \$430 million in 1997 alone, due to a shortfall in revenue (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 102). Bolivian governments were largely dependent on external aid for essentials, and Banzer's strategies to increase taxes were still there. Sánchez-de-Lozada sought to continue this strategy. In February 2003, the riot in La Paz against the International Monetary Fund and the neoliberal political parties, led by the MNR, was one of the many unexpected results of privatisation (2007, p. 102).

The social movements in Bolivia emerged criticising the privatisation and its effects with the loss of the total control of the fuel gas (the transnational corporations were in charge)<sup>8</sup>, the inefficient management of the pension reform, the reduction of the coca plots, among other

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<sup>6</sup> The province of Chapare is in the northern tropical area of Cochabamba. This region is known because its environmental conditions are optimal for the production of coca plants.

<sup>7</sup> *Aguas de Tunari* means "Water from Tunari". Tunari is the mountain range of Cochabamba.

<sup>8</sup> This scene induced a situation where the government lost control and which ended in the so-called "Black October", 2003, and with 71 civilians killed and 400 wounded. The MNR government never took responsibility for these acts (Achtenberg, 2013).

demands (Laserna & Villarroel, 2013, p. 54). Due to this situation and the pressure from the people, in October 2003, Sánchez-de-Lozada renounced to the presidency and left the country.

Carlos Mesa, the vice president at that time, took presidency. Due to the claims mentioned above, he was demanded to invoke a Constituent Assembly, a referendum related to the hydrocarbons and a reform the hydrocarbons' policy. The Constituent Assembly was a demand from the social movements in order to restructure the country, to provide in a sense of indigenous inclusion and with an alternative development model. On the other hand, the problem with the hydrocarbons, which provoke the "Black October", was a conflict related to the distribution of the profits of the natural resource, and the policies and decisions around the gas exportation. This situation created opposing demands between Bolivian occident (Andean area) and orient; therefore, a petition of regional autonomy by the eastern part.

The social conflicts were still present, and the participation of people in the rural areas increased (Laserna & Villarroel, 2013, p. 58). There was a complete rejection of the government and its policies, which led to the resignation of the president. The third and last president of the MNR period was Eduardo Rodríguez-Veltzé, the former president of the Supreme Court. In December 2005, the MAS assumed the presidency.

#### ***4.1.4. Strategies for agrarian development (1996 – 2005).***

The agriculture in Bolivia faced changes connected to foreign development models. Considering Bolivia a country with few people and low development levels, it has been a "lab" for the application of economic development theories, created by international organisms (Paz, 2011, p. 152). Therefore, by the middle of last century, in order to increase the agrarian production, the state started the distribution of technological sets funded by foreign aid<sup>9</sup> (2011, p. 148).

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<sup>9</sup> In 1952 Bolivia had a National Revolution led by the working class and the MNR. This moment turned Bolivia to process of politic, economic and social "modernisation". Some of the main changes were the popular vote, the creation of the Bolivian Workers Union (COB), the nationalisation of the mines, the Educational Reform, and Agrarian Reform. Part of the Agrarian Reform was the abolition of the *latifundio* (land concentration), which was established in the colonial times. Therefore, the land returned to the indigenous and peasants' communities and, as a plan of the state, the distribution of technologies began in order to modernise the agricultural production.

In the 1980s appeared a group of NGOs that went against this general trend, as took into account the peasants' knowledge and concerns. These NGOs implemented projects based on action research, supported by foreign aid from religious congregations, the World Bank and the European Community (Paz, 2011, p. 148). In addition, at the beginning of the 1990s, the intercontinental movement of rural organisations called "*La Vía Campesina*" was formed, as a result of the exclusion of peasants' families, and the little or no respect for their rights (Kopp, 2011, p. 61). In the Bolivian context, the "Indigenous March for the Territory and the Dignity" organised in 1990, stimulated increased reflections about the importance of rural culture, territory and lands.

In contrast, the official discourse of rural development in Bolivia reflected the discussions of the Green Revolution. It was linked to the market, with credits' offers, improved seeds, technology sets, agronomists and agrarian specialist (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). In this context, the state created the National Institute for Agrarian Technology (IBTA) in 1975, to generate and execute plans and programs for agrarian development.

The IBTA was modified during the government of Jaime Paz Zamora (1989-1993). Its role was to conduct researches and study the agriculture and farming, to transfer technology for the production and transformation of food for the market (Supreme Decree 22565, 1990). Hence, the institution used to work with national researchers, some of them trained by the World Bank, and with technical support from foreign agrarian organisations like the International Potato Centre (CIP) from Peru (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

Following the decentralisation strategy, the government abolished the IBTA in 1998, and in 2000 created the Bolivian System of Agricultural Technology (SIBTA). The SIBTA worked through the Agrarian Technology Development Foundations (FDTAs)<sup>10</sup>, joining the public and private sectors by contracts with NGOs (Supreme Decree 25717, 2000).

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<sup>10</sup> The government created the foundations to cover the four different regions of the country: Valley, *Altiplano*, *Chaco* and Tropic.



*The Ministry was only four people and the personnel of the four FDTAs. That was the presence of the government and the state apparatus. Everything was a private competence in the innovation market and technical assistance. Also, the clients [peasants] had to put something. Many peasants started to create associations. One of the requests was to show a beneficiary association. All was through the demand. The demand had to be clear (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).*

The state's contracts with NGOs increased. The interest of the SIBTA was promoted and strengthened the innovation market in Bolivia, which was part of the aid industry. Hence, there was the presence of demand and supply, where the government collected peasants and market demands, and the NGOs were the suppliers of development services (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). But the SIBTA was not the only instance that processed demands. There were also direct calls from foreign donors that NGOs responded to, adjusting to their requirements and policies (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

During the government of the ADN, and as a result of the coca eradication plans, the state presented an alternative development strategy to reactivate the economy in Chapare. The plan that was related to the creation of taxes-free industries for the exportation of fruits, did not work due to higher levels of corruption, conflicts related to the eradication, the presence of militaries in the area and the intention of training them to be part of the development process (Salazar, 2003, p. 100).

Despite the government promotion to modernise the agrarian activity in the Andean and inter-Andean valleys, the peasant and indigenous communities were still maintaining their farming cultural strategies, with a small-scale agriculture. Hence, the government intensified its support in the agriculture of the tropic area. The agribusiness activities growth, so as the deforestation. From 2001 to 2004, the deforestation increased from 1506 km<sup>2</sup>/year to 2247 km<sup>2</sup>/year (Hameleers, Antezana, & Paz, 2012, p. 18). More than 700 km<sup>2</sup> in three years. Although there were environmental and cultural consequences for the indigenous peoples in the area, the extensive agriculture became one of main strategies to promote the economic growth by the neoliberal governments.

#### 4.1.5. *The NGOs in the first period.*

During this period, some NGOs were run by private associations, others by religious congregations and some even by political parties<sup>11</sup> (Opini3n, 1996). In 1995, there was an estimate of 772 NGOs working in the country, without an appropriate tax regulation, or national monitoring of their funds and actions (Ram3rez, 1996). There was only the Supreme Decree 22409 for the registration of NGOs. The Decree demanded information about implemented activities and planned projects every three years, without any penalty in case NGOs did not answer to this request (Supreme Decree 22409, 1990).

Approximately 200 million of dollars were destined to NGOs, money that was not regulated by the state. From that total, 20 million was designed for rural areas as credit demand and social assistance (Guarachi, 1996). In 2001, more than 1000 NGOs were managing 8000 projects around the country (La Raz3n, 2001).

The NGOs became a source of employment for professionals in different areas, focusing their work in rural development and agrarian production training, education, health, and basic sanitation (La Raz3n, 2001). These organisations were particularly present in the Andean area, with an increased support of the European aid and foreign government agencies that prioritised funding for indigenous peoples' rights, popular participation and decentralisation (Andersson & Haarstad, 2009, p. 13). In this regard, most of the critics to the NGOs came due to the misuse of money, spending 70% of their funds on salaries, cars and the buying of land (La Raz3n, 2001). Also, the criticisms were associated with '*the privatisation of poverty*' as a way to get jobs and earn money (G. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). Thus, NGOs could be consider a small industry in Bolivia at the time.

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, due to social conflicts as the Water War, the landless movements and the *cocaleros*' demands against the coca eradication, the Chamber of Deputies requested to the Chancellery a report of agreements, projects and foreign funds for NGOs, blaming them to be behind the conflicts (Castro, 2001). As a response of the NGOs that were involved, the director at the time of the NGO CEJIS<sup>12</sup>, and actual Government Minister, Carlos Romero, said in defence, 'I consider that there is a contempt to the indigenous and peasants' sector,

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<sup>11</sup> At least six political parties were linked with some NGOs. Among them there is the MNR, ADN and MIR (Opini3n, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Legal Studies and Social Investigation Centre.

because when they react, is thought that there is an NGO behind. We are technical support and we help as intermediary' (Castro, 2001).

In addition to this type of argument, the Human Rights Commission of the deputies published a list of NGOs with links to rural unions (CIPCA and CENDA were included), demanding a law to regulate their activities (Castro, 2001). The NGOs supported the idea to create a law to regulate their functions, in coordination with civil society organisations and different NGOs (La Prensa, 2003). Also, they were open to the creation of a *Superintendencia* (a state control mechanism) that could regulate and control their work in the country (La Prensa, 2003).

The regulations came directly in the second period. Until 2013 there were no regulations for NGOs in Bolivia, only the possibility of being officially registered as an NGO.

#### **4.2. Second Period. The MAS (2006 – 2016)**

Evo Morales, the MAS leader, assumed the presidency in 2006 as the first indigenous president in Latin America. The political party had the support of indigenous peoples, peasant trade unionists, indigenous and independent intellectuals, activists, and leftists (Hylton & Thomson, 2007, p. 132). Following the line of countries like Venezuela and Brazil, his presidency began as populist socialist, with the support of more than 50% of the population. In 2008, the president made a referendum that took him to the presidency from 2009 to 2014, with 67% of the votes. In 2015 he was re-elected again, with 60% of votes in favour. With the aim to achieve the Patriotic Agenda 2025<sup>13</sup>, he organised another referendum in 2016 to have the approval to present his candidacy for the presidency fourth time in 2019. This time, 51% of the votes were against the change in legislation, so he could not participate in the elections.

In order to respond the demands of the social movements from 2003, related to the Constituent Assembly and hydrocarbons regulations and contracts, so as the demand of autonomy that came from the oligarchy of Santa Cruz in 2005, Morales government approved the calls for the

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<sup>13</sup> The Patriotic Agenda presents 13 'fundamental pillars' for a democratic society, without discrimination, racism, hate or division. The pillars are: eradicated extreme poverty; universal basic services; health, education and sport; science and technology; communal economy; integral development and diversified productivity; natural resources nationalised, industrialised and commercialised in harmony and balance with the Mother Earth; food sovereignty; environment with integral development; peoples integration; transparent public administration; joy and full happiness; and sea rapprochement. All this pillars with the principle of sovereignty (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2014).

Constituent Assembly and the Departmental Autonomies Referendum in the first two months of his governance (Garcés, 2010, p. 26).

The New Constitution was enacted in 2009 as the pillar of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. At the beginning of the Constituent Assembly, there was an active participation of different organisations, but, by the end, the work became more connected to governmental interests (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017). The New Constitution entails certain paradoxes; it increasingly gives protection to the rights of self-determination and autonomy for indigenous people, but at the same time, the articles protect the private property of enterprises, just as the former constitution used to do (Regalsky, 2009, pp. 47-48).

Part of the first actions of Morales' government was the nationalisation of twelve companies that were privatized in the 1990s, and the creation of eight new "strategic" state companies for the production or processing coca, citruses, dairy, palmettos, almonds, basic foods, agricultural fertilizers, seeds, paper and cardboard (Córdoba & Jansen, 2014, p. 484). In addition, the government started projects in mining, metallurgical and sugar production, showing economic increases, from a growth of 6 to 34 % of the gross domestic product (2014, p. 484). Hence, with the change of government, Bolivia turned from being a country of low income to lower middle income.

It is at this point where I would like to discuss the concepts for a definition of the Bolivian state model in the second period. If the Morales government in its first years of power was considered to represent a "left-wing" and "post-neoliberalistic state", it later turned towards to the concept of "commodities consensus" (Katz, 2015, p. 11), emphasising the extractivist-export development model that the government currently is applying (Webber, 2015, p. 332). Katz explains that the first concept, "post-neoliberalism", highlights independence to foreign relations, progressive government and retreat of the right; whilst the period of "commodities consensus" reflects the focus on the politics of primary goods exportation (Katz, 2015, p. 11).

A referral to the seventh pillar of the Patriotic Agenda (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2014), may illustrate this. It is mentioned in the document that by 2025 'sovereignty over our natural resources with nationalisation, industrialisation and merchandising, in harmony and balance with the Mother Earth' should be achieved. However, a pertinent question to ask is: Whether the extractivism model can be in harmony and balance with the "Mother Earth"? As Katz mentions (2015, p. 33), 'these vacillations express the undefined aspects of the process, which

on one hand promotes neo-developmental capitalist modernization, and on the other, aims to forge an egalitarian society’.

Hence, in the Bolivian New Constitution, it is mentioned that the state economic structure and organisation is based on the “plural economic model” composed with the community, state, private and public cooperative economic organisations (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009). However, the “New National Productive Economic Model” is focused on expanding the state as a producer. Its aims are to industrialise natural resources, modernise and introduce technology to the country, in order to satisfy the domestic market and exportation, and to redistribute new national wealth (García-Linera, 2008, pp. 17-18). It draws the ambivalences that the different approaches allow for.

As Webber noted, the logic of the new-extractivism has its particular expressions in the Bolivian case (2015, p. 320). It is visible in the acceleration of mining, oil and gas extraction, and agro-industrial monocrop cultivation, as part of a regional economic strategies throughout the continent (Webber, 2015, p. 319). Is it also possible to refer to this state model as “neoliberal nationalisation”? The concept is proposed by Brent Z. Kaup (Webber, 2015, p. 324), reflecting how the space for private investment in the hydrocarbon sector still exists, that transnational firms still extract the majority of Bolivia’s natural gas, and most of it is still sent to profitable export markets.

