Part VIII

Governance Issues in South America: Relationships and Conflicts Between State and Citizens

29 Research on Social Learning, Capacity Building and Institutional Strengthening in South America

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29.1 Introduction

The Joint Area of Case Studies (JACS)[2] South America (SAM) of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South was established in August 2003, sponsoring research activities in Bolivia and Peru and later in Argentina, which joined the JACS SAM in 2004. The three countries have several problems in common, primarily relating to high rates of unemployment, power and economic inequality, the emergence of new forms of collective action, environmental hazards, conflicts over access to and control of natural resources, erosion of indigenous institutions, and loss of biological diversity.

In an attempt to understand these problems, JACS SAM researchers focused on the following three themes: 1) *Social Movements, Decentralisation and Citizenship*; 2) *Urban Risks*; and 3) *Biodiversity, Protected Areas and Indigenous People*. These three topics are linked by the common issue of governance. Therefore, most of the studies were conducted within a Governance Analytical Framework (Hufty 2009), studying actors, nodal points, social norms and processes. Several studies conducted within the JACS SAM also included a gender perspective.

29.2 Social movements, decentralisation and citizenship

Bolivia and Argentina share a similar history. Long periods of military dictatorship in the 1980s gave way to a process of democratisation, which still prevails in both countries. Democracy was revived thanks to the resistance exerted particularly by the labour movement. Left-wing governments took

Fig. 1
Mobilisation: a march of unemployed women workers in Argentina. (Photo by Alejandra Andreone)

power, but they did not last long, and the new governments shifted towards a neo-liberal position. Application of the neo-liberal economic model in the 1980s and 1990s, with its high social costs in both countries – especially during the implementation of a decentralisation process in Bolivia – triggered a new cycle of protests and the emergence of new social movements (Figure 1). These circumstances sparked the interest of JACS SAM researchers at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva (IHEID)[3] in studying the new social actors who emerged.

In Bolivia, Alejandra Ramírez, Carlos Crespo and other researchers from the multidisciplinary Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios of the Universidad Mayor de San Simón (CESU-UMSS) in Cochabamba, along with the author of the present article, who was then JACS SAM Regional Coordinator, analysed the impact of the decentralisation process taking place in

Bolivia on urban and rural grassroots movements in the Cochabamba region. The findings in rural areas showed that decentralisation processes required a modification of traditional forms of action by peasant and/or indigenous organisations. They had to adapt to new regulations, and developed successful strategies that enabled them to take control of several municipal governments. However, once in power, indigenous people and peasants displayed several shortcomings (Antezana and De La Fuente 2009). In urban areas, research showed that grassroots movements also took advantage of the spaces opened up by the decentralisation process in their struggle to get municipalities to meet the needs of the city's working-class neighbourhoods. Thus, a new form of citizenship developed in the cities.

In the case of Argentina, researchers directed by Osvaldo Battistini from the Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales – Programa de Investigaciones Económicas Sobre Tecnologías, Trabajo y Empleo (CEIL–PIETTE), a research institute that belongs to the Argentinean National Scientific and Technical Council, analysed the movements of unemployed people and workers in recovered factories. One of these research projects, "Between Resistance and Political Construction", showed that social policies are a frame of reference for the establishment of people's organisational practices. In addition, researchers at CEIL–PIETTE focused on "Gender in Unemployed Workers' Organisations". One of their main findings was that women have very little access to leadership roles, despite being over-represented in unemployed workers' organisations. Moreover, the research revealed that public policies related to unemployed or poor workers do not include a gender perspective.

Researchers at CEIL–PIETTE also implemented a Partnership Action for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS[4]; see Table 1), which allowed them to become better acquainted with unemployed workers' issues. At the same time, the PAMS provided workers with administrative training, enabling them to improve the operation of their self-managed enterprises and thus enhance their income.

Overall, the research carried out with regard to social movements, decentralisation and citizenship showed that Bolivia and Argentina have societies in which social organisations had, and continue to have, a very strong influence on the design and control of public policies (see Chapter 30 in the present volume).

Table 1

Project title	Related JACS research theme	Institution	Country of implementation
Drinking water system for the community: 'Habitat para la Mujer Maria Auxiliadora'	1	Centro de Investigación, Promoción y Desarrollo de la Ciudad (CIPRODEC)	Bolivia
Capacity building programme for social control and governance of sustainable biodiversity management in the Tunari National Park	3	Agroecología Universidad de Cochabamba (AGRUCO)	Bolivia
Support for processes of agreement between social actors for sustainable management of biodiversity and natural resources in the Cordillera of Tunari	3	Agroecología Universidad de Cochabamba (AGRUCO)	Bolivia
Support for processes of governance between political and social stakeholders for urban risk management in high-risk areas of the east and north-east slopes of the city of La Paz	2	Fundación La Paz	Bolivia
Establishment of coordination mechanisms among unemployed workers' productive enterprises in Argentina	1	Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales – Programa de Investigaciones Económicas Sobre Tecnologías, Trabajo y Empleo (CEIL–PIETTE)	Argentina
Knowledge for socio-economic development: Latin American Applied Research Network on Social Economy	2	Instituto del Conurbano, Universidad Nacional General Sarmiento	Argentina
Amarakaeri Communal Reserve: institutional strengthening	3	Racimos de Ungurahui and Federación Nativa del Río Madre de Dios y Afluentes (FENAMAD)	Peru
Support for local risk management in Bolivia	2	Fundación La Paz and Fundación para el Desarrollo Participativo Comunitario (FUNDEPCO)	Bolivia
Formulation of proposals for management of protected areas, biodiversity and natural resources for the Constituency Assembly	3	Agroecología Universidad de Cochabamba (AGRUCO)	Bolivia
Extractive industries and Biosphere Reserve management: a social learning and capacity building initiative for socio-ecological sustainability	3	Instituto del Bien Común (IBC)	Peru
Fighting against poverty reproduction: exploring strategies with young men and women who live on informal waste gathering in Buenos Aires	1	Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales – Programa de Investigaciones Económicas Sobre Tecnologías, Trabajo y Empleo (CEIL–PIETTE)	Argentina

List of Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS) implemented in the Joint Area of Case Studies (JACS) South America (SAM).

29.3 Urban risks

Most Bolivian and Peruvian cities face another core problem: high risks of natural and human-induced hazards. The situation in La Paz, for instance, is quite critical due to the fact that the city is growing in a largely unplanned manner, on very steep slopes with a gradient above 45°. Settlements on hillsides (*laderas*) surrounding the city, representing 60% of the overall urban space, are critically exposed to landslides, floods, and other natural hazards (Figure 2; see Chapter 31 in the present volume).

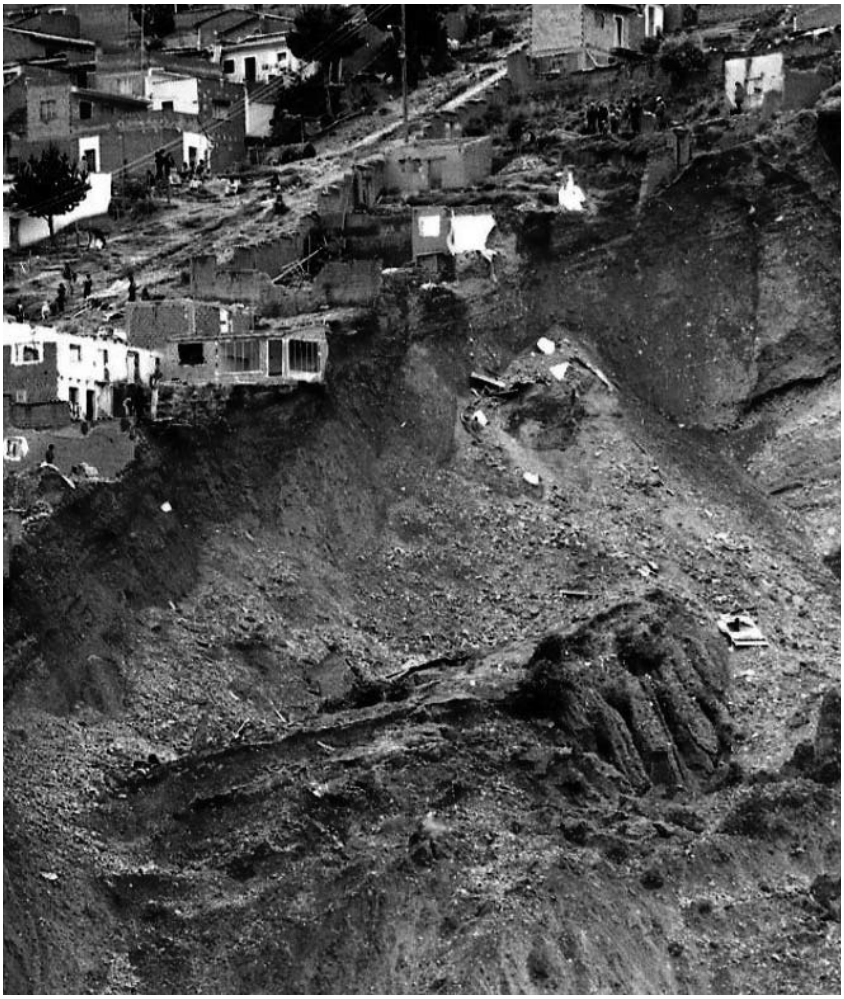

Fig. 2
Landslide in a sprawling urban settlement of La Paz. (Photo by Luis Salamanca Mazuelo)

The situation in Cusco is very similar to that of La Paz. Inhabitants of settlements in both cities, despite having suffered a series of disasters and living in a situation of risk and vulnerability, do not want to move. The researchers in the JACS SAM and at IHEID felt that it was important to understand these people's desire to stay in such exposed places and, in a more general way, their perceptions of their living conditions. At the same time, it was also important to know what the municipal, departmental and central governments are doing to appropriately manage these risk situations. All of these questions were addressed in a series of research projects in La Paz and Cusco.

Two PhD candidates from the Postgrado en Ciencias del Desarrollo at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (CIDES–UMSA), Luís Salamanca Mazuelo and Fabien Nathan, analysed perceptions of natural risks among the population of La Paz and studied government elaboration of risk management policies, also in La Paz. In addition, they participated in a NCCR North-South Transversal Package Project (TPP)[5] entitled "From Vulnerability to Resistance", led by Brigit Obrist. Similar studies were conducted in Cusco by researchers of the Centro Bartolomé De Las Casas (CBC) – a graduate institution in Cusco – and two Master's students and a senior researcher at IHEID.

