

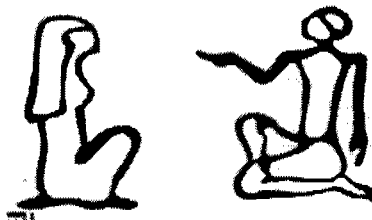
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Gender responsiveness in participatory urban environmental planning

**Exploratory study of municipal participatory planning
experiences in Bolivia and Brazil**

By

Maria Arce Moreira



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Abbreviations

ASSEPLAS	Forum of planning advisors
CBO	Community based organisation
CEDURE	Centre of urban and regional development studies
CGD	Complementary gender diagnoses.
CIDADE	Advisory and urban studies centre.
CODEMA	Environmental council of the department.
CONAMA	National environmental council
COP	Participatory budget council
CRC	Co-ordinating unit of public relations with the community
CROP	Regional co-ordinators of the participatory budget
CT	Co-participation tributary
CVPP	Participatory planning neighbourhood committee
EAP	Economic active population
EBRP	Bolivian strategy for the alleviation of poverty
ELC	Environment Liaison Centre
EU	European Union
FA	Supporting funds
FASCOM	Forum of community advisers
FEJUVE	Federation of Neighbourhood Councils
FHH	Female headed household
FIS	Social Investment Fund
FNDR	National Fund for Rural Development
FRACAB	State Federation of Community and Neighbourhood Associations
GAD	Gender and development
GAPLAN	Planning unit
GDP	Gross development product
GED	Gender, environment and development
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IBAM	Municipal Management Brazilian Institute.
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFFI	Institute of Integral Feminine Formation.
INE	National Statistics Institute
LDO	Law of budgetary guidelines
LIPA	Small Activities Fund
LOA	Annual budget law
MG	Municipal government
NC	Neighbourhood council
NGO	Non governmental organisation
NPPM	Municipal participatory planning norms
OTB	Territorial Grassroots Organisation
OP	Participatory budgeting
PPA	Multi-annual plan
PAP	Poverty Alleviation Programme
PDD	District Development Plan
PDM	Municipal Development Plan
PDV	Neighbourhood Development Plan
PGDES	Economic and Social Development Plan of Bolivia
PLANASA	National Sanitation Plan
POA	Annual Operative Plan
PP	Popular Participation
PPL	Popular Participation Law
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PT	Workers' party
SD	Sustainable development
SAGGE	Secretary of Gender, Generation and Ethnic Affairs.
SAG	Sub-secretary of Gender Affairs.
SEDU	Special secretary of urban development.
SENMA	National Environment Secretary
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SISMUMA	Municipal Environmental System.
SISNAMA	National Environmental System.
SISPLAN	National Planning System
SPP	Sub-secretary of Popular Participation.

TRUMA	Environment and reality workshops
UAMPA	Union of Tenants' Associations of Porto Alegre
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements.
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UTEPLAN	Technical planning unit
UV	Neighbourhood unit
VC	Vigilance Committee
VAGGF	Vice-ministry of gender, generation and family affairs.
VPPFM	Vice-ministry of Popular Participation and Municipal Strengthening
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WID	Women in development
WED	Women, environment and development

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Executive Summary

The deterioration of the physical environment of cities in developing countries affects the poor hardest. Among the poor, certain groups such as women are more exposed to environmental risks than others and face worse living conditions. Women experience and use the urban environment in different ways than men, have different priorities in terms of services and infrastructure but these are rarely featured in urban policies or investments.

A gender analysis is important because poverty and environmental change are gender differentiated, access to resources is mediated by gender relations; and finally because women and men have both conflicting and complementary roles and interests in environmental management.

At the same time the new challenges and responsibilities faced by local governments in view of decentralisation and democratisation processes in Latin America require suitable capacities and a different institutional culture. There have been efforts to involve citizens more in decision-making and planning processes in the region. However, local governments still lack awareness on the importance of gender responsive policies and interventions to assist them in the achievement of their sustainable development goals.

In the past decades the increased interest on participatory approaches as a way to improve the effectiveness of decision-making, increase transparency and accountability has been mainly gender neutral. As such it emphasised consensus and community cohesion at the cost of ignoring gender differences. Likewise, desirable gender relations from the practitioners' perspective were often imposed on communities. Despite their key importance and mutually reinforcing nature both concepts evolved and were used separately.

Considering municipal participatory planning experiences in Bolivia and Brazil, this exploratory study intends to determine the extent to which these initiatives offer the conditions for the incorporation of a gender responsive approach, with special attention to the openings for urban environmental matters.

The analysis is based on the assumption that processes by which gender inequalities are socially constructed are not purely confined to the household and family relationships, but are actually reproduced across a range of institutions. Methodologically the study uses the framework suggested by Kabeer for analysing institutions. The analysis of the five components of the framework helps to highlight how they could operate to produce unequal gendered outcomes and how gender and other social inequalities are mutually constituted within and across institutional sites. Additionally an effort was made to understand the political, historical and cultural contexts in which the experiences take place.

Finally the issues of gender and participation in planning must address issues of power, political interference and gender and social inequalities and not be confined as merely technical tools. Both gender and participation are highly political and as such necessary for social transformation.

Sustainability, gender and environment

1.1 Introduction

Cities in developing countries are facing increasing challenges with pollution; congestion and environmental hazards intimately linked with urbanisation and industrialisation processes. There is an increasing concern about the quality of the living environment, the environmental problems faced and their relationship with economic, demographic and social problems and the need for an integrated approach to solving them.

The deterioration of the physical environment in and around cities affects the poorest segments of the population hardest. Their situation has become even more difficult as a result of various macroeconomic structural reforms adopted by their governments, increasing corruption and inefficiency. When subsidies are removed due to budget constraints and fiscal reforms, the poor face higher prices for food, shelter and essential services. Confronted by improperly functioning land markets, the poor often had little choice but to occupy hazardous or polluted areas (Bartone et al, 1994).

The urban poor face health related problems ranging from indoor air pollution, access to drinking water, inadequate human excreta and wastewater management and natural hazards. They have higher incidences of mortality, morbidity from gastroenteric and respiratory infections and malnutrition than other segments of the urban population. The poor are both victims and agents of environmental degradation: victims in that they are more likely to live in ecologically vulnerable areas, agents in that they may have no option but deplete resources, thus contributing to environmental degradation (SIDA, 1996).

Among the poor, certain groups are more exposed to these risks than others and face worse living conditions. These particularly vulnerable groups are women, children, the youth and the elderly. For their traditionally assumed role as housekeepers, women may stay indoors more than men and be more affected by the smoke of stoves in poorly ventilated homes, manipulate contaminated water and be more prone to accidents in the house.

Women experience and use the urban environment in different ways from men, and have different priorities in terms of service and infrastructure (transport, housing, basic urban services)¹. These priorities however rarely feature in urban policy and investments.

A gender analysis is increasingly seen as important because: poverty and environmental change are gender-differentiated²; environmental security³ is mediated by gender relations; and women and men have both conflicting and complementary roles and interests in environmental management.

The actual context of rapid urbanisation presents urban environmental managers with a big challenge to develop strategies able of safeguarding productivity and quality of life of city dwellers

¹ Often day-care facilities are expensive and inadequate, public transport is slow, inefficient and unreliable, and municipal services have rigid operating hours.

² There are significant differences between women's and men's experience of poverty and environmental change because of gender inequalities in access to environmental resources such as land and common property, command over labour, allocation of labour time, capacity to diversify livelihood strategies and decision-making processes (Masika, 1997)

³ As defined by Redclift and Skea (1997), environmental security refers to access to clean water, clean air and non-degraded land.

resulting from their interactions with the physical and natural environments and the changes that they undergo due to human activities. In general, the most important environmental problems faced by urban areas are related to access to basic environmental infrastructure and services; pollution from urban wastes and emissions; resource losses (ground water depletion and land degradation) and natural and man-made environmental hazards (Bartone et al, 1994).

There is also a global perception that the current model of development is not sustainable in the medium and long-term and that it has been characterised by its harmfulness with respect to natural resources and its unfairness towards people.

In the past decades there has been an increased interest on participatory approaches as a way to improve the effectiveness of decision-making, increase transparency and accountability. It is believed that effective participation can influence policy formulation, design alternatives, investment choices and management decisions (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992). However, it can also overemphasise community cohesion and consensus at the cost of ignoring gender differences and failing to create spaces for dissenting voices to be heard. In the case of gender, desirable gender relations from the practitioners' point of view often conflict with the views expressed by the communities, its practice has not been particularly participatory and often gender conceptions have been imposed.

Despite their key importance in development work and their mutually reinforcing nature both concepts have been used separately and only recently some strategies were developed to bring them together either at project or policy level. It seems evident that considering the differentiated use, needs and understanding women and men have of the urban environment, the synergy of both concepts could assist develop strategies to facilitate the emergence of women's voices and improve their position in urban planning and development. However, the existing inter-relation between participation, gender and urban environment is not always explicitly considered.

The following sections provide necessary overviews on some of the most important concepts that the document will be dealing with.

1.2 Understanding sustainability

Sustainability is one of the most used concepts in development initiatives carried out by governmental or non-governmental actors. Despite its wide acceptance, its application may lead to confusion and even hijack the very purposes of interventions. The evolution and the context, in which this concept was developed, are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

After the Second World War until the beginning of the seventies, the world's concern was centred on economic growth and the accumulation of physical and financial capital, with technological progress as the symbol of this process. At the same time, the importance of crucial elements such as human resources and natural, institutional and cultural systems was underestimated. In the 1970s this system began to be questioned, debated and studied by various organisations that pointed out that natural resources were exhaustible, already growing scarce and that industrialisation could damage the environment irreversibly. In this manner the need for sustainability of the natural system was gradually incorporated in the thinking and planning of most industrialised countries.

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 dealt with issues of poverty and the welfare of population namely housing, water, health, hygiene and nutrition. Technical aspects of contamination by industrialisation, population growth and urbanisation were also considered with priority.

In the middle of the 80s, the connection between the problems of the environment and those deriving from development was made, resulting in increased attention towards the so-called

countries of the South and more vulnerable groups in society. In this context, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) concentrated its efforts on development styles and its repercussions on natural systems, emphasising that the problems of environment were related to poverty, the satisfaction of basic nutritional, housing and health needs, renewable energy sources and technological innovation. It also defined the three main axes of development as increased production or economic growth; appropriate distribution of resources or fight against poverty and maintenance of the ecosystem.

The famous "Our common future" or Brundtland Report defined sustainability as the ability to "satisfy the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987) through which it is recognised that meeting essential needs requires economic growth and equity facilitated by political systems that secure effective citizen participation in decision-making (ibid).

Although this approach is still current and widely spread, it is also controversial for the different interpretations it is opened for, its scientific validity and its implications for political and economic programmes. Other authors contributed with more complex definitions. For Robert Ayres, sustainability is conceived as "a process of change in which the use of resources, the management of investments, the direction of technological development and institutional change are in harmony with and enhance our current and future potential to satisfy human needs and aspirations" (in Arizpe et al, 1993).

In 1992 during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, based on the recognition that poverty and environmental damage are closely related, it was agreed that sustainable development (SD) requires changes in production and consumption patterns in the industrialised countries, as well as new forms of relationship between North and South.

From that date onwards it has been recognised that the scope of SD goes beyond purely ecological issues; social issues are crucial for its achievement. Some researches postulate that SD involves a bid for social and cultural change. For this process to be carried forward, all sections of society need to participate on an equitable basis, both in the decisions as to which direction policy is given and regarding the benefits of economic growth and development. This requires the consideration of procedures and objectives that favour men and women equally, and to improve the distribution of natural, economic and social resources.

Quoting Arizpe, Paz and Velázquez (1993), "the concept of sustainability is like that of democracy: difficult and elusive, but indispensable to provide a reference on the future horizon at which to aim". Besides there is an interconnection between sustainability and democracy since SD needs a democratic political culture within which people can improve their quality of life in an equitable way and co-operate in addressing the problems raised by the resource issue.

At present, it is very difficult to find any relevant social actor directly against the concept of SD. However, conflicting interests and power struggles among different groups and institutions show that not everybody agrees what type of measures and processes are required to achieve SD and that there is a very wide gap between rhetoric, political will and actual implementation. Government, business world, social groups and citizens' movements use the concept of sustainability to justify measures that they wish to carry through and defend their interests, which in many cases are conflicting.

Perhaps sustainable development should be seen as a process under continuous transition and development requiring a reformulation of the concepts of development and economic growth, with increasing investment in information and knowledge about natural processes before these are interfered with, redistributing access to and use of resources, strengthening citizen involvement in decision-making processes and associating improved quality of life with equity.

Despite the critics and disagreements with the concept, some progress has been made towards a broader and more inclusive model. By way of illustration, now there is more focus on society and politics than on technology and physical issues only; people are more aware of environmental issues; there is more information on the state of the environment; the depletion of resources has been incorporated in development policies; there are more cross-disciplinary and inter-sectoral approaches and an increasing recognition of the interdependence and interchange between regions since common environmental problems can bring countries to work together (Rico, 1998).

In this sense, Agenda 21, as the global agenda for action towards sustainability, incorporates the idea that different factors and areas of action are inter-related and inextricably linked, asking governments to adopt development programmes that reflect a new understanding of the linkages between sectors.

1.3 What is Gender?

Gender refers to historically and culturally specific concepts of femininity and masculinity, and the power relations between men and women (Schrijvers, 1993). Gender may imply that men must be the head of the family, that women are the ones primarily responsible for children's health and education, in brief that each of them has their own specific tasks and spheres of decision-making (van den Hombergh, 1993).

Gender relations are the rules, traditions and social relationships in societies and cultures which together determine what is considered "feminine" and what "masculine", and how power is allocated between, and used differently by, women and men. Gender then refers to a social construction of femininity and masculinity, which varies over time and place and is enacted through learned, rather than innate behaviour.

The struggle for gender equality is based on the recognition that gender inequality is caused by structural and institutional discrimination and mainly is identified with the struggle for women's equality. It also implies that resolving gender inequalities would help solve social inequities.

Gender awareness involves understanding the difference between sex roles and gender roles, and understanding that the latter being socially and historically determined and constructed can be changed. Gender perspective and gender awareness are based on the principle of gender equality as an objective.

Since gender is fundamental to understanding human interactions with the environment, it is better to focus on gender than on women only. Regarding natural resources, gender shapes the sexual division of labour, knowledge, responsibility and control and thus women play a special role managing them.

Sustainable development requires that livelihood activities be environmentally sound, socio-culturally acceptable, economically viable and equitable in terms of access to resources, benefits and decision-making processes. In this respect a gender perspective is essential for achieving the goals of sustainable development because of the following overriding factors which, if ignored, can result in further depletion of environmental capital:

- Poverty and environmental change are gender-differentiated;
- Environmental security is mediated by gender relations;
- Women and men have conflicting and complementary interests and roles in environmental management.

Environmental interventions need to consider the relationships between environmental sustainability and gender equality. Factors such as age, class, race, ethnicity, ability and sexuality

which also influence gendered experiences of poverty and environmental change are equally important (Masika, 1997).

1.4 International policy, environment and gender. Historical developments

The following section is important to understand that the concepts of women, environment and sustainable development were not that easily and immediately connected. Big lobbying efforts took place especially from the part of NGOs and women's groups to get women and gender in the development agenda. The section provides an overview of the developments and trends followed by international fora.

In the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on Human Environment (Stockholm 1972) the term man is used in the document when referring to human beings in general. Then, in the first World Conservation Strategy (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1980) women are only mentioned in relation to illiteracy and population growth. In 1984, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) set up the Senior Women's Advisory Group on Sustainable Development to advise on the connection between the exclusion problems faced by women, their roles and the environmental damage caused by development and ways to deal with them.

During the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, the NGO Forum (ELC/Forum' 85, 1986) studied the impact of the environmental crisis on women through a series of statements and case studies. As a result of this workshop an action plan was agreed upon to strengthen women's leadership in environmental management and the need to provide information, and training to women on environmental issues. This UN Conference on the other hand, adopted the "Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women" where environment was officially incorporated in the discussion of women's issues vis ↔ vis their inter-relationship.

Although the Brundtland Commission report (1987) mentioned the role of women in terms of population and food security, there was no conclusive remark on the relation between gender and environment.

During the first preparatory meeting for the Earth Summit (1990), there was no official mention on the role of women in preserving the environment and the different ways in which they participate in development. These issues were later incorporated resulting from the recommendations of the regional meetings carried out by UNEP in Africa (1989), Arab countries (1990), Asia (1991) and Latin America and the Caribbean (1991), where participants made clear the relationship between the main environmental problems of each region and their effects on the female population. The final recommendations for the Rio conference were worked out in two meetings: the Global Assembly on Women and the Environment: Partners in life⁴ (Miami, 1991) and the World Congress of Women for a Healthy Planet (Miami, 1991)⁵. Apart from the specific proposals to the UN conference, they also called for changes that would ensure sustainability and a development style focused on the needs and rights of people. These concerns were presented in the "Agenda 21 for women's action", document which provides an ideological framework promoting participatory democracy, universal access to information, ethical positions and full women's participation as the bases for change.

Active lobbying carried out during the Rio conference by women's groups and networks resulted in principle 20 of the Rio declaration which states: "Women play a leading role in environmental management and in development. For that reason it is indispensable for them to participate fully if sustainable development is to be achieved" (United Nations, 1992).

⁴ During this meeting 218 successful initiatives carried out by women in areas such as energy, water and sanitation, waste, forestry, biodiversity and environmental education were presented.

⁵ This congress gathered 1,500 women from 83 countries that analysed the different ways in which the environmental crisis and the prevailing development model affect the female population.

Agenda 21 refers to women specifically in section 24. It states that women play a crucial role in bringing about changes to the current model of consumption and production, their active involvement in political and economic decision making is necessary if the resolutions are to be implemented.

Once the gender-environment relationship was identified, donor agencies, international organisations and some governments started showing more interest on the issue. Sustainable development and women's and gender issues gained further legitimacy and occupied a place of their own in declarations, plans and programmes. For instance, in the programme of action of the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), and in point 7 of the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995). By the time the Fourth World Conference on Women took place in Beijing (1995) the linkage between gender, environment and sustainable development had come to prominence. Point K of the Platform for Action refers specifically to the environment vis ↔ vis the levels of poverty that affect women, their need to participate actively in decision-making on environmental matters at every level, and the incorporation of gender issues into policies and programmes for sustainable development.

In Latin America, the Santa Cruz de la Sierra Declaration and the Plan of Action for Sustainable Development in the Americas, signed by the Heads of State at the Summit on Sustainable Development (Bolivia, 1996) confirmed this interrelationship once more.

In 1997, during the Commission on Sustainable Development, the UN Commission on the Status of Women, highlighted once again the need for the incorporation of a gender-based approach into development, as well as in the design and implementation of environmental programmes and policies, including the recommendations of Agenda 21 and the Beijing Platform for Action at national and local levels.

In June 2000, the Beijing +5 review process hoped to find out how far the recommendations made at Beijing had been taken place. Although the final document is full of governments' reservations, it also shows awareness on the effects of globalisation on women and of rape during war times. Unfortunately the section of women and the environment is very weak due to lack of co-ordination between the Beijing and the CSD processes and the fact that governments have not been bound by any implementation targets (UNED, 2001).

Chapter 2

Research and analytical framework

2.1 Definition of the problem

In the past decades, urbanisation and urban growth have accelerated in many developing countries. In Latin America urban populations are growing at rates of 2.5% per year and it is expected that by 2020, 83% of its population will live in cities. International comparisons are complicated because there are different definitions at national level on what urban areas are.⁶ Some of the changes perceived are the variation in the size of the households and the increase in the proportion of female-headed households (FHH)⁷ which are now thought to comprise more than one fifth of all households world-wide (Wallace, 1996).

Migration as another factor contributing to urban growth is diverse, complex and constantly changing. The characteristics of migrants, its permanent or temporary character and other factors such as individual or household structures, survival strategies and political, economic and social forces, make it a complex phenomenon. The scale and nature of female migration into urban areas influence the labour market by the constraints faced by women working outside the home and the extent of the demand for female labour. In Latin America and the Caribbean rural urban migration is female selective and the levels of FHH are higher in urban areas⁸ (Gilbert, 1994).

Although cities are engines of economic growth, developing countries are facing increasing challenges related to pollution from inadequate water, sanitation, drainage and solid waste services, poor urban and industrial waste management, congestion and air pollution. The migrants settle in the outer rings of the city normally in poor housing conditions, without services and often with no security of tenure. In Latin America poverty and extreme poverty are urbanising; up to 25% of the urban population live currently in slums (UNCHS, 1996). The increasing inequity and disparity threaten stability and sustainable development profoundly.

Poverty and environmental degradation come from uneven development processes operating via technologies, incentives, institutions and regulations which favour some social groups and some geographical areas over others (Leach and Mearns 1991). The linkages between poverty and environmental issues are affected by how poverty is defined, the environmental problem in question and which groups among the poor are mostly affected. These particularly affected groups are normally women, children, the youth and elderly. In general women are more vulnerable than men because of the differentiated access to resources and services and the particular problems women face in the income generating activities they normally engage in.

The debate of urban governance brings concerns related to democracy, human rights and participation. In the past urban governance was equated to urban management limited to the

⁶ Definitions may consider population thresholds (>50,000 in Japan, > 5,000 in Bolivia), density of residential buildings, type and level of public services provided, proportion of population engaged in non agricultural work and officially designated territories (Wratten, 1995).

⁷ The FHH is not a homogeneous category. It includes not only single parent women headed households (unmarried, divorced, separated and widowed women) but also households headed by grandmothers and women who live alone or with other women. It is estimated that in Latin America 18.2% of households are FHH (Chant, 1995)

⁸ Women dominate migration flows to large cities because of job opportunities in the domestic sector, office cleaning, shop work, street selling and prostitution (Gilbert, 1994)

operation and maintenance of infrastructure and services. At present, social equity and political legitimacy complement the administrative efficiency as central concerns of governance (Beall, 1996). Thus governing cities well implies focusing attention on those who are currently marginalised and denied access to the social, economic, cultural and political resources of the city.