The state’s interests in the economy and production has increased the support to the public and private enterprises, especially those in Santa Cruz<sup>14</sup>. For instance, in 2013 the state made a 15-year-old contract with a Swiss mining company for the exploration, exploitation and commercialization of lead, silver and zinc in two Bolivian mines. To justify the contract with a foreign private enterprise (quite a contradiction to the nationalist discourse of the state), the Vice President Álvaro García-Linera, referred to Lenin, the socialist Russian leader, ‘who [also] made sacrifices with the private enterprises’ (Mejia, 2013). In other words, the vice president recognised how the actions went against the national political discourse, but tried to justify it though making references to left wing political practices.

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<sup>14</sup> The department of Santa Cruz is part of the central axis of Bolivia. It is known due to its increasing industrial production, exploitation of gas, and agribusiness.

There is a growing literature that shows the continuity of the neoliberalism in the political economy, where the president ‘has implemented a more politically stable version of the model of accumulation it inherited from its orthodox neoliberal predecessors’ (Brabazon & Webber, 2014, p. 437). The case of TIPNIS illustrates this well in the Bolivian context. The TIPNIS (Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro-Secure) is a national indigenous territory and protected area between the departments of Beni (Moxos province) and Cochabamba (part of Chapare and Ayopaya provinces). Due to the modernisation and development viewpoint of the government, in negotiation with Brazil, the state planned the construction of a transoceanic highway that would cross the area, without considering indigenous perspectives<sup>15</sup>. On August 15, 2011, TIPNIS peoples marched for two months, from Beni to La Paz, in defence of their indigenous territory. According to most of the personal communications I have had with the NGOs, the situation of TIPNIS is by them considered to be the final break between the state interests and civil society. It reflects the government position caught between a government discourse on the one hand focusing on indigenous peoples “living well”, and on the other hand, the official conception and implementation of development, mainly influenced by a continued politics of neo-extractivism.

#### ***4.2.1. Strategies for agrarian development (2006– 2016).***

The discussion about the economic and development lines of Bolivia is visible in the national strategies for agrarian development. In 2012, the state passed the “Framework law of Mother Earth and Integral development for living well”. The first part of the law follows the discourse of alternative development that the government was planning at the beginning of its political project. The law establishes a vision and principles of integral development in balance with the Mother Earth (Law 300, 2012). It takes account of indigenous cosmovisions in Bolivia. Moreover, joined to lines for non-marketing the environmental functions of the Mother Earth, the law presents mitigation and adaptation mechanisms for comprehensive and sustainable management and exploitation of forests and life systems (Law 300, 2012).

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<sup>15</sup> The plan of the road came from the Brazilian state, as an ambitious project that could allow the transport of Brazilian commodities from the western expanses to the northern Chile via Bolivia (Webber, 2015, p. 317).

On the other hand, agrarian development proposal of the Patriotic Agenda 2025 promotes the transformation of lands and woods (changing the agrarian and forestry systems with integrated, ecological and sustainable perspectives), markets, and natural resources industry in benefit of the local peoples (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2007, p. 136).

As such, it is considered that the government policy and positions are similar to the extractive politics promoted by the capitalist state in the 1970s (Córdoba & Jansen, 2014, p. 483). As Vergara-Camus and Kay mention (2017, p. 241), most of the left-wing governments in Latin America promised reforms in agrarian policies, including redistribution of land and policies for peasants and indigenous; but, they did not manage or even attempted to alter the model of rural development that came from the neoliberal globalization. The state, through the industrialisation of natural resources and agrarian production, considers agrarian development mainly in terms of agribusiness.

This position has been criticised by the local and global civil society. The priority of extractive, industrialisation, and commoditization of agriculture and the exportation of raw materials contradicts the principles of 'living well'. Moreover, critics are also pointing to the overlook of the state to familiar agriculture that is essential in the Andean area, emphasising more the industrial production in the east of the country (N. Informant, personal communication, April 15, 2017).

Connecting the idea of production with local development, the law of the Communal Agrarian Productive Revolution was enacted in 2011 (Law 144, 2011). The law promotes the creation of the Communal Economic Organisation (OECOM) as a new type of communal organisation, in parallel with the peasant and indigenous local organisations. The OECOM are constituted as small enterprises promoted by the state.

In the line with modernisation and technology implementation, presented in the Patriotic Agenda 2025, the Irrigation Decade law 2015-2025 was enacted in 2015 (Law 745, 2015). The main aim of the Irrigation Decade law is to achieve one million of hectares of agricultural land to promote the agrarian production in Bolivia. Therefore, 75% of the national funds for the agriculture is destined to support and promote irrigation (F. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

Furthermore, in 2008, following the discourse of sovereignty and the promotion of agrarian technology, the state created the National Institute for Agrarian Innovation and Forestry (INIAF). The purpose was to close SIBTA functions and centralise agrarian services and seed production in national programs (seed certification) (Supreme Decree 29611, 2008). SIBTA activities had so far been in the hands of private foundations and NGOs. The national gene banks, for instance, had been under the control of NGOs and universities, but were now taken away by the INIAF.

The INIAF was created with the support of international funds. More than 73% of its implementation was covered by the international aid (Hameleers, *et al.*, 2012, p. 28). Hence, with the support of the World Bank and COSUDE, the INIAF opened calls for projects to work in coordination with other organisations: technical assistance funds for communities and municipalities; research funds open to NGOs and universities; and innovation funds for NGOs, private enterprises, and associations (F. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

It was in 2011 when the government started to finance the INIAF covering 77% of its budget (Hameleers, *et al.*, 2012, p. 28). According to one of my informants, INIAF faced reduced funding by the end of 2016. Currently COSUDE is supporting their re-engineering, and the government determined to centralise their activities. *'You give funds to four NGOs, the four NGOs have projects with you. They go to the field and work. For the beneficiaries that work is from the four NGOs, and from the INIAF, nothing'* (F. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). Through the contracts with the NGOs, the state wanted to have presence on the communities. The demanded presence was not only as part of its strategies of governmentality, expanding ideologies without the consent of the society (Murray Li, 2007, p. 275). It was more related to a political propaganda. The state wanted to be recognized as donor of the activities.

Part of the agrarian development strategy is work led by the state. Even if there is a notion of decentralisation, the government has through the national plan of development taken the role as the main development executor. *'The government says, I do not want 20 boats, not four, I want to be the ship'* (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). Unlike during SIBTA period, the centralised agrarian development has the intention to reach even to the remote and inaccessible places directly by state instances (G. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). Yet, the resources and funds are reduced.



#### ***4.2.2. The NGOs in the second period.***

The position of the government about NGOs was clear in 2011, when the Vice President Álvaro García-Linera published the book “The “ngo-ism”, the childhood disease of the right-wing”. The book is a response of a document written by people who worked on NGOs, supported the Process of Change and now were criticising it. In the book, García-Linera refers to them as ‘resentful’ for acting in contrast the Process of Change, because their activities were observed by the social organisations (García-Linera, 2011, p. 7). The vice president connects in its analysis the NGOs with the neoliberalism. He works with the duality: right-wing and left-wing as the only political categories inside the state. There is no space for being critic. If the NGOs do not support the process of change, in his analysis, is because they respond to neoliberal ideas.

Is in that sense that the NGOs are not considered strategic partners for the government as in the previous period, because of their knowledge, capabilities and their freedom in decisions and actions. Currently, the situation of Bolivian NGOs is determined by three elements. First, the Bolivia economic situation has changed, it is no longer a low income country, but is now has changed into a country of lower middle incomes. Second, the Great Recession in 2008 affected the funds of international NGOs worldwide, which led to a stricter prioritisation of their work, and consequently the aid to Bolivia was reduced. Finally, with the national agenda for development, there are economic and administrative regulations for the non-profit organisations.

The enacted regulations are for international aid and national NGOs. As part of its sovereignty, unlike the first period, the state manages a different treatment for international funds. In the New Constitution, national investment is prioritised over foreign ones, so foreign investment has to be submitted to Bolivian jurisdiction, laws and authorities (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).

For national NGOs, the state decreed a law in 2013 about the endowment of Legal Entities (Law 351, 2013). The law 351, along with its regulation, has provoked criticism that comes from the NGOs and national and international public opinion. The reason is that it provides legal entity only to the organisations that have their statutes connected with the national development plan to achieve the Patriotic Agenda. In other words, only those closely associated with national plans are recognised as legal entities. In case the NGOs with legal entity do not

follow these national lines, the NGO would be revoked (Law 351, 2013). The law does not give any aperture or chance for a trial. If the NGO is revoked, it means the end of projects, support as well as jobs.

Even through the informants of the NGOs consider the importance to have a regulation, they do not agree with the laws that were enacted in relation to their activities. They do not only consider the required process bureaucratic, they criticised the lack of possibilities for the NGOs to defend themselves against a potential revocation. Susana Eróstegui, the president of the National Union of Institutions for the Social-Action Work (UNITAS), where CENDA and CIPCA are enrolled, criticised the law as one of the strictest in the country, as it infringes the right of free organisation, and is an obstacle for NGOs' organisation and work (Eróstegui, 2017). In addition to the law, there are other requirements that the state demands, as the registration of NGOs in the Vice-Ministry of Public Investment and External Finance (VIPFE) for the control of their incomes.

For instance, in announcing the discovery of an oil field in Santa Cruz, President Morales expressed, 'I want to say that any NGO or foundation that will avoid the natural resources exploitation, will get out of the country' (Los Tiempos, 2015a). In 2012 the government expelled USAID, accusing the U.S. Government agency for interfere peasant organisations (Paredes, 2013). In 2013, due to the TIPNIS march, the Danish NGO IBIS that was supporting the indigenous group was expelled. When IBIS was expelled, Fernando Vargas, one of the leaders of the TIPNIS, commented, '[the NGOs] have been with him (Morales) and now that he is in the government, he is taking them away. What is the reason? What he wants is that no one could help us technically, give us an orientation, so we submit to the government' (Los Tiempos, 2013).

Currently, there are 2176 NGOs in Bolivia, but only 250 could renew their legal entity (Los Tiempos, 2015b). Merely those are eligible to participate in calls for projects that comes with funds channelized by the government. From the amount of NGOs in the country, only those have the state's approval of being following the Patriotic Agenda and supporting the national development plan in their statutes. These NGOs every two years should renew their legal entity. In this process, the state controls if they are achieving what is established in their statutes.

### 4.3. Analytical summary

In order to analyse the positions of Bolivian political models towards the Andean agrarian NGOs and rural development from 1996 to 2016, there are three points to be considered.

The first relates to state governmentality, in Foucault's terms (1991). Both in the neoliberalist (1996-2005) and post-neoliberal/commodities consensus state (2006-2016), the introduction of economic models in political practice affected the state's relationships with the civil society. For instance, the neoliberal state used strategies of decentralisation, popular participation and privatisation to exercise power in the civil society. Regalsky and Ortega (2010, p. 42) called these strategies 'mechanisms of indirect government and control'. The state gave a framework of an active and included civil society to extent governmental mechanisms to control individualities and organisations. On the other hand, the post-neoliberal/commodities consensus state emerged as a government of social, indigenous and peasants' movements, creating an idea of a civil society in power. However, it implemented a centralised strategy of development, where the state is in charge of resources and services distribution. Also, with the idea of the "state as civil society" (due to the seemingly massive support of peasants, indigenous and social movements), the presence of state control is strong and even stronger with an increased focus centralisation. As such, civil society is increasingly dependent on the government.

The second point refers to the national agrarian development. During the period of neoliberalism, the state required services from the NGOs as mechanisms to work in agrarian development, following the coproduction model (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073). The official line of agrarian development was intimately connected to the Green Revolution and market. The state, through foundations, collected the demands of the peasants and market, and NGOs offered their supplies (agrarian technology, technical assistance, and marketing, among others). In parallel, there were NGOs that worked against this approach, with an agroecological focus and from indigenous and peasants' cosmology. In the second period, the state took the responsibility of agrarian development. Following the Patriotic Agenda 2025, which gives national outlines of development, there is an increased demand of "productivity" from the state, and plans of modernization and mechanisation of the agriculture. The state leads agrarian development, assuming the role that the NGOs had in the first period. If a NGO wants to continue its activities in this field, with official foreign funds, it requires legal entity, and

consequently, to follow the national development plan. Again, the NGOs are increasingly dependent upon the politics of the state.

The third point has to do with the NGOs' political and legal framework. As mentioned above, in the first period, NGOs were strategic partners for the state for the implementation of development services. National and foreign policies and funds were open to any NGO. Due to the affluence of social movements at the turn of the century, a demand of regulating the NGOs actions came from the parliament members, but without any concrete result. It was in the second period when the state enacted a regulation for the NGOs. The regulation demanded NGOs to follow the Patriotic Agenda 2025 in order to have legal entity. The law stated that if the NGO got legal entity, but works against what is established in their statutes, the organisation would be revoked without any chance for a trial. In addition, there is reduced funds for the NGOs, and the state has taken the responsibility of development and services distribution, which was the main role of these organisation in the first period. The state in this model tries to make mandatory the inclusion of NGOs as part of its governmentality.

To understand NGOs agency in the relationship with the state, this political framework is not only important as a context for the relationship. It is also important as the power relations are 'under state control' that comes from the governmentality of the state (Foucault, 1982, p. 793). Foucault underlines that the state power is an individualizing and a totalizing forms of power (Foucault, 1982, p. 782). It is in the "individualizing" that the state exercises power over the NGOs, creating a structure from the governmental instances or regulations to control these organisations. I am not saying that this structure does not allow NGOs to exercise their power, but there are forces and mechanisms imposed by the state governs the relationship between the state and NGOs.