Some research results showed that the population is not fully aware of the risks inherent in the surroundings it is living in. Another important finding was that public policies in Bolivia are developed using a vertical top-down approach. Given that the Bolivian state is structurally very fragile, the national agenda has largely been designed by international cooperation agencies. As a consequence, political stakeholders, technocrats or bureaucrats do not take ownership of public policies, and social organisations are not even conscious of the risk situation (see Chapter 31 in the present volume).

Two PAMS were designed to raise awareness of these problems. They were implemented by two foundations – the Fundación La Paz and the Fundación para el Desarrollo Participativo Comunitario (FUNDEPCO). Some of the outcomes show that the population and local authorities are now more aware of the vulnerabilities and risks that affect them. Thus, they can now work to prevent natural disasters through better planning that includes a risk perspective. Furthermore, they are in a position to respond more rapidly and adequately in the event of a natural disaster. Two additional outcomes of these PAMS were a series of publications, including an atlas of threats, risk and vulnerability, as well as collaboration of the JACS SAM with another funding agency (OXFAM Great Britain). This not only strengthened the out-

puts and outcomes of the PAMS, but also gave the JACS SAM the opportunity to carry out other academic activities (research, seminars, publications) that were funded jointly with OXFAM Great Britain.

29.4 Biodiversity, protected areas and indigenous people

Bolivia and Peru face further core problems related to conflicts over access to and control over natural resources, erosion of indigenous institutions, and loss of biological diversity. One of the mechanisms for conservation of nature and biodiversity was the creation of protected areas; however, this did not include the perspectives of local social actors, especially the indigenous people, who have accumulated valuable knowledge on these areas over centuries. In many cases the creation of protected areas thus gave rise to conflicts, which, in turn, sparked governance problems in some indigenous communities.

Researchers in the JACS SAM, at IHEID and at the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE)[6] sought to understand the dynamics of these problems. Their study area encompassed the region between Vilcambamba (Peru) and Amboró (Bolivia), which is a transboundary area very rich in biodiversity. Marc Galvin was the first PhD candidate to start research on the Peruvian side of this area. His dissertation consisted of an analysis of the traditional knowledge policy in Peru. He showed that discussions on the Peruvian Traditional Knowledge (TK) Law are built on ideologies, mainly in response to international debates. This is one of the reasons that explain the failure of the TK Law. After finishing his dissertation, together with Tobias Haller of the University of Zurich, Marc Galvin initiated a project entitled "People, Protected Areas and Global Change" to capitalise on research done on this issue in Latin American (Vilcabamba/Amboró area), African and Asian regions within the NCCR North-South programme (Galvin and Haller 2008).

In addition, in the Peruvian part of the Vilcabamba/Amboró area, Alex Álvarez and Jamil Alca Castillo completed a Master's thesis at CBC and are now completing their studies at PhD level. Their current research explores issues in the Amarakaeri Communal Reserve. They are hosted by the Instituto del Bien Común (IBC), a Peruvian NGO that has an agreement with the JACS SAM to conduct research on "Discourses on the Future of Amazonian Bio-

Fig. 3
Andean migrant settlers extracting gold in the buffer zone southwest of the Amarakaeri Communal Reserve. Although commercial resource extraction is forbidden by the park law, these activities continue to be the main source of income for many settler groups. The position of the state in this regard is ambiguous. (Photo by Jamil Alca Castillo, 2006)

diversity: Indigenous Territoriality, Conservation and Development for Progress". The purpose of this project is to 'map' the main discourses about biodiversity, conservation and development, as expressed by various actors involved in the creation and management of two protected areas in the Peruvian Amazon region (Figure 3). The areas are the Zona Reserva Sierra del Divisor (ZRSDD), in northeastern Peru, and the Amarakaeri Communal Reserve, in the country's southeast.

In the Bolivian part of this area, among the most important research conducted was the work done by Sébastien Boillat, Elvira Serrano and Dora Ponce Camacho, of Agroecología Universidad de Cochabamba (AGRUCO). They studied the Tunari National Park (TNP), which was created in 1964 to halt the expansion of the city of Cochabamba onto the hillsides and protect the city from natural disasters. The current legal framework for the area was established in 1991, prohibiting grazing and restricting agricultural and forestry activities in the area. These restrictions clash with the interests of around 400 Quechua peasant communities living in the TNP (see Chapter 32 in the present volume). Also in the Bolivian part of this area, Patrick Bottazzi of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva (IHEID) recently completed his PhD dissertation entitled "To the Border of

Institutional Territory: Ethnicity, Protected Areas and Land Settlement in the Bolivian Amazon".

However, analysis was not enough; it was also important to empower the indigenous communities that lived in this area and help establish a dialogue among the different stakeholders so they could jointly find solutions. This endeavour was pursued within three PAMS developed by AGRUCO and Racimos de Ungurahui, a Peruvian NGO. Nowadays, Bolivian and Peruvian peasants and indigenous organisations are more aware of their rights in the TNP and are able to find ways to manage their protected areas.

29.5 Perspectives

The choice of the JACS SAM research themes at the beginning was appropriate since they address crucial problems faced by the region. Nevertheless, the situation is changing rapidly in South America; therefore, it is appropriate to hold a workshop with scholars from the three countries to discuss the advisability of introducing new research themes.

With the future in mind, it is important that JACS SAM researchers continue their efforts to strengthen their institutional partners. Furthermore, they have to promote networking among these institutions in a more efficient way. There must be more exchange between the various research teams, and it is important to initiate comparative studies. One example could be a study of the mobility of elites from civil society to the state. Analysis of relations between the state and grassroots movements is an aspect addressed in almost all research conducted within the JACS SAM. Moreover, although it is evident that leaders of social movements often become government authorities, there has been no systematic study of this phenomenon. Hence, it is important to conduct such a study in a comparative way, with similar research questions and a similar methodology. Another comparative analysis could be carried out on the influence of international cooperation, which has a strong impact on the orientation of decentralisation processes, on governmental risk management policies, and on protected area management, among other things. These are all topics studied by the three JACS SAM research teams; some of the PhD studies highlight this influence, but not in a systematic way. Finally, the role of social movements in tackling certain environmental and ecological issues is a transversal theme that might be worth further investigation.

Endnotes

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[2] The NCCR North-South is based on research partnerships with researchers and research institutions in the South and East. These partnership regions are called JACS (Joint Areas of Case Studies). Regional Coordination Offices (RCOs) were established in each of these JACS at the outset of the programme. The original function of the RCOs was to coordinate research; in the third phase of the programme, RCOs will consolidate the existing research network in the South and will become hubs for generating new research projects and partnerships.

[3] IHEID (formerly Institut universitaire d'études du développement, or IUED) is an Institutional Partner (IP) of the NCCR North-South.

[4] Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS) are projects implemented by local actors together with scientific and non-scientific stakeholders. As a component of the NCCR North-South programme they are designed to implement and validate approaches, methods and tools developed in research, with a view to finding promising strategies and potentials for sustainable development. Moreover, they are intended to promote mutual learning and knowledge-sharing between academic and non-academic partners in sustainable development.

[5] Transversal Package Projects (TPPs) were a Phase 2 component of the NCCR North-South that helped to cross disciplinary boundaries, with a view to achieving better integration of complex issues within the framework of the overall theme of sustainable development and syndrome mitigation. TPPs were interdisciplinary projects entrusted to research teams under the leadership of promising post-doctoral researchers from the North and the South.

[6] CDE is also an Institutional Partner (IP) of the NCCR North-South.

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30 Reconstruction of Relationships Between the State and Social Organisations in Argentina and Bolivia since the 1990s

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Abstract

What processes have been involved in the reconstruction of relationships between social organisations and the state in Bolivia and Argentina since the 1990s? This was the key question addressed in a study of the impact of public policies on the relationships among social and state agents in both countries, where new public policies are characterised by a process of administrative and political decentralisation. The research conducted showed that both countries have societies in which social organisations had, and continue to have, a very strong influence on the design and control of public policies. Hence the relationships between the state and social organisations are not based on dichotomies. Rather, they are marked by different forms of interpenetration, with the state influencing organisations and vice versa. These forms of interpenetration continuously trigger processes of social and state reconstruction. Gender issues are becoming an increasingly important aspect in these processes.

Keywords: Decentralisation; citizenship; social movements; social organisations; Argentina; Bolivia.

30.1 Introduction

This article presents a summary of research carried out in Bolivia and Argentina within the framework of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South programme. The issue that provides the basis for the integration of research in both countries arises from an international debate initiated by Corcuff (1996), Honneth (1997), Morin (2004), Elias (2008) and other sociologists, who question the classic dichotomy between the state and civil society. In research carried out in Bolivia – one of the poorest countries of Latin America – and in Argentina – one of the wealthiest – we analyse the remaking of the socio-political configuration between social organisations and the state from the 1990s onwards, within different types of state decentralisation models. Parallel studies of these processes in both countries – the implementation of decentralisation in Bolivia since 1994 and the transformation of social policies in Argentina from the 1990s onwards – allow us to take a stance on this international debate. Analyses of public policies undertaken in both countries revealed common characteristics that enabled us to compare and assess both histories as emerging processes of decentralisation of state resources, in which decisions and tasks are transferred to other government levels (Bresser Pereira 1998), and in which social organisations become important actors in the circulation and distribution of such resources. Hence public policy analysis, the characteristics of social organisations, and the new relationships between social organisations and state agents emerging in a decentralised administrative context represent the variables that are taken into account in this article to understand the similarities and peculiarities of the decentralisation processes in each country.[5]

In this article, we accept the challenge of understanding the uniqueness of social processes based on the assumption of interrelationships – rather than opposition – between the different aspects of societies, rather than assuming an artificial construction and use of classic dichotomies. As Chantal Mouffe points out in an interview with Markus Miessen (Miessen 2007), in post-political societies we need to find new ways of understanding relationships between the various components of civil and political society. For the specific case of Latin America, following Cunill Grau (1995) and Haidar (2005), among others, we assume that it is not possible to conceive of analysis of the state and of social organisations separately. We therefore need to create new instruments and perspectives that will allow us to understand the increasing interdependence and interpenetration between state agents and

social stakeholders – even more so in the context of decentralisation politics since the 1990s.