Local governments are emerging as coherent actors in development but are often ill equipped and with limited resources to face the demands and responsibilities that urbanisation requires. Apart from land, water and services that have to be provided, also political leadership and managerial capacity are needed. Policy and legal frameworks, regulatory authority, planning authority, human skills, revenue base, accounting and accountability will be as much in demand as raw land (WB, 2001).

Local governments in Latin America, face unequal development, with economic, social and cultural problems, a rural urban divide, acute social problems, limited technological and industrial development, and increasing poverty and marginalisation. Popular participation in the municipalities has been implemented since the 80s, in parallel with the processes of democratisation. Strong neighbourhood movements offered solutions to the lack of services and worked together with NGOs. Due to the inefficiency of central governments, the alternative for development is found in decentralisation by strengthening local governments.

In that given context gender is an essential construct to analyse the processes and outcomes of marginalisation in the urban environment. Socially conferred roles and responsibilities determine how women and men may contribute to and benefit from city life. There is evidence that women use and gain from the city in different ways from men in a socially constructed way and that if urban governance is engendered their differences can be considered in planning and policy making (Beall, 1996).

Women, among other discriminated groups, experience and use the urban environment in different ways from men and have different priorities in terms of services and infrastructure. Despite this, women's interests and needs as users of cities rarely feature in urban policy and investments. In general urban women's priorities have been ignored in the design of human settlements, the location of housing and the provision of urban services (Beall, 1995). The scope of urban planning has been defined in physical and spatial terms, linked to men's work patterns, dealing with issues such as transport, housing, land and infrastructure while issues around health, education and the family, linked to women's work, have been commonly dealt with as a separate national level sectoral concerns (Moser, 1995).

In the actual planning and decision-making processes, men still tend to participate in planning and decision-making and women are involved mainly in the implementation stages. Planning is based on technical and financial feasibility only. This approach affects the equity, efficiency and productivity that sustainability intends to achieve and considers only half of the actors involved.

In general a gender blind approach to development reproduces unexamined assumptions and preconceptions of the traditional top-down development planning and contributes to increased social inequity in society.

The lack of awareness on the importance of gender responsiveness affects the achievement of sustainable development goals. At local level where a variety of participatory experiences take place, the incorporation of a gender perspective would require the development of alternative planning processes and changes at institutional level. Simultaneously the limited understanding on how gender relates with urban environment, participation and poverty limit the impact of urban development. As such the effect on public policy is also limited and a more equitable urban development cannot be expected.

2.2 Research Objective

The present study intends to explore the extent to which participatory planning initiatives in two Latin American countries offer the conditions for gender responsiveness, with special attention to the openings for urban environmental matters. Considering the context presented above, the present study main's objective is:

To contribute to increased awareness on the relevance of gender responsiveness and participation as means to achieve sustainability by drawing attention to the role of institutional structures and practices that may be conducive to the construction of gender inequalities.

2.3 Research questions

In the following study participatory experiences from Bolivia and Brazil will be analysed using a defined framework. This analysis would help us answer the following research questions:

- Which are the approaches and attitudes towards gender, environment and sustainability that underlie the analysed experiences?
- Which are the elements of gender inequality identified in the experiences and in which manner the existing structures and practices contribute to overcome or maintain them?
- How do cultural contexts influence the internalisation of a gender perspective in planning?
- How do these experiences contribute to social equity and building of local power?

2.4 Hypothesis

Increased gender awareness in municipal participatory planning can increase the impact of urban management and contribute to the achievement of social equity.

2.5 Field work and limitations

The fieldwork necessary to prepare this study was carried out in Bolivia and Brazil. It involved interviewing representatives from NGOs, CBOs and researchers during September 2001. Another important proportion of the work resulted from the revision of documents, reports and literature prepared on the development process and participatory experiences in both countries.

In the case of Bolivia, the final decision on which experiences to present was done on basis of the different degrees of adaptation of the analysed law, the different approaches used and the initial results obtained. The facility to get information and interviews were also considered.

In Brazil due to financial and time limitations interviews and bibliographic research were carried out only in Rio de Janeiro. Interviews were carried out with members of NGOs, women's organisations and the main local governments' capacity building and research organisation, IBAM. The fieldwork carried out in Rio helped to build my understanding of other processes taking place in Brazil and the specific socio cultural context of the country. This was helpful to avoid certain biases when analysing the specific experience of Porto Alegre. IBAM's documentation centre provided sufficient bibliographic material related to the experience and other related information.

The findings presented in this exploratory study are indeed limited. The processes going on in both countries require a more in depth analysis of the existing political and sociological aspects of gender and participation. The type and quality of information found as well as the personal

interpretations of the processes by the interviewees did not always allow a clear understanding of the existing gender-participation inter-linkages. Nevertheless they were key sources of information and provided important inputs for the elaboration of this document. In that sense the document represents an effort to bring together participatory experiences, highlight related gender interventions and link them to the urban environmental agenda as an initial step to call the attention of practitioners to this interesting area of development.

2.6 Introduction to the analytical framework

Elson (1992) suggested that the transformative tactic to engender the policy agenda is more politically ambitious and seeks to give women a greater role in setting the development agenda. Because of its more radical goals, this tactic requires creative proposals for alternative ways of doing things and political mobilisation to ensure more participatory and responsive decision-making structures.

She considers that the reason why male bias continues to persist in development thought and planning is because " a gender approach has often been reduced to "adding women on" without seeking to question mainstream ways of thinking and operating. As long as these ways remain intact, the potential for a more gender aware development remains severely curtailed. Likewise, early attempts aiming at equality of opportunity in development did not consider institutions that are based on the male institutional actor, thus reproducing the status quo. In such an institutional context it is expected that the organisational culture will reproduce the discriminatory status quo.

Recent advocacy for the transformation of development is focusing on the nature of institutional rules and practices and the way in which they embody male agency, needs and interests. Gender equity if premised on the notion of social justice requires the recognition of unequal constraints and opportunities which underpin gender differences in the ability of women and men to define their own goals and exercise agency in pursuit of these goals (Kabeer, 1994)

However, it is key to remember that gender relations are far too differentiated across cultures and far too fluid within the different cultures to permit easy or universal policy prescriptions.

2.7 A framework for analysing institutions, relations and outcomes.

Processes by which gender inequalities are socially constructed are not confined purely to the household and family relationships, but are actually reproduced across a range of institutions, including many of the policy making agencies whose avowed objectives are to address the different forms of exclusion and inequality within their societies (Kabeer, 1996).

The framework⁹ proposed by Kabeer for the analysis of gender inequality focuses on the institutional construction of gender relations. The basic guidelines of this framework are adopted for the purpose of this study. A deeper analysis of institutions could be made through the analytical framework proposed by the same author.

Gender relations as an aspect of social relations are built up through rules, norms and practices by which resources are allocated tasks and responsibilities are assigned, value is given and power is mobilised. They do not operate in a social vacuum, they are products of the ways in which institutions¹⁰ are organised and reconstituted over time. According to Kabeer (1996) there

⁹ Frameworks in complex and dynamic social realities help draw the attention to key issues that need to be explored as to achieve certain analytical objectives.

¹⁰ Defined in a simple manner, institutions are frameworks of rules for achieving certain social and economic goals. Organisations refer to the specific structural forms that institutions take (North 1990).

are four key institutional sites: the state, the market, the community and the domain of the family¹¹.

Although different institutions may operate in a particular manner, there are certain common norms and assumptions, which cut across the different institutional sites, leading to the systematic and widespread construction and reinforcement of certain social inequalities. In spite of their differences in forms and across cultures, institutions can be analysed in terms of rules, activities, resources, actors and power. These components are elaborated as:

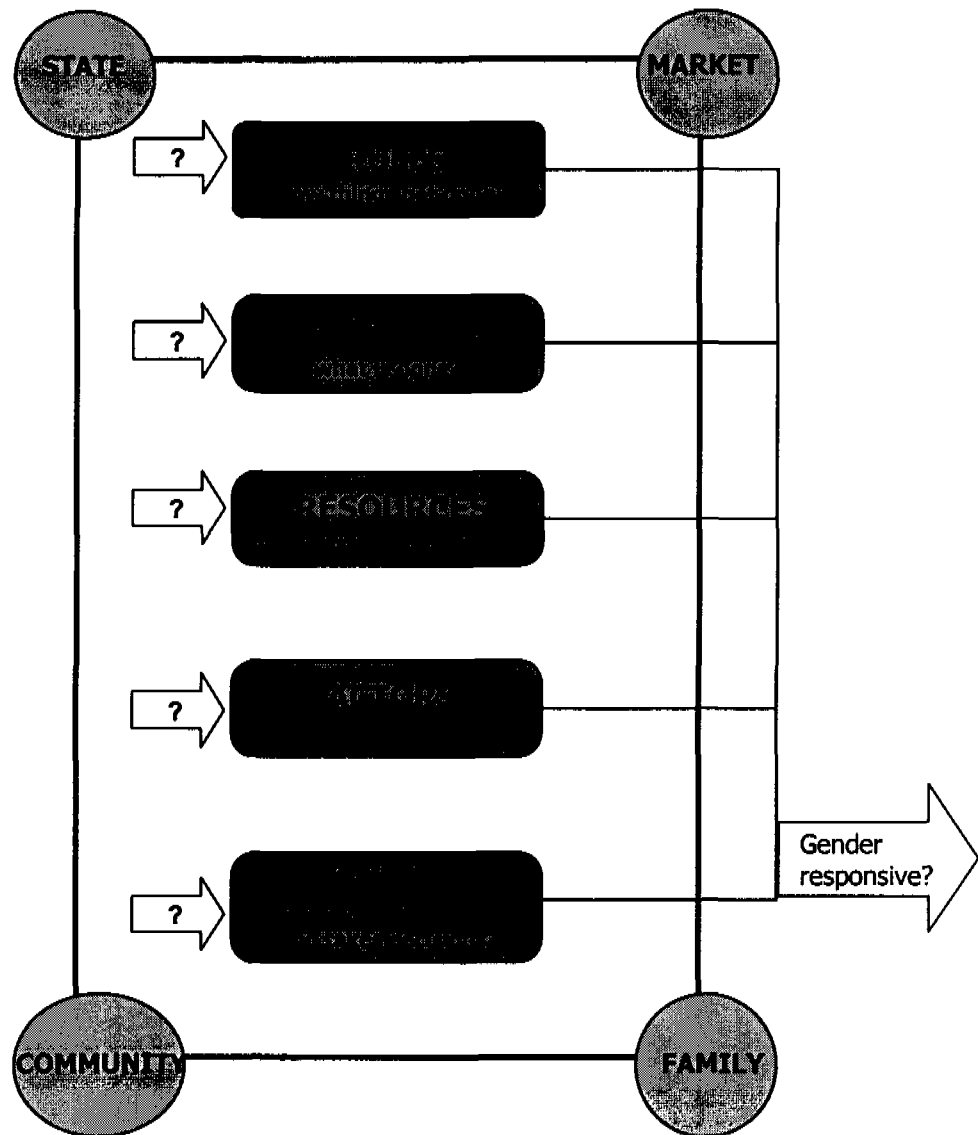
- **Rules or how things are done.** Institutional behaviour is rule-governed. There are distinct institutional patterns of behaviour in the official and unofficial, norms, values, traditions, laws and customs which constraint and enable what is done, how is it done, by whom and who will benefit from it. While they allow to make recurrent decisions without much effort, they can also entrench the way things are done to the point that they are considered natural.
- **Activities or what is done.** Institutions have sets of activities organised around the meeting of specific needs or the pursuit of specific goals. These activities can be productive, distributive or regulative and due to their rule-governed nature institutions generate routinised practices and are reconstituted through such practices. Institutional practice is a key factor in the reconstitution over time of social inequality and at the end it will have to be changed if unequal relations are to be transformed.
- **Resources or what is used, what is produced.** All institutions have the capacity to mobilise resources according to set rules for this mobilisation and allocation. Such resources may be human (labour, education and skills), material (food, land, money) or intangible (information, political will, goodwill, contacts) and they may be used as inputs in institutional activity or represent institutional outputs.
- **Actors¹² or who is in, who is out and who does what.** Institutional rules and practices determine which categories of people are included and which excluded and how they are assigned different tasks and responsibilities within the process and through the allocation of resources of the institution. Institutional patterns of inclusion, exclusion, positioning and progress express class, gender and other social inequalities.
- **Power or who determines priorities and makes the rules.** The unequal distribution of resources and responsibilities within an organisation, together with the official and unofficial rules which legitimise this distribution, tend to ensure that some institutional actors have the authority to interpret institutional goals and needs, as well as, the ability to mobilise the loyalty, labour or compliance of others. Power is constituted as an integral feature of institutional life through its norms, rules and conventions, its allocation of resources and responsibilities and its customs and practice (Kabeer, 1996).

The analysis of these elements helps to highlight how they could operate to produce unequal gendered outcomes and how gender and other social inequalities are mutually constituted within and across institutional sites. The analysis of the participatory experiences in Bolivia and Brazil will consider these elements as a basis to identify their existing gender responsiveness and from there whether the incorporation of gender in the process would improve its performance and impact.

¹¹ The State is the larger institutional framework including central and local governments and a range of legal, military and administrative organisations; the market is the framework for firms, financial corporations, enterprises and multinationals; the community incorporates family groupings, neighbourhood networks, villages, political factions and NGOs (Kabeer, 1996).

¹² Kabeer refers to this category as people, but for the purpose of this study I have taken the liberty to rename it as actors.

Graph 1. Kabeer's Framework for Analysing Institutions.



2.8 A gender analysis of needs, interests and institutional change¹³

Molyneux's (1985) distinction between practical and strategic gender needs is useful for appreciating the routinised roles and responsibilities generated by gendered rules, norms or organisations, and the asymmetries regarding allocative and authoritative resources which

¹³ Due to the scope of this study only the analysis of the organisations will be covered. For further information on the methodology proposed please refer to Kabeer and Subrahmanian, 1996 .

underpin them. Women and men have certain routine practical gender-specific needs, which reflect their socially ascribed obligations, and responsibilities and that are not static. As long as the institutional arrangement meets these needs, there is no incentive to renegotiate the rules. However due to the asymmetric division of resources and responsibilities, women and men are likely to have different and often conflicting strategic gender interests in defending, resisting or transforming prevailing rules and practices.

The interest best served by the prevailing configuration of rules and resources are not only most likely to resist, but also have the greatest capacity to resist, any attempt at redistribution or transformation. The struggle to achieve gender equity in development policy is in fact a political project.

According to Kabeer (1996) practical gender needs and strategic gender interests can be seen as different aspects of the same question: what the priorities for gender aware policy should be and how should they be operationalised (Kabeer, 1994). Women's practical gender needs and the ways in which they are met then become interrelated dimensions of strategic interests: the needs point in the direction of satisfying choices, while the interests refer to expanding control over the conditions of choice.

The transformatory potential of an intervention lies as much in the means through which needs are satisfied and opportunities created, as it does in the precise ends which inspire a policy intervention.

2.9 Structure of the report

Chapters 3 and 4 provide an overview of the development of the concepts of gender and environment and of gender and participation respectively. Often these concepts are used in a very generic manner and their key importance is diluted. Both chapters provide basic information on the evolution of these concepts and may help us understand some of the obstacles and opportunities presented in the cases of Bolivia and Brazil.

Chapter 5 introduces the analytical framework used for this study. It is based on the work of Kabeer et al (1996) on institutional frameworks and tools for gender-aware planning. The present study only uses the basic features proposed by the author for understanding organisations, mainly because of the limitations in the type and extent of available information. The chosen framework can be very useful to identify and understand where gender inequalities may take place in various institutional structures. For a preliminary analysis it can be easily adapted to specific projects and programmes and that represents an advantage for its use.

Chapter 6 and 7 present the cases of Bolivia and Brazil respectively. The information is presented according to the elements of the analytical framework as to facilitate its understanding. Efforts have been made to present the available information from a gender perspective in both cases. However this has not always been possible.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings according to the proposed research questions and analytical framework used.

Gender, environment and participation

3.1 Gender and environment

Women and their relation to environmental issues started being discussed in the mid-70s. For Northern countries it was linked to the involvement of women in the environmental and pacifists movements and in some degree to their criticism of feminists who did not take a position regarding the environmental crisis¹⁴. For Southern countries this discussion was more related to problems faced in the forestry and agricultural sectors.

Since that time, conceptual and methodological approaches have been developed to support this inter-relationship. To explain why gender, environment and sustainable development are closely connected it is important to consider the sexual division of labour, the feminisation of poverty and the existing gender ideology.

The sexual division of labour makes women, especially poor rural women in the south, important contributors to agriculture and often the solely responsible for the collection of firewood, fodder and water. In the urban context, women still keep responsibilities regarding food, water and energy provision for the family. Women and men not only have different knowledge on the use and management of natural resources, but also different interests on these matters. In both rural and urban settings, because of the diversity of their tasks, women's knowledge on the environment is more comprehensive. This makes women's knowledge and expertise an important issue in environmental management and rehabilitation. However, women's heavier total workload constraints the allocation of their labour time, forcing them to make trade-offs between environmental activities, socio-economical activities and health.

In the past decades there is clear evidence of stronger impoverishment among women, what is called the feminisation of poverty¹⁵ (Chant, 1995 and UNCHS, 1996). It has also been established that environmental problems affect poor people first due to the direct dependency on natural resources for their survival. Considering both factors, women often bear the heaviest burden of environmental degradation.

In some societies, there is a prevailing gender ideology that defines women's subordinate position to men. This implies that at local level women have less access to and control over resources than men. Poor women are more often than men, deprived of the possibility to use and manage natural resources in a sustainable way, this inequality, frustrates their capacity to sustain livelihood, and hampers their contribution to sustainable environmental management.

These factors are also relevant for the relationship of northern women with the environment. For instance, in industrialised countries, women are also responsible for caring and feeding for their families, they are over represented in the low-income categories and under represented in decision-making bodies. They may have specific health risks, and may be hit harder by government initiated financial measures and cuts in services for the sake of the environment¹⁶.

¹⁴ The energy crisis generated uncertainty about the supply and cost of oil. This called for the reduction of the consumption of wood as an energy source that promoted programmes targeted to women to encourage them to reduce their wood consumption and use alternative fuels as well as taking part in reforestation projects.

¹⁵ Of 1.3 billion people in poverty, 70% are women.

¹⁶ For instance, measures to reduce the number of private cars to protect the environment may also influence the participation of women in the labour market and thus their participation in decision-making especially if the public

Also some interests of women in the North are opposed to interests of women in the South. For instance, since northern women are responsible for much of domestic household consumption, they have big influence on production patterns, in their own countries and consequently can affect the market prices in southern countries.

3.2 Theoretical approaches to women, gender, environment and development

To some extent, the approaches to "women and development" and "environment and development" have matured in a rather independent manner in policy and planning. The different lines of thought have evolved according to their own dynamics and in different circumstances they have influenced one another. However there is a variation as far as the role and repercussions of development concerns women and the environment. This led to the recognition of women vis ↔ vis the environment as administrators, educators, economic resources, demographic variables, victims or despoilers.

Caroline Moser (1989), one of the leaders in the gender and development debate, described and reviewed policy approaches to women in development as follows:

- a) The **"welfare approach"** from the 50s and 60s based on the Western stereotype that women's work was restricted to the reproductive sphere. Women were perceived as victims of underdevelopment, leading to top-down hand outs of goods and services.
- b) The **"equity approach"** came up in the early 70s. Endorsed by the UN Decade for Women (75-85) it lacks an analysis of gender and power structures.
- c) The **"anti-poverty"** approach of the 70s focused on basic needs and women's productive roles.
- d) The **"efficiency"** approach came up in the late 70s, it sees women as human resources for development.
- e) The **"empowerment"** approach inspired by Southern women proposes that historically based inequalities have to be broken down by strengthening and extending the power base of women.

3.2.1 Gender planning

Moser outlined the gender planning perspective (1989) as the incorporation of a perspective that recognises the triple role of women, in reproduction, production and community management/politics, and reviewing whether the development projects met or not practical or strategic needs.

According to Molyneux (1987) practical gender needs are formulated from actual conditions in women's engendered position (e.g. improved cooking stoves). Addressing these needs will help women carry out their tasks without addressing their problematic position. Strategic gender needs on the other hand, are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination by men (e.g. abolition of sexual division of labour). Addressing both of these needs would contribute to gender equality.

Although this distinction is criticised for its artificiality, on the other hand it is useful to guarantee that the strategic gender needs are not neglected (Hilda Bonsink, 1989). However, care must be taken since the distinction may be misleading because some apparently practical needs have an

transport system is not simultaneously improved to become a real option to fulfil women's caring and working duties as well as protecting the environment.

important strategic potential¹⁷. Similarly, the position of dealing with practical problems first could be strengthened by this distinction, leaving the consideration of key strategic issues for later.

Finally, although gender planning does not question the assumptions of the dominant development paradigm, the approach has been widely used for institutionalised gender training for development experts, Harcourt (1991) states that "gender and development remains a largely marginalised field analytically and in practice. Women's present situation in developing countries should be met by gender strategic needs which take into account the need to raise women's social and economic status, their self-determination and men's supportive awareness". The approach's efficiency is entirely dependent on the goodwill of governments and their willingness to allow women's equity.

3.2.2 Autonomy

The concept was adapted from ideas formulated by South Asian women. It refers to self-determination and can be summarised as the control over one's own body and life, with its physical, economic, political and ideological dimensions.

It has environmental dimensions as far as women's physical autonomy is threatened when their reproductive rights are affected by environmental hazards; economic dimensions in relation to the access and control over resources that are crucial for women's environmental management possibilities; political considering the participation of women towards sustainable development and environmental policy-making and ideological due to the need to have a positive self-image to countervail power to gain more control over their environment (H van den Hombergh, 1993). These elements are closely linked and cannot be dealt with in isolation.