## CHAPTER FIVE. ANDEAN AGRARIAN NGOS' POLICIES AND ACTIONS TOWARDS THE STATE

Thirty years ago, in 1987, a seminal publication launched NGOs as major objects of development research, noticing the importance to study their roles in development (Opoku-Mensah, 2007, p. 9). The publication was a result of NGOs growth in development practice and studies, restructuring state-society relations (2007, p. 10). In the Bolivian context, one would see the surge of NGOs around the same time, during the 1980s, after 18 years of dictatorial governments that the growth of NGOs expanded. Before, some of them were civil society organisations, but not yet recognised as NGOs.

Hence, the agrarian NGOs in Bolivia were emerged for the first time during this period. There were three relevant situations, mentioned by Regalsky (2017), which activated the work of NGOs in the Andean area: First, the recovery of democracy in 1982; second, the formalisation of the Unique Confederation of Rural Labourers in Bolivia (CSUTCB) that was created in 1979; and third, a national drought which was caused by *El Niño* (1982-1983).

The above mentioned drought affected 35% of the national territory in seven departments of the country<sup>16</sup> (Prudencio, 1984). Prudencio (1984) states that the most affected departments were Potosí, Cochabamba and Oruro. Between 80 - 100% of their agrarian production was destroyed or severely affected; with impact in 60% of their population and 55% of their territory (Prudencio, 1984). In addition, due to the *minifundia* and the costs of seeds and inputs, Andean production problems already existed. According to Prudencio (1984), to face this situation, the Bolivian state made a credit plan for peasants, so they could purchase seeds and agrochemicals. Moreover, the state also provided economic support for sowing, with emphasis on the crops of wheat, rice, corn and potato.

Besides being important for assisting in the national drought, the state looked at the NGOs as a tool for strengthening its links with indigenous and peasants' communities. This state strategy was a result of the breakdown of the Military-Peasant Pact (1964-1974), and the creation of the CSUTCB, which meant a direct defiance from the peasants to the territorial authority of the

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<sup>16</sup> The drought affected especially the Andean area in 90%. Then, 70% in the valleys and 10% in the eastern plains (Prudencio, 1984).

state (Regalsky, 2009, p. 52). Is in this sense, the democracy joined the CSUTCB with private development organisations not recognised yet as NGO's, and religious organisations to be part of the 'Emergency plan 1983-1985', supported by international funds (Prudencio, 1984).

Moreover, the NGOs and the IBTA started to work together following the Green Revolution approach, in order to increase the productivity of the Andean area (F. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). In parallel, some NGOs contrasted the official line of rural development with an agroecological approach, focusing on the communities' cosmology (Regalsky, 2017). While the Green Revolution meant capitalist agrarian development strategies, the agroecological approach supported traditional agricultural strategies, with an understanding of the communities lives as closely connected to the environment (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

This is the context in which CENDA, CIPCA and PROINPA were established. Since their beginnings, the three cases have had a different focus and different ideological lines. The chapter describes their policies and actions, the influence of the state's political models on their work, the capabilities and knowledge that they built during these years, and their sustainable strategies to continue working in the agrarian sector.

Lewis (2007) connects NGOs' sustainability directly with the 'aid industry'. The author refers to sustainability of NGOs as economic stability that could be financed by the international aid, like for most of the NGOs, or, in the case of 'go it alone' NGOs, with voluntary labour, contributions of local and global communities or the market (2007, p. 74). Another important point related to NGOs sustainability, is to create 'a sense of ownership of intervention fostered among beneficiaries', together with a well economic management of funds in the implementation of programs and projects (2007, p. 75).

Lewis mentions two different routes to get official funding; one model is that NGOs themselves creates projects and programs and present them to donors; the second model is the contract of NGOs by the donors 'to undertake specific roles and tasks in particular contexts, within donors' or governments' own projects and programmes' (2007, p. 76). Both routes have been hampered in Bolivia the last years due to the international reduction of funds for the country and national regulations for NGOs. Even though I will explain the NGOs own strategies of sustainability, the question remains open to see if those strategies are for sustainability or for survival.

## 5.1. CENDA

The team that founded CENDA previously worked at the Appropriate Technology Centre of the Simón I. Patiño Foundation in Cochabamba. It was a department of social research linked to the Foundation agrarian technology centre. The aim of the department was to analyse peasants' perceptions of agrarian technology application (Regalsky, 2017). Due to some contrasts between the social research department and the agrarian technology centre<sup>17</sup>, the Foundation offered funds to the department to create an autonomous NGO.

Hence, the Communication and Andean Development Centre (CENDA) was founded in 1985. By then, the researchers already started the distribution of an agrarian newspaper that allowed the sharing of knowledge with local peasants, and established their first relationships with Raqaypampa community<sup>18</sup> (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

CENDA was created in order to research and illustrate the effects of the Green Revolution and the capitalist development in the Andean communities (Regalsky, 2017). The NGO's mission is to support management strategies of natural resources, and land and territory of indigenous and peasants' communities and urban popular sectors (CENDA, 2017). To achieve this mission, CENDA has worked with international aid and NGOs with similar principles, to secure that funds were not threatened by disagreement in terms of ideology (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017). Their main position has been working alongside and supporting the indigenous peoples. This approach gave the NGO the opportunity to work with Raqaypampa, whose people denied the politics and implementation of the state's attempt at the Green Revolution. Raqaypampa was a communal model, with own strategies to manage their land and economy (Regalsky, 2017).

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<sup>17</sup> As anecdotes of the "clashes" between both groups, one study's results showed non-viability of the techniques applied by the agrarian technology centre, since peasants were losing money with one technology sets that they offered. Hence, the department published those results in an article (Regalsky, 2017). In addition, the newspaper of the department published peasants' perception about a variety of corn that the centre promoted, where peasants' criticised the corn size in relation with local varieties (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> Raqaypampa is a native peasant indigenous territory with own autonomy, located in Mizque, Cochabamba. The achievement of their autonomy has been a process of more than 30 years supported by the technical team of CENDA until the first draft of their Autonomy Statutes in 2009 (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

With this experience and relationship with the peasants' organisation, CENDA became part of the Pact of Unity in 2004. The Pact of Unity was the articulation of the joint demands of indigenous and peasants' organisations to be presented in the Constituent Assembly (Garcés, 2010, p. 13). This was a moment of expansion for CENDA, both in terms of personnel and for the areas in which they worked. By that time, They worked in four departments of the country (La Paz, Sucre, Potosí and Cochabamba), with a staff around the 50 people (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017). However, after the Constituent Assembly in 2007, CENDA faced a rapid decrease of personnel in relation to the funding reduction. Today the staff is around ten people (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

The outreach of CENDA is currently focused in two communities, Ayopaya in Cochabamba, and Poopó in Oruro. Their work includes action-research, communication and promotion of debate, technical support and inter-organisational partnerships with national and international organisations that follow similar ideological lines. The NGO thematic areas are food security and indigenous peasants' strategies, as well as collective management of natural resources, land and territory (CENDA, 2017).

### ***5.1.1. Collective management of natural resources.***

CENDA put particular emphasis on the communal management of land and territory. The work with land and territory was connected to land's collective titling and local autonomy process (CENDA, 2017). This approach, joined to all the information and discussion generated, were vital for later being included in the process of the Constituent Assembly (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

In the 1990s, the work mainly took place in Raqaypampa, where the NGO supported the community with the first titling process of a former hacienda, declaring it as a Native Community Land (TCO)<sup>19</sup> (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017). Moreover, CENDA worked in the Department of Ayopaya with concrete procedures related to the TCOs. The purpose was to declare 1 million hectares as TCO. Until 2009, half million

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<sup>19</sup> According to the Law of National Service of the Agrarian Reform (Law 1715, 1996), the TCO (Native Community Lands) is a geographical space where indigenous peoples and communities have traditional access, developing their own economic, social and cultural organisation to ensure their survival and development. These lands are inalienable, indivisible, irreversible, and collective, untouchable and indefeasible, conformed by other communities and associations.



hectares were recognised as communal lands, but in that year a group of people in Morochata (a municipality of Ayopaya) rejected the project. One of my informants mentioned how

*[That land] had relation to Beni and the TIPNIS, which is an area with natural wealth in three dimensions: mining, oil and forest. Hence, many leaders rejected the TCOs. In addition, by that time, there was a group of peasants in Cochabamba against the TCOs because they considered them as “latifundium” [concentration of land], due to the reduced population in the area. In relation to the titling process, there was opposition from a group which claimed that TCO was meant for CENDA, and the land title would bear CENDA’s name instead (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).*

Hence, the TCO titling was interrupted. According to my informant (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017), the groups that stopped the titling process were associated with the official government. The main reason to stop the titling was the connection of this land with the TIPNIS, and, as it was explained in Chapter Four, the state has considerable interest in the natural resources of this area.

In the work with autonomies, CENDA promoted municipal indigenous autonomy in Raqaypampa. In respect, my informant said, *‘before Evo, communities had a clear view about communal self-governance. The position in front the state was clear, and they had their own decisions to define their own destiny. Aspects that changed after Evo’* (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017). With the participation in the Constituent Assembly process, the presence of the state in the municipalities through infrastructures (schools, sports grounds and roads)<sup>20</sup>, in addition to the leaders and organisations that joined the MAS guidelines, the indigenous autonomies are now connected to the state. This raises the question of whether, we can we still talk about autonomies? The idea “state as civil society”, where indigenous and peasants movements and organisations formed part of the state, made the communities accept the introduction of the state in their autonomies and decisions. Whilst the state interrupted the communal organisations by decentralisation and creation of OTBs in the

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<sup>20</sup> According to Peres, the state uses up to 60% of the public spending in roads, as a liberal tradition. The roads are used for access of the state, commercialization, migration, and as political propaganda (Peres, 2017).

1990s, it now gets inside the communal through the communal voluntary acceptance of a politics of centralisation.

That was the situation in Raqaypampa. Hence, in 2008, after more than 20 years working in the area, CENDA decided to reject Danish funds from DANIDA that were destined to continue with the autonomy process. One of my informants explained that before closing the activities in Raqaypampa, they let the first draft of the autonomy statutes with the participation of the grassroots, recovering proposals for education, economy, social and justice management (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

Around 2013, CENDA started to work in the area of Poopó<sup>21</sup>, Oruro, with the problem of water currently affected by mining pollution. For this activity, the NGO purposed to empower local people by the community monitoring of water, to have information about the quality of the consuming water. Even though local people understand the benefits of the water control, the communities are more interested in immediate solutions to face the contamination of heavy metals from the mining. The state is responsible for providing solutions, therefore, CENDA's focus has been on enabling communities to make well-founded demands to the authorities (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

### ***5.1.2. Food security and indigenous strategies.***

CENDA's work towards food security particularly applied indigenous knowledge and agroecology. Part of its work is centred on the practices of botanic seeds recollection (from the flower) and the use of native seeds, so the peasants can keep their families and communities financial independence (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017). The NGO considers that this line of work is necessary to avoid the food crisis, climate change, the privatisation of seeds, and the dependence of the local families to the agrarian technology, which often ends in a situation of debts for the peasants (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

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<sup>21</sup> Poopó is well known in the country due to a lake with the same name, which used to be the second biggest lake of Bolivia. In 2015 the lake dried completely. The Bolivian government mentions that it is because of the El Niño and the climate change, and did not take any responsibility about this situation; but some of the water has been diverted for agriculture and mining, due to mining in the area (Howard, 2016).

During different governmental systems, the situation of agricultural seeds has not changed. The state politics are still related to seeds certification and control of the seeds use (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017). An important part of CENDA's work is to help communities with the seeds rescue, and not become dependent of the enterprises that manage the use of seeds and food (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

### **5.1.3. Communication and education.**

Part of the organisation's activities have been publishing the *Conosur Ñawpaqman*, a bilingual (Spanish/Quechua) newspaper that since 1983 has presented information about communities' interests and perceptions. The newspaper reinforces the collective and social-environmental rights about land, natural resources and territory, with a critical perspective of the capitalist market and the Green Revolution (CENDA, 2017).

Since 2003, the *Conosur Ñawpaqman* expanded its outreach due to the mobilisations of peasants' organisations, the removal of the President Sánchez-de-Lozada and the Constituent Assembly organisation (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017). They reached a maximum of copies in January 2006 when Morales was nominated as president, with 12000 copies. Currently, they publish 2000 copies (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017). "As CENDA, we always said that the newspaper measures how people are, their motivation to be informed, to put in the newspaper their things, read, know what is going on here and there. That is reduced to zero" (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017). Following this logic, the reduction of this newspaper's outreach in the Andean Valleys could mean accordance or stability of the communities, a symbol of no interest for a change. A strategy that CENDA applied to continue with the newspaper, is to strength *El Añaskitu*, a children's education supplement which has a good reception by the population.

It is important to mention that CENDA since 1990 worked with education in Raqaypampa, supporting the experience of training indigenous professors with their own curriculum and academic calendar. Regalsky and Haaland (2016, p. 63) mention that 'the people of Raqaypampa, with the support of an NGO [CENDA], established a local peasant school and an adult education system, taught in Quechua and adapted to local everyday life and needs'. This experience related to the Education Communal Council has been a base for the Educational Reform in 1994 (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017), and currently, the government is in charge of those programs (Regalsky, 2017).