30.2 Methodology

The Bolivian research project, carried out by a group of researchers from the NCCR North-South and the Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios, Universidad Mayor de San Simón (CESU-UMSS), investigated the impact of decentralisation processes on the new power relationships among grassroots territorial organisations (in Spanish: *Organización Territorial de Base*, OTB)[6], neighbourhood councils, unions, associations and municipal governments in three rural municipalities, one semi-urban metropolitan area and one metropolitan area of Cochabamba.[7] In Argentina, research carried out since 2004 by the team at the Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales, Programa de Investigaciones Económicas sobre Tecnología, Trabajo y Empleo (CEIL-PIETTE) has focused on reconstructing organisation and mobilisation processes among unemployed workers' organisations[8], workers in recovered factories, and *cartoneros* and *quemeros*[9] in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area (*Área Metropolitana Buenos Aires*, AMBA).

In methodological terms, the research approach in both countries was based on semi-structured interviews (more than 100 interviews in Bolivia and 120 in Argentina); observation of daily activities and public events; analysis of state programmes; a review of documents and bibliographic material; and, for Bolivia, a press review (1994–2004). In the case of Argentina, these techniques were combined with workshops organised and carried out within the framework of the NCCR North-South Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS)[10], in a project entitled "Establishment of Coordinated Mechanisms between Unemployed Workers' Productive Enterprises in Argentina".[11] This project demonstrated the usefulness of adopting gender as a theoretical perspective, since this approach implies an epistemological positioning and a methodology that privileges all participants, encouraging them to express themselves even if they are not accustomed to speaking in public. This approach involves a considerable investment in terms of time and fieldwork activities in order to create a favourable environment for all participants.

The following two sections of the present article provide summaries of the two teams' syntheses. This is followed by a section in which we return to our original research question and propose future perspectives.

30.3 The case of Bolivia

30.3.1 Decentralisation processes

In Bolivia, the collapse of the 1952 State[12], combined with neo-liberal structural adjustments (1985), clearly exposed the profound social inequality that existed between the urban and rural sectors and between those close to and those isolated from the sphere of government. This resulted in the emergence of various proposals for state decentralisation as of the late 1980s, which materialised in the enactment of several laws[13] that allowed formal inclusion of people in public decision-making and equitable resource redistribution at the national level, through transfer of a budget for joint participation based on the number of inhabitants in each municipality. This changed the relationship between social organisations and the state.

More specifically, a system of participatory planning was installed at three levels: public policy programming, management, and social monitoring. To implement the participatory planning, two types of organisations were created: OTBs and monitoring committees (in Spanish: *Comité de Vigilancia*, CV)[14], both of which were formed on the basis of existing organisations such as agrarian unions, indigenous communities or neighbourhood councils, suggesting a kind of regularisation or legalisation of such organisations. The municipality became the privileged administrative unit at the national level, thus consolidating autonomy at the local level.

30.3.2 Social organisations involved in decentralisation

In rural areas, decentralisation processes required that farming and/or indigenous organisations adjust their traditional forms of action. They had to adapt to the new regulations and develop strategies – which will be examined below – to appropriate the process and take on municipal power. For the social organisations, taking over new functions also implied facing a variety of technical and political difficulties, linked, for example, to their unawareness of regulations, planning techniques and management procedures. Nevertheless, despite all the problems encountered, local-level social organisations were included in the sphere of public policy management and control. Many local peasants and indigenous leaders became members of local government authorities (e.g. mayors, municipal authorities) and, later on, national government authorities (e.g. congressmen).

However, more sceptical views suggest an opposite relationship: since social organisations were given the opportunity to exercise greater control over the central government, the state also started exercising greater control over social organisations. Indeed, one of the main changes in the national political panorama as of the 1990s was that the 1994 Law on Popular Participation (*Ley de Participación Popular*, LPP) enabled the state to introduce its presence throughout the Bolivian territory – something that did not exist before – not only by modifying traditional organisations, but also by imposing stronger control of the population in rural areas.[15]

In urban areas, 'regulated' participation by social organisations in designing public policy soared towards the end of the 1980s, when regional councils were formed, made up of neighbours in city sectors. The councils deliberated "like the municipal council" and determined lines of action and urban management for their regions (Vargas 2005). The new regulation was rapidly adapted to the organisations' characteristics and demands. The significant growth of the number of OTBs and their adoption of various strategies in government spheres shows the increasing inclusion of civil society in government administration.

30.3.3 New relationships between the state and social organisations in Cochabamba

In rural areas, decentralisation processes transformed local-level power relations, changing local governance and opening up possibilities for peasants and indigenous people to exercise their political rights and actively participate (Antezana and De La Fuente 2009). In the case of municipalities – where decision-making was limited to local authorities and where local provincial elites exercised their influence (Crespo and Antezana 2006) – the LPP opened up a range of opportunities for participation, creating scenarios in which formerly excluded groups became powerful and started taking over the administration of municipal governments. The strategies that social organisations – be they indigenous organisations or labour unions – developed for this purpose shifted from striking alliances with traditional political parties to participating in municipal elections and gradually creating political instruments of their own, e.g. the Movement for Socialism (*Movimiento al Socialismo*, MAS). As the decentralisation process became consolidated, indigenous and peasant candidates entered public spaces in municipalities and institutions linked to popular participation.[16] This led to an irreversible empowerment of these social stakeholders, who began to prevail in municipal public administration.

In semi-rural areas, another type of stakeholder emerged – linked to productive activities and with strong NGO ties – with significant incidence on public administration: producers' associations, including those formed for irrigation, the so-called *regantes*. Upon taking over municipal administration, they started excluding and discriminating against peasants from more distant localities, thereby re-adopting the provincial elites' former racist and corrupt practices (Crespo and Antezana 2006).

In urban areas, neighbourhood councils were rapidly transformed or assumed the functions of OTBs;[17] in this process, formerly relegated stakeholders – migrants and working class people – started taking over administrative posts, developing a variety of strategies (Ramírez and Calisaya, in press) to participate actively in decision-making and in ongoing control of local public administration. Strong political ties developed between OTBs and CVs, on the one hand, and public municipal officials as well as the mayor's political party, on the other hand. In some cases, local daily papers denounced the political co-opting of the former (Ramírez and Calisaya, in press). A twofold relationship was established: local stakeholders began to influence public policies, but at the same time official party representatives began to take on functions of social organisations, mainly in CVs.

The first stage of implementation of the decentralisation process saw a consolidation of OTBs, mainly in areas with a greater need for public services. Gradually, better-off sectors started establishing such organisations as well, giving them other characteristics: for example, a focus on promoting culture and heritage. In general, exercising citizenship through participation in OTBs in the urban sector became a common practice, also among women. A strong NGO momentum made this possible in spite of various obstacles such as illiteracy, lack of awareness of the regulations, and an unequal power distribution between women and men (Ramírez 2007; for the urban case, see Ramírez, in press, and Suárez and Sánchez 2007).

Generally speaking, in both the urban and rural sectors, the decentralisation process paved the way for greater participation by women in the public arena, even when such participation involved various problems, as pointed out by Clisby (2005). This happened even though, in some cases, it destroyed or eliminated the political and economic importance of traditional women's organisations such as mothers' clubs (Clisby 2005; Ramírez, in press; Suárez and Sánchez 2007).

Fig. 1
The democratisation process in Bolivia has led to frequent confrontations between newly empowered social groups and state authorities, revealing that it is fraught with contradictions that need to be dealt with. (Photos by Carlos Crespo)

To sum up, the decentralisation processes led to a complex interrelationship between the state and local social organisations in urban and rural municipalities. This relationship took on the following characteristics: 1) social organisations started becoming part of the public administration, either indirectly – by way of the OTBs or by imposing demands through conflicts and confrontations (Figure 1) – or directly – through participation in municipal governments; 2) at the same time, local and national governments began to have a greater influence on social organisations; 3) in the course of this process, basic infrastructure was improved at the local level without necessarily entailing a boost to economic productivity; 4) in rural areas there was an increase in social monitoring of public administration based on links established between CVs and social organisations, whereas in urban areas, social monitoring relied more on the individual exercise of citizenship than on the role of CVs, due to the political co-optation of the latter; 4) a lack of knowledge of regulations and of conscious and informed exercise of citizenship among social organisations and citizens appears to have been the main obstacle keeping them from efficiently dealing with the challenges posed by decentralisation processes.

30.4 The case of Argentina

30.4.1 The restructuring of the field of social policy in the 1990s

Programmatic interests of neo-conservative sectors that controlled the public policy agenda in the 1990s had the objective of dismantling traditional state social-policy institutions. In this process, a convergence of political and economic interests and 'technical knowledge' emerged among officers of local state and multilateral credit organisations. This convergence was endorsed by deregulatory and private sector conceptions of social protection for salaried workers. It also influenced compensation policies for people 'outside' the labour market or with scarce economic resources (focalised policies). In this way, the focalised policies of the 1980s became the paradigm of state intervention in the matter of social welfare.

Throughout these years, the state modified its presence through interventions that targeted the working classes' living conditions. Similarly, a process of extension and diversification of different types of social organisations emerged, with the goal of producing resources and/or transferring them to poor households, NGOs, social movements, religious networks, political parties, etc.[18]

30.4.2 Mobilisation and organisation processes

Mobilisation of the population's most vulnerable sectors, women's participation in such mobilisation (Freytes Frey et al 2006; Partenio 2006), and the leading role taken by union militants and suburban city leaders challenged assumptions about 'political apathy' and 'exclusion', which were terms used to define the working classes' lack of political consciousness and participation at earlier stages. However, these three processes did not take place in the same way; each had a different inflection.

The socio-political reconfiguration of the working classes was characterised by the creation of organisations for the unemployed. Many of these grassroots organisations originated during the 1980s; however in the mid-1990s unemployment ranked higher both on the public agenda and in social conflict, and the new organisations began playing a crucial role in politicising the unemployment issue.

Three key elements – social mobilisation, neighbourhood community work (such as the creation of communal dining halls and lunchrooms, the planting of vegetable gardens and orchards, the providing of clothes for the community and the launching of productive micro-enterprises) and competition with other political organisations or parties – provide an entry point for understanding these organisations' political logic of representing the poor and impoverished.

Moreover, processes of recovering factories were based on a strategy which, in most cases, consisted of combining permanent presence of workers in enterprises that were bankrupt or undergoing foreclosure, with their playing a leading role in the autonomous management of these enterprises (Figure 2). A central feature in these processes was the revision of the working day. On the one hand, the tasks carried out by workers were diversified, not only with a modification of the tasks related to production, but also adding new activities (management responsibilities such as administrative and commercial duties, protest actions, negotiation with government officials, meetings with representatives of other worker-recovered factories, etc.). On the other hand, workers were obliged to stay in the factory over longer periods to "guard" and "defend" their jobs against the threat of eviction. Since the early 2000s, particularly in 2002 and 2003, these processes have multiplied, determining the particular modality of demanding a source of employment called 'recovery' (Fernández Álvarez 2006).