Since the approach originates from a bottom-up view on socio-political transformation, it is believed to go further than the empowerment approach¹⁸ (Schrijvers, 1991). Despite the resistance it faced because it conflicts with the ideal of women's self-sacrifice and altruism, the concept became key for women in the Dutch parliamentary development policy document (Tweede Kamer 1990)¹⁹. Autonomy, according to the critics, is individualistic, not relational, not based on gender and typically Western as far as the right to self-determination is concerned.

As interpreted by southern women activists, autonomy is the necessary space for women and men to be able to work towards a different society, in which democracy, peace and social justice rule, and thus it can apply to groups as well.

3.2.3 Eco-feminism

It is the most prominent approach to the GED debate. In this approach two trends can be identified: social eco-feminism²⁰ and cultural eco-feminism²¹ (Plumwood, 1992). The latter has been of important influence for activists promoting the issue of women and the environment within the feminist and ecologist movements.

¹⁷ For instance learning to ride a bicycle or a car is quite practical but strategically increases mobility and thus independence.

¹⁸ Empowerment may still have the top-down character that is rejected in the autonomy concept.

¹⁹ Schrijvers (1993) mentions the risks of this "appropriation" of the concept by Dutch policy, as it may be used as mechanistic, instrumental and superficial device to measure things that cannot be measured.

²⁰ Social eco-feminism proposes to start the analysis from the historical bond between women and nature in order to define a political strategy to create another culture and politics (King, 1983-1990). This approach recognises that all humans act in a socially constructed framework, influenced by gender, class, age, sexual preference, religion and nationality.

²¹ Cultural eco-feminism stresses the link between women and nature, reducing all forms of oppression to the oppression of women (Plumwood, 1992).

Eco-feminism conceptualises the relationship between women and nature, implying that there is a strong linkage between the two and defending a return to a "femininity principle" involving harmony, sustainability and diversity (Shiva, 1989). It is considered that women have a special relationship with nature and that they are key as mothers and nurturers of life. According to this model, women's biological (pregnancy, childbirth, etc) and cultural (care and bringing up of children) functions give them a special "natural mindset" and special knowledge that will enable them to save the planet. Their natural propensity to protect the environment is an extension of their role as carers in the family and community (Shiva, 1989). However this model does not acknowledge key differences in terms of ethnic background, social class and age among others. Critics also mention that the responsibilities delegated to women as saviours and carers have no consideration as whether they have or not the necessary resources to fulfil it (Leach, 1991)

Nevertheless, eco-feminism states that there are connections between the oppression of nature and the oppression of women, in such a way that it is necessary to understand these connections in order to realise the oppression of both²² (Warren, 1987). This, according to the approach, is due to the effects of the patriarchal thinking conceptual framework and the dualism that subordinates nature to culture and the feminine to masculine²³, that is opposed to the ecological principles of interconnectedness, equality and diversity that are fundamental to eco-feminism.

3.2.4 Women in Development

This term was introduced in the early 1970s by the Women's Committee of SID influenced by the work of Ester Boserup²⁴. It was rapidly adopted by USAID as an approach whose rationale was that women are an untapped resource who can provide an economic contribution to development. In that sense, development processes would proceed much better if women were fully incorporated into them. It focuses mainly on women in isolation, promoting measures such as access to credit and employment as the means by which women can be better integrated into the development process.

The movement of women, environment and development (WED) is part of this strand of thought and had large impact among NGOs²⁵. It was greatly influenced by eco-feminism on the assumption of a special relationship between women and nature but ignoring the daily survival strategies, the objectives of use and management of environmental resources, the power relationships that exist and the gender relations that differentiate men and women in the processes of production and reproduction (Jackson, 1993).

The WED approach stresses the potential of women's role as daily administrators of natural resources (Dankelman and Davidson, 1989) with analysis carried out mainly at the micro-social level. Due to their vulnerability to environmental changes linked to their dependence on natural resources, emphasis is placed on the sustainability of the interventions to support the contributions made by women to manage and preserve the environment (Collins, 1991). This approach considers women as the most valuable and most neglected resource (Linggard and Moberg, 1990) and thus, grants them particular attention in environmental projects and

²² There is an ancient identification of nature with a nurturing mother which links women's history with the history of the environment and environmental change (as in Bolivia, pachamama). After industrial revolution conception change seeing the world from a living organism to an inanimate object (mechanistic worldview) causing domination of women and nature due to her closeness to nature.

²³ This implies a normative dualism. Dividing the world in two opposites and valuing one over the other, men over women, human over non-human.

²⁴ Boserup (1970) showed that although women are major contributors to economies, their contributions are neither reflected in national statistics nor in planning and implementation initiatives of government projects. Despite the criticisms, this research set the trend in reviewing the impact of capitalist and socialist systems and the introduction of reproductive labour in research.

²⁵ During the NGO Forum of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the achievements of the UN decade for women many of the statements of this line of thought are found in the documents produced in this occasion (Rico, 1998).

programmes, as instruments for environmental protection vis a vis the forms of organisation they developed to respond to environmental change (Dankelman and Davidson, 1989).

Although this approach values the roles women play, it does not consider the way social roles are determined in terms of gender and ideology and the fact that it is not realistic to expect women to resolve the environmental crisis on their own (Sen and Grown, 1988). It failed to consider that poor women are already exploited and overworked, with weak health, limited available time and limited powers as for a new responsibility to be given to them. By not considering women's situation to participate actively in environmental decision-making processes, it overlooked issues of power and values that are inherent to their role in each society.

Feminist critiques pointed out that WED conceptualisations were flawed because many environmentally-friendly management practices by women can be explained by rational short-term interests; the relations of women to the environment cannot be understood outside the context of gender relations in resource management and use; that the approach focuses completely on women at the exclusion of men and pays little attention to the differences among women (Joekes et al. 1996)

In practical terms, this approach was translated through the inclusion of women's components in environmental programmes at various levels and work carried out specifically with women (add-on approach).

The WID approach was valid and necessary to make women visible in the development process since there are still strong arguments giving priority to women's development and encouraging the growth of women's organisations. However it tended to generate add-on solutions, at worst resulting in tokenism and marginalisation of women's long-term interests.

3.2.5 Gender and Development approach

The gender and development (GAD) approach consolidated its position during the 1990s. It proposes that women are discriminated in society mainly because of: i) the division of labour by sex, resulting in women being in charge exclusively of the household work and family care functions; ii) inequality between men and women in terms of access to productive resources and their benefits, and iii) the limitations on their participation in decision-making processes and access to the various forms of public power (Rico, 1993).

A gender approach cares about the social construction of relationships between men and women due to the different roles they play in society. Gender differences are constructed by ideological, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural variables" (Moser, 1991). A gender approach brings into the discussion the social relationships that women and men establish and the system of power into which they are incorporated. In other words it emphasises the social, cultural and historical nature of the processes of subordination and negotiation in which men and women are involved. This approach sees women as agents of change and looks for the design of strategies that ensure a better correlation of women and development but also for the critical review of the social, economical and political structures of the system (Rathgeber, 1988).

Not all women experience environmental deterioration in the same way, and nor do environmental problems affect all of them equally. The particular relationship that given groups of women have with the environment depend on their lifestyles, physical location and social structure and the interconnection of gender systems, class and ethnicity. These relationships change for individual women themselves over the course of their lives. There are also the relationships women have with the men in their families and the division of labour and decision-making patterns that they have within the households, all of which determine the way in which access to and use, ownership and control of resources are managed (Rico, 1998).

In the relationship between sustainable development and environment, there are processes such as population growth, migration, family organisation of labour, patterns of production and consumption and unequal distribution of economic, political and technological power, where women's role is key. Their participation then it is formulated in terms of "victim" of environmental changes, by their understanding, use and consumption of natural resources and by the experience and creativity brought into community work where mechanisms are created to achieve sustainability. Through this approach social relationships of production and power vis ↔ vis differential access to resources, specific cultural characteristics and gender identities in the socio-economic change are considered.

In terms of policy orientation, the approach maintains that it is not enough to have programmes and projects aimed at women, but that development activities as a whole must contribute to equity, meaning that men must be also included. When gender-environmental policies are designed and implemented in the context of sustainability, women should not be regarded only as a resource for conserving and improving the environment. Using a gender based approach when designing such policies enables discrepancies between practical and strategic needs of women to be reduced, it also entails a constant tension between fact and aspiration. On the one hand it recognises, values and enhances the roles that women perform in each specific context and their contributions to development, on the other hand it must overcome the rigid division of roles, exclusion and subordination that affect women as to achieve equity and sustainability.

The GAD approach aims to make a methodological contribution to the planning and implementation of development programmes and projects, stressing the consultative and participatory character of these processes as well as reinforcing democracy. The organisational expression of GAD is a combination of separate structures and the promotion of gender expertise within existing mixed structures.

However, "it has been easy to misconstrue gender as a neutral concept, obscuring the fact that at present gender relations are still a hierarchy with men at the top. A gender analysis, therefore, is not just a question of identifying differences, but of analysing how these differences have led to inequalities in power between men and women. By bringing the interdependence of women and men in society into the foreground, the GAD approach leads to the crucial recognition that no problem or issue is gender neutral" (Mac Donald et al, 1997).

3.2.6 Men and masculinities in development

With few exceptions men are rarely explicitly mentioned in gender policy documents. If they appear, they are normally seen as obstacles to women's development: men must surrender their positions of dominance for women to become empowered. The superiority of women as hard working, reliable, trustworthy, socially responsible, caring and co-operative is often asserted, whilst men on the other hand are often portrayed in a negative manner. Recently some critiques argue on the need to pay attention to men and masculinities in development as follows (Clever, 2001):

- Gender is about relationships. It is essential to understand men's perceptions and positions and the scope for changing them. Focusing only on women is not adequate.
- Equality and social justice. Men and women may be disadvantaged by social and economic structures. Both have the right to live free from poverty, repression and be liberated from the confines of gender stereotyped roles.
- Gendered vulnerabilities. While it is recognised that women face greater social and economic disadvantages, men are not always in a better situation and sometimes it is easy to overlook certain gender specific inequities and vulnerabilities such as damaging health effects of certain masculine labour roles or social practices.
- Crisis of masculinity. The current changes in the economy, social structures and household composition are resulting in crisis of masculinity. The demasculinising effects of poverty and

economic and social changes may be eroding men's traditional roles as providers and limiting the availability of alternative and meaningful roles for men in families and communities.

- Strategic gendered partnerships. For gender-equitable change in households, communities and organisations, men are needed as allies and partners.

Changing ideas about men's roles, varying cultural conceptions of masculinity and the need to challenge dominant definitions of "what is to be a man" are strong topics in the field of men and masculinities and challenges for their analysis regarding environmental issues²⁶ (Cleaver, 2001).

3.3 Gender and participation

The term participation appears to offer everybody what they would like to understand it to mean, evoking togetherness, common purpose and mutual understanding. (Cornwall, 2001). For some, "beneficiary participation" could help shift costs to recipients while enhancing project effectiveness. For others, it evokes the recognition and enhancement of people's ability to speak out and determine their own development through fundamental changes in power relations. Both perspectives have fundamental differences in kind and not only in degree (Nelson and Wright, 1996).

Many critics on participatory initiatives have focused to a large extent on the mismatches between their over-ambitious aims and what was really implemented in practice. Despite the aims of participatory development to involve people in development initiatives that affect them directly, surprisingly little attention is paid to understanding who wants to participate, what makes their participation possible and what this participation offers them.

3.4 Conceptual approaches to participation

This section provides an overview of participation conceptualisations developed by a variety of researchers and development organisations. Although not comprehensive, it intends to show how diverse and complex this concept can be at theoretical level and how simply can it be treated for implementation purposes.

Early in 1969, Arnstein's "ladder of participation" made the link between participation and citizenship. During the 70s participation was considered when discussing marginality. It was understood as the mechanism that could allow the incorporation of the marginal groups in programmes of social promotion, controlling in that manner the social tensions, and thus it could build consensus and legitimate the established order. The UNRISD defined popular participation as "the organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control" (UNRISD, 1979).

In the 80s citizen's participation was related to the optimisation of public administration that was considered bureaucratic and inefficient. Government strategies to overcome the social, economical and political crisis tried to articulate better the relations between the State and civil society. Thus, decentralisation processes tended to strengthen municipal governments, while at the same time came as a result of the pressure of social movements (Vargas, 1996). In Latin America, decentralisation has a more integral character and the strengthening of the municipalities can be understood as a strategy to rebuild the State. At the same time, civil society gets more importance through the development of participatory mechanisms as complementary

²⁶ For instance a study by Montoya () on a campaign against domestic violence in Nicaragua emphasised the need to understand the fears and insecurities that men experience in their relationships with women. Montoya links the increased tensions and conflicts in families to the environmental, economic and social devastation caused by hurricane Mitch.

to representative democracy. In that way, more spaces are available for the representation of civil society interests in the form of proposals, monitoring of policies and local public services.

In the region the concept has been widely used for different purposes and stakeholders²⁷. According to Giulietta Fadda (1988) this has contributed to emptying of the contents of participation, because while becoming more ideological, it also became more of an empty word.

The complexity and the many different approaches participation can be treated with, is evident from the following definitions that conceive participation as "the intervention in the decision making processes" (Guerra, 1980); or "the organised efforts to increase the control over resources and regulatory institutions in given social conditions, from groups and movements until now excluded from that control" (Pearse and Stiefel, 1980); or as "a new way of governing and part of a process of rationalisation and decentralisation" (Borja, 1986); or "the inclusion of non-formal power sources into institutional decision-making process" (Castells, 1981); or as "it can stimulate the construction of new forms of representation, co-operation and organisation at municipal level (Jacobi, 1991); or "exercising voice and choice and developing the human, organisational and management capacity to solve problems as they arise in order to sustain the improvements" (Saxena, 1998) among others.

In the 90s, the World Bank defined participation as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them (WB, 1994). As a characteristic instrumental approach of mainstream development work this definition sought only to influence and share instead of increase control over resources and regulative institutions.

Actually participation is more related to the democratisation of the state and public administration, since most of the interventions are centred around the reduction of the public responsibilities and services. Decentralisation processes clearly show that the municipality is the privileged scenario for participation.

Perhaps the common denominator among these definitions could be that participation is seen as an instance that alters certain existing values while redistributing power. White's typology (1996) is useful in identifying some of the tendencies in the uses to which participatory approaches have been put into development

TABLE 1. White's participation typology

Form	What participation means to the implementing agency	What participation means for those on the receiving end	What participation is for
Nominal	Legitimation- to show they are doing something.	Inclusion- to retain some access to potential benefits.	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency- to limit funders input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost effective.	Cost- of time spent on project related labour and other activities.	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability -to avoid creating dependency.	Leverage -to influence the shape the project takes and its management.	To give people a voice in determining their own development.
Transformative	Empowerment- to strengthen people's capabilities to take decisions and act for themselves.	Empowerment- to be able to decide and act for themselves.	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic.

Source: White 1996.

²⁷ Some used it as the rationales for proposed changes, others to promote efficiency in the activities, as social control or to refer to more abstract issues such as labour participation, community participation, citizens participation among others.

Since the concept of participation can have multiple understandings and its definition in development is often blurred, there is scope for a range of potential interpretations when it comes to implementation. While it can refer to genuine intent to hand over power to interpret, analyse and come up with solutions, in some cases imposition of donor agendas has been justified by consultation processes which are then referred to as participatory.

At the moment, popular participation can be understood as the set of state policies related to decentralisation and redistribution of authority and competencies to local powers (Martinez, 1996).

3.5 Gender in participatory development

Gender like participation can have a multitude of meanings in development practice. Despite the wide use of the term gender, operational frameworks tend to treat women and men as identifiable groups by virtue of their sex alone with a consequent stereotypisation (Cornwall, 2000). Gender was hidden in seemingly inclusive terms: "the people", "the oppressed", "the poor" or simply "the community".

Gender work in participatory development has tended to be equated with a concern about women's issues. Some of the gender planning frameworks (e.g., Moser, 1993) highlight particular aspects of gender disprivilege, but can render invisible differences within the category woman and mask important relational aspects of male-female interactions.

Likewise gender relations refer only to the dimension of male/female relations that involves actual or potential heterosexual relationships. Other types of relationships such as elder sister/younger brother or inter-generational relationships such as older female business owners and younger male employees are generalised and not considered as gender relations. Also gender dimensions of the same sex relationships such as relations of power between female kin are disregarded (Mohanty, 1987).

The practical equivalence between gender and women's issues, and the limited focus on particular kinds of gender relations, act to obscure the analytic importance of a focus on gender as a constitutive element of all social relationships and as signifying a relationship of power (Scott 1989, Wieringa 1998)

Treating communities as ungendered units and community participation, as an unambiguous step toward enhanced equality is according to Agarwal (1997) a source of problems in development.

It is evident that getting more women into the structures of governance can create more space for women's concerns (Goetz 1999), but the presumption that women represent women's gender interests is more complex than often recognised. Simply increasing the number of women may serve instrumental goals but does not address in itself more fundamental issues of power. Despite GAD's characterisation of women as community-oriented carers, there is no reason to suppose that women because of their sex will be more open to share power and control than men. In some instances installing women in committees may merely perpetuate inequitable gender relations between women. Some women in development committees may not identify themselves primarily or at all with other women²⁸ (Cornwall, 2000).

The challenge of inclusion requires long periods of time and strengthening the capabilities of women and men, especially the marginal ones, to act as makers and shapers rather than simply users and choosers (Cornwall and Gaventa, 1999)

²⁸ Molyneux (1985) makes the point that "women's interests" and "women's gender interests" are not always coincident, nor are "women's interests" necessarily based on an identification as women.

Because of the assumptions that are made about gender, gender sensitive interventions may remain profoundly insensitive to the dynamics of difference. In practice participatory approaches should explore, analyse and work with the differences people identify with, rather than identifying the needs of predetermined categories of people (Cornwall, 2000).

3.6 Gender and participatory development

Often, participatory processes have left women aside, along with the gender issues that shape their lives. The fields of participatory development and gender studies have remained far apart despite their shared goals of social inclusion and societal transformation (Chambers, 1997; Kabeer, 1994). This is not surprising considering that participatory approaches emerged in a time that centred around male power, perceptions, problems and experiences (de Koning and Martin, 1996). The focus on practical concerns took place either because it avoided time consuming and difficult processes of negotiation of structural changes in the power relationships between men and women (Shah, 1998) or simply because the structural issues were not recognised or it was not known what to do with them.

The concerns of the GAD agenda with issues of power, conflict and control have much to parallel with participatory approaches. Feminist concerns with voice, choice and rights informed this new agenda, and one explicitly concerned with transforming oppressive gender relations (Kabeer 1995). There is a range of common epistemological, ethical and political principles to both approaches.

While efficiency was used as an argument to increase women's access to development institutions, for participation cost-effectiveness and benefits to efficiency by engaging "primary stakeholders" in development projects acted as such.

Between both approaches some tensions could arise due initially to a central situation of women's choices vis ↔ vis the broader concern with enabling the poor to gain voice in the development process. As much as a broad focus on poverty in participatory development can mask gender inequities, so too a focus on women can obscure other dimensions of exclusion (Cornwall and White, 2000).

Another area that requires care refers to the role of practitioner. A lot of GAD work is carried out by applying external models and concepts to design or assess the impact of interventions for women. Since participatory development is considered a process of engagement with and by local people to dictate interventions, the use of expert knowledge is not priority. This creates a central paradox when gender-aware participatory development is put in practice.

Finally it is important to consider that both approaches aim at confronting and transforming inequalities, thus using particular ideas about power and difference. However, while participatory approaches -derived from the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) school- emphasise the particularity of local experience and focus on enabling local people to articulate and analyse their situations in their own terms, they also leave little room to challenge aspects of the status quo that other participatory and feminist practitioners would like to see changed. The PRA process is geared at the production of consensus, and as such it can work both to enable different voices to be heard or to mask dissent, depending on how it is used.

In recent years gender and participation have experienced some convergence. However there are some areas where emphasis should be placed to ensure success:

- For practical application conceptual clarity is necessary. The use of clear and commonly agreed terminology on concepts such as gender, empowerment, participation and community are fundamental.

- The use of participatory methodologies could create the impression of a uniform and static local knowledge (Goebel, 1998). In participatory work not much care is taken to understand how gender issues, differences and similarities can emerge, alongside those related to other forms of power, in different types of discussion settings. Empowerment-oriented work methodology should not expose or generate conflicts that increase the vulnerability of marginalised groups²⁹
- To put a different perspective into practice needs long-term commitments from the organisations involved, an asset that normally is not available³⁰.

Meeting the challenge of equitable participatory development means integrating these two approaches with their own principles and methodologies. The need to deal with conflict may explain the reluctance of participation advocates to commit to the social transformation goals of gender-aware development. Participation is only inclusive of gendered views if those who drive the process want it to be, or if those involved demand it to be.

²⁹ The use of participatory maps, life stories and questionnaire surveys can reveal the impact on women of changes in gender-differentiated needs but not necessarily explain underlying gender relations.

³⁰ The crucial need for time to bring about equitable social change is often diametrically opposed to the speedy disbursement of funds or quick need for data that characterises many development initiatives- hence the need for institutional change at all levels.

Chapter 4

BOLIVIA

The Popular Participation Law

4.1 The Country

Bolivia, the Tibet of South America, is one of the world's most unusual countries. Traversed by three massive Andean ranges, the country has a wide geographical distribution, a variety of ecosystems, rich cultures and an impressive range of natural resources on a surface area of 1,098,581 km². The climatic conditions range from arctic to tropical in three distinct zones: a plateau called Altiplano that separates the Andean mountain ranges, the intermediary valley region and the eastern tropical flat lowlands which make up about 70% of the country, including the semiarid Chaco region in the south. Being a land locked country and having poorly developed communications infrastructure its access to export markets is limited.