#### **5.1.4. Alternatives and challenges of sustainability.**

Due to the direct relationship of the current state with the leadership of peasants' organisations, CENDA decided to focus its work on communities and families, leaving its connections with the main rural organisations, but continuing to work with projects and consultancies (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

CENDA counts with projects that could sustain the organisation for at least three more years. The NGO has been trying to obtain a legal entity, but it has been refused. As of yet, they continue with this procedure. By the moment, as a way to get funds, the personal have the idea to construct a Historical Documentation Centre with information about the social organisations and the peasantry movement in Bolivia (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

In the case of the newspaper, CENDA explores the possibility to introduce their educational supplement in rural and urban schools as an educational material with the endorsement of the Educational law "Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez" (Law 70, 2015). *El Añaskitu* has a connection to the law through its bilingual contents, based on knowledge and know-how of the indigenous peoples. Hence, the NGO is working the supplement with pedagogical focus and writing about educational topics of interest to the schools. The aim is to be recognised as a media endorsed by the state for its use in the education, but with autonomy in its contents (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

## **5.2. CIPCA**

The Centre for Research and Promotion of the Peasantry (CIPCA) began as an initiative of three young Jesuits in 1970, who in a context of a dictatorial government, had a focus on the collaborative work to support the social change of the country (Gianotten, 2006, p. 39). The organisation started its functions in La Paz, in the Tiwanaku parish church, with the objectives 'to achieve the training of the Aymara's peasant, to support the reorganisation of its institutions, making them dynamic and functional, and to seek a change in the peasants' socioeconomic structures' (2006, p. 57). It was in 1994 when the organisation became an independent NGO, separated from the Jesuits. Currently, CIPCA is a national NGO based in La Paz, with offices in Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Beni, Pando, and in the Chaco (between the South of Santa Cruz and the East of Chuquisaca).

Its work in Cochabamba started in 1976, with the main to promote and strengthen peasants' productive organisations, since their power reduced by the military-peasants pact in 1967. Also, CIPCA supported collective production against the *minifundia* (Gianotten, 2006, pp. 83-84). In its initial years, the NGO worked with the municipality of Tiraque, by promoting the organisation of potato producers. After the dictatorial conflicts, in 1987 CIPCA reorganised its functions with a 10-year plan (1988-1997), focused on community and territory, and giving more importance to organisations than to productivity in order to 'generate peasants' power' (Oblitas, Rojas, Alarcón, & Soliz, 2016, p. 20). The areas of work were Sacaba, Sacabamba and Tiraque, zones that faced different challenges at the beginning of the 1980s, due to the national economic crisis and the drought, which reduced the potato production in 70% (2016, p. 11).

In this period, the activities implemented by the NGO were focused on peasants' politic organisational aspects. Their work was organised in three areas with own strategies: the "Work Community Model" for the economic-productive area, a "Micro-regional Plan" for the organisational area, and the "Popular Historical Project", for its ideological area (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 20). The "Work Community Model" considered the community as a fundamental unit to move towards a new society model; hence, the community was conceived as an organisation with common property of production means, able to cover familiar consumptions and necessities, with equal distribution of benefits, and self-managed, in order to guaranty productive development (2016, p. 20). In addition, the "Micro-regional Plan" aimed to elaborate plans in a micro-region territorial approach, to generate more participation and inter-communal connections (2016, p. 26). Finally, the "Popular Historical Project" came from the organisational concern, 'how to design a Bolivian society in which peasants and native peoples feel as citizens with fully participating?' (2016, p. 29). The guidelines of the project were a decentralised society without class exploitation, and a multinational state respectful of different cultures, territories, authorities and communal autonomies (2016, p. 30). These topics were fundamental for the participation of CIPCA in the construction of the new constitution.

Following these guidelines, CIPCA's focus has been until now on strengthening peasant and indigenous organisations and formulating public policies related to rural development. After the Popular Participation law was enacted, CIPCA Cochabamba changed its strategy in 1997, adding communal lands and territories' regularisation and titling, and implementation of the law, towards participation and social control (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 37).

In addition, during the period 2005-2010, CIPCA worked with land, territory and natural resources, sustainable rural economy, intercultural democracy, and governments' efficiency (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 60). The strategic plan from 2011, based on the new Political Constitution, also focused on sustainable rural development and democratic autonomies (2016, p. 60). By 2016 the organisation followed two lines: to strengthen peasants' economy through productive development, and self-management of their organisations (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). Therefore, the NGO current mission is to contribute to the organisational, political, economic and cultural strengthening of the indigenous and peasants peoples, towards the construction of a democratic, autonomic, diverse, intercultural, equitable, and economically and environmentally sustainable Bolivia (CIPCA, 2017).

CIPCA changed its strategic plan in relation to the state model and interests. As one of my informants explains, *'the relation have not been against [the state], by the contrary, we applied what was main and necessary. CIPCA supported the implementation of the municipal governments and strengthened organisations [...] CIPCA is not radical'* (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). Hence, CIPCA supported the implementation of the popular participation, and is now following the National Patriotic Agenda 2025; presenting and aiming to achieve their statutes, through the political framework of the state.

### **5.2.1. Political advocacy.**

The work with political advocacy is related to the elaboration of public policy proposals, in a direct relationship with the departmental assembly, governments, and peasants' federations (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). During the 90's, and after the implementation of the Popular Participation law, political advocacy was demanded by peasants' organisations for their participation and public control (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). As part of the Pact of Unity, at the end of 2006, the NGO supported the "process of change"<sup>22</sup>, working with peasants' communities, unions and municipalities in the training and reflection about their empowerment (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017).

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<sup>22</sup> The "process of change" meant civil society movements demanding, above all, a new political model against the neoliberalism.

Nowadays, there is no demand by the authorities in providing political training to the grassroots as in the 1990s (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017). In that regard, my informant comments, *‘in some municipalities, the authorities are avoiding political training. Hence, the authorities, who came from organisations, can stay longer in the municipality. They are evading the grassroots training in order to avoid a renewal of authorities’* (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017).

In 2012, peasants’ leaders demanded CIPCA to open a department for working directly with the departmental assembly members. *‘Most of the departmental assembly members are from the provinces. CIPCA supported them, and they trust in CIPCA. Therefore, they used to come. In order to have a support unity to help them, is that the department [of policy advocacy] was created. We are critics of the government, but we also follow this ideal’* (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017).

Therefore, by the support of local authorities, CIPCA’s political advocacy has plenty of interaction with peasants’ official organisations. In this level, the activities generate analysis and policies on topics like climate change and drought. The analysis that implies more reflections and active criticisms are with peasants’ communities (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). This point will be further developed in Chapter Six, as part of the analysis about the support of NGOs in indigenous and peasants’ participation.

### **5.2.2. Productive development.**

During the first years of its existence, the NGO had a work connected to the Green Revolution. However, in the current focus is on agroecology among ‘smallholders’<sup>23</sup> in communities of Cochabamba and Potosí (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). The NGO works with five components to encourage productive development: irrigation, agricultural diversification, management and livestock health, OECAS, and management of natural resources (O. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017).

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<sup>23</sup> The direct translation of the word “smallholder” in Spanish is “*pequeño productor*”, which means, “small producer”, not a person who owns a small land. Personnel of CIPCA and PROINPA use this word to emphasise peasants’ productive potentiality.

Furthermore, since the 1990s, CIPCA has worked with the transformation of the waterless agricultural system to an irrigation system, in the municipalities of Sacabamba, Anzaldo and Acasio. CIPCA had successful experiences, due to the support and reproduction of the irrigation technologies on a major scale by governmental instances. The last years, following the Patriotic Agenda 2025, CIPCA continues its work with irrigation as part of the National Irrigation Decade.

### ***5.2.3. Alternatives and challenges of sustainability.***

Unlike CENDA and PROINPA, CIPCA has a legal entity, complying with the state's new requirements. As my informant explains, this process presented some barriers due to *'political issues'*. *'CIPCA supported humanely the TIPNIS march. Hence, we were on "the black list", as it was called. But then again, in the last years, we got a legal entity, and it did not take more than two months'* (R. Informant, personal communication, February 09, 2017). Currently, CIPCA work focus is connected with the lines of the national development plan, since it is related to irrigation and support peasants' authorities and leaders.

Without a legal entity, the organisation lost important opportunities to access funds (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017). Due to this situation, many NGOs disappeared, but CIPCA continues to focus on projects as the main strategy for its sustainability. 85% of their resources are projects based, hence, in 2010 the personnel was trained to generate projects in the new approaches of the national context (R. Informant, personal communication, February 09, 2017). In addition, CIPCA has common shares in small-scale with some entrepreneur, related to food production and exportation.

In the last 10 years, the reduction of personnel has been from 40, in the first period, to around 15 from 2006 to 2016 (V. Informant, personal communication, February 08, 2017). A direct group affected by funds reduction is the staff. *'As technicians, we work with the projects. They hire us to implement a project, but when the project ends, our employment relation with the organisation ends. If the project continues, we continue working without any problem'* (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017).

Even CIPCA has a legal entity, in general, the official calls for agrarian projects has been reduced. According to R. Informant (personal communication, February 09, 2017), the calls are more related to climate change, environment, sexual and reproductive education, but not to



rural development or indigenous peoples. Thus, the funding opportunities for the NGO are becoming scarce.

### **5.3. PROINPA**

The life of PROINPA started during the 80's as the Potato Project of the Swiss Agency (COSUDE) in Bolivia. "*COSUDE had a high influence on national policies, so PROINPA became the National Potato Program. We were not anymore a project, we were part of the technological structure of the state*" (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). In the 1980s early and 1990s, the research activities of the Program were directly financed by COSUDE (without any call for tender or selection procedure), with a loan from the World Bank by the state, and technical support of the CIP (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

By the mid of the 1990s, the IBTA started to fall due to the national policies, and PROINPA, with COSUDE support, looked for the opportunity to become an NGO to continue its labour. In April 1998, the National Potato Programme was converted into the 'Promotion and Innovation of Andean Products Foundation' (PROINPA), joining technicians doing research on potato, wheat and quinoa who worked at the IBTA (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). PROINPA's mission has been, 'to promote the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources, sovereignty and food security, and the agrarian areas' competitiveness for the benefit of farmers, agrarian sector and the society, through the research and the technology innovation (PROINPA, 2017).

The work of PROINPA was based on agrarian research and the application of participative methodologies that involved farmers in the process. By 2000, taking the model of PROINPA Foundation, SIBTA implemented its activities creating four foundations around Bolivia to raise farmers' agrarian demands (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). In this sense, PROINPA was inserted into the '*market of technical assistance*' as a provider of agrarian research and technology innovation for the foundations (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

The SIBTA allowed PROINPA to expand geographically, being in Cochabamba, La Paz, Chuquisaca, Tarija, Oruro and Potosí, and thematically, working in the areas of integrated management of crops, agrobiodiversity, agroindustry and socio-economy (B. Informant,

personal communication, January 10, 2017). In the same period, PROINPA increased its number of projects (more than 50 from different funders), staff (more than 250 in the whole country), and resources (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). In 2016, with the challenges of funding, the personnel were 90 people, and the regional offices were halved.

### ***5.3.1. Agrarian research and innovation.***

PROINPA is mainly an agrarian research organisation. During their first years, as a state programme, their work was focused only on potato research in laboratories and plots. The researchers were publishing reports and articles, focusing on methodologies, tests, data collection, statistical analysis and conclusions (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). At that time they did not have the concern about funds or technical support. They had the steady funding of COSUDE, so PROINPA followed the donor's strategies, principles and purposes, and the technical support of CIP in all their activities (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

When PROINPA was turned into a foundation in 1998, the research increasingly applied participatory methodologies, and PROINPA's focus turned towards answering the demands and needs of the market and farmers (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). Some of the technical staff that worked with the IBTA as researchers and students, continued their professional carries with the NGO, with a solid base on technical research (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

The research aimed to achieve innovation within integrated crop management, through technologies that potentially could improve the quality and increase the quantity of crop production for the market (K. Informant, personal communication, February 10, 2017). Is during this period, the 1990s, where the demands by the state and international donors to connect peasants with the market increased (D. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017). My informant explains that this change of paradigm in the research work has been a challenge for PROINPA's researchers,

[...] *by funding the Foundation they had to change their focus. 'We are no more a research project. We have to work on diffusion. We have to be in contact with the agricultures'. That was our objective, transfer the technology that we were developing. [...] The personnel had to change again their chip with the new model. You have to be more competitive in the market. Funders do not fund 100% anymore, only 70 or 80%, and PROINPA became a co-financier. Funders ask for counterpart that should be covered by farmers or their organisations, but it does not happen* (D. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

PROINPA's funding situation, like in the other two cases, was also impacted by the government of the MAS and the Great Recession in 2008. In the national context, COSUDE projects, for instance, needed to follow national policy lines answering to the state demands; hence, their funds for agrarian research went directly to support the INIAF (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

Despite the deficiency of financial resources, the NGO did not change its mission, working 'through research and technology innovation' (PROINPA, 2017). The NGO's internal analysis to continue with its mission is related to a detected effect of PROINPA's innovation on the farmers' economy and livelihoods, so as in the national food security. B. Informant corroborates,

*The country is gaining innovations. I say innovation, not research products. [...] You can say, what is PROINPA's impact? 200 thousand hectares of soya that are using PROINPA's products. Imagine that, 20% of national production. [...] If you take a look at quinoa sector, which organisation in the country produces bio-inputs for organic production?* (Personal communication, January 10, 2017).

The historical line of research, took PROINPA to create agriculture organic products, and insert them into the market. This products answered the state demands created during its first years, where the development model was in harmony with the Mother Earth. Hence, PROINPA created bio-inputs that are 'environmental friendly' (PROINPA, 2017).

Due to the state's concern for increase food massive production, supporting the agribusiness sector, the NGO has seen the necessity to answer to this new context with products. '*The services of PROINPA are no longer the most valued, but the products are. The bio-inputs, the plants with quality, the exotic grains for the market*' (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

As such, the shift from research to innovation became the sustainable alternative of the NGO and the focus of their work related to research. For instance, the 'exotic grains' answer a demand of the state for the exportation of quinoa, among other Andean grains. The state interest on the commercialisation and exportation of this product was visible in 2013 with the boom of the quinoa and the International Year of Quinoa. Currently, quinoa is also called the 'Andean soya', related to the extensive production of the product.