Fig. 2
A worker in a recovered factory: the "7 de Septiembre" cooperative. (Photo by Florencia Partenio)

30.4.3 Relationships between the state and social organisations

The configuration of the field of social policy, structured by the ideology of focalised policies and caring for populations 'at risk', was one of the conditions for the development of social mobilisation movements and unemployed workers' organisations in the state. There was a close relationship between the consolidation and growth of these organisations and the expansion of social plans[19] distributed by the government, which created a sort of 'virtuous circle' around social policy (Freytes Frey and Cross 2007).

The worker-recovered factories had an ambiguous position in this respect. Their subjective orientation was marked by the workers' resistance to dependence on social plans. Demands for expropriation laws were based, among other motives, on the intention to maintain a certain distance from the world of assistance, and to belong to the productive labour world (Fernández Álvarez and Wilkis 2007). However, worker-recovered factories also depended on certain innovations within the field of social policy that led to them being considered as stakeholders and a possible target group for subsidies.

The transformation of the field of social policy and the orientation of unemployed workers' organisations and worker-recovered factories were governed by the category of "social economy". Indeed, from 2003 onwards, changes in government-led social policy were introduced, arguing for the avoidance of political patronage, creating work rather than increasing 'social assistance' (Cross and Freytes Frey 2007). In terms of those newly in charge of social policies, this change is a 'productivist turn' that results from the 'social assistance approach' of the earlier stage.[20]

This redefinition of government policy stems from various sources. Some core aspects of the former mobilisation process – in which work was promoted as a tool for social integration and the 'indignity' of social plans was sustained – were revisited. However, recommendations made by multilateral credit organisations, which controlled the awarding of funds indispensable for sustaining 'emergency' programmes, were also implemented.

Within this framework, various strategies were designed to redefine the beneficiary population according to a classification using "employable" and "unemployable" as criteria. While the modification of the "Unemployed

Male and Female Heads of Household Plan" (in Spanish: *Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados*, PJJHD) led to transfer of 'employables' to labour reinsertion programmes, the rest of the beneficiaries were to be placed in other programmes, such as "Families for Social Inclusion". This programme was designed to provide a variable subsidy based on the number of young children under care; it does not demand 'labour compensation', but requires certification that children attended school and have completed the immunisation schedule. According to demand, this programme contains an important gender bias and is intended mainly for women.

In other articles (Cross and Partenio 2005), we analysed the activities of women in unemployed workers' organisations, who participate mainly by performing daily tasks such as administration of social policy, canteens and community clothing units, thus contributing to the material reproduction of their movement (Figure 3). With the implementation of the "Families for Social Inclusion" programme, a shift away from household work was proposed. Furthermore, policies that sought to reactivate productive micro-enterprises were designed: different productive enterprises were thus operated along with other types of enterprises[21] in a single place and were incorporated into a field marked by government definitions and processes of social mobilisation.

Fig. 3
Women doing community work for unemployed workers' organisations in Argentina. (Photos by Alejandra Andreone)

The objective distance that existed between unemployed workers' organisations and worker-recovered factories during the cycle of protests appears to be reduced to the rhythm of the re-configuration of the field of social policy, now focusing on the promotion of social economy. This new configuration tends to bring together the demands of both groups and the regulations for (and tensions between) their economic and political activities; for example, it leads to making the criterion of sustainable economics of the undertakings compatible with the action to support community activities. This has generated new dilemmas for the stakeholders who were in charge of the involved civil society organisations, incorporating, furthermore, other productive experiences such as those of recyclers' organisations and social enterprises consisting of men and women cardboard pickers – *quemeros* and *cartoneros* (Carenzo and Roig 2007; Partenio and Fernández Álvarez 2007; Cross and Freytes Frey 2009).

30.5 Conclusions

This article has aimed to reconstruct the processes that reconfigured the relationships between state agents and social organisations studied in Bolivia and Argentina, in order to analyse the complex interrelationships between the two players in the two countries. It shows that Bolivia and Argentina are clearly societies where social organisations have had an increasing influence on local and national government policies, even more so since the implementation in the 1990s of administrative and political decentralisation processes.

The case studies demonstrate that the dichotomy between the state and social organisations is problematic. Overcoming it when discussing the two countries' decentralisation processes makes it possible to understand how the state and social organisations simultaneously changed within a process in which the state affected social organisations' orientations not only externally, but also internally, and vice versa. In fact, interpenetration occurred in different ways: from the state into the organisations (imposing regulations, for instance the LPP in Bolivia; social plans, for instance the PJJHD in Argentina; frameworks for demands; regulations for social organisations, e.g. the regulation of OTBs in Bolivia or the regulation of social policy beneficiary populations in Argentina; etc.) and from the social organisations into the state (creating specific agencies to address new demands; local leaders' participation in public functions in municipal governments; social organisations beginning to plan and manage public policy; etc.). The above

shows that we need to re-think the traditional dichotomy between the state and social organisations and to provide new elements to understand Latin American processes, as well as to develop projects in the region that combine research and development.

This article also raises new questions and possible ways of comparing the local realities of Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Bolivia, assuming that this may also help to understand other regional realities. Indeed, as Roniger (2006) pointed out when referring to the citizenship debate, "the Latin American cases have general significance for the study of citizenship [and the relationship between the state and civil society organisations] at large" (p 501). Our findings have allowed us to highlight three lines of continuity to this end: a) building leadership and political militancy, as well as participation of organisations' members in state agencies; b) the relationship between participation and gender issues in the redefinition of socio-political configurations in both countries, considering the different orientations that social policies produced and their effect from the gender perspective; c) the role of NGOs and international organisations as significant stakeholders – whose incidence has not yet been fully analysed – within the framework of the state–social organisations configuration.

Endnotes

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[5] In addition, this study takes into account the governance analytical framework, the strategies and rules used by social actors, and the diverse socio-political processes that occur in each country (see Hufty 2009).

[6] Spanish acronyms are used throughout this article, as they are widely used by the research community.

[7] The Department of Cochabamba covers a valley region that links Bolivia's highlands and lowlands both geographically and from a social and cultural point of view. Since the pre-Hispanic period, this region has been known as a place in which different Bolivian cultures mix and coexist (see Sánchez 2008). This feature has become increasingly important in recent years. Cochabamba is Bolivia's most important department in that it receives migrants from other places – the country's highlands and lowlands. Hence, studies in this area can to some extent also reflect realities in other regions of the country.

[8] These unemployed workers' organisations were commonly called 'picketer movements' (*movimientos piqueteros*), given that picketing (*piquete*), i.e. the blocking of main roads and routes, was the main characteristic of their pressure tactics. This is how they called attention to the precarious situation of unemployed people in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area.

[9] *Cartoneros* are people who sort household waste in order to sell it later, while *quemeros* are people who retrieve discarded materials from sanitary landfills or 'burning places' for trading.

[10] Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS) are projects implemented by local actors together with scientific and non-scientific stakeholders. As a component of the NCCR North-South programme they are designed to implement and validate approaches, methods and tools developed in research, with a view to finding promising strategies and potentials for sustainable development. Moreover, they are intended to promote mutual learning and knowledge-sharing between academic and non-academic partners in sustainable development.

[11] Participatory techniques were used for the implementation of the PAMS project. They provided the technical means for designing collective productive action to solve organisational problems.

[12] This is the name for the Bolivian state in the period of 1952–1985, in which social organisations had a strong hand in the design and implementation of public policy, both in rural areas (peasant unions) and in urban areas (workers' unions, business organisations, neighbourhood councils).

[13] Mainly the 1994 Law on Popular Participation (*Ley de Participación Popular*, LPP), the 1995 Law on Decentralisation (*Ley de Descentralización*), and the 1999 Law on Municipalities (*Ley de Municipalidades*).

[14] A CV's task is to make sure that the local government accomplishes what was planned in the annual operational budget (*Presupuesto Operativo Annual*, POA), whereas the OTBs participate in preparing and determining the POA.

[15] It is interesting to analyse, for instance, how each community began to register its total population with national bodies after the enactment of the LPP, in order to get its share of the budget for joint participation. Indeed, a community's share of this budget depends on the number of its registered inhabitants.

[16] According to Córdova (2008), during the municipal election in 2004, a political peasant organisation – in this case MAS – won the elections in 34 of the 45 municipalities of Cochabamba.

[17] At present, there are around 393 OTBs and 353 neighbourhood councils in Cochabamba (De La Fuente and Ramírez 2007).

[18] These organisations are heterogeneous with regard to their origins, institutional framework and political-ideological orientation, and in many cases they compete with one another; however, together they represent the organisational structure through which the working classes reproduce their living conditions (Wilkis 2007).

[19] In 2002, social programmes were unified in the 'Unemployed Male and Female Heads of Household Plan' (in Spanish: *Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados*, PJJHD). Their potential beneficiaries were, above all, male and female heads of households with young or handicapped children under their care or with a pregnant cohabitant. In addition to this programme, social organisations had access to other nutritional and health plans, etc.

[20] We analysed these categories as tools to disqualify or qualify field agents and their use of state resources. The refocusing of social policies tends to lend the categories of 'assistance' and 'patronage' new topicality as a means to challenge opponents and impose (new) intervention criteria (Wilkis 2004).

[21] Considering their relationship with social policies, we can classify these micro-enterprises into three types: working cooperatives, which are established on the basis of the worker-recovered factories; productive micro-enterprises, created by social policy programmes; and enterprises created by the formalisation of *cartoneros*' and *quemeros*' activities.

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31 Risk Perception and Management in La Paz, Bolivia, and Cusco, Peru

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Abstract

Migration, accelerated growth and lack of planning have led to the emergence of highly vulnerable cities such as La Paz and Cusco, which have elevated levels of exposure to hazards (floods, landslides and earthquakes). Local governments and citizens have not succeeded in putting risk management on the political agenda. This study presents results of research on the social construction of disaster risks in La Paz and Cusco. It confirms Maskrey's statement that "the population only prioritises risk when confronted by specific adverse phenomena, and responds to this risk in the overall context of other social, economic and political risk that they confront on a daily basis" (Maskrey 1989).