Bolivia is also one of the poorest countries in Latin America. The GDP per capita is US\$1,063 and its social indicators are similar to Sub-Saharan Africa. With a population of around 8 million inhabitants, it does not suffer from overpopulation presenting one of the lowest densities (7 inhabitants/km²) in the Western Hemisphere. Nevertheless since 1950 the population has more than doubled and distributed unevenly with most of the population living in the highlands. Since the 80s a growing rural urban migration process is taking place with currently 61% of the population living in urban areas³¹.

About two-thirds of the Bolivian population is poor with low levels of education, health and nutrition and living in places that fail to meet their basic needs and who in general lack access to services. The average schooling completed is less than seven years, infant mortality stands at 69 per thousand live births and 10% of the children under five are malnourished.

With 40% of indigenous population, Bolivia has the proportionately highest indigenous population of any Latin American country. There are 53 ethnic groups officially recognised being the Quechuas, Aymaras and Guaranis the most important ones.

The country was well known for its political instability, which brought into power 79 different regimes in 176 years of independent life, many of them military dictatorships. Democracy was permanently recovered in 1982.

Economically the country depended principally on mining for most of its life history. In 1985 a significant macroeconomic stabilisation and structural adjustment process started to mitigate the effects of the instability lived after 1982³². However after the collapse of the tin market at the end of 1985 a serious economic and social crisis followed. Nineteen years of democracy and sixteen years of structural adjustment have laid down the basis for economic stability, but social exclusion persists and the progress made in the fight against poverty is not satisfactory.

³¹ That is a centre with a population bigger than 5,000 inhabitants (Ministry of Sustainable Development, 1998).

³² As an initial result, the twelve-month inflation fell from a peak of 23,500 % to less than 4.2% by the end of 2000. (Central Bank)

The following sections intend to provide an introduction to the main processes, which are shaping Bolivian development and which will aid us place, these experiences within the analysis framework.

4.2 The poor in Bolivia

The incidence of poverty in Bolivia is one of the highest in Latin America. It affected 63 percent of Bolivians in 1999, a percentage that is significantly higher than the regional average (36 percent). In rural areas during that year, more than 80 percent of the population lived in poverty conditions, and approximately 60 percent of them lived in extreme poverty³³ (EBRP, 2001). Extreme poverty levels are higher in rural municipalities³⁴ of the high plateau [*altiplano*], particularly in the regions of Northern Potosí, Chuquisaca, and La Paz³⁵. Many indigenous communities live in these regions, which are scattered, difficult to access, and poorly integrated with populated centres; their access to basic services is limited, production infrastructure is insufficient, and agricultural yields are low. Poverty is most intense, however, on the central high plateau. Geographical features, differing natural resource endowment levels, and road infrastructure investments account for the differing poverty levels in the municipalities.

Although rural poverty levels are comparatively higher than in urban areas, 52 percent of the total number of poor live in urban areas—a result of the rapid urbanisation that has characterised the past two decades³⁶. During the 1980s this phenomenon took place with a concentration of the population around the central corridor.³⁷ Urban growth is attributable primarily to rural-urban migration that has contributed to the establishment of poverty belts in the main urban centres.

The differences in urban poverty levels are associated with certain socio-economic characteristics of households and individuals. Poverty levels are significantly higher (56 percent) in households headed by young persons—under 25 years of age—than in those headed by older persons³⁸. It is estimated that, in 1999, 58 percent of the urban population that spoke native languages were in a state of poverty, and under 30 percent were in extreme poverty, in contrast with 46 percent of persons who spoke only Spanish (poverty) and 18 percent (extreme poverty). The same data established that per capita household income was 13 percent lower for Quechua speaking people and 32 lower for Aymara speaking people. The differences in living standards between indigenous and non-indigenous groups in the cities reveals the presence of a high degree of discrimination, manifested in particular by the differing educational opportunities of the urban indigenous population and by their access to social services and the labour market (EBRP, 2001).

In 1999, approximately 60 percent of the urban population with five or less years of formal education were poor and 28 percent were extremely poor. A more educated head of household reduces the probability of being in a situation of poverty. In fact, a head of household with a primary education could increase the household income by 25 percent in relation to households

³³ Poverty lines were calculated on the basis of the construction of the basic food baskets and the estimation of nonfood needs valued at the prices prevailing in each area. The cost of the basket in rural areas is US\$23 per person per month; the cost in urban areas depends on the city, with an average cost of US\$29 per person per month. For urban areas, per capita household income was used to identify poverty, while in rural areas per capita household expenditure was used for that purpose (EBRP).

³⁴ In rural municipalities, the infant mortality rate (for which the average is 67 per thousand live births) was estimated at 110 per thousand. Total chronic malnutrition (size-age) in children under three years of age is 26 percent for all of Bolivia, while it amounts to 48 percent in poor rural municipalities (EBRP).

³⁵ 31 percent of the poor population in rural areas live on the high plateau; 47 percent in the valleys (including Chapare); and the remaining 22 percent live in the lowlands of Eastern Bolivia and Chaco (EBRP).

³⁶ Data from the 1976 and 1992 censuses confirms that the population in urban areas grew by 4 percent per annum, and projections indicate an urban population growth rate of 3.6 percent per annum at the end of the 1990s. (INE)

³⁷ This refers to the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

³⁸ This situation is explained because older people normally are able of accumulating more assets during their life cycles that are then used as a safety net in times of economical distress.

headed by persons with no education. Similarly, household income may increase a further 40 percent when the head of household has a secondary education.

Between 1989 and 1999, the participation of the informal sector in the labour market increased from 33 percent to 42 percent, as well as the semi-entrepreneurial sector which increased from 10 percent to 15 percent over the same period. Both sectors are made up of numerous micro and small enterprises (MSE), characterised by low-productivity activities and where employment is precarious and lack adequate safeguards. In general, the educational level of workers in MSE are lower, many learn their jobs informally and unsystematically from their own parents; technical skills in production, trade, or other activity are reinforced through hands on experience.

4.3 The Environment

The government has adopted Sustainable Development as the conceptual basis for its policies and strategies. In this context, environmental management features in national development, and is to be implemented in a decentralised and participatory manner.

In Bolivia poverty, economic activity and the environment are closely connected. It is the poor who are most affected and defenceless against environmental threats and who are often involved in its deterioration. Lower income groups are most dependent upon extractive activities and have unsustainable productive practices in agriculture, mining and manufacturing, mostly due to lack of information and access to adequate technology.

The biggest pollution problems are related to water resources caused by industrial, agricultural and mining activities. There is a significant lack of wastewater treatment plants; this practice is not common for polluting mining and manufacturing activities. Air pollution is an increasing source of concern, although not fully recognised yet. Increasing numbers of private vehicles in the cities, winter season slash and burn agricultural practices, and indoor pollution due to existing cooking practices contribute to this problem.

It is estimated that 41 percent of the surface area of the country is undergoing desertification as a result of intensive land use pressure and unsustainable agricultural practices. In addition, there is loss of biodiversity³⁹ and unsustainable forest exploitation⁴⁰ (MDS, 2001).

Despite the existing legislation, environmental management is relatively new in Bolivia. With the exception of the forestry sector, where significant progress has been made in recent years, there is limited information available on the environmental state at national and local levels. Government agencies require institutional strengthening programmes and a deeper decentralisation process of the sector so the Prefectures and municipal governments can effectively assume their role as implementers of environmental policies, standards and regulations.

The brown agenda is normally treated within the housing and basic services sector. Recently, civil society focused its demands on the construction of drinking water and sewerage and sanitation systems, the provision of latrines, solid waste management facilities, and the improvement, construction, and fumigation of housing units (EBRP, 2001). According to the 1992 Census (INE), the coverage of drinking water services in urban areas reached 88.7 percent of households, although only 74.8 percent of these had a household connection. In rural areas, water coverage was 24.9 percent, of which only 17.2 percent had a household connection. In addition, the coverage of basic sanitation services was even lower, reaching 62.8 percent of

³⁹ In Bolivia includes 254 species of flora and 336 species of fauna.(Montes de Oca, 1997)

⁴⁰ Forty-eight percent of the country is covered by forests and it is estimated that 35.6 million hectares are under continuous forestry production. Currently, approximately 6 million hectares are under sustainable forest management (forestry management system).(MDS, 2000)

households in urban areas and 17.4 percent in rural areas. One of the major causes for low coverage is an inadequate level of investment and public spending allocated to the basic sanitation sector⁴¹.

Resulting from the National Dialogue 2000 the priority actions for this sector are: promoting the construction of drinking water and sanitary sewer systems in peripheral urban and rural areas; construction of wastewater and solid waste treatment plants; providing technical assistance to small municipalities; and strengthening the sector institutionally. To attack the shortfall in sanitation services in rural areas, the supply of drinking water and provision of latrines, cesspools and septic tanks will be promoted. In peripheral urban areas, sanitary sewer system networks and infrastructure for eliminating solid wastes such as sanitary landfills will be built. To make these services sustainable, technical assistance programs to strengthen the weakest municipalities and sanitary education programs will be promoted.

To improve the sector's institutional capacity, the sector's legal and strategic framework will be consolidated. In terms of legislation, the approval of the regulations of Law 2066 on Reforming Drinkable Water and Sanitary Sewer Services will be expedited and the Solid Waste Law and sanitary sewer system regulations will be approved. This could mean comprehensive regulation of solid waste and wastewater treatment. To help achieve the proposed objectives the participation of women leaders will be incorporated in the design, execution and evaluation of sanitary education projects and development of inter-institutional agreements between municipalities and prefectures to ensure co-ordinated preparation of basic sanitation plans and projects. (EBRP, 2001).

Bolivia used Agenda 21 as a comprehensive framework for its national development strategy. As part of the reform of the state, a Ministry of Sustainable Development was established with considerable policy and planning authority. Although the new ministry was conceptually well conceived, in reality its ability to work at national and local levels remained weak (UNDP, 2000). Through a project called Capacity 21, UNDP supported the government from 1995 to 1999 to implement different aspects of Agenda 21 by building capacities of various levels of government and incorporating important actors in its activities. Those activities were included within the processes and reforms up to certain level that will be later explained but did not manage to share their message with the big majority of the population.

4.4 Women in Bolivia

In contrast with other Latin American countries, the presence of women in the building of the nation and social struggles has been permanent since the indigenous insurrections back in the eighteenth century. After independence, these struggles were linked to initiatives searching for social transformation and change. Politically and historically their action has been directed towards the reaffirmation of their rights and of resistance against dictatorships. However and despite of this important presence, the identity and demands of women have been only recently been incorporated into the political parties system and are still very weakly represented at the workers' unions levels.

Despite the cultural roots of the "ayllu"⁴² and the unity "jaq'e"⁴³ in which the complementarity of the couple marks their organisational, political and social practices, women also share the conditions of oppression set up by the patriarchal society that are clearly expressed through domestic violence.

⁴¹ During the period 1980-1994, public spending on basic sanitation as a percentage of GDP averaged 0.05 percent. However, during the period 1995-1999, this indicator shows average growth of 2.1 percent. The capitalisation of water and sewerage autonomous companies has also influenced this growth to a certain degree (EBRP, 2001).

⁴² Andean system of organisation, reciprocity, occupation and management of the space, wealth generation, etc that works as a network where information is provided and decisions are made. (Medina, 1994)

⁴³ Social being made up of a man and a woman, the couple. The ayllu is formed by all the jaq'es in the specific territory (Medina, 2001)

Bolivian women constitute about 51.6% of the total population, they are still very young, almost equally distributed between rural and urban areas and with an average of five children each. Approximately 78% of Bolivian women have less than 40 years of age and 39% are under 15 years of age. In this regard, men appear to be more strongly represented among the younger groups and women among the older ones.

The proportion of women using only traditional languages is higher (14.5%) than that of men (7.3%) both in urban and rural areas. In their daily living women tend to use their traditional languages in combination with Spanish more in urban (30.7%) and rural areas (54.6%) than men.

Between 1976 and 1992 the number of urban households has almost doubled (806,000) in the country. Nevertheless, the size of the household did not reduce in size, as in the rest of Latin American countries, staying at an average of 4.4 people per household. Around a quarter of Bolivian households is a Female Headed Household (around 353,000), of which 26.2% corresponds to urban areas and 22.4% to rural areas. However there are possibilities that this figure is even higher due to the cultural tendency of relating the head of household only to men. Women who are heads of households are mostly between 30 and 59 years of age⁴⁴, show bigger educational deficits⁴⁵ and are affected by bigger levels of poverty.

In terms of education, the situation of Bolivian women has improved very slowly. Women's illiteracy reaches 27.7% constituting 71% of total number of illiterates in the country. Big proportions of women have just attended only the most basic levels of schooling, factor that contributes to sustain their social exclusion. The deficiencies in education in Bolivian society are related to factors such as gender, race⁴⁶ and social stratification. By 1992, 61% of the population had none or only basic level of education, 22.6% reached secondary education and only 6.7% a higher level of education. Among women 65% had none or only basic education, 19.7% secondary and 4.8% university level. A characteristic shared with others in the region is that women who reach secondary or professional level of education still choose careers according to gender considerations. For instance among teachers, women are mostly represented as basic schoolteachers (59%) and in a very reduced proportion at university levels.

Although women's health conditions have improved, they are still one of the worst of Latin America. For instance, the expectancy of life is now only of 58 years for women and 54 for men. The economic crisis has also impacted negatively in the available human, physical and financial resources for the health sector. Despite the lack of reliable information, it is known that the main reasons of mortality among women are related to their reproductive functions. The deficient access to reproductive planning systems results in high degrees of unwanted pregnancies

The participation of women in the labour market has been conditioned by the changes and features of the national productive system as well as by their gender condition. The contribution of women is only partially visible since it is not always measured as economic activity. Often even women consider their work as part of their domestic duties. At the beginning of the 90s, 40% of women participated in the economically active population (EAP). They are still mainly represented in the services sector and traditionally feminine jobs such as maids, office clerks, secretaries, nurses, and teachers. They also play an important role in the informal sector (36.5%) and represent a big sector of the underemployed⁴⁷. The difference in salaries is one of the biggest in Latin America, in 1992 women received in average a salary half of what men did for the same type of job, this basically related to the cultural assumption that the feminine economic

⁴⁴ 20% have less than 30 years and 23.4% have more than 60 years (FLACSO, 1994)

⁴⁵ In 1992, 34.7% of FHH had not received any education at all (INE, 1992)

⁴⁶ For instance, in the past two decades there has been an increasing growth of Spanish learning among the indigenous population, specially the aymara, and at the same time a strong preservation of the traditional languages, resulting in a significant bilingualism in Bolivian society, being women the most active supporters of this (Education national enquiry, 1988).

⁴⁷ In 1989, 30% of the feminine EAP worked less than 35 hours, while for men this was 16.4% (Urban households survey, 1990)

participation is secondary and complementary to the masculine. Only 24.1% of directors and high decision-makers are women.

There have been some important developments in terms of legislation related to women⁴⁸. However there are still some contradictions in the regulations and problems with the full enforcement of these regulations. The national constitution reformed in 1994 spells out clearly the recognition of equal rights of men and women as citizens.

The most significant advancement at central government level was the establishment of the Secretary of Gender, Generation and Indigenous Affairs (SGGE) in the previous administration. Within the SGGE, the Sub-secretary of Gender Affairs (SAG) was mandated to promote more equilibrated relationships between men and women, capacity building and information sharing as well as ensuring a gender perspective in public policy making.

TABLE 2. Bolivia's Gender Profile

Characteristic	Women (%)	Men (%)
Population	51.6	48.4
Age		
<25	58.0	60.3
25-39	20.3	20.0
40-54	12.3	11.5
>55	9.4	8.1
Health		
Life expectancy (years).	58.3	53.6
Average fertility rate (number of children).	5	
Education		
Illiteracy total.	27.7	11.8
Illiteracy urban areas.	15.5	3.8
Primary education enrolment rate.	64.8	56.5
Secondary education enrolment rate.	19.7	25.7
University level.	4.8	8.6
Language spoken		
Only Spanish	38.8	39.3
Only traditional languages (Quechua, Aymara or Guarani)	14.5	7.3
Use of traditional languages urban areas	30.7	30.0
Use of traditional languages rural areas	54.6	48.5
Other combinations	45.6	52.4
Head of household		
Head of household urban	26.2	73.8
Head of household rural	22.3	77.7
Head of household older than 30 years urban areas.	78.0	75.7
Head of household without formal education.	34.7	13.8
Head of household with basic education.	23.1	29.1
Employment		
Participation in the EAP	40.0	60.0
Service and commerce	21.0	10.1
Domestic non remunerated work	62.2	37.8
Informal workers	36.5	63.5
Average income	49.4	100
Political participation		
Deputies in Parliament	10.0	90.0
Senators in Parliament	4.0	96.0
Municipal Councils	10.8	89.2
Central Workers' Union (COB) Steering Committee (1954-1989)	2.4	97.6
Participation in associations and organisations	74.1	55.0

Source: National census 1992 and preliminary results census 2001, National survey on households, National Health survey, National Congress.

⁴⁸ Divorce Law (1932), right to vote in municipal elections (1945), right to universal vote (1952) right to occupy posts at the judiciary power (1954), access to free public education (1955), protection of women as mothers (1956), family code (1972), domestic violence law (1996).

Since 1923 there have been active women's organisations mainly working for equality of rights and opportunities as workers and citizens. At grassroots level, the emergence of the Miners' Wives Committees in 1961, who later played a key role against political repression during dictatorships and triggered up the process of return to democracy⁴⁹, and in 1980 of the National Federation of Peasant Women of Bolivia and the National Federation of Mother's Clubs⁵⁰ is relevant. There are also organisations representing women from different ethnic groups, professional women's organisations and feminist organisations and various NGOs⁵¹ dealing specifically with the issue.

The social participation of women is amply recognised. Women are highly interested in labour, neighbourhood and community matters. They participate actively in various types of organisations (74.1%), but they consider that politics divide the community rather than allow participation to take place (76.3%)⁵².

The presence of women at the higher decision-making level has been very limited⁵³. Sporadically there have been some women ministers and in 1993 the first woman major was elected in La Paz. In the Parliament the presence of women has increased from one in 1982 to thirteen in 1993⁵⁴. In order to increase the participation of women in politics, the new Political Parties Law requires each party a 30% quota of women candidates. Despite the contribution of women to the workers' movements, even in the most important workers' union, the Bolivian Workers Union COB, the presence of women at decision-making levels has been very limited. Perhaps due to the political culture that still identifies leadership and decision-making with men.

4.5 National Reforms. Relevant Legislative Framework

Bolivia's modern history is marked by two relevant events: the return to democracy in 1982 and the implementation of the new economic policy in 1985 through which the structures of a centralised state were replaced by a new economic and political model. While the reforms intended to modernise the state promoted entrepreneurial and individual logic, they also allowed –perhaps unintentionally– the rescue of a collective logic based on solidarity, specifically expressed through the Popular Participation Law.

Since the 90s human capital began to gain importance, and social policies gained standing in the hierarchy of public policies, with an increased focus on education, health care, and basic sanitation services. Programs to protect maternal and child health, and that of the elderly, have been developed, and gender-approach programs initiated. In the mid-1990s, policies were developed emphasising the themes of citizenship and participation, introducing actions promoting cross-cultural relations and ethnic identity. However, the conceptual advances were not matched by actions ensuring effective results in poverty reduction.

The modernisation of the State included the Popular Participation Law and the Administrative Decentralisation Law that are probably the most important and most accepted by civil society.

Additionally to the implementation of the Popular Participation and Administrative Decentralisation laws, policy and administrative reforms were applied with a view to increasing the efficiency of the

⁴⁹ After the economic crisis of 1985, many of the miner's women migrated to the cities where they replicated their organisational structures

⁵⁰ Grassroots women were initially organised as a strategy for survival. In 1987 there were 4,000 mothers' clubs registered incorporating around 295,000 women in rural and urban areas. The mother's clubs movement in many instances has intended to move from welfare to a more political role (Brockman et al, 1988).

⁵¹ In 1989, CIDEM registered 102 NGOs working especially with this topic in the three main cities of the country (CIDEM).

⁵² Survey on democracy, political parties and electoral reform, National Parliament, 1990.

⁵³ Lydia Gueiler active participant of the revolution of 1952 was elected President in 1979. Her government suffered a coup d'etat the following year (Mesa, 1999).

⁵⁴ On 1989 the first woman from indigenous origin was elected to Parliament (National Parliament, 1993).

institutionalised and independent public sector. The Constitutional Court, responsible for compliance with constitutional standards; the Judicature Council, an administrative and disciplinary body of the Judicial Branch; and the Office of the Ombudsperson to guarantee citizens their rights and liberties, respectively, were established.

Follows a brief description of three national laws that are considered relevant to the objectives of this study: the Administrative Decentralisation Law, the Environmental Law and the National Dialogue Law. The Popular Participation Law and some related experiences will be more comprehensively analysed as the main subject of analysis of this chapter.

4.5.1 Environment Law (Law No 1333). 23 March 1992

It is aimed at the protection and conservation of the natural environment and natural resources and the promotion of sustainable development to improve the quality of living of the population (Art.1). It recognises the right of every citizen to enjoy a quality environment.

Recognising the effects of the migration processes on the environment, the law recognises that the municipal governments (MGs) are in charge of promoting, formulating and executing urban development plans and the creation of mechanisms to facilitate the access of low income groups to areas suitable for urbanisation (Art. 76). It also acknowledges the participation of traditional communities and indigenous groups in sustainable development and rational use of renewable resources according to their own characteristics and recognising and using their knowledge on the use and management of natural resources through their direct participation.

Title X of the law clearly states that any citizen or group of citizens has the right to participate in environmental management, receive adequate information and start initiatives for the protection of the environment.

The Law creates the National Environment Secretary (SENMA) in charge of formulating national environmental policy, incorporating the environmental perspective into the SISPLAN, regulating and supervising the environmental management in co-ordination with sector and department public entities, among others. In each department, a Department Environmental Council (CODEMA) is created as the highest decision making and consulting body at departmental level. The Prefectures should convene regional public and private, civic, entrepreneurial and other organisations to form the CODEMA.

The intervention of the MGs in the overall application of the law is quite limited and leaves no real space for co-ordination between the different levels of decision making.