### **5.3.2. Genetic resources and agro-biodiversity.**

As part of the IBTA, the researchers of PROINPA started a collection of Andean tubers, roots and seeds, which increased by the end of the 1990s, when PROINPA became foundation. By then, they used to have funds and projects for the *ex-situ* and *in-situ* conservation to consolidate the gene banks (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017). Since this collection started during the IBTA, in April 2003, the Agriculture Ministry, through the mechanism of the National System of Genetic Resources for the Agriculture and Food (SINARGEAA), gave custody of the different banks to private organisations and universities; in this sense, PROINPA was officially in charge of the Roots and Tubers Bank, and the Andean grains Bank (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

With the change of government in 2006 and the creation of the INIAF in 2008, the state took over the responsibility for the banks previously run by NGOs, as part of the state sovereignty discourse (I will go deeper into the subject in the next chapter). From 2008 to 2010, PROINPA made the transference of the genetic material and the management protocol, teaching to the INIAF staff about the administration of the banks (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

Currently, the focus of the work is related to agrobiodiversity with a systemic approach, considering soil, water, forests, people, and policies (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017). PROINPA had also projects with the National Program Bio-Culture, funded

by COSUDE, which follows the vision of the Framework law of Mother Earth and Integral Development for Living Well (Law 300, 2012). Even though this program belongs to the state, the NGO has been hired by COSUDE, and not directly by the state as in previous times (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

### ***5.3.3. Alternatives and challenges of sustainability.***

Although sustainability was not a concern for PROINPA, currently it takes underpins their daily activities. With the reduction of funds around 2008, PROINPA undertook the “Spin-off strategy”. The “Spin-off strategy” has been taken from international universities and public research centres, where the idea is to “spin-off” the knowledge and innovation by the commercialization of the research results, which ‘will contribute to the economy and social welfare and regional development’ (Helm & Mauroner, 2007, p. 238). Hence, PROINPA continues as a research entity, but generating agrarian technology for commercialization. The NGO applied this model around 2012 with Dutch funds and advises, taking the model from Holland universities’ research centres (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

According to the informants, the challenge of human capital and sustainability is related to three points: first, to maintain the number of personnel, second, to insert the staff into the new paradigm, and third, to train young professional that could continue with the organisation labour.

Even the NGO has been trying to get its legal entity for three years, there is not yet a positive answer from the government (D. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017). Hence, they cannot apply to the state projects’ calls. The way to get contracts from the state is through consultancies, which has been an alternative to get funds by the area of agrobiodiversity (E. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

## **5.4. Analytical summary**

To understand the policies and actions of the Andean agrarian NGOs towards the state’s development plans, it was important to rewind to their foundations and take a look at the context where they first aim emerged. This in order to follow the developing of their knowledge

and capabilities in the last 20 years. Here, I have three points to be discussed. First, the importance of the historical context in which NGOs were founded, second, their strategies of construction and application of their knowledge and capabilities in their work focus, and third, due to the context demands, the use of these capabilities and knowledge in their sustainability.

Considering NGOs as social actors, their work lines construct and are constructed by their knowledge and capabilities, which comes from their own rationality, as well as from the society. Long mentions that ‘on the one hand, the notion that rationality is an intrinsic property of the individual actor, and on the other, that it simply reflects the actor’s structural location in society’ (1990, p. 9). Hence, to understand their work focus, it is relevant to connect it to society and historical context where they were founded. For instance, CIPCA started its labour during the 1970s as a civil organisation in a dictatorial system. Hence, the NGO’s work’s policies bet for a democratic state, guiding their activities behind a democratic framework.

PROINPA and CENDA started their activities during the 1980s, but in different contexts. PROINPA was a project of a foreign aid that had influence in national policies. In that way, PROINPA became a program of the national institution of agrarian research. It became a foundation in 1998. By then, the state was focused on modernising neoliberalism, working with private organisations and enterprises. Hence, PROINPA turned out to be a relevant provider of agrarian research and technical assistance. In the case of CENDA, the NGO started its functions as opposed to the neoliberal official line of development, looking for alternative ways to conceive rural development. In that sense, the NGO gave more value to indigenous and peasants’ life organisation than to the state.

Each NGO has own strategies applied in their work’s policies and actions related to their knowledge and capabilities. CENDA uses its capabilities in the construction of an alternative knowledge to conceive rural development based, in the first place, on autonomy and communal management of natural resources. Its work has a complete synergy with communities, in a dynamic of action research-learning by both actors. This is the main capability that CENDA has constructed.

On the other side, CIPCA works in the framework of the state, with the capability to detect ways to work with peasants’ organisations within the national development models. For instance, during the neoliberal period, they deepened popular participation in rural municipalities, and during the government of Morales, the NGO joined to the national

development model by applying their knowledge in irrigation systems (supporting the Irrigation Decade), and in political assistance to leaders of peasants' organisations. During this period, the capability to accommodate to the state model gave CIPCA the possibility to have a legal entity.

In the case of PROINPA, the organisation started out with research as their main activities involved agrarian research and innovation. A capability that the NGO has is the reading of the context to find possibilities to insert their technical agrarian knowledge, in order to continue with research and agrarian innovations. Hence, during the neoliberal period, the NGO found in the relationship with the state a way to sustain their research activities in the relationship with the state, by being an agrarian service provider. In the commodities consensus/post-neoliberalism model, PROINPA realised that their capabilities and knowledge should be focused on the impacts through their products, and not their services since the government took this responsibility.

The new context required the three NGOs to make use of their agency, not only for the work with rural development, but also to find strategies of sustainability. The concept of Lewis (2007, p. 73) about the sustainability of NGOs, where the routes to get funds are most related to international aid, falls short of what this new context is demanding of NGOs. One could claim that these are merely strategies for survival, but I will argue that NGOs are also using their knowledge and capabilities to look for funds and ways of manoeuvring within a continuously changing political landscape with subsequent changing conditions for operating. At least, PROINPA and CENDA, which do not have a legal entity, are planning ways to continue as NGOs, but at the same time generating their own resources that could fund their activities in the development area and sustain their personnel. As Long says, 'however restricted their choices, actors always face some alternative ways of formulating their objectives and deploying specific modes of action' (1990, p. 9). This is clearly seen in the case of the Andean NGOs discussed in this chapter.

By means of their work lines, the NGOs developed their 'knowledgeability' and 'capability' as tools to exercise their agency in the state (Long, 2001, p. 16). It is through these two elements that they apply their power and influence in the relationship with the state.

## **CHAPTER SIX. INFLUENCE OF NGOS ON THE BOLIVIAN STATE DURING THE LAST 20 YEARS**

So far, I have developed the characteristics of the two Bolivian state models in the last 20 years and the work lines of the NGOs. In both previous chapters, I have illustrated how the state has shown its governmentality through strategies, techniques and procedures to regulate the framework of its relation with NGOs. In this chapter I will further analyse this relationship, but through the agency (power) of NGOs and its influence on the state models.

As social actors, NGOs influence the state through their agency, always with an open possibility of social change (Seur, 1992, p. 119). Based on the interviews, I detected four cases where NGOs exercised its power in the state models. In fact, many of the informants argued that the current government is a result of the NGOs. One of the very visible influences of NGOs was in 2005, with the support to the National Unity Pact in the Constituent Assembly. This process was a result of the support of peasants and indigenous participation, which is included in the analysis.

Another topic is the influence of NGOs in rural development, where they have presented different contributions in relation to their ideologies and work policies, but in a context of a strong governmentality exercised by the state and global society trends. Finally, the knowledge and capabilities that NGOs have built in their personnel, and in rural communities and organisations, must be consider part of their influence in the relationship with the state.

### **6.1. Peasant and indigenous participation**

In the framework of the Popular Participation law (Law 1551, 1994), the NGOs focused more on the active role of indigenous and peasant organisations. Even though the work and methodologies are different in the three cases, the popular participation impacted their projects. PROINPA, for instance, applied participative methodologies for research, taking account of peasants and market demands; CIPCA promoted the law of Popular Participation in communities, by their active participation and policy control; and CENDA, focused on autonomies, remained critical of the law, but supported the participation of indigenous and peasant communities in the political scenario.



PROINPA promoted the participation of peasants in research methodologies, strengthening peasants' skills and collaborating with social and political organisations (agrarian unions), without intervention in political participation (Córdoba, 2014, p. 42). The context was neoliberalism. The aperture to the participation was linked to the conception of peasants as smallholders, taking account of productive demands to insert peasants into the market. These demands not always came from peasants. In many cases, they followed commercial objectives or global development trends (Hameleers, *et al.*, 2012, p. 37). Regardless of where demands came from, the NGO applied participative methodologies that include peasants' perceptions and decisions about crop management.

Following similar lines, but with clear political advocacy, and not the only technical implementation of participatory approaches, CIPCA promoted the law of Popular Participation in communities and local governances by supporting public management, and training authorities and peasant organisations' leaders (P. Informant, personal communication, February 3, 2017). S. Informant says,

*CIPCA was demanded [by the peasant organisations] to support social control and train about access to public spaces in the municipalities. There was a huge demand by peasants to be trained. Currently, most of the authorities in the municipalities, at least 50%, are peasants from the communities. Before that was no possible. The authorities of the municipalities were teachers, lawyers, or residents (personal communication, February 14, 2017).*

In the case of CENDA, their work was based on strengthening peasants' perceptions and knowledge, and supporting indigenous autonomies, territory and decisions. When the Popular Participation law was enacted, the NGO saw on it a strategic of the government to exercise power over indigenous communities, turning them to *OTBs* (Grassroots Territorial Organisation). Even though the communities criticised that model, at the end, they made the legal proceeding to become *OTBs* (Regalsky, 2017). As a response to the state, the CSUTCB organised a National Conference in March 1995 under the title "For Land and Territory", where they decided to form a Politic Instrument<sup>24</sup> that could avoid the entrance of the neoliberal

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<sup>24</sup> The Political Instrument was initially known as the Political Instrument - Assembly for the Sovereignty of the People, and after some 'internal struggle' it became the Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples - Movement Toward Socialism (Regalsky & Ortega, 2010, p. 43).

parties to communities. The peasant's organisation presented its own candidates, so that the official parties would not interfere with the municipality (Regalsky, 2017). Regalsky (2017) explains it as a strategy of defence. It is in this process, opened by the popular participation, but at the same time against popular participation and decentralisation (due to their interference in communal organisations), that CENDA reinforced the participation of rural organisations as a Politic Instrument (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017).

This is one of the first steps for the creation of the Pact of Unity and the MAS political party. The support of the NGOs on the participation of peasant and indigenous organisations, with or in contrast to the neoliberal system, gave necessary strength for the expansion of the MAS in the state administrative apparatus in the late of the 1990s. Once the MAS became the official party in 2006, the state covered most of the national political instances. *'Now you go to a union meeting, there is the state, the mayor, councillors, assembly members, governors, all belong to the MAS'* (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).

Despite this situation, the NGOs informants consider that with the MAS on the government, peasant's participation has reduced. According to one of my informants, some authorities are avoiding the grassroots training in order to stay more time in their official positions (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017). Another informant tells about the expulsion of leaders for expressing their criticisms about the state,

*If you go to the municipalities, to the communities, the people say, 'What change? Where is the process of change?' But this position is not explicit, yet. We were analysing the results of February 21<sup>25</sup>, and the grassroots organisations are questioning about it, but it does not go to a departmental level. There have been cases of expulsion to leaders that have expressed or showed critical positions* (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017).

The reduction of participation is in some way related to the creation of a "common enemy" as a collective imaginary. Regalsky (2017) mentions that this figure created by the government (García-Linera, 2011) puts the emphasis in the right-wing as the "common enemy". This collective imaginary was created in order to 'neutralise the leftist and the peasant movement'.

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<sup>25</sup> On February 21st, 2016 was Referendum for the approval or disapproval of the constitutional Project to allow the president and vice president of the Bolivian State to run again in the elections.

For instance, it is in that way that some NGOs who expressed criticisms of the state have been called by the state ‘vehicles of neoliberal ideas’ (Córdoba, 2014, p. 31).

What is visible now is that with the entrance of the state in peasant organisations, there is less participation due to the fear of being considered “the enemy” of the social change, or expelled from the organisation. As Eróstegui (2017) mentions, *‘the relationship between the state and civil society is not ongoing in the sense of more aperture to the dialogue or public debate about common topics. It is going, as other countries that follow the same line, with restrictions to the right to express and association capability, subordinating the state interests’*.

Part of the role of NGOs has been supporting peasants on their participation and decisions, but not deciding for them. For instance, in 2001, the state started to follow the activities of some NGOs, blaming them as responsible for social movements. Then, the actual Government Minister, Carlos Romero, who was previously the director of an NGO, noted that NGOs provide technical support and act as intermediaries to the peasant and indigenous movements (Castro, 2001). The NGOs faced a similar situation in 2011 with the TIPNIS march. The government related the march directly to the NGOs that work in that area, ‘trying to illegitimate the natural expression of the people’ (C. Informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

The influence of NGOs in the state, by promoting their participation during the period of neoliberalism, has led to a visible social change with the entrance of Morales to the presidency, as a representative of indigenous and peasant organisations. Hence, the agency of the NGOs has been relevant in the transition from neoliberalism to the post-neoliberal period. Currently, there is less interest by the authorities to work with the promotion of participation. In addition, the international aid reduced funds for rural development and indigenous peoples further influencing the space for manoeuvre for NGOs (R. Informant, personal communication, February 09, 2017).

## **6.2. The National Unity Pact and the Constituent Assembly**

As mentioned above (Chapter Five), during the 1990s, CENDA and CIPCA supported the indigenous and peasants’ rights of decision and participation, so as communal lands and territory management. CENDA’s work has been based on indigenous and peasants’ knowledge, rights and communal organisation, supporting the collective management of natural resources

and territories in the sense of autonomy. Moreover, CIPCA has been strengthening indigenous and peasants' organisations, participation and supporting the process of regularisation and titling of their lands and territories. Also, since 1991, CIPCA followed the "Popular Historical Project" that came from the question 'how to design a Bolivian society in which peasants and native peoples feel as citizens with fully participating?' (Oblitas *et al.*, 2016, p. 29).