Keywords: Hazard; vulnerability; risk; urban risk; risk management; migration; accelerated growth; planning; Bolivia; Peru.

31.1 Introduction: issues presented by case studies

Natural disasters affect an increasing number of people worldwide. Seventy-five percent of the world population live in areas prone to earthquakes, tropical cyclones, floods, or droughts, and were affected by disaster at least once between 1980 and 2000 (UNDP 2004). Disasters are closely related to development processes (Vargas 2003). Furthermore, the most severely affected populations tend to be the poorest and least resourceful, and those who receive less protection from the state. Bolivia and Peru are highly vulnerable countries at permanent risk. Despite the fact that most research on disasters has been conducted in the South, it was carried out mainly by researchers from the North due to limited academic and scientific resources in the South (Lavell 2005). By contrast, the present research, facilitated by the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South, has been carried out mainly by partners from the South.[4]

31.1.1 Relevant historical and geographical features of the areas studied

The two cities of La Paz and Cusco (Figure 1) are both highly exposed to natural hazards as a result of urban growth.

Historically, La Paz was built with an inherent strong socio-spatial segregation. Duly planned areas were occupied by the Spanish, while the indigenous population grew on the margins of secure areas, developing in a chaotic manner. This model has been reproduced until today, the only change being the groups in power who control the land. Those in control attach great value to land that is safe and stable, displacing those with few resources to marginal areas and hill slopes.

The 1952 revolution produced mass migration from rural areas as a side-effect. Resulting settlements and constructions have defined the design of urban growth, which began to invade new zones on the lower hillsides. During the 1970s, La Paz underwent accelerated growth. New waves of migrants invaded the mid-level slopes on the hillsides, initially in illegal or public areas, without basic infrastructure. As a result, the municipal government lost control of the city, initiating a process of physical and environmental vulnerability in these settlements.

The migrants were the victims of segregation, with restricted and unequal access to infrastructure and public resources. They even had to submit to

Fig. 1
Map of South America with the study areas of La Paz and Cusco. (Map by Luis Salamanca Mazuelo)

political blackmail in order to legalise their settlements. This inequality was accentuated by the neo-liberal model forcibly imposed in 1985.

Nowadays, La Paz extends from 2800 m to 4000 m above sea level and has a variety of microclimates. Erosion in the valley has produced noticeable dissimilarities in altitudes as well as a rugged topography, which includes rifts, areas with moderate to steep slopes, small plateaus, and sectors that are isolated from each other due to numerous watercourses. The city is cloistered in a deep valley that forms the basin of the Choqueyapu River. It covers an area of 8310 ha, and the population reached 798,585 inhabitants in 2001. La Paz has an unstable physical configuration due to geological and hydrological conditions and more than 380 underground rivers.

Some human settlements have been established on very steep slopes with a gradient above 45°, or in spaces that are not suitable for construction, mainly located on hillsides (*laderas*) surrounding the city; these represent 60% of the overall urban space. The main hazards are landslides, floods, mudslides, and hailstorms.

Cusco is the result of a juxtaposition of Incan, colonial, republican and contemporary cities. In recent years, rural–urban migration has led to accelerated urban growth, increasing the unplanned presence of marginal settlements. Most of these are located in areas that are prone to physical and environmental hazards. Some people have no other option than living on the hillsides adjacent to or surrounding the historical centre, or in other dangerous zones. These inadequate uses of space have generated physical risks in the city (Guzmán Pacheco 2005).

The city is located in the south-eastern area of the Andes in Peru, with an elevation varying between 3150 and 3700 m above sea level, and an area of 3400 ha occupied by 339,000 inhabitants. It is shaped by a valley floor, esplanades, and part of the basin's hillsides. The characteristics of the original inter-Andean valley have gradually been modified: more and more of its agricultural sectors have been transformed into human settlements. Likewise, steep areas with natural and cultivated forests that had shaped the city's landscape have been supplanted by urban settlements, as well.

The majority of human settlements in Cusco are located in a marginal urban vicinity, classified as areas prone to physical and environmental hazards. Consequently, they have a higher vulnerability. Over the last few years, intense rain in Cusco led to a series of landslides and floods (Guzmán Pacheco 2005; Hammond 2006).

31.1.2 Scope of the study

In view of the constant disasters endured in La Paz and Cusco, the research done within the NCCR North-South programme aimed to understand risk in its entirety, especially the processes of social construction of risk that contribute to disaster. This article focuses mainly on two major dimensions: risk perception and risk management.

Risk perception, understood as representation of risk by the people involved, defines the awareness of the problem which conditions the adoption of protective measures. Perception is thus part of the social construction of risk, understood as societal processes that create or increase risk. Another part of these processes is risk management, i.e. the way in which the issue is dealt with at all levels.

Both cities are quite similar in many respects: they have populations of less than one million, are situated at high altitudes, and are typical Andean human settlements with a strong millenary indigenous presence (Inca/Aymara), colonisation by the Spanish, and then rapid urban growth due to "rural exodus". Both are surrounded by vast, hazardous hill slopes (Figure 2), where the poorest tend to live at risk of landslides, whereas the city centres are considerably more wealthy and safe, although both are threatened by flooding. The climate is quite similar, as well, with 4 months of intense rainfall each year. These similarities justify a systematic comparison. This article opens a debate which needs to be enriched through future research.

31.2 Methodology

The methodology used involved studying people's knowledge and practices and linking them in an inductive way. People's risk perceptions, embedded in their daily lives, were investigated and then put into a broader context of vulnerability and risk by the use of maps, reports, and statistics. This made it possible to analyse their concerns as well as the processes by which problems are rendered invisible. On this basis, processes were then explained theoretically and critically.

Fig. 2
Dangerous slopes in La Paz. (Photo by Fabien Nathan)

Work on two PhD and two MA studies was done in La Paz and Cusco. The PhD projects studied the vulnerability of La Paz in depth, with qualitative and quantitative instruments such as focus groups, participatory observations, literature reviews, housing census, surveys, and interviews. Geographic information systems (GIS) were also used. In-depth case studies were done, not only at the city level but also in several exposed neighbourhoods on the city's hill slopes; these included in situ participatory observation of inhabitants that had been at risk for more than two years. The two MA studies applied similar qualitative methods in Cusco.

31.3 State of the art

31.3.1 Risk management

Disaster management: Prior to the 1980s, the dominant perspective of several institutions was one of disaster management, based on the principle that disasters are the result of natural hazards, and that nothing can be done to control and minimise these hazards or to avoid disasters. Rather, attention was given to disaster management methods, especially the design of systems to provide services related to emergencies (Hewitt 1983), such as early warning systems. Tools to predict hazards and improve emergency management were developed within a framework of vertical and centralised management. This vision is known as the 'natural sciences approach' (Cardona Arboleda 2002).

The 'physicalist' school of thought (Hewitt 1983) replaced the previous vision. It produced significant advances in research by incorporating the study of loss and damage. It stated that for an event to be identified as a disaster there should be a measurable impact on the environment, society, or economy. Hazards continued to be seen as the cause of disasters, but the concept of vulnerability emerged to explain damage, loss, and other effects (Maskrey 1993). Thus, the social objective of applied sciences was the design of structural measures to mitigate losses caused by extreme events.

Introducing the key concept of vulnerability made it possible to move to the idea that the impacts associated with hazards showed major irregularities in time and space. From then on, risk was defined as a function of hazards as well as of vulnerability. This vision recognises the existence of social and political responsibilities to prevent losses. Researchers and practitioners

began to challenge both governments and the general public to implement risk reduction measures (Cardona Arboleda 2002).

The two approaches described above were framed by what is known as 'disaster management'. This is related to processes that have already occurred, and therefore interventions were curative in nature.

Social theory of disaster: A third perspective emerged and developed into what is known as 'the social theory of disaster'. This approach stated that vulnerability is social and does not refer solely to potential physical damage or demographic determinants. In this view, a disaster can occur only when the loss caused by an event surpasses the capacity of the population to endure it, or when the effects prevent the population from easily recovering (Blaikie et al 2003). Vulnerability could thus no longer be defined without taking into account the capacity to absorb, respond to, and recover from disasters (Cardona Arboleda 2002). From this perspective, an event that could go unnoticed in a large country might be seen as a catastrophe in a small country, depending on the capacity of each social system involved (Hewitt 1983). Clearly, the effects of natural disasters were now seen as a development issue (Maskrey 1993).

This idea was propelled by the Social Studies Network on Prevention of Disasters in Latin America, which stated that vulnerability was the result of social, economic and political processes. Therefore, in order to model vulnerability, it was necessary to take into account – aside from the physical aspects – social factors such as shortcomings in collective and family economies, absence of basic social services, lack of access to property and credit, discrimination, contamination of air and water resources, and absence of educational opportunities, among other things[5].

Today, vulnerability may be described as

> *a tendency to undergo damage, i.e. a state of fragility, or a set of conditions, that raises the susceptibility of a community to the impact of a damaging phenomenon. On the other hand, vulnerability is the incapacity to anticipate, cope with, resist to, adapt to and recover from a hazard. Vulnerable units are either not resistant, i.e. incapable of withstanding shock (without adapting), and/or not resilient, i.e. incapable of absorbing shock and adapting to come back to an acceptable state.* (Nathan 2008b, p 346)

Many conceptual frameworks exist today with regard to vulnerability and can be usefully applied to La Paz (Nathan, in press) and Cusco.

Current understanding of risk management: Wilches-Chaux (1998, p 18) defines risk management as the "ability of a community to precisely transform those conditions that are the causes, before a disaster occurs. Risk emerges from the confluence within the same community of two ingredients: hazard and vulnerability conditions."

There is a tendency at the international level and among scholars to link *human security* to vulnerability/disaster (Nathan 2008b). Today, most international agencies and research entities have adopted *risk management*. It is possible to say that a *social field* (Bourdieu 1984) of international risk management is now being created, with actors and logics in permanent struggle and sometimes contradiction (Nathan 2004).

31.3.2 Risk perception

Risk perception research in risk and disaster studies: It is crucial to take into account the anthropological dimensions in risk and disaster studies (Hoffman and Oliver-Smith 2002). An understanding of the successes and failures of risk-management practices would require connecting the cognitive structures to the existing social structures. The existence of a risk culture, the degree of tolerance to hazards, and the definition of acceptability limits obey cultural and political logics (Douglas 1987). As a city produces a specific culture as well as a multi-cultural space with ethnic and social differences, this dimension must not be neglected (Wolfenstein 1957).