4.5.2 Administrative Decentralisation Law. Law No 1654. July 1995.

This law is aimed at regulating the administrative decentralisation of the Executive Power to the departmental level⁵⁵. It transfers competencies and resources to the Prefectures and considers the department as the scenario where national and municipal policies articulate with each other. It aimed at improving and strengthening the efficiency of public administration in the provision of services in a more direct form and closer to the population⁵⁶. However, the Prefectures are still not playing a facilitating role and so far the process has concentrated in structuring a

⁵⁵ Administratively the country is divided in nine departments, 112 provinces and 314 municipalities (INE, 2001).

⁵⁶ The responsibilities of the Prefectures are represent the Executive power, maintain order and administer departmental resources, formulate and execute programmes and projects with public investment such as roads, rural electricity, irrigation infrastructure, assistance to production, conservation of the environment, tourism, social assistance programmes, municipal strengthening programmes and others concurrent with the work of the municipal governments (Government of Bolivia, 1995).

departmental administration with ample internal organisation processes and institutional structuring.

The co-ordination between Prefectures and municipalities is not satisfactory in part because the Prefectures have failed in presenting the public national and departmental offer to the municipal governments, to co-ordinate the municipal demand with the national and departmental objectives, policies, programmes and projects and to promote and direct the processes of inter-municipal planning. Since they have insufficient financial and technical resources they cannot fulfil their co-ordination, networking and institutional support functions in the provinces. In that sense, it is believed that the decentralisation process has been concentrated in the capital cities but has not yet reached the provinces.

The decentralisation does not establish autonomous departmental governments but instead an executive body supported by secretaries and the incorporation of a Department Council. The Departmental Council was created to achieve the articulation between the municipal and departmental levels⁵⁷. Although chaired by the Prefect, the rest of its members come from the representatives from the municipal councils of each department. The Council administers and executes the departmental budget. However, this entity has not been able of articulating the municipal and departmental objectives and priorities, so that their demands and priorities can be considered in the departmental investment plans. The lack of functional independence, internal organisation and technical and financial resources limited its action, becoming in many cases dependent on the will and personal interest of the Prefect (Government of Bolivia, 1999). The Prefect as the representative of the President is seen as an intermediary, with low political legitimacy that weakens his/her leadership and the possibilities to accord and lobby with the regional actors.

Despite their somehow consolidated administrative structure, the lack of precise and clear definition of its functions, competencies and specific objectives on the intervention areas, are expressed in the insufficient application of administrative and control systems and the employees' work instability. They still follow the old tradition of technocratic and budget oriented planning, making it very difficult to reach the sustainability objectives and achieve social participation. Perhaps because of this, the departmental development plans are not representative and are hardly implemented.

It is worth noting that it is not yet clear what is the relationship between the Prefecture and the functional regional organisations⁵⁸ and how do they participate in regional development. Besides, the lack of compromise with the process among the functionaries of the Prefecture who are in charge of implementing this process- "their resistance to change"- highlights the need to change the perception of the public service, of politics and of the relationship between civil society and the State.

The role of this law regarding Popular Participation is to promote it and to channel the needs of the communities and municipal governments to the Executive Power as necessary. According to the law, the Prefecture is authorised to spend 85% of the income generated from department bonuses, funds from the Compensatory fund, hydrocarbon tax and 100% of credits and loans on projects, leaving the remaining 15% for administrative expenditure.

⁵⁷ It is made up of 169 provincial representatives in the whole country.(VPPFM, 1997)

⁵⁸ With functional organisations we refer to social, cultural, environmental, religious civil society organisations that could be formally established as NGOs, churches, mother's clubs, workers' unions, civic unions, among others and that implement activities directed towards the development of the neighbourhood, city or region.

4.5.3 The National Dialogue Law. 2001.

In 1997, Bolivia began to participate in the debt reduction initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)⁵⁹, a program designed to reduce some multilateral and bilateral debt of selected countries, thereby contributing to macroeconomic stability and to freeing resources to be used to fight poverty. In this context, the administration called for a national gathering- the Dialogue I- to define indicators and goals for education, health, rural development, and poverty.

In 2000 the approval of the Bolivian government proposal for the HIPC II was conditioned to the approval of the National Strategy for Poverty Reduction in another national consultation, the Dialogue II or Dialogue 2000. The Dialogue 2000 included the contribution of grassroots mechanisms such as the Jubilee Forum, the Producers' Liaison Committee, the Council of Native Eastern Peoples and others, which provided important input for the agreements reached by the Dialogue, in particular in the municipal roundtables. The Dialogue was structured, in principle, on the basis of a Social Agenda, with a view to a participatory process of defining the mechanisms for allocation and social control of debt condoned resources under the HIPC Initiative. Later it was broadened to include an Economic Agenda and Political Agenda⁶⁰. The process brought together various sectors of civil society, the political system, and representatives of the State at the local, departmental, and national levels, in an effort to discuss issues pertaining to democracy, transparency, and citizenship.

The National Dialogue 2000 underlined the need for mechanisms of social control over public administration and on the proper use of resources intended to reduce poverty. In addition, it was agreed that at the departmental and national level the Catholic Church, as an institution with high credibility in Bolivia, must call on social institutions to set up a broadly participatory control mechanism.

Resulting from the National Dialogue 2000, the current administration had to fulfil the demand of civil society participants and institutionalise the process. The Dialogue Law explicitly recognises the operation of social control mechanisms at community, municipal, departmental and national levels. Civil society, its organisations constitute the Consultative Councils that in co-ordination with the Vigilance Committees and the Catholic Church have the responsibility for appointing representatives to oversee the adequate spending of the poverty alleviation funds. It is suggested that the National Dialogue be conducted every 3 years as a demonstration of the State's commitment to participatory policies (Government of Bolivia, 2001).

4.6 Popular Participation Law

4.6.1 The evolution of the process

Bolivia has a long tradition of strong community organisation and participation at the local level. In order to survive, isolated rural communities depended on their own capabilities and united forces creating their own social peasant and indigenous organisations. Because of this organisation, schools, roads and medical posts were built in the rural areas. Due to the rural urban migration, the same models were replicated to some extent in the neighbourhood councils to face the new urban challenges (Ramirez et Bazoberry, 2000). Through diverse forms, solidarity and co-operation vary according to geographic and ethnic diversity. For instance people get

⁵⁹ The debt condonation under the initiatives HIPC I and II will represent 30% of the net value of the Bolivian debt. After this the country would have to continue paying for its debt an amount equivalent to 100% health expenditure, 50% education expenditures and three times of what is invested in rural development (Vera in Roman 2001).

⁶⁰ The Social Agenda involved identification of priority actions to reduce poverty, problems impeding poverty reduction and the mechanisms and criteria for the allocation of resources. The Economic Agenda considered problems and solutions in the productive area, such as productivity, competitiveness, and capacity of the productive apparatus to generate employment. The Political Agenda is used to define the institutional framework to fight poverty (EBRP, 2001).

organised in the "pasanaku" for savings, and in the "mink'a" for agricultural or building works. However and despite its legitimacy participation was never legally recognised by the State.

Although the former Municipalities Law referred to citizen's participation at local level, its implementation was never regulated and there were no mechanisms and levels that could allow such a process. Thus, participation was referred to only as part of pre-elections speeches or contributions in labour for settlement improvement. Some isolated experiences of participation in urban management took place in Sucre (1987-1991) and Cochabamba (1990)⁶¹. During this time, the emergence of the Municipal Council in local politics was also relevant. However, in most municipalities the power of the Major was still stronger vis-à-vis the Council's reaffirming his/her leadership through clientelist and prebendalist practices. To add on, this type of management was strengthened by insufficient municipal policies, weaknesses in the financial and technical resources management, growing unsatisfied needs, lack of urban services and the short-term vision. In this situation, many civil society demands were frequently channelled through a variety of neighbours' self-initiated organisations that are generically called neighbourhood councils (NC)⁶².

In view of the unbalanced development promoted by centralism it was civil society through the Civic Committees that demanded the decentralisation of the State. The notion of popular participation also appeared in national declarations of peasants' organisations, NGOs, and demands and proposals of the communal organisations, peasants' confederation, indigenous people's confederation and others. In this context, more than 15 proposals were prepared. In 1993 as a result of the implementation of the government's "Everybody's Plan" (Plan de Todos) a more or less agreed proposal was available. During the discussion of the proposal various actors, among them entrepreneurs, workers' unions, teachers demanded to be included. Interestingly enough the indigenous organisations from the west opposed the law while the ones from the east were enthusiastic about being considered as actors of their own development for the first time. In this context, institutionalisation of participation at local level took place.

It is also important to note that before the passing of the law in 1994, the municipal scenario was restricted to the urban areas of twelve medium and big cities in the country. Their budget depended mainly on the National Treasury, or specific funds approved by the Congress. These twelve municipalities spent 92% of the national municipal budget, the remaining 8% was divided among some other provinces. Hence, the majority of the municipalities did not receive a single cent. Some of the impacts of the application of this law can be seen in Table 2.

Consequently and despite the recognition of municipal autonomy in the constitution, the municipalities had to spend lots of efforts and resources trying to get necessary funds to fulfil their role as providers of services. The local government was then characterised by authoritarian decision-making, political sinecure, influences, economic corruption, limited technical efficiency and insufficient implementation of projects.

⁶¹ Between 1987 and 1990 the first participatory municipal experience took place in Sucre when attached architecture students carried out four municipal workshops of participatory planning in popular neighbourhoods of this city. The process could not continue because it was not incorporated within the structure of the municipality and remained only as an isolated experience. However, the achieved community organisation contributed to the new process and further application of the law.

The experience in Cochabamba was a replication of the Sucre experience adapted to the local context. In Cochabamba there were five zone workshops between 1991 and 1993. In 1994 the unit of neighbourhood management was created to plan, organise, lead and control the programs of neighbourhood development. These were included in the Operative Plan of the municipality and were implemented by the Communal Houses or operative units responsible for the planning, organisation and control of the plans and projects of neighbourhood participation and the implementation of social, cultural and environmental development (Vargas, 1996 and Ramirez and Bazoberry, 2000).

⁶² The NCs in many occasions will be gathered under an umbrella organisation called the Federation of Neighbourhood Councils (FEJUVE) through which they lobby for many issues of their interest. However before the law the municipal governments were not obliged to consider any of the NCs or their federations for any planning or budgetary exercise. Thus the relation was mainly on a one to one basis and with high levels of clientelism and political manipulation.

TABLE 3. Impact of the PPL

Socio-economic characteristic	Before the PPL	After the PPL
Legal status of rural and urban communities (after the law called OTBs)	Less than 100 communities	About 15,000 communities
Municipalities with co-participation tributary	61	314
Percentage of national taxes earmarked for the municipalities (after the law called CT)	10%	20%
Mechanism to distribute municipal funds.	According to the legal residence of inhabitants	Per capita according to population
Impact on the distribution of municipal funds.	Three biggest cities received 90%.	Rural areas receive 50%.
Municipal participation of the total public investment	11%	39%
Social investment	1.72% GNP in 1993)	3.62% GNP in 1995
Investment on education	\$US 90 million	\$US180million
	\$US 10 million in 1993	\$US 30 million in 1995

Source: Ramirez and Bazoberry, 2000

4.6.2 The Law 1551 or Popular Participation Law

The Popular Participation Law (PPL) aims *"to promote and consolidate the popular participation process bringing indigenous, urban and rural communities, into the legal, political and economic life of the country; to achieve improvements in the quality of life of Bolivian women and men, with a fairer distribution and better administration of public resources; to strengthen the political and economic instruments needed to perfect representative democracy, enabling citizen participation and guaranteeing equality of opportunities in the representation of women and men"* (Art 1).

It was designed to improve levels of participation in decision-making that affect urban and rural population in its local environment through the establishment of certain participatory practices and structural processes. The PPL can be assumed also as a decentralisation proposal because through this law the country is divided in 314 municipalities and its outreach is deeper than the decentralisation process requested by the civic committees.

This law approaches participation separating social management from politics, giving social organisations the mandate for local development and political parties the resolution of political questions.

In general the law acts on issues of territory, culture, urban management, municipal management as well as on the dimensions of local policies, trying to face out the limits between urban and rural. It looks to strengthen the State and civil society and also facilitates and promotes the renovation of the traditional way the municipality was governed.

Through this law the State recognises legally the Territorial Grassroots Organisations (OTBs) that encompass urban neighbourhood councils (NCs) and communal organisations from rural areas such as peasants' unions, organisations from indigenous communities –ayllus or markas, tentas, capitánias, cabildos acknowledging their contributions to development.

The legal recognition of the OTBs follows a simple and free of charge procedure of registration. Through this procedure in the first three years of the application of the law 15,000 peasant, urban and ethnic organisations obtained their legal recognition. This recognition allows these organisations to continue functioning in their traditional way but gives them the right to identify, prioritise, manage and oversee the implementation of development projects that are included in the municipal plans. Traditional leaders such as Capitanes, Jilacatas, Curacas, and Mallcus were able to retain their customary role and designation. According to this law, the OTB became the body responsible for "proposing, requesting, controlling and supervising works and the provision

of public services according to communal needs in the new areas of competence of the Municipal Government (Art. 7)". Regarding environmental conservation and the promotion of equal representation between women and men, OTBs are entitled to receive information over the use of popular participation resources and to "participate and co-operate with solidarity in the execution of works and in the administration of public services" (Art. 8)

The law redefines the jurisdiction of the municipal government (MG) and increases their competencies and financial resources to cover education, health, sport, local roads and micro-irrigation systems -previously responsibility of the central government- as well as production and competitiveness conditions, recreation and sports, environmental sustainability and protection of children and women.

Financially, the law introduces a new and more equitable distribution of general tax revenues⁶³, the co-participation tributary (CT) aimed at correcting the imbalance of resources allocation between some privileged urban centres and the rest of the country.

Together with the OTBs, the Vigilance Committee (VC) is created to be in charge of articulating the OTBs with the municipality and their demands within the municipal participatory planning process. It has a representative from each OTB per district in each municipality and has social control powers over the municipality.

Box 1. Vigilance Committee Attributions

- To oversee that the PPL resources are invested with equity between rural and urban populations.
- To control that the MG invests 85% of the PPL resources in projects and services and not more than 15% in administrative costs.
- To publicly refer to the budget of the PPL, resources and the respective auditing of expenses and investments made by the MG.
- To denounce before the adequate public entity when the MG does not comply with the law or if cases in which it does not satisfy the social demand.

Source: Human Development Ministry. Tools and procedures for the Vigilance Committee. 1996

The social control role of the VC consists of overseeing that the Municipal Participatory Planning process reflects the demands of the communities, that the MG executes the programmed public investments and that the resources from the co-participation tributary are used adequately.

The process of decentralisation based on a recognised territorial division leaves the central government with a facilitating and normative role for the fulfilment of

state policies. Contrary with what happened in other Latin American countries, decentralisation is seen as a means to bring power closer to the citizen and not as an end in itself. In this sense, the administrative decentralisation law complements the PPL.

The new Municipalities Law passed in 1999 includes further details on the role of MGs in a participatory planning process oriented to the formulation of Municipal Development Plans, Municipal District Development Plans and the Annual Operative Plans.

4.6.3 The rural urban differences

The PP process started with a positive discrimination towards the rural areas that were historically neglected by the State since the beginning of the Republic. "In bigger cities the process is weaker than in rural areas because municipalities still stick to traditional approaches (plain urbanism) and also because of the low level of consolidation that the neighbourhood councils have"⁶⁴ (Richmond, 2001). Regarding the nature of organisations, in rural areas the

⁶³ In theory every citizen has equal access to public resources for development. The total amount of resources is divided among the whole population of the country, then by aggregation the amount for each municipality is determined. These funds are complemented with the taxes on property and vehicles and transfers (before in charge of national tax authority) as well as valuations, patents and donations.(PPL, 1994)

⁶⁴ Interview with Mauricio Lea Plaza, Director Participatory Planning. VPPFM

territorial organisation coincides with the functional organisation. For instance, the peasant union represents both the territory and the productive functional activities of the community. In urban areas, the neighbourhood council is mainly oriented to solve the problems of the neighbourhood, while the representation of the neighbours' labour or functional problems have to be taken care of by other type of organisations.

Box 2. Working in urban and rural areas

It is often thought that it is easier to work in the rural areas. The centralised State did not exist as a public structure in the rural areas. It was not there to occupy this void. In Bolivia urbanisation is a recent process and in the cities civil society does not have strong tradition of organisation. Thus, public authorities do not give too much importance to the possibility that citizens, through their organisations, could guide and control public administration.

Barbery Roberto, former sub-secretary of Popular Participation.

"There are more problems in the urban areas. In the department of Santa Cruz, the process has been successful in the municipalities with the presence of peasant communities and rural population. There the PPL has changed the power relations in the municipal council, the peasants have basically taken the towns".

Prado Fernando, Director, CEDURE

4.7 Analysis of the Experience

The previous sections gave us the basic framework to understand the context in which Bolivia is placed now and the way the actors subject of our analysis could interact. The following is an analysis of the PPL and some specific experiences of implementation according to the framework suggested by Kabeer. As established in the analysis framework, the analysis is based on five areas, namely rules and regulations, activities, resources, people and power.

4.7.1 Rules and regulations

4.7.1.1 Institutional and operational framework

The policy framework that guides participatory planning with gender equity is initially found in the Economic and Social Development Plan of Bolivia (PGDES, 1993) and in the more recent Operative Plan "To live better" (1997). The PGDES proposes social equity as one of the fundamental pillars for sustainable development, recognising socio-territorial, socio-economical and gender differences within the new planning approach. The regulatory framework that allows the operationalisation of these policies is the PPL and the SISPLAN.

The National Planning System (SISPLAN) defines and institutionalises the process through which the State supply is organised as well as responds to the social demand by fulfilling administrative and technical norms in each social and institutional development agreement levels. It defines three levels of planning: national, departmental and municipal where procedures are articulated based on principles of integrality, subsidiary, social participation, equity and efficiency.

The SISPLAN establishes that the participatory planning process is the political responsibility of the MG that has the mandate of directing and managing the sustainable development of its jurisdictions. The Norms for Municipal Participatory Planning provide the operational framework for the elaboration, statement, follow-up, processing, control and resolution of the demands. An important weakness of the PPL regulatory framework is the absence of accountability mechanisms from the MGs to the other social actors involved and the absence of concrete instruments to follow-up, evaluate and adjust the Municipal Development Plans (PDMs).

In order to incorporate a gender perspective in the municipal participatory planning process, the National Unit of Participatory Planning worked with the Sub-secretary of Gender Affairs (SAG) to produce key documents to guide the incorporation of a gender perspective in the PP process⁶⁵. Through a co-ordination agreement between the SAG and the Sub-secretary of Popular Participation (SPP), a Gender Operative Programme was developed to institutionalise the approach in rural development. The activities included the implementation of complementary gender diagnoses in 12 municipalities, capacity building to improve women's participation in OTBs and VCs and a gender sensitisation plan through radio. Based on these experiences and with the identified challenges and obstacles, the document "Global Strategy for Gender Equity in the popular participation processes" was developed in 1999.

Outcomes from this experience include new regulations for the PPL regarding representation of women in the OTBs and VCs; specific norms for municipal participatory planning with gender approach, and a validated model for the institutionalisation of gender approach in the public sector. There are technicians and professionals from public and private bodies trained and with experience in methodologies, issues and tools of the popular participation process; there have been advancements in methodologies and instruments that can effectively operationalise a gender approach in the PP process⁶⁶.

In general there is still inequality in the access to citizenship and relation with the MG between women and men. The same takes place in decision-making positions in workers' unions and traditional authorities structures. In this sense and considering the exclusion that women face in formal authority systems, they have created an informal structure based on their functional organisations⁶⁷ to link with other levels of power systems. However they have not yet received legal, political or social recognition by the PPL and due to this exclusion of the decision-making levels there is also a weak linkage with the power decentralisation process.

The reforms of the Executive Power included the creation of the actual Vice-ministry of Gender, Generation and Family Affairs⁶⁸ is established to ensure the incorporation of a gender perspective in public policy making. Its mandate has a normative and guiding role for the formulation and implementation of gender oriented public policies through inter-institutional and inter-sector co-ordination.

4.7.1.2 Gender perspective

The former sub-Secretary of Gender, Generation and Ethnic Affairs aimed at protecting the interests of women, poor, indigenous and peasants in the development process. According to law all development processes must consider this approach.

Gender is a cross cutting issue within the PP process. For instance, the VC must consider "mechanisms that facilitate the participation of women". These could be ensuring that there is physical presence of women in the meetings and more importantly that women understand the issues of debate and what is being discussed. Women should be asked specifically about their decisions, expenses, problems, etc and real efforts should be made to involve women in the VC steering committees." (Human Development Ministry, 1996)

⁶⁵ Among them the Strategic and operative guidelines for the consolidation of a gender approach in the SNPP, Gender Operative Plan and the Global strategy for gender equity in the PP processes (1999).

⁶⁶ There are methodologies and participatory planning tools with a gender approach, methodologies and training contents for the strengthening of participation of women in local management, tools for the community municipal strengthening with gender perspective and gender variables and indicators in the guides prepared for the formulation, follow-up and evaluation of productive projects (VPPFM).

⁶⁷ In 105 municipalities there have been 159,100 functional organisations identified. From them 27% are exclusively women's organisations such as mothers' clubs, women's centres and others (Blanes, 1998)

⁶⁸ This unit was created in the previous administration under the name Sub-Secretary of Gender, Generation and Ethnic Affairs.

The involvement in the different stages proposed by the NPPM seems easier for men, who are better prepared for the public action, closely related with "the capacity to speak well" or to "know how to talk" and to their regular presence in the events. For many women, there are cultural mechanisms of control where speaking in public goes against their culturally assigned place, but also lack of knowledge, information and not being used to participate in assemblies, where masculine debate is predominant. Together with this, the "fear to talk in public" continues to be an exclusion and self-exclusion factor for women in these events.