Their work focuses has been created a close and confidential relationship between the NGOs and indigenous and peasant unions and organisations. In that sense, when the Pact of Unity was formed in September 2004, which was an alliance of indigenous and peasant organisations that led the Constituent Assembly, CENDA, CIPCA and another seven NGOs were part of the Technical Commission.

Carrasco and Albó (2008) mention that the Pact of Unity was the result of the IV Indigenous March of Lowlands in 2002, with more than 50 social organisations together demanding social change and a new constitution. In addition, the conflicts of privatisation that derived to the Water War in 2000 and the Gas War in 2003, opened demands related to a national restructuration through a Constituent Assembly. Hence, in November 2003 the indigenous and peasant organisations decided to form the Pact of Unity in order to guaranty the constitutional process (Garcés, 2010, p. 35). In April 2004, Carlos Mesa, the president in turn, introduced the Constituent Assembly in the Political Constitution as a way of representation and participation of people, and the only mechanism to reform the Constitution (Carrasco & Albó, 2008).

### **6.2.1. *The Pact of Unity and their Technical Commission.***

The Pact of Unity was formed by the five native indigenous and peasants' organisations<sup>26</sup> with more representation in the country, and different local organisations that were connected to them. In addition, the organisations demanded the participation of the NGOs as Technical Commission. The Technical Commission was formed by two leaders and one legal adviser from each of the organisations, one technician of the Educative Indigenous Union and one technician from each NGO (Garcés, 2010, p. 44). Even though they were a team, there was

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<sup>26</sup> The organisations that conformed the Pact of Unity are: CSUTCB (Unique Confederation of Rural Labourers of Bolivia), CSCIB (Union Confederation of Intercultural Communities of Bolivia), CNMCIQB-BS (Bolivian National Confederation of Native Indigenous Peasants Women "Bartolina Sisa"), CIDOB (Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivian Orient) and CONAMAQ (National Council of *Ayllus* and *Markas* of *Qullasuyu*). The *ayllus* and *markas* are Quechua territorial organisation, so as the *Qullasuyu*, which makes reference to the Andean Bolivia.

always the distinction between the “legal advisers”, which had a direct work with the organisations, and the “technicians” that were part of the NGOs (2010, p. 44).

The role of the NGOs was the systematisation of the organisations’ proposals in relation to topics that were part of their knowledge and experience. The main topics were: state model, territorial organisation and autonomies, natural resources, land and territory, political representation and rights (collective and private). In total, nine NGOs supported the process: Nina Program, CEJIS, CENDA, Agua Sustentable (Sustainable Water), PASOC, CEFREC, IBIS<sup>27</sup>, CESA y CIPCA. Most of the NGOs have been part of the Pact of Unity since May 2006. IBIS joined in September, and CIPCA in December (2010, p. 137).

Garcés presents a situation during the Constituent Assembly that exemplify the work of NGOs,

In a meeting with the organisations’ leaders, on May 16<sup>th</sup> the technical team was mandated to review the document in process and see if the agreements of April 18<sup>th</sup> were respected. This labour was implemented from May 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup>, with the participation of NGOs’ technicians and one legal adviser of each organisation as a representative. The systematisation and incorporation of previous inputs were during Monday 21<sup>st</sup> and Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> in a joint work between the NGOs’ technicians and the legal advisers of the organisations. On Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> at night the document was prepared with all its details, and on Wednesday 23<sup>rd</sup> the leaders approved the final document of the Pact of Unity, making some observations that were incorporated until midnight of that day (Garcés, 2010, p. 66).

The constitutional text that was approved in 2009 is based on the proposal that the Pact of Unity presented. *‘I think that it [the constitutional proposal] has been the major contribution. After, many discussions came, but the document was there. There was a base. Much of the proposal is in the Constitution. That is the impact’* (N. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017). When N Informant said, ‘that is the impact’, refers to the impact of the peasant and

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<sup>27</sup> As it is mentioned in the Part 1, IBIS is the Danish NGO that has been expelled during the TIPNIS March in 2011.

indigenous organisations, so as the work of the Technical Commission that supported the whole process.

The New Constitution has been an achievement for the indigenous peoples and peasants. The communities with a long history of fights and resistance had for a first time the opportunity to be visible in the national constitution. Regalsky points out that the proposal of the constitution is an alternative answer to the crisis of civilisation (2009, p. 42). The work of the organisations and the technical commission in the constitution, systematised the voice of indigenous and peasant peoples, men and women, and Afro-Bolivians, among different intercultural groups that were not visible and respected. With the proposal, the Pact of Unity planned the opportunity to create a multicultural and plurinational state.

The moment of the Pact with most glory was during the Constituent Assembly, where everybody dreamed together. Even there were frequent discrepancies in different proposals, they gave, added more, and became the biggest enablers of many key topics of the new constitutional text (Albó, 2011).

Even the assembly process was legitimate in 2006-2007, at the end of the process, the constitutional work was taken over by the political class, changing the main topics that were proposed by the organisations and social movements (Garcés, 2010, p. 30). Around 2008, one year before the constitutional referendum and the adoption of the constitution, many leaders of the organisations became part of the MAS. The demand of communal autonomies ended up being subordinated to the state (Regalsky, 2009, p. 67).

In 2011, with the TIPNIS march, the Pact of Unity was separated into two groups. Albó called them the twins and the triplets (Albó, 2011). The twins, CIDOB and CONAMAQ, kept independence from the state, becoming the main actors during the TIPNIS March; and the triplets, CSUTCB, CSCIB and CNMCIQB-BS continue as the Pact of Unity in alliance with the official political party.

### **6.2.2. NGOs' contribution in the Constituent Assembly.**

The contribution of NGOs' in the Constituent Assembly was mainly as part of the Technical Commission. All the information that NGOs systematised, has especial value in relation to the peasants' demands. It has to be mentioned that these NGOs were not working with them for the first time, it was a process of years of knowing each other, understanding the claims and indigenous and peasants historical resistance to the state. These previous processes, as Garcés mentions (2010, p. 93), joined these organisations and NGOs in common platforms and specific mobilisations. Hence, NGOs provided to the organisations spaces for the meetings, specialised knowledge, technicians, among other resources.

For instance, CENDA supported the process with its experience on topics of land and territory titling, natural resources and territory management, and autonomies, but also searching financial support and funds for different necessities during the process.

*The most significant milestone of CENDA has been in the Constituent Assembly with the organisations. There CENDA has moved as much as possible for extra funds to facilitate the participation of people in the areas where we work (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017).*

This support and a previous alliance of different NGOs gave the opportunity for a coordinated work. At no point the NGOs took the leading role, their role was behind the organisations and their demands. Garcés explains that there have been many situations in the Technical Commission that the technical renounced to their own or NGOs ideas in order to take precedence of the Pact of Unity wills as a collective production of knowledge (2010, p. 95).

Yet, as Garcés points out as a critique, the alliance of the supporting institutions worked very well during the construction of the proposal, but not during the Constituent Assembly. Each technician and institutions were specialised in their topic, with a low level of joint coordination (2010, p. 93). Even though the NGOs were committed to the organisations and kept their support behind the organisations, the work focus of the NGOs was visible.

Through the NGOs, international intellectuals<sup>28</sup> with studies in the theme gave their point of view and opinions about the Constitutional proposal. Hence, the work with NGOs complemented social practice with theory, with an intellectual work of the Technical Commission (Garcés, 2010, p. 96).

In addition, all the information about demands, contacts, perceptions, worries of peasants and indigenous peoples were recovered by the NGOs. Even their labour was related to the systematisation of demands, they have a valuable background about the life and perceptions of peasant and indigenous communities.

With the support of NGOs, this process evoked a national social change. The action of NGOs and their work, in alliance with the civil society, enabled intent of a new national structure, considering for first time indigenous and peasants' worldview. If at the beginning the work of some NGOs was as a service of the state to promote the popular participation (coproduction), and for others to promote participation as a tool of resistance, at the end, it was the participation of the peoples that activated the demands for their real recognition by the state. Hence, NGOs focused on answering organisations' demands, in other words, the NGOs were in the service of the civil society. It is in this process that the agency of the NGO was focused on supporting the national change, and the creation of a new constitution that take account the community life and the necessity to include it in the state's structure, in terms of sovereignty and respect. The agency of the NGO was behind the voice of peasant and indigenous organisations, as a support for a social change.

### **6.3. Knowledge and capabilities, from NGOs to the state**

When the informants answered the question related to the NGOs' influences towards the state, they did not only mention the technical results of NGOs' work, also they made reference to the personal and peasants that were trained by NGOs and now are working in the government. One of the informants mentioned, *'The other impact that you can see is, whenever you go to a Ministry, everybody says you 'hi', they recognise you. They have been your students, interns,*

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<sup>28</sup> Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Portugal), Bartolomé Clavero (Spain), Héctor Díaz-Polanco (Mexico), Raquel Irigoyen (Peru).



*or they worked in the NGO in some moment. That is the people who are working there'* (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

NGOs can be defined as 'learning organisations' that means, 'organisation which builds and improves its own practice consciously and continually devising and developing the means to draw learning from its own (and others') experience' (Taylor, 2006, p. 347). The relationship of NGOs with international aid and networks provided their professional training. Also, their relationship with civil society, in this case, with peasant and indigenous organisations and families, allowed technicians to learn about the life and culture in the field, among other topics.

During a conversation with a state official, he mentioned,

*Fortunately, I worked in an NGO where we realised that communities' control strategies of ecological niches remained valid; with complementary strategies related to their geographical limitations for the access of biodiversity resources. What Murra, and other authors, researched respect to this topic, and was considered as part of the past, was still remained. So, it was necessary to talk about it, in case someone had a wrong conception thinking that the peasants were poor* (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

The quote above shows a link between academic knowledge with the knowledge that the experience of the work in the field brings. It is in that sense that NGOs can be seen as learning organisations, training professionals that currently are working in the state. One of my informants could list at least eight people from different NGOs, with whom she previously worked and who are now in state positions as ministries, vice-ministries, senators, among others (N. Informant, personal communication, February 2, 2017).

The training was not only of their own personnel, but also of peasant and indigenous organisations and families. One informant mentioned that many of the current leaders that now have high positions in the state, as councillors, leaders of the official political party, are the result of the formation, courses, seminars and training with the NGOs (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017). However, what calls the attention of different informants, is how the state does not recognise the support of NGOs.

The knowledge and capabilities developed by NGOs as part of their agency did not only influence the new state model, the state also took them in order to strengthen their own knowledge and capabilities. However, one informant pointed out how the grassroots training now reduced, and that the authorities are avoiding them (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017). In addition, there are fewer funds for NGOs that work in this area (R. Informant, personal communication, February 02, 2017).

#### **6.4. NGOs agency in agriculture**

Being part of the essence of the three NGOs the work with agriculture for more than 20 years, they presented different impacts related to technical assistance, technologies (implemented or recovered), methodologies and discussions about agrarian issues and familiar agriculture in the Andean area.

Among the different impacts detected in the work of NGOs, there are two topics that I selected for this analysis: seeds and irrigation. The main reason for this selection is the appearance of both topics in the conversations with the informants, due to their effects on local and national policies. In the case of seeds, it is still present the debate related to their cultural value for the familiar agriculture in the Andean region. On the other hand, irrigation is important considering the water scarcity in this area.

##### **6.4.1. *Seeds.***

In order to understand the topic of seeds in the Andean Bolivia, there is one factor that has the most influence and should be taken account: international aid and policies. The influence of the global civil society and its trends has been visible in the rural development of the country with the support of the international aid. As Regalsky (2017) mentions, ‘there is no policy of the state. Those are global policies that the state obeys’. On the other hand, one of my informants compares the situation of the international aid in Bolivia, especially in the period of neoliberalism, as different boats transporting NGOs, and giving them funds, but also strategic lines to work along (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). Carrying ideas of technology, large-scale production and market, their purpose contrasted with the Andean reality.

Seeds in the Andean cultures are not only an input for the production of food, seeds represent the initial point of their worldview and organisation. This cultural value of the seeds closed the doors to the entrance of the GMC (Genetic Modified Crops). For instance, in 2015, in the Agricultural Summit “*Sembrando Bolivia*”<sup>29</sup>, the position of the Pact of Unity was in defence of the native seeds, denying the access of the GMC, as it is established in the National Constitution and the Mother Earth Framework law.

This cultural view of seeds has not been taken into account by different governments. As it is explained in Chapter 4, the neoliberal state, followed a rationality that demanded the improvement of the agricultural technology and market. Some NGOs had impacts in that sense, as part of the national and international policies and demands; however, other NGOs, focused on the organisational life in communities, paying attention to their perceptions and traditional knowledge in relation to seed management. In one way or another, NGOs had impacts through the use of their capabilities and knowledge in seeds management.

Since the study is focused on NGOs that work in the Andean area, the analysis will be based on potato seeds, due to its cultural value and economic potentiality for familiar agriculture. To illustrate this point, Medina shares,

‘An Andean farmer: Mister Santos Vilca Cayo. He says, ‘Well, the potato so as the person, needs everything. I and my wife are always worried about the potato. For her [the potato], we have to prepare the land; then, we prepare the compost for sowing. When it’s the moment, with lots of care we have to manage the seeds because this is the time when she will be a mother. So as we, she will have daughters. Hence, we need to give them dresses, which is similar to give the soil to potato plants and take care of their health. We raised with lots of love and respect. It is in that way that they will raise us’ (2008, pp. 13-14).

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<sup>29</sup> The Agricultural Summit “*Sembrando Bolivia*” (Sowing Bolivia), on April 2015 in Santa Cruz, had the purpose to discuss about the diversification of the economy through the exportation of food. The main topic was the enlargement of the agricultural frontier in Santa Cruz, from 3.8 million hectares to 13 million, to produce 45 million ton of food (Soliz, 2015, p. 5). Hence, the production of food could increase three times more than the current output. The Agricultural Summit was in first instance a space of dialogue between the state and the agribusiness sector, and the other agricultural sectors of the country were included at the end (2015, p. 5).