There is a variety of actors who 'perceive' and have an influence on risk management: the municipal authorities that have responsibility for local public policy; the national authorities that design norms and general frameworks; the experts who define the characteristics of hazards; the actors in the land market who are capable of selling any piece of land; the media that report or do not report risks and disasters; and the inhabitants who settle in dangerous zones.

The perception of exposed people was studied because it is the most tangible level at which to understand the risk problem. Investigations were guided by two simple questions: Are exposed people conscious of risk? And if they are, why do they expose themselves in this manner?

Evolution of risk perception research: Abundant literature has endeavoured to provide answers to these questions, from the points of view of psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

Cultural studies – criticised for oversimplification (Boholm 1996) – study social and cultural differences in risk perception without taking into account other aspects, such as psychological factors: the difficulty of evaluating probabilities; evaluation in case of uncertainty (Adger 2006); underestimation of a hazard when settling in a place (Mileti 1999); or the reluctance to take preventive and mitigation measures.

The theory of bounded rationality shows that individuals lack the cognitive means to achieve absolute rationality (Simon 1957). Attitude theory confirms that behaviour depends on beliefs, values, and attitudes. Studies of habits show that these play a major role in the reception of a message, as does social conformity, which leads to imitating the behaviour of others. However, these multiple explanations are not sufficient to isolate a decisive variable in risk perception.

Current understanding of risk perception: Most researchers agree on the importance of institutional, economic and family contexts in the assessment of a situation. Risk perception may be quite different in urban areas compared to rural areas (Burton et al 1993). Furthermore, in countries of the South "cultural adaptation to precariousness" and the creation of an urban culture that mixes hyper-modernity and *bricolage* (Deler et al 1998) influence the evaluation of urban risks.

Other individual factors have been found (Boholm 1996). However, there is one explanatory factor that is particularly important to us, but which is generally ignored: the *adaptation of expectations to opportunities*. For Bourdieu (2007), each person assesses his or her range of possibilities and defines his or her expectations based on this assessment, which corresponds to objective possibilities according to the person's social position. This could explain a certain resignation or risk acceptance due to adaptive realism or, more simply, to a lack of options. Social pressure forces people to accept extreme living conditions, probably in order to benefit from certain advantages derived from this situation, such as proximity to strategic parts of the city and to labour sources (Nathan 2008a; Salamanca Mazuelo and Quiroga Becerra de la Roca, in preparation).

31.4 Main results

31.4.1 High vulnerability and inadequate risk management

In La Paz, according to the study of socio-economic vulnerability (Salamanca Mazuelo 2008), the people who live on the hillsides are vulnerable because they (self-)construct their informal properties without ownership rights, technical guidance, soil studies, or use of adequate techniques. They have no connection to sewage networks; this leads to water filtration and landslide risk.

Moreover, La Paz faces an extreme shortage of land. The little existing constructible land remains in the hands of small groups of speculators. When the municipal government habilitates new lands, they are immediately appropriated by these groups.

Hillside families have very few means of subsistence. Their neighbourhoods are poorly accessible, and the people have poor access to education and health services. The higher parts of the slopes are unsafe due to poor illumination and insufficient police services. At the same time the population exhibits a high level of identification with these places.

The municipal government has no effective response to these highly exposed groups. It mostly performs emergency management instead of risk management. Work remains to be done in land-use planning, zoning regulations, construction codes, education, public training, reforestation, and many other domains.

The population, for its part, prioritises social venues, sports facilities and asphalt, with no interest in geotechnical studies to identify the quality of soils and improve the stability of their homes. Both policy-makers and residents remain silent on the subject of risk-management issues, as neither find it convenient to bring problems to light (Nathan 2008a).

In Cusco, the Municipality of Cusco is the regulating entity for city planning and ordering. It has tools such as the Regulatory Plan for Cusco, and plays a fundamental role in risk management. This document includes a study of landslide risks and contemplates expansion zones in suitable places. However, the regulation is violated by citizens and authorities alike, the latter having constructed a municipal camping place in a riverbed two blocks away from the city centre.

The lack of risk prevention by relevant institutions and the weak participation of citizen organisations accentuate urban vulnerability. In addition, there is no multi-sector risk preparedness plan. As a result, preparedness is not prioritised in municipal budgets, since the issue is not on the agenda (Guzmán Pacheco 2005). On the other hand, institutions do not respond efficiently to emergencies, and some relocation solutions are not accepted by the population (Hammond 2006). Thus, authorities and citizens share the responsibility for disasters. Neither the population nor the authorities are capable of responding effectively. The authorities are expected to do everything, but they exempt themselves from the responsibility since there is no clear definition of roles and attributions overlap. Furthermore, the weak organisation of the population and insufficient communication between citizens and the local government reduce the possibility of an efficient risk-management system.

One could thus say that in both cities, vulnerability is high, especially for poor city dwellers relegated by the 'free' landownership market to the most dangerous places on the periphery. The municipalities are the main organisations in charge of risk management. However, until now they have not been able to provide a sustainable solution to the problem of disaster risk. Planning and regulation are either insufficient, inaccurate or unapplied. They largely remain ideas disseminated by the authorities themselves – even in La Paz, where popular participation is organised by law with a neighbourhood participatory budget. Furthermore, in both cities even emergency response is highly inadequate.

31.4.2 Perception among the population: La Paz and Cusco

In La Paz, risks and disasters are not socially visible, i.e. they are not considered according to the magnitude of the problem, or even not visualised as a problem at all. The exposed people on the hillsides tend to hide their exposure and declare that the soil they live on is "firm", or emphasise that other hazards are more important to them, such as lack of interpersonal safety and economic issues (Nathan 2008a). Even if a house collapses, neighbours, the municipality or the media tend not to report it. Damage of great magnitude is required for a disaster to be reported.

Risk tends to be underestimated, trivialised or denied by the exposed people, neighbourhood leaders, and municipalities alike. At the level of the exposed households, some are precise about exposure, hazards and risks and express

Fig. 3
Damaged homes in La Paz. (Photo by Fabien Nathan)

deep concern, although there are significant individual differences. At the collective level, for example in neighbourhood committees, there is neither sound knowledge of the issue nor socialisation of fears and concerns among neighbours.

However, exposed people are not ignorant, indifferent, or irrational, nor do they make cynical calculations, as often claimed. In addition to the above-mentioned explanations, there are other factors to consider, such as lack of trust in the authorities; certain cultural elements; interest of inhabitants in obtaining improvements in their neighbourhoods and insisting on their habitability; the willingness of neighbourhood leaders to avoid depreciation in their zone; or tolerance of dangerous situations (Figure 3). Moreover, victims and exposed people are often marginalised and removed from political power. Inequality and symbolic violence resulting from discrimination are also at stake, as well as acceptance of natural hazards in order to deal with more important social hazards (Nathan 2008a).

Research has revealed a convergence of the interests of exposed people, neighbourhood leaders and municipalities to minimise the problem. Silence

has a social function in that it responds to the interests of stakeholders. This allows the establishment of a sort of *omerta* attitude towards risk (Nathan 2008a). This situation impedes integral risk management, especially bottom-up, given the absence of the 'push factor' necessary to compel local authorities to address root problems.

In Cusco, people seemed unaware of the risk when they procured their parcels of land. Many focused on short-term economic and social considerations that were overriding in decision-making, preventing them from taking efficient action concerning their safety (Hammond 2006).

The people who are aware of hazards try to "live with risk" (Guzmán Pacheco 2005), gradually increasing their consciousness. This leads to an institutionalisation of risk coexistence by social and institutional actors, inducing infringement and discretionary use of regulations (Guzmán Pacheco 2005).

In the event of disaster, the population of the zones under study in Cusco ascribed responsibility mainly to nature and religious beliefs (*Pachamama*, *Apus* and other Inca values). This perception of disasters discards the possibility of assuming one's own responsibility for some of the causes (Rey 2005; Hammond 2006).

In both cities, the people currently exposed to hazards focused on more important economic and social considerations when choosing land for settlement, mainly through self-construction for the first newcomers, then through purchase of a relatively cheap house built by the 'first generation'. However, while people in Cusco reported that they had tried to find more information about risk, this was not stated very strongly in La Paz, except in some extreme cases where disasters had already occurred. In other cases, even when disaster had previously struck, more information was not sought. Furthermore, although religious beliefs such as belief in *Pachamama* or 'hard' evangelism were also stated in La Paz, they did not seem as relevant to people's protective behaviour as in Cusco. More data would be needed to explore these issues, especially in Cusco. In both cases, Bourdieu's view on social adaptation (Bourdieu 2007) is quite useful to explain a certain tolerance of living with risk. Many people revealed this process of adaptation to harsh conditions in semi-structured interviews, when they mentioned that they are now 'accustomed' to the hazards of the place.

31.4.3 NCCR North-South books and projects

An academic contribution to the risk-management debate was made in the form of a book entitled *Theoretical Approaches to Disaster and Local Risk Management (Critical Construction of the Concept)* (in Spanish; Torrico Cañaviri et al 2008a). This book offers a critical review of the discussion of the risk-management concept from the point of view of researchers in the South. Two major outputs are publications dealing with the inclusion of risk management in national planning: 1) *Planning Development at the Municipal Level with a Focus on Risk Management* (in Spanish; Torrico Cañaviri et al 2008b) and 2) *Instruments of Risk Management in Development Planning* (in Spanish; Torrico Cañaviri et al 2009). In addition, the *Atlas of Vulnerabilities in Bolivian Municipalities* (Quiroga Becerra de la Roca et al 2008) is a valuable tool for supporting decision-making and planning processes. Finally, two publications, one of them currently in preparation, provide more specific insights into risk management: 1) *Flooding in Beni* (in Spanish; Salamanca Mazuelo et al 2007) and 2) *107 Years of Disasters in Bolivia* (in Spanish; Salamanca Mazuelo and Quiroga Becerra de la Roca, in preparation).

Two Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS)[6] on "Support for Local Risk Management in Bolivia" and "Improving Governance of Urban Risks in La Paz East and North-East Areas" have raised awareness among the population and created opportunities to lobby for the incorporation of prevention and mitigation in development processes within municipal policy. These PAMS were designed on the basis of Luis Salamanca's PhD research and of a resilience study carried out in a Transversal Package Project (TPP)[7] on "Social Vulnerability and Resilience".