Box-3 Women's participation in local power

- In 311 municipalities only 200 have a woman mayor. Approximately 216 municipalities do not have a woman in their Councils.
- 74 municipalities have only one woman among the five Council members and 20 municipalities have two women, 3 municipalities have three women in the Council.
- From 311 vigilance Committees only 21 have women's participation in the Board. In most cases is only one woman with the exception of 8 VCs where there are two or three women in the board.
- In a diagnostic carried out in 142 municipalities, there are 30164 people involved in decision-making positions in the OTBs. Among them 11.02% are women and 88.97% men giving an average of 8 men per each woman in decision-making position.
- From 609 members of 122 VCs, 565 are men (92%) and only 24 women (3.9%), giving an average of 24 men for each woman in the VCs.
- The Municipal Participatory Planning process in 9 municipalities showed that only 28% women participated.
- In 1992 the adult population with identity cards was of 69.78%, out of which 75.24% were men and 64.57% women.

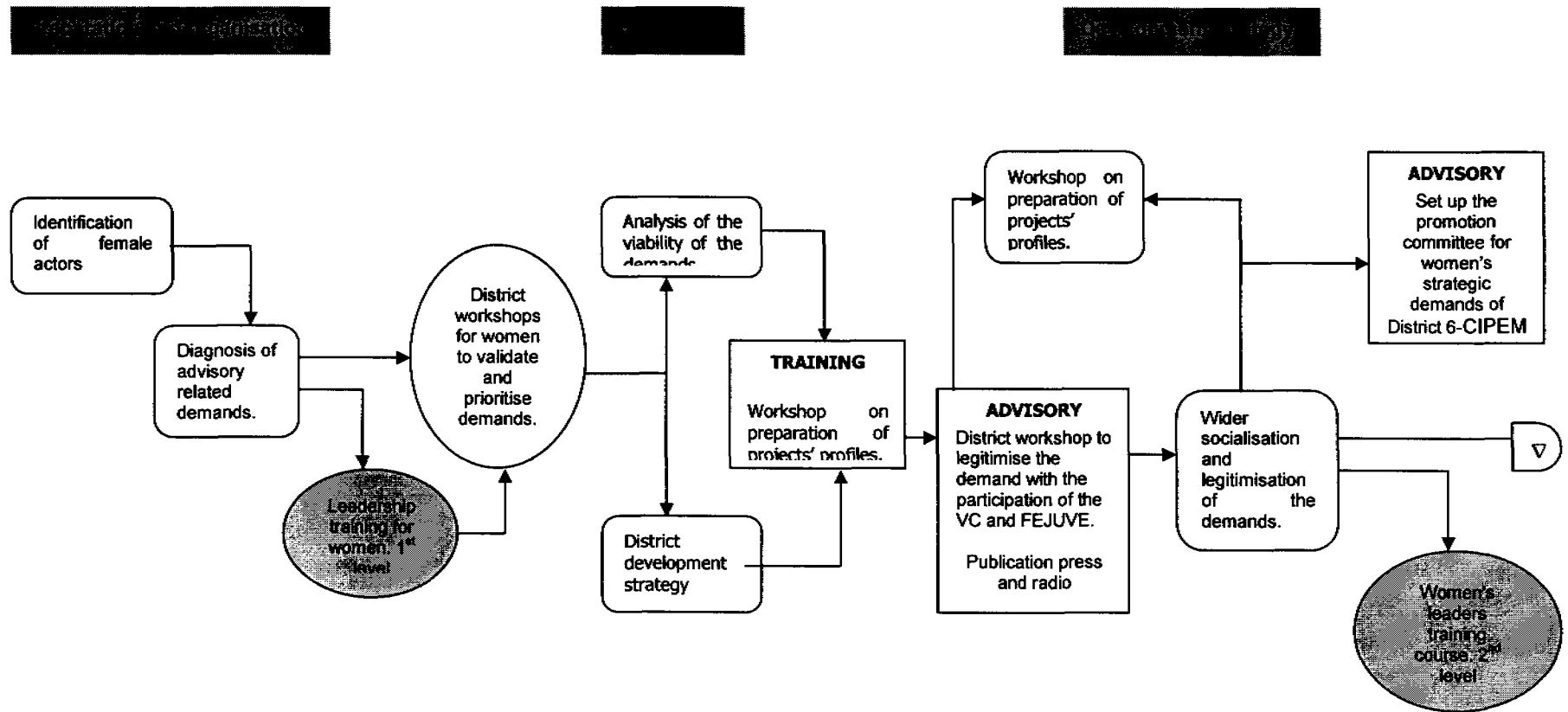
Source: Ministry of Sustainable Development and Planning, 1999

Nevertheless, considering the existing situation of women and the real levels of participation that they have, NGOs have been quite dynamic in applying the methodologies and opportunities created by the PPL for their own work. In the city of El Alto, the NGO Gregoria Apaza applies the PP methodology to its work with women and youth. They have supported the preparation of the municipal agenda for gender equity for El Alto

The Gregorias- as they are commonly known- work with women leaders building their capacities and negotiation skills. Once prepared, women enter the regular participatory planning cycle. Their demands are negotiated within their neighbourhood councils and once accepted there, pass on to the district committee of the OTB and to the VC not longer as women's demands but as a community demands. In El Alto there are various women presidents of neighbourhood councils and the president of the VC is a woman prepared by the Gregoria Apaza NGO (Quiroga, 2000). Graph 2 shows the incorporation of capacity building elements in the PPL process of the city of El Alto and the incorporation of the strategy mentioned above. As showed in the graph the strategy does not concentrate only on women but at various levels incorporates the participation of traditionally male debate and decision-making bodies.

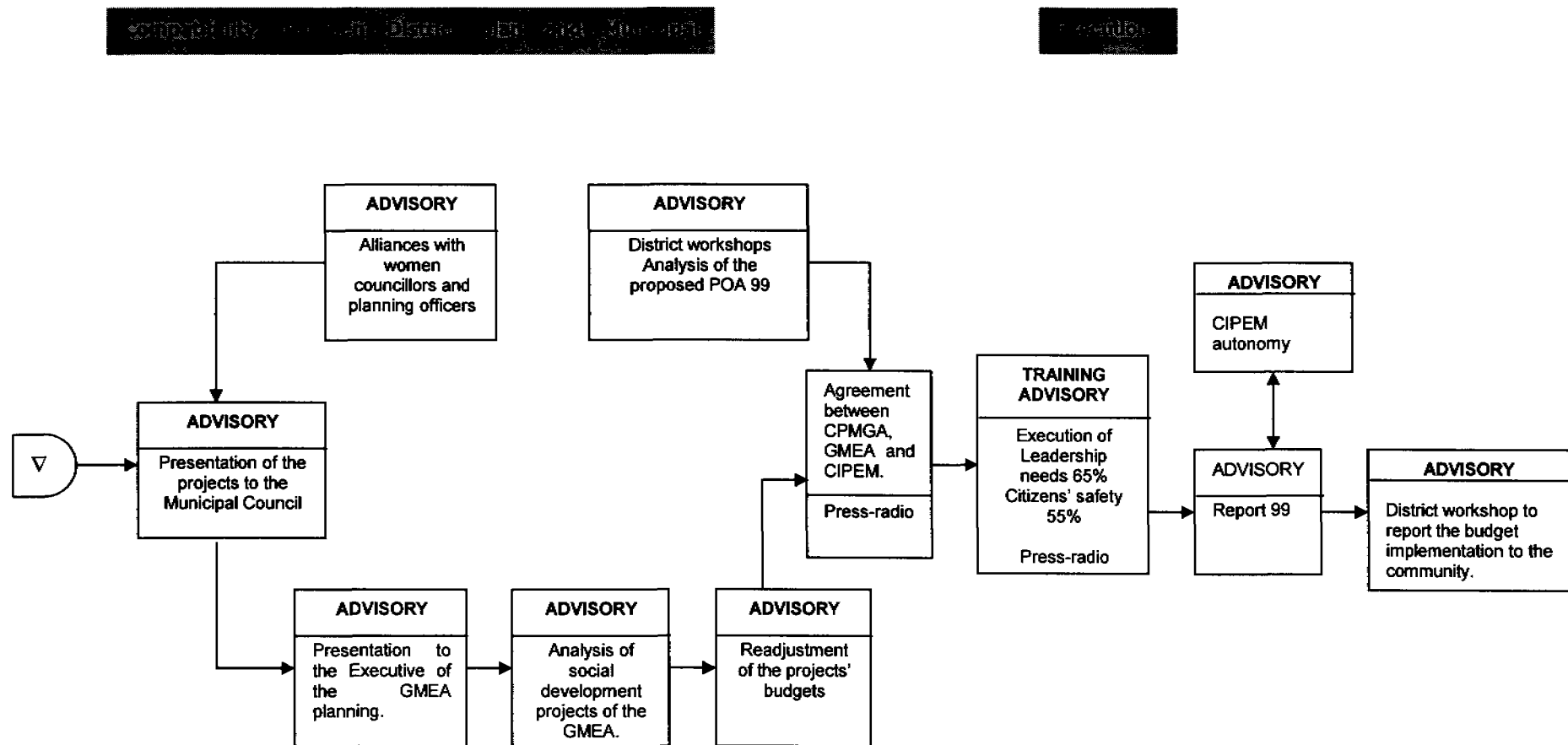
NGOs that work with women are recognising the usefulness of the framework provided by the PPL for their own agenda. In an important way the recognition of the importance of gender in public policy has resulted from the lobbying efforts of multiple NGOs and women's movements over the past years. As a matter of fact, the first officers in charge of the SAG came from NGOs and were able of incorporating their valuable experiences into the new process. The experiences of some NGOs show that the framework can be adapted for the specific objectives of the institutions involved. "The PPL opens this space, first for the mechanisms that offers, and because the law incorporates the gender approach, that for us is a priority. The representation levels have been traditionally masculine, and the PPL stresses at least the intention to promote

Graph 2. Elaborating a municipal gender equity agenda in the city of El Alto.



Source: Gregoria Apaza, 2000

Graph 2. Elaborating a municipal gender equity agenda in the city of El Alto. II part.



GMEA= Municipal Government of the city of El Alto; CIPEM =Promotion committee for women's strategic needs of District 6; CPMGA= Women's political committee of El Alto; FEJUVE= Federation of Neighbourhood Councils; VC= Vigilance committee

women's participation and reply in a differentiated manner to women and men. We have developed a process so women can be better involved in the annual operative plan and the district development plans. We have two main objectives: to enhance women's participation and to create the conditions and mechanisms so in the planning process as well as in the development conceptualisation there are women's points of view so a more integral gender concept can be generated". Katia Uriona, NGO IFFI, Cochabamba.

Despite this enthusiasm, it is important to keep in mind that NGOs are an intermediate level in the negotiation of the demands of the OTBs, that are guided by their own interpretation of the reality and that look for the generation of long-term processes on the basis of the local potentialities.

The demands are then considered only if they are representative, legitimate, of bigger impact and of long term, in other words a demand in the framework of technical and budget viability, and out of the original context in which it was stated. Therefore in a context where other interests and interpretations are more prevalent it is assumed that the satisfaction of the need is only subject to a rational administration. In this context the NGOs, who "know more" can mediate and intercede for the "ones who do not know" to appease the relationship between the MG and the people. This however could become a political limitation of popular participation that due to cultural obstacles induces the collective debate only to demand (Salazar, 2000).

Box 4.7.1 The PPL and women's participation

The PPL recognises the participation and representation of women in MGs, VCs, OTBs and community associations:

- Strengthens the political and economical instruments enhancing citizen participation and guaranteeing equality of opportunities in representative levels for women and men. (Art 10)
- The representatives from OTBs of men and women designed according to uses and traditional practices or by statutes. (Art 31)
- The CV can be constituted by a representative (man or woman) from each District from the jurisdiction elected by the respective OTB (Art 10 I)
- It must promote and enhance policies that involve women's needs in the areas where municipalities have competencies. (Art 14)
- The OTBs must incorporate in their Steering Committees women, in equality of conditions, opportunities and functions. (Law 23388: OTB regulations Chap 1 Art 2-II)

Source: Government of Bolivia, Law 1551, 1994

4.7.2 Activities

For the implementation of the PPL and the achievement of its goals, there are a series of steps to be followed according to the suggested municipal participatory planning methodology. At the operative level and following the norms set up by the SISPLAN and the NPPM, the MGs should prepare a strategic Municipal Development Plan (PDM), a five-year institutional Plan (PQ), the Annual Operations Plan (POA), the institutional budget and the investment plan. In the following sections there is a brief introduction to the key planning processes.

4.7.2.1 Municipal Participatory Planning (MPP)

From many years state planning in Bolivia was traditionally top down and centralised. The PPL intends to modify this with a democratic, participatory and consensus approach. The rich and ample experience on micro-regional planning from NGOs and co-operation agencies has been the basic foundation and source of experiences to propose, apply, validate and improve the Municipal Participatory Planning (MPP) methodology defined by the PPL.

The MPP is a fundamental tool for the implementation of the PPL. The modality tries to achieve a participatory budgeting with social control in all stages of planning, from the vision to the evaluation of the process. The VPPFM as responsible for the implementation has prepared and validated participatory planning manuals for municipalities, urban, rural, for ethnic and indigenous districts and with a gender perspective. In the first four years more than 160 municipalities were supported in their participatory planning processes (VPPFM, 1999). A scheme of the process that municipalities are expected to follow is shown in Graph 3.

Box 5. Main steps followed for the Municipal Participatory Planning methodology

- **Preparation and organisation:** identifies social and institutional actors, defines roles and functions. Work plan and agreement signed between the MG and the OTBs from the jurisdiction and between the MG and organisations that work in the municipality to ensure participation and co-ordination.
- **Participatory diagnosis:** community diagnosis in all the communities, the in depth diagnosis in some of the communities and the diagnosis from the technicians. The summary of the three diagnoses makes up the Municipal Consolidated Diagnosis.
- **Municipal Development Plan (PDM):** based on workshops to define the priorities and agree on demands at community and district levels with a woman and a man representing each district. Based on the diagnoses, ideas on projects are included into the PDM according to the objectives and priorities of the municipal and regional development.
- **Preparation and approval of the Annual Operative Plan (POA):** it is prepared on a yearly basis by the MG based on the PDM and adjusted according to the new demands of the communities. The VC must approve it, follow up its implementation and inform to the communities accordingly.
- **Implementation and participatory management of the PDM:** it is responsibility of the MG with support from community organisations. Management of projects is subject of the basic norms for investment and service provision. The VC must submit a report on its implementation every six months or at request from the OTBs.
- **Evaluation and adjustment of the PDM:** at the end of every year, the MG prepares a report on the implementation of the PDM, identifying existing problems and obstacles. Based on this report approved by the Municipal Council and the observations made by the VC, the PDM is modified proposing solutions to the mentioned problems.

Source: Ministry of Sustainable Development and Planning, 1998

4.7.2.2 PPM with gender perspective. The Complementary Gender Diagnosis (CGD)

The first evaluation of the process was carried out in 1996. It determined some weaknesses such as, the participatory diagnoses are too descriptive and lack sufficient analysis of potentialities and limitations; the socio-territorial heterogeneity existing in the municipalities has not been considered; the process has not generated enough spaces to allow the participation of all social actors, especially women, ethnic groups and the poorest, the plans have not considered the socio economical, ethnic and gender differences existing in the municipalities (Ministry of Sustainable Development and Planning, 1998). Since then various interventions have taken place to strengthen the process. Special attention was given to the ethnic and gender matters. Due to the scope of the present study we only refer to the activities in relation with gender, but it is worth mentioning that similar efforts to improve the methodology considering ethnic factors have also taken place.

It was then decided that complementary diagnoses with gender perspective (CGD) were to be carried out in 12 different municipalities⁶⁹ in order to develop a participatory planning gender responsive methodology that could be used by other municipalities afterwards. The methodology was based on the identification of differentiated demands for women and men based on the

⁶⁹ Due to a diversity of obstacles, the initiative was only carried out in nine municipalities at the end: Caranavi, Viacha, Entre Rios, San Lorenzo, Puna, Yapacani, Charagua, Corque and Challapata (MDS, 1998).

participatory analysis of gender relations in connection to the socio-economic level and ethnic origin which were connected to the first two stages of the MPP process.

The experiences in the municipalities were very diverse, in Entre Rios, the support of a local NGO working on women issues allowed a better incorporation of these in the PDM (see Table 4). In municipalities such as Tarata where the CGD was not applied, although the demands had certain strategic gender potential, they were reinterpreted, minimised and translated as a traditional demand (see Table 5). Another interesting case is that of Villa Serrano where there is a strong community organisation and political orientation. However women's demands were not strongly reflected in the PDM due to the fear that this may put at risk the unity of the rural family (see Table 6). Other factors such as the strength or weakness of the OTBs, the political orientation and sometimes manipulation of the MG and the role played by the VC influenced the results of the CGD application. In all cases however it was clear that there is little or none appropriation of gender issues among the municipal officers and lack of conceptual clarity, which are very related with culture⁷⁰ and existing politics (Salazar, 2001).

TABLE 4. Entre Rios experience with CDG

Entre Rios Municipality Complementary Gender Diagnoses Applied	
Demands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inputs for productive activities • Training in production techniques • Adequate food storage and processing • Reproductive health • Training on organisational matters • Training on women's rights • Capacity building for women's leaders • Literacy activities 	Inserted in the PDM: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training on production • Literacy activities • Integral health programme • Participation • Support to women's organisations

Source: de la Torre, 2000

TABLE 5. Tarata experience without CDG

Tarata Municipality Without Complementary Gender Diagnosis	
Demands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation and training of women in productive activities • Give a voice to women through a radio station • Set up children day-care centres (wawa wasis) 	Inserted in the PDM: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gynaecological and obstetrics service.

Source: de la Torre, 2000

TABLE 6. Villa Serrano experience with CDG

Villa Serrano Municipality With Complementary Gender Diagnosis	
Demands: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inputs for productive activities. • Gas cookers. • To know how to cultivate the ground as men do. • To know how to make businesses as men do. 	Inserted in the PDM: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother-child health care insurance.

Source: de la Torre, 2000

The experience of the CGD allowed the validation of a methodology that recognises and reflects the socio- economical, gender and ethnic diversity of the existing municipal demand. With the developed methodology, differentiated information by gender on the main productive systems, access and control of resources and degree and forms of participation at different decision-

⁷⁰ The experience of the Coalition of southern municipalities of Cochabamba where serious efforts to institutionalise gender were made without success is relevant in analysis of gender institutionalisation and culture. For more details check Wieringa, 1998.

making levels can be obtained (MDS, 1998). As a result in six of the nine municipalities involved information needed to adjust the PDMs was obtained and women's organisational set ups were put in place to ensure the continuity of the process. However, in general gender specific demands (improved leadership, literacy, citizens' rights, access to markets, etc) do not find strong institutional support, either because they are underestimated or its importance is trivialised. In face of financial limitations it is easier to eliminate gender demands due to its limited political impact.

Although the results of the experience showed that with the methodology more women could be involved in the MPP process (63%), the diminished participation when the demands have to be prioritised remains (49%), although they considerably incremented from the time when the diagnosis was made without the gender perspective (28%).

4.7.2.3 The Gender Operative Plan

As part of an agreement between the VPPFM and the VAGGF, a Gender Operative Plan was prepared. To implement it, a Gender Commission was organised to co-ordinate between institutions the incorporation of gender in PPL processes. The systematised experience was incorporated in the elaboration of the "Guidelines for Participatory Planning", later approved by the National Development Council (CODENA), where gender and social demand are deepened as central topics of MPP.

However, the institutionalisation of these elements within the Prefectures and MGs still poses a challenge because despite of the existence of a legal and normative framework that enables this appropriation, the social actors involved have not fully assumed their roles and functions vis ↔ vis the MPP. There is need for inter-institutional agreements, better co-ordination at different levels –consequently available financial and human resources- and strengthening of the capacities of the institutional actors through adequate training strategies.

Although the national conceptual framework adopted is the GAD approach, there is still confusion in its implementation. The differentiated demand is often misunderstood and limited to women and men's demands without any articulation between them. This factor has made gender institutionalisation even more difficult.

4.7.2.4 Municipal Development Plan (PDM)

The PDM integrates strategies, programmes and projects in a five-year period prioritised in the participatory planning process. It is a reference for the elaboration of the annual operative plans (POAs) and it should incorporate feedback after the implementation of the POAs. The VC must participate fully in the preparation of the PDM to fulfil its role as articulator between the community and the municipality, making sure that the identified demand is considered there. By 1997 there were 170 PDMs under development comprising 55% of all the municipalities of the country. By the end of 1999, 91.1% of the municipalities had concluded or were developing their PDMs (MDSP, 2000).

According to the Norms of Municipal Participatory Planning, there are criteria and parameters for the evaluation of the PDMs. The Participatory Planning Unit is in charge of certifying the PDM quality. In 2000, 170 PDMs were evaluated, out of which 154 were considered of sufficient quality. In 107 PDMs analysed, 15,728 project ideas were found requiring a total investment of around 716 million dollars.

61.9% of the investments are on the agricultural sector, followed by the social sector with 28.1%. In the social sector, health and basic sanitation receive almost half of the investment. In view of the objectives of this study some identified areas of investment that could have some gender implications are: literacy support (0.2%), support to micro-enterprises (0.9%), mother and child

health care (0.54%). Water and sanitation (8.7%), solid waste management (0.12%), urban planning (6.5%) and environmental protection (1%) (MDSP, 2000). An overview of the suggested process for the preparation of the PDM is given in Graph 3.

Despite the problems, the municipal participatory planning is evolving towards strategic planning processes as in the cases of Tarija and Cochabamba. In the case of Tarija, the decision to carry out a process of strategic planning came from the recognition of the changing variables that affect any planning process. Such recognition allowed them to prepare a plan for the city that could allow flexibility to adjust to changes and to develop their capacities to generate new alternatives to achieve the set objectives. The process followed by Tarija will be explained later in the document.