The relation with the potato in Andean communities is similar to a relationship with a person. Words detected by Medina, as ‘person, couple, care, raise, love, respect, reciprocity’ (2008, p. 14), are present in the Andean discourse when they refer to the potato. Taking account of these words and conception is how we can understand the Andean perception and its relation to this crop.

#### *6.4.1.1. First moment: between market forces and critics.*

Following the technical focus of the state and the international trend in that moment, PROINPA research in potato was in order to improve varieties and create technology to increase the crop production. Until 2011, the NGO improved 23 potato varieties (Gabriel *et. al*, 2011, p. 7). B. Informant complements the information, ‘*The “Puca Wacha” [an improved variety]. If you see, is distributed in Morochata [Cochabamba], Tarija, and La Paz. Obviously, they do not call it “Puca Wacha”, because that is not the name of the product, but in technical terms, they know that this variety is better than the “Wacha” [a native variety]*’ (personal communication, January 10, 2017).

PROINPA used to promote the use of certified potato seeds and improved varieties to show results in productivity and commercialization. It is important to mention that the technical concept of seed certification verifies the quality of the seeds that are in the market, in order to avoid the dissemination of pests and diseases (Dirección Nacional de Semillas, 2015). Then, so as now, the certification of seeds was in charge of the state.

Yet, there have been criticisms around this work approach. The use of certified seeds has been criticised for creating economic dependency by peasants, affecting their organisations.

*That seed they have to buy from a seed enterprise. They have to buy the fertiliser, and demand to another NGO the construction of an irrigation water channel. Then, when the crop is growing, they need a fungicide. Sometimes more than 14 times in one production cycle, which is fatal, and have adverse effects on their own soil* (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

The main critic was that certified seeds and improved varieties were destroying the communal model, introducing the peasant to the neoliberalism. Hence, other NGOs put emphasis in the work with *ex-situ* conservation of native potato seeds. CENDA, for instance, promoted the

conservation of the native potatoes by the reproduction of sexual seeds<sup>30</sup> (N. Informant, personal communication, February 2, 2017).

As there were some NGOs who worked with *ex-situ* conservation of seeds, there were NGOs who worked with *in-situ* conservation; like PROINPA, who was in charge of the Roots and Tubers Bank in coordination with the state. From both lines, and with the freedom and possibilities that the neoliberal model gave to NGOs to lead the agrarian development, there are visible influences that are taken by the state model in the second moment. Especially, the NGOs that worked with communal conceptions, promoted a seeds cultural revaluation.

#### *6.4.1.2. Second moment: The cultural revaluation of the seeds.*

Together with peasant and indigenous movements, NGOs had the opportunity to change the national conception of seeds. Together again to international trends that started to put attention into climate change and the importance of indigenous knowledge, the NGOs focused on the *in-situ* conservation and use of native seeds as strategies to face the effects of the climate change, and for food security in the Andean area.

*We believe that this is the line to follow [the production of native seeds], because the food crisis is coming, the climate change, the privatization threat, the dependency of the community families to the enterprises that sell technology, the technological sets that make them dependent and indebted* (T. Informant, personal communication, February 21, 2017).

In contrast to the first period, in the second the three NGOs of the study agreed to work with the revalorization of the native seeds since it is an alternative to face the climate effects in the Andean area. The indigenous knowledge about potato is revalorized by the NGOs.

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<sup>30</sup> The sexual seeds of potato come from the flower, and can be conserved. Their characteristic is that they offer variability, and the variability means their preservation among the years. In contrast, the asexual seed of potato are the tubers, which act like clones. This type of seeds are preserved by indigenous and peasants' families by sowing them every year. Especially, elders do this conservation as part of their strategies of life. One of my informant tells, '*Mister Fermín one day told me about the varieties that he produced. More than 20 varieties. Some are spicy, those resist to the cold, the drought, and are used to make dry potato for food*' (H. Informant, personal communication, January 26, 2017).

*We have discussed and now we are redefining with the colleges the seeds issues. The purpose was made in 2008, 2009, and now we are working with the seeds, how to manage the diversity and recover varieties. It is a hard work because there are many extinct varieties, now many people use only one variety of potato, or four, three (O. Informant, personal communication, February 3, 2017).*

With the impulse of the international and national conception of seeds, and despite the reducing of funds during this period, the NGOs worked on the *in-situ* conservation, while the state took the complete responsibility of the *ex-situ*. In 2010, the government took over the gene banks, which were managed by the NGOs under the control of the state. An informant explained that the transition started in 2008, so PROINPA gave the bank to the INIAF with registers, training personnel and all the protocols (E. informant, personal communication, January 11, 2017).

Another informant mentioned, *‘during the first three years, all the gene banks were delivered to the state. The state now is the big ship, everything is in the hands of the Bolivian state, the banks, technical assistance... everything has to be conducted by the ship’* (A. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017). This position of the state opens the analysis of the third moment, where the state centralises the management of natural resources, including seeds.

#### *6.2.1.3. Third moment: The certification of seeds.*

In 2011, the government enacted the law of the Communal Agrarian Productive Revolution (Law 144, 2011), which mentions, *‘promote and protect the production, use, conservation and exchange of high-quality seeds, and guaranty its provision for the production’*. Even there is a part of the law that makes reference to the recuperation, conservation, improvement, production and promotion of native seeds, which comes from indigenous peoples, most of the points in relation to seed management show a conception of the seed as a resource for the production, leaving aside its cultural value.

The state, in its plan to diversify the domestic industry, paid attention to the intensive farming (Soliz, 2015, p. 5). Hence, the national instances that work with development are now focused on increase the rural productivity. The INIAF, for instance, put efforts in the certification of seeds in order to ensure good performance of the production. So, in 2016, from the 3.5 million

of hectares showed in Bolivia, 1.8 million (more than half) used certified seed of the INIAF; and 80% of that production are for the tropic area, not the Andean one (Vásquez, 2016)<sup>31</sup>.

*Currently, the certification of native or improvement varieties has economic potentiality. Could be a business for someone... but the end of the certification is not that. The value of the commercial seed and its importance is more known than in the 1990s. However, its use has not increased by the traditional and poor farmers, because its cost can grow in more than 300 percent the cost of production (V. Informant, May 13, 2017).*

The position and the impulse of the state for the certification of seeds, put aside the promotion of the use of native seeds that are part of the traditional communities. For instance, the law Communal Agrarian Productive Revolution (Law 144, 2011) promotes the creation of a state enterprise for the production and distribution of certified seeds, in coordination with the INIAF, and under the responsibility of the Rural Development and Lands Ministry.

Hence, this third period has an official conception of seeds as the main resource for agrarian productive activities, turning aside their cultural value that was a conquest of peasants and indigenous communities in the second period. The demand to NGOs to follow the national development lines, related in this case to “high-quality seeds”, and the reduced of funds for indigenous peoples and agrarian development, open questions about how important is for the state the support of familiar agriculture and their cultural worldview.

The influence of NGOs on the subject of seeds is determined by international trends, and also, by a strong governmentality that the state exercises. Even there was a change led by peasant and indigenous movements, promoting the cultural revaluation of seeds, at the end, the national project that the state led is not taking account of these social achievements.

Here, in this last period, NGOs are again taking separated lines. PROINPA, for instance, is working with agrobiodiversity and Andean farming strategies. At the same time, it started to offer certified and improved seeds of quinoa that in the last years increased in demand. The

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<sup>31</sup> In order to complement this information, in 1996 only 36108 ton of seeds were certified by the government. In 2005, 57737 ton; and in 2015, 119124 ton. Both in 1996 and 20015, more than 80% of the certification is for Santa Cruz (Dirección Nacional de Semillas, 2015). Hence, most of the certified seeds are destined to the agribusiness.

potato is not more one of their priorities. Currently, by the “Spin-off strategy”, PROINPA produce quinoa seeds, and an enterprise sells them for large-scale production and exportation (B. Informant, personal communication, January 10, 2017).

In contrast, CENDA continues a work focus con the communities. In this sense, the work with seeds is related to the protection of native seeds by communal seed register (Q. Informant, personal communication, February 06, 2017). The idea is to avoid the entrance of the INIAF and the promotion of only one variety of certified seed.

#### **6.4.2. Irrigation.**

Since the 1990s, CIPCA has worked with irrigation in communities of Cochabamba and Potosí. Its projects were implemented in places where the communities have water sources, but no irrigation systems. As a result, the farming had been only seasonal. Hence, the idea of the entrance of irrigation was to change the whole productive system, so farmers could have more than one production per year (S. Informant, personal communication, February 14, 2017).

The work of CIPCA was based on the construction of artificial lakes and channels for the water use. For instance, in the municipal association of the “Caine River Basin” (Cochabamba), the NGO constructed 19 artificial lakes to conserve water from the rain (P. Informant, February 3, 2017). Knowing the possibilities that these lakes give to familiar agriculture, in 2004 the NGO and the municipality negotiated with the Prefecture the replication of the artificial lakes. The result was the construction of 400 artificial lakes in the municipality (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 49).

Yet, not all lakes had a good output; some presented technical problems and others did not receive the necessary accompaniment for the implementation (2016, p. 49). One informant mentioned that *‘many families did not know how to take care of the infrastructure, and it got damaged, so we worked with the management of the artificial lakes’* (P. Informant, personal communication, February 2, 2017). Despite this situation, the implementation of the artificial lakes has been considered as one of the major achievements for the NGO, due to the negotiation and positive answer of the authorities.

Ten years later, in 2014, the Patriotic Agenda 2025 (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2014) proposes the mechanisation of the agriculture with social, environmental and accessible technologies, changing from rain-fed agriculture to an optimal irrigation system. In addition,



the state established the law of The Irrigation Decade 2015 - 2025 (Law 745, 2015), which has the objective to implement one million hectares with irrigation<sup>32</sup>. With their advances in irrigation, CIPCA joined in the process. The motivation that the NGO had about working in coordination with the national project is to ensure an integrated management of water and irrigation system (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 85).

Nevertheless, the drought is part of the reality in the Andean communities. In personal communications with peasants in Anzaldo, a municipality of the municipal association of the “Caine River Basin”, they mention their worries related to water resource, climate change, and migration.

*‘There are changes, but... the weather and the drought. People migrate, they are leaving’.* (W. Informant, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

*‘It is difficult to have fruit trees because we do not have water. As farmers, with rain or without rain, we always deal with nature. We always have to sow potato, wheat and corn, even it does not produce. Year by year we have to sow and sow’* (Y. Informant, personal communication, February 1, 2017).

The state and the NGO joined forces to increase the Andean agrarian production with irrigation, but the subject of drought is still there. Here, as in seed situation, the state focus is related to the agricultural mechanisation, promoting irrigation when the water resource is missing. One of my informants supports through referring to peasants’ testimonies, *‘when the leaders of the Federation go there, they [peasants] say, ‘you came some years ago. As you see, it is the same or worse. Where is the process of change? Have you seen our fields? We do not have water. People are going, because there is no water to sow’* (P. Informant, personal communication, February 03, 2017).

Even NGOs have impacts in their work related to Andean agriculture, peasants notice that climate change is affecting the production and increasing migration. In both examples, with seeds and irrigation, in the neoliberal period or in the post-neoliberalism/commodities

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<sup>32</sup> According to Oblitas *et al.* (2016, p. 85), from the current 271 thousands hectares of irrigation, in 2020 Bolivia should achieve 700 thousands hectares, and one million hectares with irrigation in 2025.

consensus, the state tried to cover rural development by its governmentality, guided by international trends. At some point, there was a moment of change through the revalorization of seeds and the rethinking of climate change effects in the Andean area, but currently, the state returned to similar strategies than the ones applied in the neoliberalism. In this case, with more support to the agribusiness than familiar agriculture. In the cases of CIPCA and PROINPA, the state have known to work with them its strategies towards rural development.

## **6.5. Analytical summary**

In order to analyse the influence of the Andean agrarian NGOs in the Bolivian state, there are three elements to consider: state, local civil society and global civil society. As Tvedt refers as the aid system, which includes NGOs (local civil society), donors (global civil society) and state (2007, p. 30). The international forces, which come from the global civil society, influence the national agriculture. They have almost as much presence as the governmentality of the state on the NGOs. Yet, even those forces exercise their power in farming decisions and activities, and most of the time through NGOs, the NGOs, as social actors are able to decide if follow or not these lines. Giddens (1984, p. 16) mentions that 'all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors'. In this case, NGOs respond to those forces by the agency possibilities of social change or reproduction (Seur, 1992, p. 19). The use of the agency for reproduction in the relation with the state, becomes the NGOs instruments of the state to operate its government (Murray Li, 2007, p. 275).

Despite agriculture being the main topic of the NGOs that were part of this study, their agency in this field has been more related to the reproduction than social change. This may be seen, for instance, during the 1990s, when PROINPA focus its knowledge and capabilities in the improvement of potato varieties and agrarian technologies to insert "smallholders" into the market; or CIPCA that promoted the law of Popular Participation in rural municipalities. Lewis refers to this role of NGOs as 'service delivery activities' (Lewis, 2007, p. 132). In both cases, the NGOs presented interesting results, but following the global trends of neoliberalism as a demand of the state and the donors (Otero, 2004, p. 341). Hence, they put their agency at the service of the state model and the global trends beyond the Andean communities.

In addition, NGOs have also developed their agency for a social change. As social actors, the influence of NGOs as CENDA and CIPCA have been visible in the national social change from the neoliberal state model to the post-neoliberalism, and the entrance of Morales to the state representing indigenous, peasant and social movements. Even though the protagonists of this national social change were the indigenous and peasant organisations, the support of NGOs in their participation, and the accompaniment in the Pact of Unity before and during the Constituent Assembly shows their agency in terms of power. Seur (1992, p. 119) mentions that is through actions that the social actor alters the external world, and these perceptions or actions becomes part of the life-world of other actors, and that becomes a process of social change.