31.5 Conclusions and recommendations

Disasters which may occur both in La Paz and in Cusco are caused not only by hazards, but also by the way in which populations have been pushed to settle in high-risk areas with low-quality housing, inadequate infrastructure, and no suitable training. This is due to the type of development that is being implemented, which has aggravated social inequalities and consolidated social exclusion. Poor and exposed populations tend to adapt to this situation through the social mechanism Bourdieu (2007) has made evident in other settings. Challenging these inequitable development processes would thus be part of the solution.

Public policy construction happens in a top-down manner, since there is no clear demand from the people exposed for integral risk management. Both political authorities and residents prefer not to render this problem visible.

Risk management should be implemented at the community level, generating capacity, reinforcing social structures and providing technical information, but also helping people to improve their living conditions and engage in secure economic activities. Furthermore, land redistribution and improvement of access to health and education should be proposed. It is necessary to design a strategy to oblige both actors – citizens and authorities – to recognise their deficiencies and their concealment of the issue.

Endnotes

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[4] See Hufty (2007, 2009) for the political and sociological analysis in which the present research was framed; this conceptual framework was developed by the team of NCCR North-South researchers at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) as of 2000.

[5] More detailed information on these issues can be found on the Network's website: www.desenredando.org

[6] Partnership Actions for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS) are projects implemented by local actors together with scientific and non-scientific stakeholders. As a component of the NCCR North-South programme they are designed to implement and validate approaches, methods and tools developed in research, with a view to finding promising strategies and potentials for sustainable development. Moreover, they are intended to promote mutual learning and knowledge-sharing between academic and non-academic partners in sustainable development.

[7] Transversal Package Projects (TPPs) were a Phase 2 component of the NCCR North-South that helped cross disciplinary boundaries, with a view to achieving better integration of complex issues within the framework of the overall theme of sustainable development and syndrome mitigation. TPPs were interdisciplinary projects entrusted to research teams under the leadership of promising post-doctoral researchers from the North and the South.

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32 Protected Areas and Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia and Peru: Dilemmas, Conflicts, and Ways Out

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Abstract

Recognition of the limitations of the traditional 'fortress approach' to governance of protected areas has led to a new model that seeks to reconcile environmental conservation with human development and promote participation by local populations. Based on a comparative analysis of four case studies in Bolivia and Peru, the present article shows the processes, problems and potentialities that emerge from the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the governance of protected areas. It demonstrates that there are many political, economic, social and cultural obstacles to reconciling conservation with development. The article identifies four critical points that need to be addressed in order to understand and mitigate these obstacles: 1) the discontinuities between formal legal frameworks and local practice; 2) the difficulties of integrating conservation with economic activities; 3) the challenge of establishing an intercultural dialogue among the actors involved; and 4) the preponderant but ambiguous position of the state. In each of these points, the conflicting interests of and the unequal power relationships between the state, indigenous peoples, conservation organisations and extracting companies are the key drivers that create the obstacles.

Keywords: Protected areas; indigenous peoples; participatory conservation; governance; social conflicts; natural resource management; Amazon; Andes.

32.1 Introduction

Protected areas are created in order to safeguard biodiversity in a context of growing global demand for natural resources and pressure on land. However, they also have negative impacts on the livelihoods of local people. In this sense, protected areas represent a response to as well as a constituent element of global change (Galvin and Haller 2008). Before the 1980s, the dominant method of governing protected areas was shaped by the 'fortress approach', which emphasised state control, restricted the use of resources, and sometimes displaced local populations from these areas (Stevens 1997). In many cases, this focus led to an increase in social conflicts that gravely compromised the long-term effectiveness of protected areas and was also ethically questionable (Brechin et al 2002). Many scholars and practitioners have since proposed responding to this problem by seeking to reconcile environmental conservation with human development, and promoting the participation of local populations in the management of protected areas.[11] This has resulted in a change of analytical paradigm, reinforced by the emergence of the concept of 'bio-cultural diversity' in the 1990s, which is based on the recognition that there is a link between biological and cultural diversity (Posey 1999).[12] This is partly why we now see a proliferation of 'nature–society hybrids' in the world of conservation (Zimmerer 2000) which recognise that sustainable use of biodiversity and natural resources can be compatible with conservation.

In South America, the inclusion of indigenous peoples and peasant communities in conservation efforts, recognising the contribution of their traditional activities in sustaining biodiversity, has been increasingly promoted by international conservationist organisations. However, this tendency contrasts with the increasingly weak role of the state in the management of protected areas as a result of privatisation and deregulation policies that have tended to benefit both the legal and the illegal private sector (Nelson and Sportza 2000). Under these conditions, there is persistent uncertainty about the efficiency of protected areas in integrating conservation with long-term local development.

An in-depth analysis of case studies in protected areas carried out by the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South (Galvin and Haller 2008) showed that participatory conservation is possible if it brings economic and political benefits to the local people(s) involved. However, it also showed that the paradigm shift towards more equitable and efficient implementation of protected areas through participation is far from complete.

The objective of this article is to describe the processes, problems and potentialities that emerged from inclusion of indigenous peoples in the governance of four protected areas, two in Bolivia and two in Peru. This analysis led to the identification of four critical points that must be addressed when seeking to reconcile conservation with development in the South American context: 1) the discontinuities between formal legal frameworks and local practice in the management of natural resources; 2) the difficulties of integrating conservation with economic activities; 3) the challenge of establishing an intercultural dialogue between the actors involved; and 4) the ambiguous position of the state.

32.2 Analytical framework and methods

Our analysis contains several theoretical references under the broad heading of political ecology, taking an approach based on institutionalism that focuses on the management of common-pool resources (Ostrom 1990) as a starting point. Furthermore, the case studies were analysed using an actor-oriented approach (Long 1992; Wiesmann 1998) that focused on different actors' perspectives on resource management as expressed in their discourses, narratives and practices. This actor-oriented approach was given further depth by theoretical contributions from ethno-science (Atran 1991; Rist and Dahdouh-Guebas 2006) which helped to understand how actors construct their discourses, narratives and practices using specific forms of knowledge and perceptions of the relationship between society and nature.

Finally, the governance-analytical framework, which refers to the way the management of protected areas is shaped by formal and informal norms that are the result of interaction among the actors involved (Hufty et al 2007; Galvin and Haller 2008), made it possible to identify the continuities and discontinuities between the case studies in a joint interdisciplinary exercise.

The research was carried out in four protected areas (Figure 1) that are part of a 'hotspot' of biodiversity in the area of transition between the Andean mountain ranges and the Amazon plains. These case studies were selected in order to represent a broad spectrum of geographical, cultural, political and economic contexts, including lowland as well as highland areas, Andean and Amazonian indigenous peoples, and different Bolivian and Peruvian political and economic contexts. Moreover, the selected areas reflect different stages in the consolidation of protected areas, from areas created 40 years ago, such

Fig. 1
Location of the four study areas in a hotspot of Andean biodiversity. (Map by Sébastien Boillat; source of data on protected areas: UNEP–WCMC and IUCN 2006)

as the Tunari National Park (TNP), to areas still in the process of implementation, such as the Sierra del Divisor Reserved Zone (SD-RZ). The main actors involved in the four case study areas were state representatives, indigenous peoples, conservationist organisations, and extracting companies.

32.3 Results

32.3.1 The Pilón Lajas Biosphere Reserve and Indigenous Territory: between market and conservation rationale

The creation of the Pilón Lajas Biosphere Reserve and Indigenous Territory (Pilón Lajas) in 1992 was a response to a joint demand from indigenous populations (Tsimane′ and Mosetene) and from a Bolivian non-governmental organisation (NGO) involved in agro-ecology. When the Agrarian Reform Law (INRA Law) was adopted in 1996, the 400,000 ha of the reserve were regularised through a collective and homogeneous land title in the name of a

single and unique indigenous political instance, apart from local communities. This way, Pilón Lajas became an area where resource use was restricted, leading to a 'double denial': on the one hand, the restrictions deny the effective and growing influence of a strong lumber market in which indigenous people participate, and on the other hand, the collective title denies the need expressed by these people for greater land security at both community and individual levels (Bottazzi 2008). This situation of 'double denial' favours open access to forest resources in the name of integrated conservation. The absence of alternatives to an exaggeratedly collectivist vision of property over space, emanating from the 'new conservationist essentialism', leaves openings for the introduction of a fundamentally proprietary paradigm subject to market rationale.

32.3.2 Misunderstood worlds: urban dreams and rural struggles in the Tunari National Park

The Tunari National Park (TNP) was created in 1962 to halt the expansion of the city of Cochabamba towards the hillsides and to protect the city from natural disasters. In 1991, the current legal framework was established, prohibiting grazing and restricting agricultural and forestry activities in the 300,000 ha allocated to the Park. Over 385 Quechua peasant communities live in the TNP. They were not consulted about the creation of the Park; they opposed the legal framework and impeded its implementation, with the exception of an area close to the city (1% of the total area of the TNP). In this same area, however, the TNP has not managed to prevent illegal trafficking in land destined for urbanisation. Peasant organisations regulate the local management of natural resources through productive and social practices sustained by principles of integrality, diversification, respect and reciprocity, while maintaining high ecosystem diversity (Figure 2). These activities reflect a concept of unity between society and nature, characterised by a spiritual relationship to the land.

The government of the Department of Cochabamba – which administers the TNP – and the conservationist organisations of Cochabamba insist on strict protection of the area. Biodiversity specialists at the local university see the TNP as an opportunity to promote conservation of native forests. Both of these actors propose a separation between economic and social development and natural and recreational areas, a suggestion that contrasts with the peasant concept of a society–nature relationship (Boillat et al 2008). The TNP's classification as a National Park entails a superposition of the rights of the

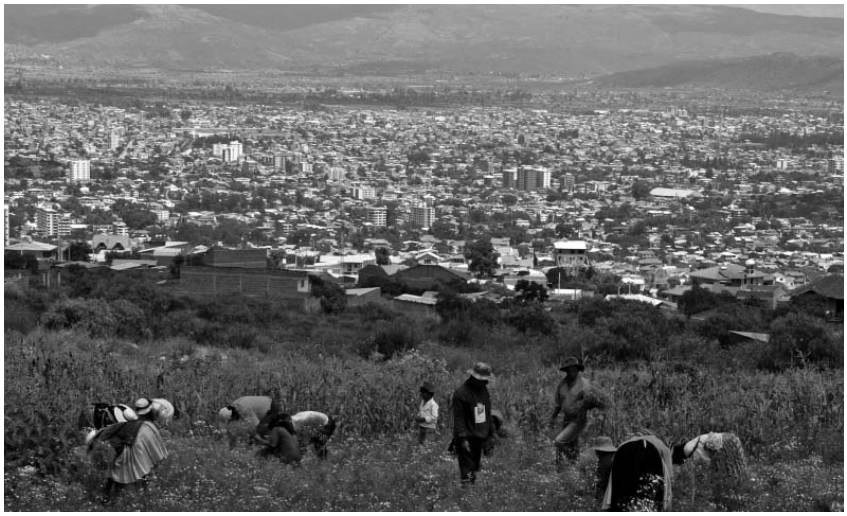

Fig. 2
Urban dreams and rural reality: Quechua peasants from the area of the Tunari National Park harvesting flowers to be sold in the city of Cochabamba. (Photo by Sébastien Boillat, 2006)

national state over the legal tutelage of local political authorities (municipalities) regarding the management of natural resources. At the same time, peasant organisations propose autonomous management of resources based on the rights granted to them by the Agrarian Reform Law.