Box 6. PDM with gender perspective in Cochabamba

Now there is strategic planning from the districts and with the incorporation of different sectors such as the street sellers and private enterprises. There are visions and demands different from the ones related to the spatial territory. These processes will also allow us to carry out diagnoses by sectors that will help define the strategic objectives of the municipality. Finally, they will be confronted with the opinions of women and men from the sectors as to arrive to the vision of the city.

Karla Urquiza, Director, NGO IFFI, Cochabamba

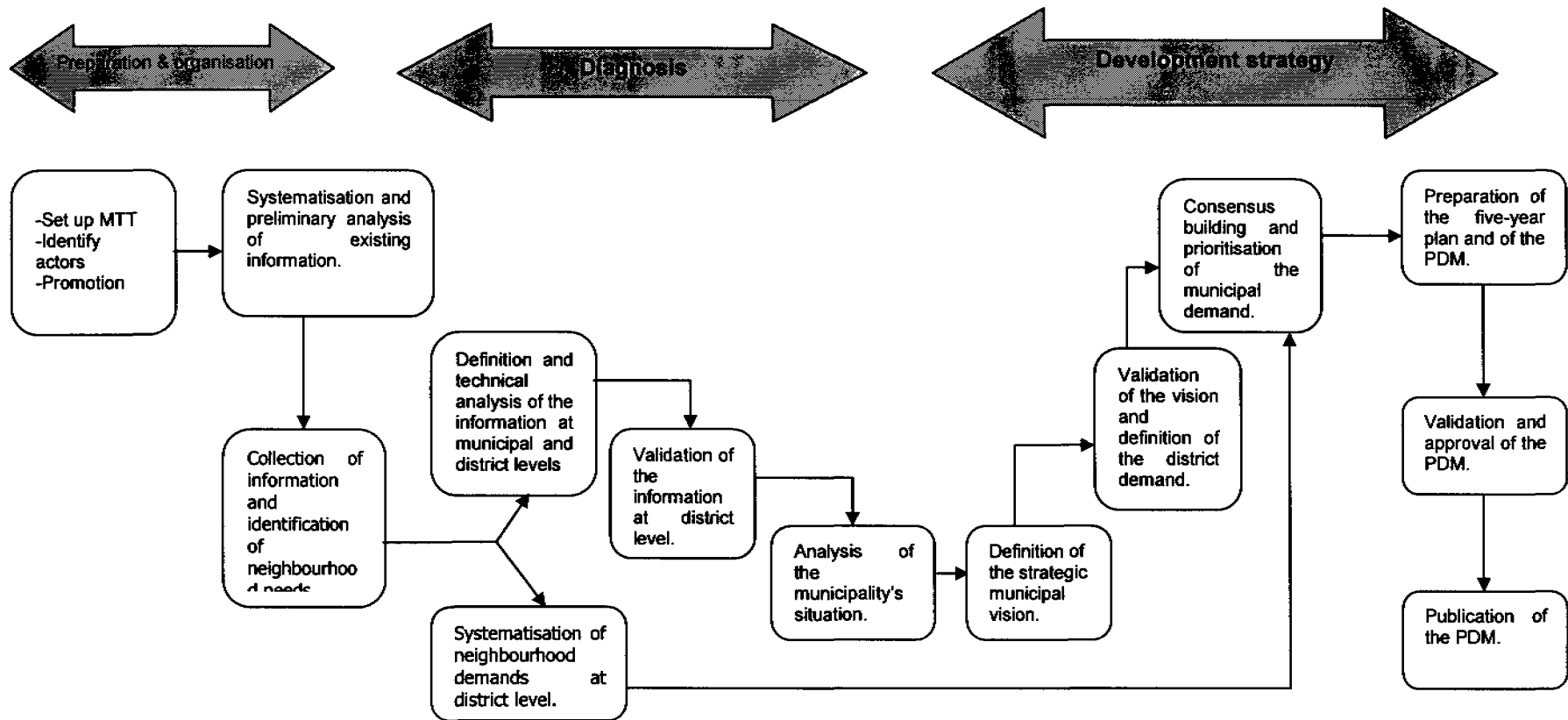
4.7.2.5 Operative annual plan (POA)

The POA reflects the behaviour of the municipality in a one-year period within the framework of the PDM. According to the PPL regulations each municipality must prepare a POA in order to access the co-participation tributary funds.

The VC exerts its social control role by ensuring that the POA incorporates the demands of the communities in an equitable manner between rural and urban areas. The POA is thus the basic tool for the VC to fulfil its social control role, verifying the adequate implementation of the projects presented in it. Although the PDM should guide the preparation of the POA, this is not always possible since reality is in constant change.

The participatory POA results from the interaction between the social mobilisation and the political will of the MG to give away part of its power. Social mobilisation is strengthened when there is a strong tradition of organisation, traditional practices of co-operation and reciprocity are incorporated, there is transparency in the information provided and there is effective incorporation of demands. The opposite effect results when the actors are changed or their roles are manipulated, the limited power of the VC, pre-existing struggles between urban and rural and between ethnic groups and the reputation of a MG as clientelist and prone to political interference. The political will of a MG will be expressed by the information and technical support offered to civil society (MDSP, 2000).

Graph 3. Suggested process for the formulation of the PDM.



Source: Participatory Planning Manual, MDSP, 1996.

MTT= Municipal Technical Team

4.7.2.6 The PPL in practice

Given the legal and operational framework, the practical implementation of the law shows interesting features that are presented in the following cases. The particular conditions and degrees of trust and relationship among the partners involved created often opportunities and in others are threats to the evolution of this process.

4.7.2.6.1 Tarija's Strategic Participatory Planning

Tarija is a medium sized city of approximately 136,000 inhabitants located in the southern part of the country. As other urban areas of the country in recent years its population has grown significantly with limited municipal capacities to satisfy the population demands.

When the PPL was enacted, the then major of the city refused to apply it. However, in 1998 with a new MG, a turn is given and a participatory strategic planning process is started. At the beginning a technical planning unit (UTEPLAN) was set up as an autonomous entity by the Municipal Council. UTEPLAN was mandated to prepare the process for the elaboration of the PDM, Quinquennial Plan and POA of the municipality of Tarija.

A planning institutional committee (CIP) was created to co-ordinate institutional, organisational and logistic aspects of the process. It was formed by the Major, heads of division of the municipality, technical staff from the University of Toronto and the Executive Director of UTEPLAN.

UTEPLAN realised that it was necessary to involve all relevant social actors and thus besides the neighbourhood councils-OTBs, it also invited NGOs, women's organisations, youth organisations, environmental groups, the Catholic Church, professionals and politicians to participate in the process. The team encouraged positive discrimination towards groups normally excluded by recommending investments where they were needed most and within the process by developing tools and methodologies that will facilitate the participation of the most marginalised.

The participation took place at different levels: at OTB level with the participation of all neighbours, OTB leaders, VC, functional organisations, and institutions of the area. At district level, involving all the actors of the district and the municipal council. At this level the President and two delegates, a woman and a man represented each OTB. All these participants participate in the district workshops. At municipality level, district representatives made up of the President and two delegates, a woman and a man, the VC, the municipal council, the Civic Committee, the CIP and representatives of political parties participated in the municipal workshop.

The Steering Committee for Strategic Planning is the highest level of consensus building made up of the municipal council, the major, prefecture councillors, CIP, VC, representatives of political parties, special guests and sector and functional organisations.

Topic and sector workshops were organised to analyse specific topics of strategic interest for the city. To incorporate the cross cutting issues of gender, generation and environment, NGOs were invited to support this part of the process due to their experience in those issues.

The process was made up of three phases: the diagnosis, the synthesis and the production of the plans. As can be seen in Graph 4, the diagnosis gathered community and neighbourhood information to identify demands and prioritise them according to a methodology developed by UTEPLAN of accumulation of values. This information was used for the development of the district and then after the municipal plans. Then available information, spatial information through the design of thematic maps per district and in some cases with support of GIS, and finally sector and thematic information on education, health, gender, energy, water and sanitation, industry, tourism, desertification and an organisational diagnosis of the MG.

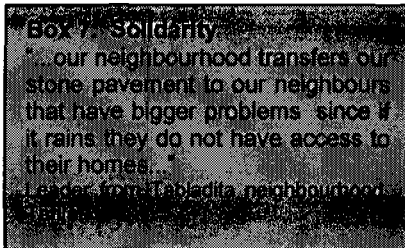
Based on the information gathered, workshops were carried out to try to understand and find solutions to the problems identified. Their analysis was supported by the vision that had been agreed in consensus previously.

The synthesis was applied to the demands at different levels, through a SWOT analysis for each district diagnosis and for the municipal diagnosis and to the information of the physical environment. The results were expressed according to the main four areas defined by the PGDES: productive, human, environment and institutional and for which strategic objectives were defined.

For the implementation of the plan, the municipality has built partnerships for settlements improvement and environment issues with the central government, grassroots organisations and NGOs. At the same time a participatory budgeting process was started and has been applied in the past two years to the whole municipal budget and not only to the PPL resources. According to Gombay (1999) the experience of Tarija could be called co-ordinated planning for the emphasis placed on the implementation.

In this experience the autonomy of UTEPLAN was key to achieve its objectives, first because it could reach an efficient management environment that is normally hard to get within the municipal administrative structure and principally because contracting personnel for the team was done without political interference. This created bigger trust from the citizens on the transparency of the process, while still co-ordinating significantly with the MG.

The internalisation and common understanding of the concepts proposed by the MPP process within the technical team seems to have helped create a solid working framework and the development of mechanisms to enhance participation. This methodology was guiding but flexible and it evolved and became more concrete in the process. The thematic and sector workshops also created new spaces for participation, helped improve the quality of information available and strengthened the arguments for the recommendations given for the plans.



The simultaneous analysis of the demands and the results of the thematic workshops from each neighbourhood and from each district allowed an understanding of the situation of the district as a whole and a clear prioritisation of the problems. In this manner, the strong inequalities existing between neighbourhoods were made evident, so the neighbours themselves looked for a more equilibrated development. See box 7.

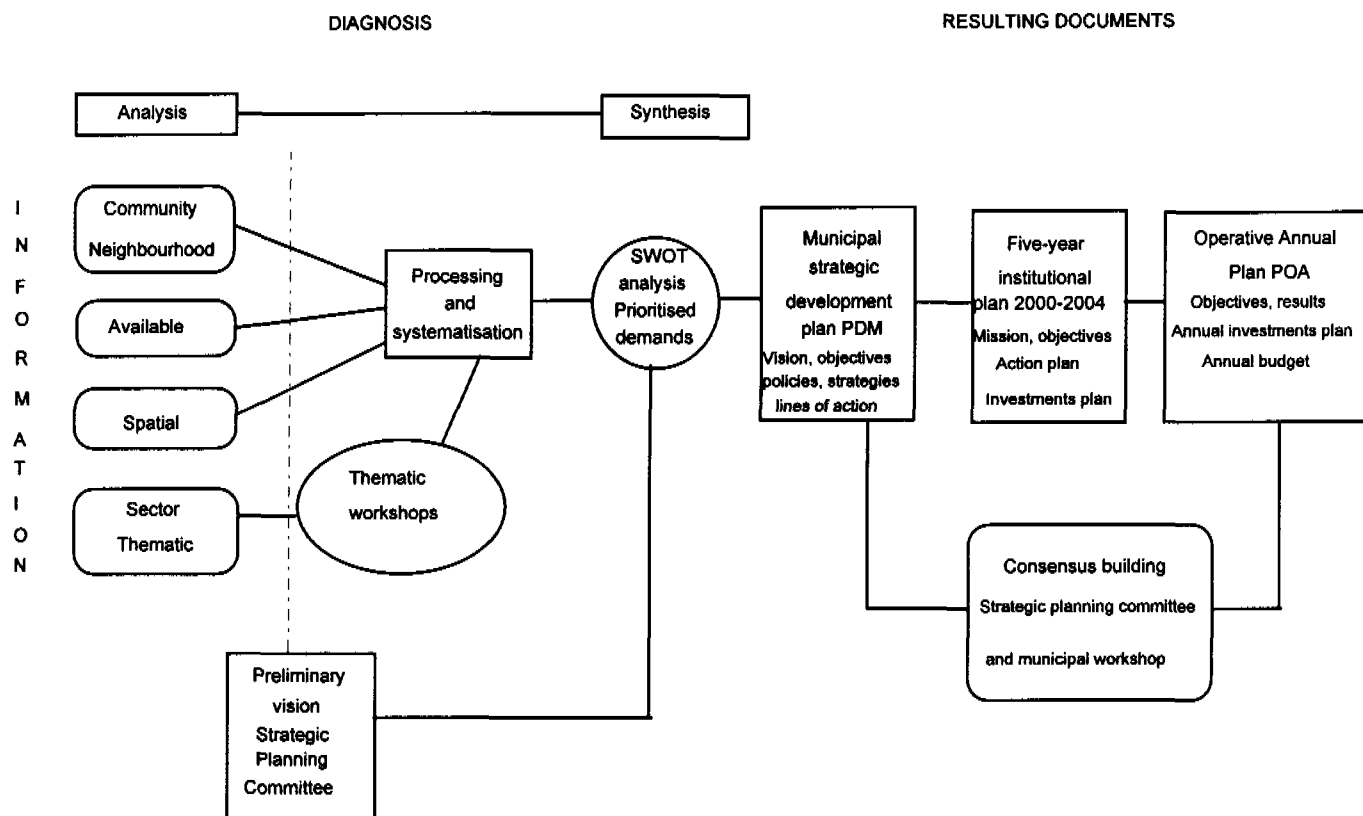
The provision of clear financial information from the municipality helped to define the real financial capacities of the experience, especially considering that in 1999 the POA was not limited to the CT funds but to the whole budget of the municipality.

However the experience also faced difficulties when at the beginning some neighbourhood leaders related to certain political parties refused to implement the neighbourhood meetings. In such situation the meetings were called directly and using facilitators. The high degree of rotation of neighbourhood leaders during the process also made it often difficult to reach consensus in the different levels of meetings.

Perhaps due to the diverse composition and interests, the members of the Steering Committee for the Strategic Planning had different criteria, knowledge and personal positions regarding many themes that made the decision-making process frustrating for some⁷¹.

⁷¹ Discussions over what comes first the mission or the vision are mentioned. (Coronado, 1999)

Graph 4. Strategic participatory planning in Tarija. Methodological process



Source: Coronado, 1999

4.7.2.6.2 Strategic Development Plan with gender perspective (PEDEG). Cochabamba.

Cochabamba is located in the central region of the country and has approximately 600,000 inhabitants. The municipality is divided in 13 districts: 11 urban, 2 rural and 1 national park. The municipal structure is decentralised in each district in the so-called "Municipal Houses" that are basically sub-municipalities.

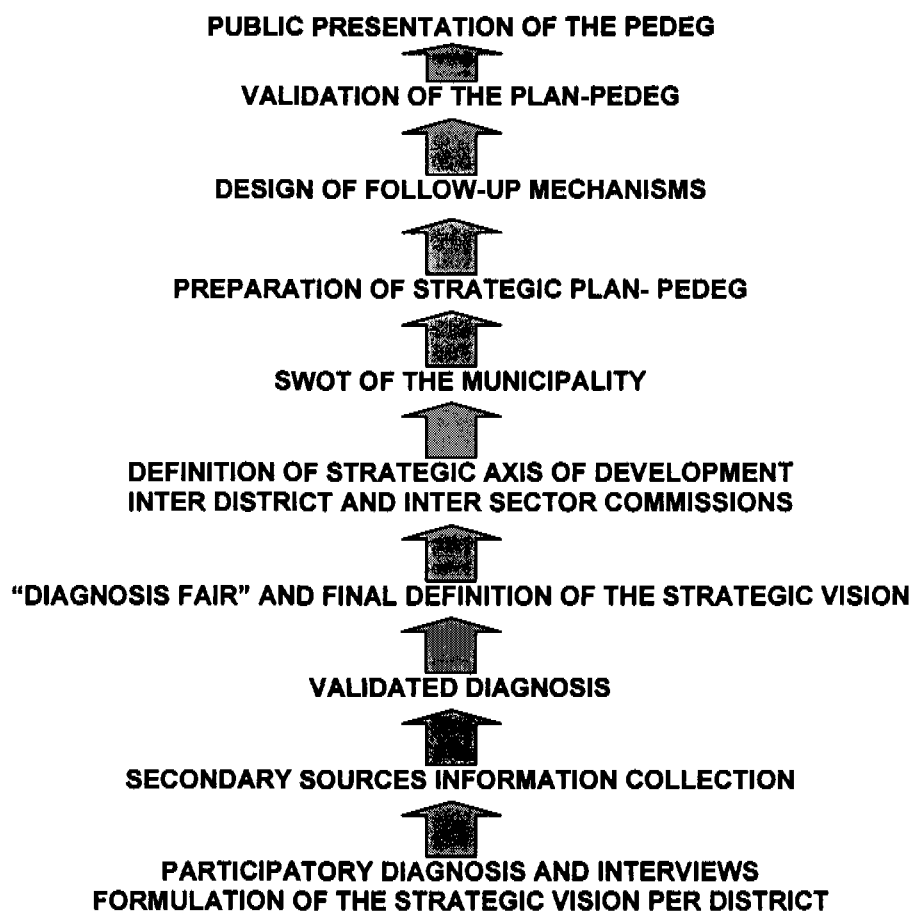
The preparation of the Strategic Municipal Development Plan with gender perspective was led by the NGO IFFI with an ample and recognised experience for its work with women for over 20 years. During the past years IFFI has focused its work on strengthening women's leadership and the incorporation of their demands in the PDM. There are four goals that guided IFFI's work in this respect:

- Succeed in getting a gender approach incorporated in municipal planning.
- Get the participation of the citizens of Cochabamba to define the type of municipality they want to live in.
- Promote a linkage between civil society and the MG strengthening governance.
- Reach a feasible proposal of human sustainable development.

Methodologically IFFI used the participatory planning, strategic planning, sustainable human development and GAD approaches and relied on the existing national planning framework (PPL and SISPLAN). The process started with the public presentation of the proposal "Planning with a Gender Perspective" followed by the formation of an inter-institutional Committee (CI). The CI participated on three training workshops covering the theoretical framework of the process, the objectives of the planning and the definition of the social actors for the diagnosis. A summary of the process followed can be seen in Graph 5.

The gender approach was incorporated in the development of the PEDEG in the following:

- Gender and development theoretical framework used,
- In the invitation for the diagnoses, ensuring the presence of women and men.
- During the diagnoses sessions participants were motivated to reflect on the relation between territory-population and municipal competencies in the framework of human development; on the distinct experiences of the city due to assigned roles, activities, conditions, opportunities, age and physical state; and on the tools and techniques used for the diagnoses.
- In the development of the strategic vision of the municipality built by consensus among the districts.
- In the five strategic axis of the PEDEG which are: territory and quality of life, democracy and political participation, education and media, production, jobs and human resources and citizen's security. Each axis presents proposals related to differentiated gender needs.



Source: Zabalaga, 1999

Graph 5. Scheme of the process followed by IFFI for the elaboration of the PEDEG.

Gender is built in the conception and in the planning strategy. The diagnoses offer a key opportunity to visualise the differentiated demands and needs of the men and women of the community. To ensure the transversality of gender, the initiative worked with the objective and subjective needs and interests, analysing conditions, ways of living, relations and opportunities.

For the development of the PEDEG, IFFI used double entry tables (see Table 7) to cross analyse problems from daily life in relation with education, production, work, safety, services, health, culture and territory in the districts. Similar analyses were carried out according to age groups and by sectors including health, education, industries, environment and informal sector. This methodology made it possible to recognise how in different environments and their corresponding spatial settings there are situations of discrimination and inequality.

TABLE 7. Diagnosis of the informal sector for groups of men, women and mixed.

Themes	Problems	Proposals to the MG
Space		
Basic sanitation		
Complementary amenities		
Prices and income		
Value of commerce work		
Safety		
Organisation and participation		
Taxes and relations with the authorities		

Source: Zabalaga, 1999

The strategic development axis identified were: territory and quality of life, democracy and political participation, education and media, production, work and human resources formation and daily life and personal security. The definition of the strategic axis of development reflects the articulation between practical and objective needs with strategic and subjective needs.

Although the PEDEG recognises a disadvantaged situation for women at district, sector and generation levels, it also acknowledges the relations and opportunities that they have in the municipality.

Box 8. Strategic development vision of the municipality of Cochabamba

"We want a municipality of women, men, boys, girls, teenagers, youth, old women and old men, with a municipal government democratic and participatory to build together a green, clean, polite, healthy, safe, serviced and self-sustainable city of Cochabamba that preserves its historic, natural and cultural identity and responds in a differentiated and equitable manner to the needs and demands of every citizen according to the conditions and requirements of sustainable human development".

4.7.2.6.3 Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) Santa Cruz. Working with and for the poor.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra is according to the Census 2001 the second biggest city in Bolivia. It is a city with high economic dynamism and significant levels of migration (60%). The annual growth of the city is 6.7% annually. It is a very polarised society with a minority controlling the economic activity and 52% of its population living under the poverty line. The municipality is divided in 12 urban districts and 3 rural districts, which are then divided in 560 neighbourhood councils.

The PPL establishes the institutional obligation of promoting processes that allow citizen's participation in the orientation and social control of the municipal administration. The Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP)⁷² is a pilot experience aimed at improving the living conditions of the urban poor and designing a participatory model to attend neighbourhood demands that can be implemented in urban areas in co-ordination with other development organisations. It enhances a participatory planning process with a gender and generation perspective and promotes the convergence of diverse social and institutional actors. The project works at three levels: municipality, districts and neighbourhood units. At present the PAP works in four districts identified as the poorest in the city benefiting approximately 31% of the population in 94 neighbourhood units.

The project is comprised of a Steering Committee and a technical team. The Steering Committee defines the policies of the project, supervises and oversees the investments made. Representatives from the MG, Prefecture, FEJUVE, VC, NGOs, Civic Committee and Dutch co-operation are part of it.