Also, the agency of the NGOs, in the understanding of agency as knowledge and capability (Long, 2001, p. 16), has been taken by the new state through the contract of professionals who used to work in NGOs or were trained by these organisations. The informants coincide that the main impact of NGOs is the “social change” and the constitution of the new state. This, due to the NGOs work with participation, behind the Constitutional process and the current presence in knowledge and capabilities inside the state through the personal trained by NGOs.

Currently, the state positioned its governmentality in almost all instances. Through the centralization of power even in communities, and the demands to NGOs to follow the Patriotic Agenda 2025, there is a separation of NGOs in their relationship with the state, as was the case in the period of neoliberalism. A group of NGOs try to reproduce the demanded model and exercise their agency in coordination with the state. On the other hand, there are still NGOs that continue working for a social change, even the state took and is present in the communities.

## CHAPTER SEVEN. CONCLUDING REMARKS

### 7.1. Overview

After 18 years of dictatorial governments, in 1982 Bolivia regained democracy, which came along with the neoliberalism. Around those years, PROINPA and CENDA started their activities. PROINPA was the Potato Project of COSUDE. Later it became the Potato Program of the state, and in 1998 it turned into an NGO. PROINPA, in coordination with the state and the international donors, developed agrarian technology to modernise smallholders farming. CENDA started its work analysing the shortcomings of the neoliberalistic agricultural model in the indigenous and peasant communities. In the case of CIPCA, they ongoing their activities as a Jesuit organisation in the dictatorship of the 1970s. Since its beginning, its work has been close to peasant and indigenous organisations, aiming to strengthen democracy.

During the neoliberal period (1996 to 2005), there were two clear lines of NGOs' agency: "NGOs' agency for reproduction" and "NGOs' agency for social change". Considering the background of PROINPA and CIPCA, in this period they worked in coproduction with the state. Hence, PROINPA researched, innovated, and transferred technology to the Andean communities to introduce peasants into the market, applying participative methodologies. PROINPA continued its alliance with the state and COSUDE, reproducing through its activities the focus of these two forces. CIPCA, in its work with organisations, emphasised the introduction of the popular participation in the communities and rural municipalities. Here, the exercise of their agency for reproduction made both NGOs introduce neoliberalism in the Andean communities. Although PROINPA's activities tried not to involve a political discourse, the fact remains that by introducing technologies and promoting peasant involvement in the commercial, capitalistic market, part of the reproduction of neoliberalism. The aim to stay out of politics is therefore not realistic and the NGO did not only respond to state demands, but also to international trends that came with the donors. Hence, the NGO was involved in the governmentality of the state for its expanse in the rural areas.

CENDA, on the other hand, focused its work on a direct relationship with the indigenous and peasant communities, beyond the state. The NGO also had a clear political philosophy, actively critiquing the government politics. Based on action-research method, the NGO aimed to

strengthen communal strategies in defence of the increasing neoliberalistic presence into the communities. Hence, CENDA exercised its agency for a social change in a political way, being against the reproduction of the state and the international civil society interests in the communities. This model questions the assumptions of the NGOs always co-producing along with the state (Ostrom, 1996, p. 1073) or in an intertwined relationship with the state (Tvedt, 2007, p. 30). Here, the NGO uses its agency separated to the stated demands, but inside the regulatory framework of the state.

The Popular Participation, the Decentralisation and Privatisation laws affected the communities, reorganising their communal structure and autonomies. Therefore, the communities became OTBs, since it was the only way to be represented in the state. Yet, the communities used this regulatory framework in order to face the entrance of the state and neoliberal politics in their organisations. With the support of CENDA, peasant and indigenous organisations so-called Political Instrument was formed, which eventually became the MAS political party.

The participation promoted by the NGOs on a large or a small scale, evoked a wave of demands against the neoliberalism by indigenous peoples and peasant. Hence, their organisations formed the Pact of Unity to achieve common demands in the Constituent Assembly. This process was supported by CENDA and CIPCA, among other NGOs. CIPCA aimed for a social change since it was a moment to achieve their “Popular Historical Project” that addressed the question ‘how to design a Bolivian society in which peasants and native peoples feel as citizens with fully participating?’ (Oblitas, *et al.*, 2016, p. 29). Through the NGOs’ knowledge and capabilities in support of civil society demands, Bolivia in 2006 turned from the neoliberalism to the post-neoliberalism state model. Evo Morales assumed the presidency, as the first indigenous president representing indigenous, peasant and social movements. There was the promotion of the idea of “The state as a civil society”. In the constitution of the new state model, CENDA and CIPCA continued supporting the Pact of Unity and the New Political Constitution of the State.

This new context, demanded that the agrarian NGOs took account of the new regulatory framework, the discourse of sovereignty, and a development model in harmony with Mother Earth. In parallel, as part of the sovereignty, the state created the INIAF to cover the work on

agrarian research, technological assistance and to be in charge of the gene banks. This work used to belong to NGOs like PROINPA, but was now assumed by the state.

PROINPA, which until this moment had participated in reproducing the neoliberal state through its activities and agency, took the new state model into account and started to work according the new demands. Hence, in line with an international and local discourse on climate change and knowledge, the NGO used its agency in two ways. The first was to contribute to the continued reproduction of current state, following the new regulatory framework in their projects. The second was through the construction of economic sustainability strategies, based on the creation of bio-inputs for organic agriculture and certified seed of quinoa, among other grains, demanded by the national and international market. PROINPA noticed that the state was not demanding services. The state was demanding products. Again, PROINPA aimed to deliver what the state politics wanted.

Following the National Productive Model (2008), proposed by the Vice President García-Linera, the Communal Agrarian Productive Revolution law (Law 144, 2011) for indigenous and peasant communities, and the Patriotic Agenda 2025 (Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2014), the state turned to the “Commodities consensus” model. The state took possession over the natural resources, including the managing of seeds by the INIAF, under the discourse of “the state as civil society”.

In this model, CIPCA, for instance, continues its relationship with the state exercising its agency for the reproduction. Of the three cases, after a long process, CIPCA could get the legal entity. The NGO answers the state demands through irrigation and political advocacy. The irrigation projects are related to the Decade of Irrigation law (Law 745, 2015) and the agrarian mechanisation demanded by the Patriotic Agenda. In addition, CIPCA has a Political Advocacy Department, demanded by peasants’ organisations and leaders that are now inside the state structure. From this position, the NGO has the opportunity to be sustained by projects that comes from calls with official funds regulated by the state.

CENDA on the other hand continues its work with the communities. Unlike before the post-neoliberal period, now the communities now has allowed the entrance of the state in all their organisational instances. Even the communal autonomy has been taken by the state. Hence, CENDA is more focus on the management of natural resources. Their approach is based on the

analysis of the impacts of the natural resources' extractivism in the daily life of the communities. Their work is centred on the polluted water of the Poopó, a province in an Andean mining area. CENDA promote the monitoring of water as a tool to construct well-founded demands for the authorities to put attention to these effects. On the other hand, the organisation works on strategies of communal protection of native seeds from the market, state and international trends. Is in this sense, that the NGO continues the exercise of its agency for a social change and its critique of the dominant discourses of the state, often failing to acknowledge the needs of indigenous peoples and peasant. However, there are intentions of a relationship with the state as part of their sustainability strategy as an NGO. For instance, CENDA has the intention to have the educational supplement of its newspaper be recognised by the Ministry of Education as an official teaching resource for schools. This request is followed by the demand of freedom in the selection of the supplement's topics. Is in this sense that CENDA, in its strategy of sustainability, demands the guarantee of the state, but at the same time the respect of its autonomy as an NGO.

The current context for the three NGOs shows worries about their own sustainability, not to say survival. This sustainability is related to funds access and to be recognised by the state with a legal entity. Even the state took the knowledge and capabilities of the NGOs agency, visible in many of the authorities and public officials, the state close the possibilities to NGOs to develop their work with freedom of decisions and actions. The only possibility the state gives to NGOs, is to follow the national development lines. Nevertheless, it restricts the possibility to exercise an agency for a social change.

The three NGOs have a common concerned about their own sustainability, not to say survival. Even CIPCA that achieved to get legal entity. The question of organisational sustainability is related to access to funds and to the potential recognition by the state with a legal entity. Even though the state has greatly benefitted by the knowledge and capabilities developed and delivered by NGOs, e.g. through hiring many former NGO workers in government positions and as public officials, the state has now restricted the possibilities of NGOs to develop their work with freedom of decisions and actions. The only possibility the state gives to NGOs, is to follow the national development model. Nevertheless, it restricts the possibility to exercise an agency for a social change. As such, there is a clear power dimension in the relationship between the state and the NGOs.

The relation that the government proposes to the NGOs is based on discipline, in Foucault's terms (Murray Li, 2007, p. 275). It involves a regulatory framework with clear consequences: expulsion for foreign NGOs, and permanent closure for national NGOs. However, for its survival or for sharing similar approaches, NGOs are submitting to the law. Hence, NGOs are accepting to follow the commodities consensus state model, which implies the prioritisation of the economy and "productivity". In this scenario, the relationship of coproduction between NGOs with neoliberal governments seems to be reproduced by the commodities consensus political model, but in the shape of discipline. Again, the most affected by this relation are the Andean communities, since the rural development is based on the state agenda and not on their direct interests, far from the 'bottom-up linkage approach' (Otero, 2004, p. 341).

## **7.2. Final reflections**

Based on the data findings and analysis of the three cases, the agency of the Andean agrarian NGOs in the relationship with the state political models has been applied in two ways: for reproduction and for social change. The agency of reproduction took the approaches of the state and international global society. During the first period, the governmentality of the state contracted PROINPA and CIPCA as a channel to introduce the neoliberalism in the rural communities, through the modernisation of the farming, the promotion of peasant markets, and the direct introduction of the Popular Participation law. Yet, not all NGOs followed this approach. CENDA, with its agency of social change, supported communities beyond the state and used the regulatory framework to support the demands of peasant and indigenous communities. The NGO gave technical support and funds for direct demands of the communities, not from the state, neither from international trends. The work of CENDA answering direct interests of the civil society, together with other NGOs, where CIPCA was involved, was fundamental to the national social change. Hence, it was with this support that Bolivia turned from the neoliberalism to the post-neoliberalism political model.

Considering the post-neoliberal period as a model of transition, the commodities consensus model, planned from 2008, is the one that supports the current state structure. Again, as in the neoliberal period, the agencies of the NGOs are assuming their two previous positions: one for reproduction of state politics and one for social change. The difference with the neoliberal period is that the state now demands a relation with NGOs only for the reproduction of the



commodities consensus model. Hence, the law about the Endowment of Legal Entities to NGOs, demands the organisations to follow the Patriotic Agenda 2025, otherwise, they cannot access to official funds. This is a clear reflection of how the state now exercises direct power over the NGOs, aiming to control their activities and funds. In cases where the NGOs get the license by the state, but work in a different direction, the state can abolish the NGOs. In such cases, NGOs do not have the right to defend themselves. It means that there is no alternative of a relation with the state through an agency of social change that potentially differs from the state's perspective. NGOs can then no longer be seen as expressions of civil society, but have rather become the instruments of the state. A good example of the state's governmentality and a regime which to an increasing extent is becoming authoritarian.

The word "productivity" is the discourse and actions of the state. It overpasses the communal structure, and the respect of the communal autonomies. Neither for communities, nor any social actor is there an official arena for the debate. With the idea of the right-wing as the "common enemy", the state demands the society to follow its model. The discourse of "the state as a civil society" continues. Hence, if any social actor goes against the state, with this discourse, it is going against the civil society interests. However, the question remains whether there is an active civil society these days, NGOs cannot be seen as expressions of civil society.

The study let opened inquiries about the Andean communities. The communities with the acceptance of the state governmentality inside their organisations, are losing spaces for critic and reinforcement of their autonomy. In this context, with less promotion of participation by the authorities as well as few demands of participating by Andean peasant and indigenous peoples, the state has been able to gain control over the communities, thus, not leaving room for grassroots' critique of the state and mobilisation. The "common enemy", as a state control strategy, has affected the local organisations to the extent that there hardly is any mobilisation and the idea of the common enemy has become a tool for social control for the stability of the state.

Another aspect that should be considered in the Andean area of Bolivia, is the situation of climate change, *minifundia*, and farming strategies. The demands of the peasant and indigenous peoples, which in some moment before the MAS came into power were taken into account, are currently ignored. The discourse of "productivity" became official. It includes mechanisation of the farming and the demand of use certified seeds, among other aspects. The capitalist

economic system has still more force than the plural economy mentioned in the Constitution. In this sense, the state is still demanding an Andean agriculture that could respond to neoliberalistic trends through an increase in production, although climate change and farming strategies do not allow for it.

Finally, there is the inquiry about the law of Legal Entity and the state demand to the organisations. In order to be recognised, NGOs should include the lines of the Patriotic Agenda 2025 in their statutes. If their work is not according to these statutes, they could be abolished without the possibility of a trial. The demand leaves little room for individual agency of the NGOs. However, if they conform to the demands they will contribute to the reproduction of a state that was led into power through the support of civil society and the organisations. This remains a huge paradox in the current situation. Hence, this regulation should be part of the civil society debate, and also needs to be reconsidered by national instances.

In this context, the NGOs are also focusing on its own sustainability and survival. The NGOs, as learning organisations, have been spaces for professional growth and technical training for indigenous and peasant families and communities. They have worked with local, national and international networks, and with direct contact with communities through their staff. In that sense, the NGOs have the power of knowledge, capabilities and networks in rural development. This is the main reason why the state promotes a relationship of control (discipline) with these organisations, while the NGOs demand a relationship of freedom in decisions and actions. Hence, with fewer funds and less support of the state, the personnel of the NGOs have been one of the most affected groups. The NGOs are still trying to survive, but with less staff, which respond to their fewer resources.

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