In the wake of the change of government in Bolivia and following implementation of a partnership project[13] supported by the NCCR North-South, some conservationist organisations began to recognise the role of the peasant population in biodiversity management in the TNP. The peasant organisations, for their part, declared themselves in favour of a change in the legal framework for the area to permit traditional agricultural activities. However, other conservationist actors fear that such a change would make the area more vulnerable to land trafficking.

32.3.3 The Amarakaeri Communal Reserve: co-management and uncertain partnerships

The Amarakaeri Communal Reserve (ACR), extending over 400,000 ha, was created in 2002 owing to the ecological and cultural value of the area it covers. It was the result of a process of indigenous political self-determination through conservation, promoted by indigenous organisations with NGO support. The Harakmbut, Matsiguenka and Yine communities are estab-

lished on the outskirts of the reserve. Their representatives constitute the Executor of the Management Contract (EMA) and have signed a co-management contract with the state. The ACR legal framework permits hunting, fishing and harvesting activities, whereas commercial activities such as logging and gold extraction are not allowed. However, illegal continuation of the latter in the area has not been completely halted. These activities are the main source of income for groups of settlers, lumberjacks and miners, mainly from the Andean areas, who prioritise short-term economic development.

Contact with the market economy has led many indigenous people to become involved in these activities as well, mostly in a situation of indebtedness and disadvantage (Alca 2008). Some indigenous people, especially youths and those more closely linked with the market economy, had great expectations regarding economic benefits from the ACR; they became disillusioned, for example, with the inefficiency of a multi-communal ecotourism company. For this reason, some indigenous people perceive the ACR as a limitation that has mainly benefited those defending the interests of conservation. The problem is aggravated by the ambiguous position of the state, which is encouraging conservation on the one hand and promoting policies focusing on extraction of natural resources on the other. In 2005 the state granted a concession for exploitation of hydrocarbons (Lot 76) that covers the entire territory of the reserve and neighbouring areas (Álvarez et al 2008). This situation shows the permanent uncertainty in which the co-management of the ACR has been implemented.

32.3.4 Are conservation and sustainable development incompatible? The Sierra del Divisor Reserved Zone (SD-RZ)

The Sierra del Divisor is the only mountainous region in the lowland jungles of Peru, on the border with Brazil. In 2006 this area covering 1,400,000 ha was classified in the transitory category of 'Reserved Zone', for the purpose of protecting its biodiversity and endemic species as well as providing greater protection for the Isconahua indigenous group living in voluntary isolation within the area. The question of the final classification of the area opened up a process of negotiation between the state and the different actors. During the classification process, indigenous federations expressed their profound discontent with the work of some conservationist institutions; the latter were seen as making money in the name of indigenous peoples or the environment without generating concrete benefits. The federations shared the view of other local population groups that they would get no benefit from a protected area.

The predominant impression among indigenous people was one of expropriation; they felt that classification as a protected area would mean a ban on the use of forestry resources and would pose an obstacle to their territorial demands (Oliart and Biffi 2009). Conservationist organisations recognise the sustainability of traditional indigenous practices, but do not consider indigenous people capable of resisting pressure from logging companies that hire them or bribe their leaders. In fact, there are many signs in the area of illegal felling by settlers and indigenous people hired as cheap labour. The state – i.e. the actor with the greatest decision-making power regarding the SD-RZ – has assumed an ambiguous position that is clearly perceived as such by the different actors. On the one hand, the state takes measures to protect biodiversity and indigenous rights; on the other hand, it offers excellent conditions for extracting companies. For example, a contract for petroleum extraction has been granted on two lots (135 and 138) that overlap with the area of the SD-RZ. In conclusion, the case of the SD-RZ demonstrates the absence of an alliance between conservationist organisations and indigenous peoples, as well as the conflictive and ambiguous relationships that exist between the state and other actors.

32.4 Synthesis

32.4.1 Discontinuities between normative frameworks

In the cases of the ACR and Pilón Lajas, the new paradigm of including indigenous peoples in conservation efforts is explicitly and officially expressed in the formal legal framework. In the case of the TNP, the contribution of the peasant communities to biodiversity conservation has only very recently been recognised, and formal regulations have not yet been updated. The case of the SD-RZ shows the inverse tendency to apply a more rigorous category of conservation which restricts participation by indigenous people in its management, in line with the conservationists' 'new enclosure movement' (Pimbert and Pretty 1995).

All cases showed that formal regulations are usually very ineffective, regardless of the stage of consolidation of the protected area. In the cases of the ACR, Pilón Lajas and the SD-RZ, this is reflected in lumber extraction and illegal mining activities, which are not traditional activities of the indigenous populations. By contrast, in the case of the TNP, it is the banning of traditional activities that would be too conflictive to be applied in practice.

In all cases, informal regulations of access to land and resources prevail at the local level, showing a clear lack of continuity between the formal legal frameworks and local practices. These discontinuities are expressed in the superposition of contradictory norms from different sectors (conservation, land tenure, logging and mining) and at different levels (national, sub-national, municipal and local). As a consequence, even 'inclusive' conservation policies cannot be merged into an integral framework for the regulation of access to natural resources, and no authorities are clearly designated for the different levels of decision-making.

32.4.2 Conservation and economic activities

In the cases of the ACR, Pilón Lajas and the SD-RZ, the involvement of indigenous communities in illegal activities is clearly linked to the strengthening of their relationship to the market economy, particularly through contact with the population of settlers and immigrant extraction workers. In this framework, extraction of resources continues to be the most attractive economic activity for them, despite its illegality and the subordinate position of indigenous people in relation to other actors in the extraction value chain (Figure 3).

This situation demonstrates that the protected areas have indeed failed to bring true benefits to the least powerful social groups, and that the economic integration of conservation has not been achieved. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of the TNP with the spread of illegal urbanisation, which has not been stopped.

These observations show that the models of incentives promoted by conservation policies, including alternative economic activities such as ecotourism or handicrafts, have little effect and provide insufficient benefits, given the weight and force of non-sustainable, extractive economic activities.

This situation raises the need for reflection on the relationship between indigenous communities and the market economy. The hypothesis which states that by entering the market economy indigenous communities are not following a rationale of creating and accumulating capital, but are hoping to ensure their subsistence and strengthen themselves in the face of external actors (Orozco et al 2006), deserves to be explored.

Fig. 3
A Yine woman from the Comunidad Nativa de Diamante, a beneficiary of the Amarakaeri Communal Reserve. She is carrying a bag of yucca to feed the family. (Photo by Jamil Alca Castillo, 2007)

32.4.3 From inter-relation to intercultural dialogue between actors

This analysis has demonstrated that a significant source of conflict in protected areas can be found in the different visions of the relationship between society and nature that prevail in conservationist and indigenous organisations. For many conservationists, the main purpose of protected areas continues to be the conservation of biodiversity, and in general it is biological criteria that drive their creation, as in the case of the SD-RZ. There is a tendency among some to idealise the traditional indigenous way of life as automatically being sustainable, while at the same time rejecting the role of indigenous people who have already entered the market economy in the conservation of biodiversity. In this setting, there is still a dual vision, of society with its economic development, on the one hand, and nature, which is to be conserved and where the 'traditional indigenous' is no more than an element in its preservation, on the other hand.

From the point of view of indigenous organisations, the conservation argument is mainly seen as a tool for obtaining territorial recognition, as in the case of the ACR and Pilón Lajas, where the indigenous communities do not necessarily prioritise the sustainability of their practices in a biological-

ecological sense. On the contrary, some indigenous organisations reject the conservation option when they see that this becomes a threat to self-determination where their territory is concerned. In this sense, if we acknowledge sustainability as a normative concept (Lélé and Norgaard 1996), the need to maintain self-determination over their territory and a diversified relationship between society and nature can be interpreted as an indigenous criterion of sustainability.

Finally, this analysis shows that partnership between conservationists and indigenous peoples has mainly been instrumentalised by both parties, as observed in other South American cases (Conklin and Graham 1995). This alliance has not been the result of an intercultural dialogue, where agreed forms of perception and valuation of natural resources and their dynamics are discussed, but rather of the mere identification of some specific common interests.

32.4.4 Position of the state

In the areas studied, it can be observed that the various processes for decentralising natural resource management can make local indigenous and non-indigenous populations vulnerable to external pressure to extract resources. The cases presented here have given greater visibility to the ambiguous position of the state: together with conservationist organisations, the state promotes conservation policies, but at the same time subordinates conservation to policies favouring non-sustainable extraction of resources by private companies. In this context, the state appears to be guided by short-term economic interests and thus unable to establish or apply an equitable regulatory framework for the protected areas. This situation generates distrust towards state-based regulations among the local population – whether indigenous, settlers or mestizo groups – and also among some conservationist organisations. This highlights the need to strengthen and to clarify the role of the state in creating spaces for negotiation and social control for the co-management of natural resources.

Endnotes

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[11] Key instruments in this respect include the 2004 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) Programme of Work on Protected Areas and the preceding Durban agreements; see Larsen and Oviedo (2005).

[12] For a complete review of key literature on the concept of bio-cultural diversity, see Maffi (2005).

[13] This refers to a so-called Partnership Action for Mitigating Syndromes (PAMS), a programme component of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North-South that serves as a vehicle for testing the practical application of development-oriented research results. PAMS are carried out by local organisations in cooperation with civil society and researchers of the NCCR North-South. Each project is designed to implement strategies developed jointly by researchers and local stakeholders. Based on a transdisciplinary approach to development research, PAMS aim at mutual learning and knowledge-sharing between academic and non-academic partners in sustainable development.

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