The Technical Team has 20 professionals with expertise on gender and social issues, organisation, urban planning, environment, development and economics. It works closely with 17 teams of NGOs, universities and technicians from the municipality and Prefecture.

The PAP model was developed between 1998 and 2001 and applied to 200 neighbourhoods. Actually it is being replicated in the municipalities of El Alto, La Guardia and Porongo. The model is a liaison mechanism between civil society and the MG through a neighbourhood participatory planning process that strengthens civil society organisations and facilitates the management and implementation of prioritised projects by the same neighbours. Throughout the project the following areas are permanently considered:

- **Poverty.** Recognises the complexity of poverty, especially the lack of access to opportunities in economic, social and political areas.
- **Gender.** Promotes the analysis of reality from a gender perspective as to find solutions to the identified problems. It believes that gender and generation based discrimination contributes substantially to the economic, social and political inequities and to a lack of access to a better quality life.
- **Neighbours' participation.** Promotes a wide culture of grassroots participation, democratic and respectful of diversity.
- **Environment.** Recognises that environment is substantial to quality of life and that it is affected by poverty due to the lack of access to resources, information and public services.

The project adapted the participatory planning methodology proposed by the SISPLAN to the local conditions and considering its specific aim of alleviation of poverty. For the PAP the main six stages proposed by the national norm become: preparation and organisation of the process, capacity building, neighbourhood diagnoses, neighbourhood development plan (PDV), implementation and management of project and evaluation.

The neighbourhood organisation called Participatory Planning Neighbourhood Committee (CVPP) is formed by the neighbourhood councils (40%), functional neighbourhood organisations (30%) and youth organisations (30%) of a neighbourhood unit (UV)⁷³ in order to get a more balanced representation of men and women (see Graph 6). The fact that the CVPP gathers neighbourhood councils and functional organisations allows for consensus-oriented decision-making with a vision wider than that of the neighbourhood alone. The project applies a motivation

⁷² The project is supported by DGIS from the Netherlands and started in 1998.(PAP, 2000)

⁷³ The neighbourhood unit (UV) is a territory smaller than the district. There are approximately 20UVs per district and each can comprise of 1 to 7 neighbourhoods with a population between 2,000 and 10,000 per UV (PAP, 2000).

strategy in the first stage of the process through the implementation of small projects⁷⁴ identified by the neighbourhood with financial contributions from the community, PAP project and the MG.

The capacity building stage covers key areas of participatory planning, community management, integral urban development and gender and generation. The contents of all the training modules translate key information on the national legal framework, gender issues and urban planning into simple language to be easily understandable by the citizens.

Apart from the Small Activities Fund (LIPA)⁷⁵, the project also has the Supporting Funds (FA) where the Dutch co-operation contributes with 50% of the costs prioritised in the Neighbourhood Development Plans (PDV) while the remaining 50% is co-financed by the MG, neighbours and other institutions. The project also helps mobilise funds from other sources for the implementation of the priorities of the PDVs.

Box 9. PAP's principles

- **Poverty alleviation.** It is essential to improve living conditions of low-income groups to promote a more just society.
- **Differentiated demand.** Any development effort requires specific attention to boys, girls, youth, women and elderly.
- **Environmental development projects** must seek for a balanced relation between human beings and their social and physical environment.
- **Social participation.** Community management is based on the participation of the citizens and their organisations.
- **Decentralisation.** Government decisions that affect communities should be taken at the public management level closer to the citizen.
- **Gender.** A democratic society generates spaces for women to participate in equality of conditions with men.
- **Coincident investment.** The pursuit of social development in the neighbourhoods thus requires a shared economic effort between participants and social actors.
- **Gender oriented government.** It involves delegating responsibilities from higher to lower levels.
- **Complementarity.** Development projects are not ready-made, but a record of a dialogue between the diverse public and social actors.
- **Consensus.** A democratic attitude requires reciprocal renouncements to achieve common goals.

Source: PAP, 2000

The gender approach in the PAP project

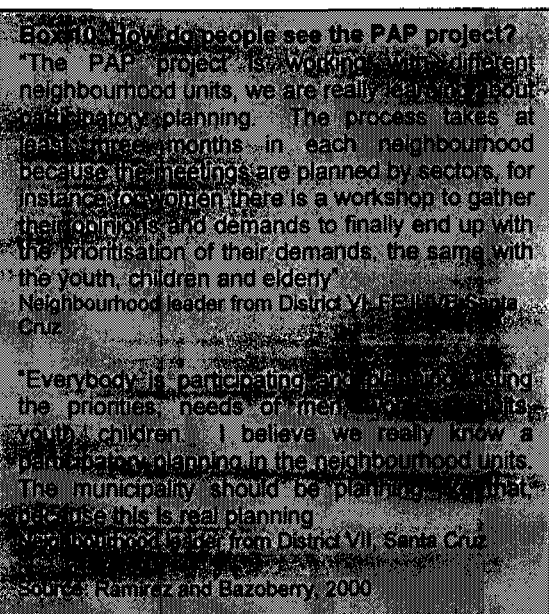
The PAP project considers gender a crosscutting issue. The incorporation of this concept takes place through a strategy that considers:

- Ensure the participation of women in decision-making. In order to reduce the imbalance in leadership (90% of presidents from the neighbourhood councils are men), the project adopted the formula 40-30-30 to incorporate more women and youth at this level to influence the vision of development and the type of projects implemented.
- Contribute to strengthen women's movement in the definition and presentation of their demands. Due to the interest of strengthening their participation in the preparation of the PDM, two workshops with 220 women were carried out that resulted in "Platform for action for the women of Santa Cruz".
- Offer opportunities for decision-making differentiated by age and sex. The community differentiated diagnoses make it easier to visualise the distinct interests, perceptions and demands according to sex and age and the further recognition, especially by men, that the community is made up of different groups. Meetings are organised per gender and generation group. Results are presented in neighbourhood assemblies so that the differences of gender and

⁷⁴ The Small Activities Item (LIPA) is used for activities such as training workshops, environmental improvement campaigns, small infrastructure works, with funds from the Netherlands and 10% of community contributions (PAP, 2000).

⁷⁵ 10% of the LIPA funds are assigned for gender oriented capacity building activities (PAP, 2000).

generation are recognised in the community spaces. This is one of the most important political exercises of the processes that allows visualising the differences and respecting the priorities of each group and include them in the PDV. The investments made in the PDV should respond mainly to the requests of the groups at greatest risks: women, youth and children. The training and capacity building activities will take care of the strategic needs.



The project has opened spaces for women's participation, provided them with information on their rights, leadership and on other topics related to reproductive health, care and training. The co-financed investments are made on non-traditional areas such as health, campaigns against violence, strengthening women's leadership and strengthening legal advise offices. The areas of work are selected not only considering the poverty levels but also the degree of poverty that affects women in particular.

- The project has channelled resources for capacity building in gender and leadership, gender, rights and violence, reproductive health, technical capacities, literacy and micro-enterprise management. The gender approach of the project promotes the analysis of the unequal relations between men and women and its consequences as for levels of domestic violence, leadership, job opportunities,

responsibilities as well as on the problems of the public and private sphere and its incidence on the quality of life.

- Sensitisation on gender matters to women, neighbours, the CVPP, authorities and implementing agencies are done considering participatory planning, community management, integral urban development and gender and development. These are intended to show the unequal power relations between men and women, their impact on development and thus on planning and implementation of projects and activities.

The experience has successfully transferred its participatory planning methodology to NGOs⁷⁶ and universities (UAGRM) that are actually working with it in two districts⁷⁷.

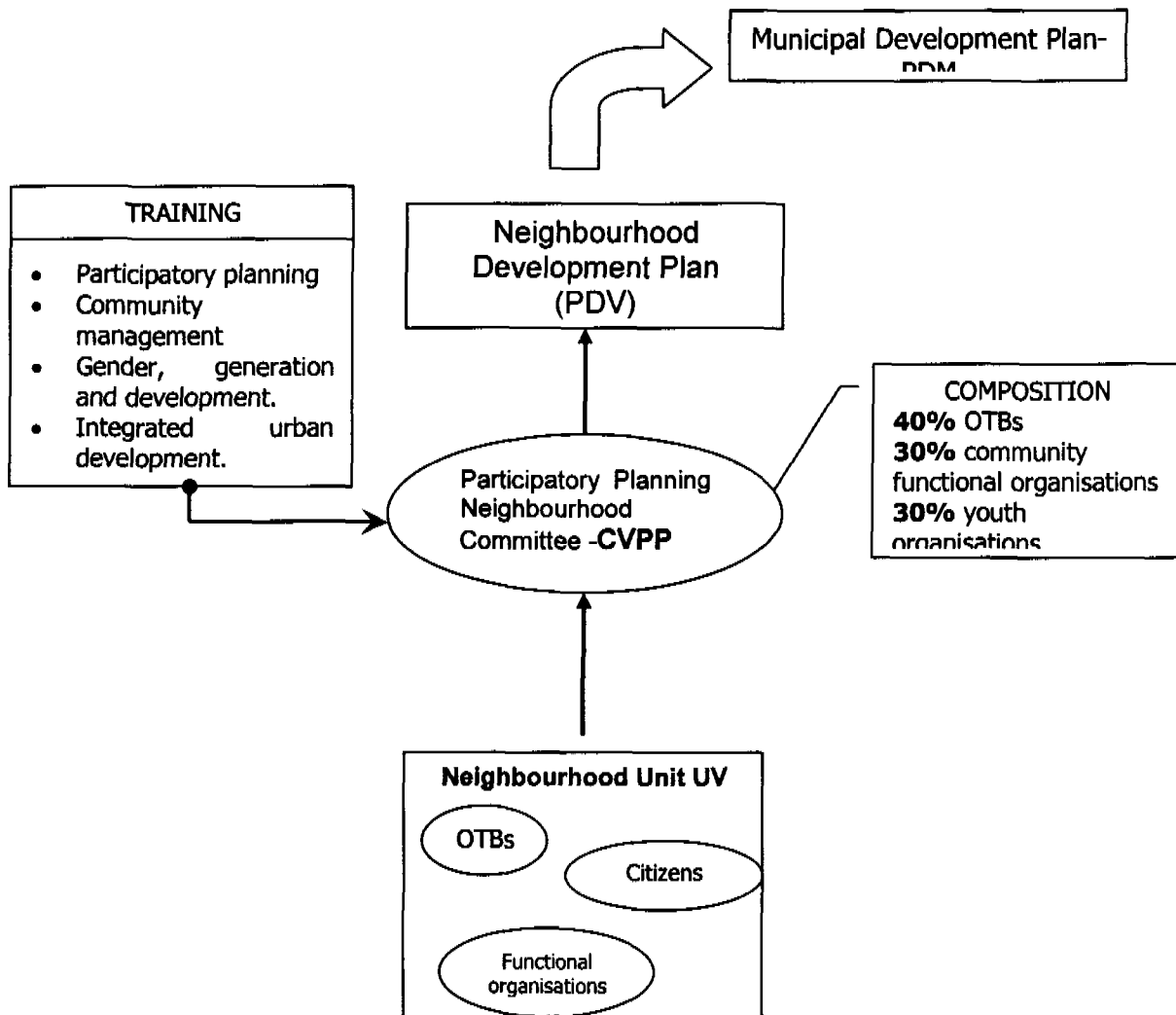
The project has been lobbying the MG so the PDVs can be incorporated in the POAs⁷⁸ and to reach an agreement regarding a participatory planning methodology. So far some municipal technicians are working in neighbourhoods applying the methodology, the municipal government is co-financing some FA projects as part of the POA and a resolution was passed supporting the neighbourhood micro-enterprises' work so they can continue operating and creating more jobs.

⁷⁶ They are CEDURE, CARITAS, IDEPRO, CIDCRUZ, Casa de la Mujer and SEAPAS (PAP, 2000).

⁷⁷ The project has signed an agreement with the VPPFM and the vice-Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements (VVAH) in view of a replication at national level.

⁷⁸ 37 projects from the PDVs were incorporated in the POA 2000 with a contribution of 50% from the MG. In total 99 projects were co-ordinated with the MG.

Graph 6. Scheme of the planning process followed by the PAP project.



4.7.3 Resources

In this section the different levels of resources that have been mobilised by the PPL, either directly or indirectly, will be analysed. The main emphasis will be on financial, human and information and knowledge.

4.7.3.1 Financial resources

Before the approval of the law, municipal resources depended mainly on the National Budget allocations plus some taxes and patents. The PPL applies the principle of equalitarian distribution per inhabitant of the co-participation tributary resources (CT) in the 314 municipalities of the country, which is an important way of correcting the unequal distribution of government resources. In this way the PPL transfers 20% of the national tributary funds to the municipalities.

The PDM guides local development investments. It enhances that they are concurrent, especially if coming from the central government, either from the National Treasury, international co-operation, national funds, own municipal funds or donations. The municipal resources for the PDM come principally from the CT, own resources from property taxes, vehicle taxes, transfer taxes and patents, transfers from the national development funds and donations from the public or private sector, national or international. Table 6 shows how the redistribution of municipal resources impacted on the municipalities, especially the small ones.

By law, the existing national funds (FIS, FNDR, FDC, etc) must financially support the local development plans that could also be supported with funds from the Prefecture. There are funds especially channelled for activities related to the implementation of national policies such as the municipal strengthening, community strengthening, educative reform, health system, productive municipality, protection offices and others.

TABLE 8. Municipal co-participation tributary 1993-1998

Municipality	Population 1992	Before the PPL 1993 (Bs)	CTM 1994 (Bs)	CTM 1996 (Bs)	CTM 1998 (Bs)
Cochabamba	414,307	29,811,808	33,542,848	53,143,647	70,581,495
Sacaba	68,127	276,512	3,362,268	8,737,674	11,604,775
Colomi	15,489	0	606,852	1,951,636	2,637,132

Source: Ramirez and Bazoberry, 2000 with data from Finance Ministry, General Direction of internal taxes, State General Accounting office.

The PPL process has also generated great interest from the international community especially individual European countries, EU, WB, IDB, USAID and Japan. They contribute to the implementation of a diversity of projects mainly related to poverty and in the biggest cities due to the growing incidence of urbanisation.

Considering that the CT is only 20% of Treasury resources for all the municipalities in the country, in general for bigger municipalities and the ones with better management capacities, the most important source of revenue are their own resources, sometimes five times bigger than the resources transferred because of the PPL. In some larger urban centres the allocated amount represents less than 30% of local municipal resources, thus limiting the effectiveness of the principle. At the end the decisions over the distribution of the greater part of national and municipal resources remains a central and municipal government responsibilities.

The second evaluation of the PPL process (MDSP, 2000) established that although big municipalities have better capacities to generate funds, the increment on their own resources vis ↔ vis the PPL resources is smaller. As expected the small and medium sized municipalities are still highly dependent on the transfers due their poverty and characteristic low economic development. For this reason it was suggested that the transfer should be made according to poverty and fiscal effort indicators and by providing differentiated support to the municipalities in this area.

More recently the National Dialogue organised to define strategies against poverty and how the HIPC II funds will be distributed decided that 70% of these funds will be distributed to

municipalities according to poverty indicators and the remaining 30% among the nine departments based on poverty as well.

NGOs and projects, such as the PAP project described previously, have mobilised funds to implement complementary activities to the process. NGOs working with women and urban development issues have managed to fundraise for activities falling within the PPL framework such as the programme to support the participation of women in the elaboration of the Municipal Agenda for Gender Equity in the city of El Alto (Gregoria Apaza, El Alto); the training and strengthening of neighbourhood organisations (Red Habitat, El Alto); rapid participatory diagnosis (CIPRODEC, Cochabamba); Democracy and citizenship programme (IFFI, Cochabamba) among others.

The case of the PAP is interesting because it shows the mobilisation of resources from the community, the MG and the project. The LIPA projects require 10% of contribution from the community which amounts up to \$US 226,567, similarly the FA that requires the contribution of MG, neighbours and others up to 50% of the cost, has mobilised \$US 418,259 from the neighbours. The PAP project in three years and four months of operation has invested \$US 3,053,922 and mobilised \$US 1,070,523 from the MG, and \$US 588,746 from the private sector and other co-operation. Apart from the 10% and 50% support provided by PAP to the LIPA and FA respectively, the project has also invested \$US 161,634 only for neighbourhood organisation strengthening, which covers considerable activities related to strategic gender needs.

4.7.3.2 Human resources

4.7.3.2.1 The neighbourhood leaders

In the past 20 years leadership potential has been accumulated. It is estimated that in La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz alone 16,800 people were involved as neighbourhood leaders at different levels and that they have capacities to be actively involved in further planning (Blanes, 2000). This social capital is already constituted in the neighbourhoods. They have experience as leaders, have been involved in the solution of problems in the neighbourhoods, they are trusted by people and know the administrative structures of the municipality to lobby for the solution of the neighbourhood's problems. Most of these leaders are men, and they do not only lack adequate capacity building to enhance their managerial capacities but also gender sensitiveness to be made aware of the unequal distribution of power and resources of society.

4.7.3.2.2 Women

Women's participation depends on diverse and difficult to control variables. Leadership in general is recognised as a masculine structure. Despite the changes of the past years, society still supports this rigid structure: the leader is a man.

There are of course some waves of change. At upper levels main lobbying has taken place. Now there is a law to ensure a 30% quota of women in the political parties, there are some NCs leaded by a woman and some posts within OTBs are also in charge of women. There are new scenarios created where female leadership is recognised and her contributions at global and local level acknowledged.

The main contribution of women in urban areas is found at the community level where they mobilise and participate in the meetings and work. With the strengthening of the districts, the feminine potential could be greatly incorporated.

In the 80s the NCs played an important role against the economic crisis when the "domestic" demands reached the political level and were legitimated in a context where traditionally only the

workers' unions and political parties acted. That time women took a key role through the Popular Neighbourhoods Housewives Federation in La Paz.

They also participated in the "Food for work" programmes in infrastructure work and temporarily in health and food programmes through their mother's clubs structures. Both under welfare approach.

Once women achieve certain level of socio-cultural integration, their demands evolve towards literacy, training and the achievement of citizens' status. Urban women are more oriented towards autonomy and due to the economic and social crisis faced they become more deliberative. Due to the living conditions faced by the poor, the community demands are once again assimilated by women only that now under their clear leadership such as in the case of the Luis Espinal neighbourhood in Tarija.

Box 11. What is to be a woman leader?
I was the vice-president of Urbanisation Miraflores between 98-99. I have a daughter and I am the head of the household. I sell cakes to sustain my family. Being the vice-president, allowed me to attend as representative of the neighbourhood to the meetings in the Municipal House, where the decisions for the improvement of the neighbourhoods are taken.
There are more women leaders that attend seminars, the VC and I too despite their limited time, which is one the main problems of women, to go and sometimes to attend the meetings.
We were working with the Gender Secretary of that institution but unfortunately they have closed that office since last year. We are requesting that this office is open again because through this we had organized workshops so women get to know their rights and the abuse of husbands and partners can stop. Now I am legal promoter from the District Social Office. The women leaders who received training lobby to give opportunities to other women to participate. They sometimes give excuses as being the only breadwinner of the family, or being only a housewife and thus that they have very limited time.
The machismo from men and the neighbours when one is leader is felt because they see us as objects and not as human beings. Besides, giving us training workshops on our rights, they should also give the workshops to men so they can get to know our rights and domestic violence can decrease. In the courses they also teach us about the 30% participation of women. In some neighbourhoods women have to pressure so the 30% is respected but men always give us the lowest positions. In spite of the level of education of men, they are still machistas and think women should be in the house taking care of the children and cooking. Only now men are considering that the law says that 30% is for women.
RM, Urbanisation Miraflores, Cochabamba

The understanding of women by men, even if they are qualified professionals, still portrays certain level of condescendence and a hidden agreement with the traditional division of roles and spheres of action. The perception of the roles and performance of women outside the domestic sphere could not have been expressed better than by the following comment by a male community leader, "Architect Dominguez, in spite of being a woman is a good professional. She was the best manager we had in the Municipal House since it began its operations" (Romualdo Perez, Leader District VIII, Cochabamba).

4.7.3.2.3 Non Governmental Organisations.

There are more than 700 NGOs operating in Bolivia, in a variety of sectors and concentrating on local communities and their development. The new context provided by the PPL meant a change in the way they normally related to the social actors. From the examples provided previously, it is interesting to see the degree to which they have developed working relationships with the MGs. If before this relationship was almost impossible because of the lack of trust from both sides, now it is clear that their experience has in many cases found the right context to implement initiatives in support of the PPL process or of their own specific agendas.

Likewise their relationship with the OTBs is also facing many challenges and requested the development of a new relational framework. Since the municipal territory is now the planning and implementation unit, this has also influenced in the revision and definition of their scale of work.

Although NGOs still present certain characteristics that make them important actors of for development such as: small teams, efficiency, flexibility and compromise, they are also facing challenges regarding their increasing specialisation, capacity for innovation, improved co-ordination with public entities and especially maintaining its critical capacity.

NGOs such as Gregoria Apaza in El Alto and the Women's Platform in Cochabamba are promoting good institutional policies directed at women, especially young women. In Cochabamba, the Strategic Plan with a Gender Perspective was the work of an NGO, IFFI, and the Women's Platform not the Council. Although spaces have been created at local and national level, there are still not enough qualitative changes as what the essence of gender equity would suggest in the PPL.

However, the NGOs as groups of individuals brought up in a gender biased society, need to revise their position towards the new relational context and instead of being the "ones who know more" become the ones "who facilitate and involve more"(see section 6.1.2). In El Alto the role of NGOs who were too heavily involved in issues over which they had little or mistaken knowledge were rejected. Local women first diplomatically and then publicly asked the NGOs not to intervene as they were creating antibodies rather than helping.

4.7.3.2.4 Knowledge and information

Especially during the first years of the implementation of the law there was substantial activity towards capacity building of municipality officers and civil society organisations on its contents, its outreach and its proposed methodology. Training workshops were organised and a variety of key documents prepared to facilitate the role of the municipalities and OTBs in this new context. Methodologies have been tested and improved over the years and as was presented before many initiatives have used them as the basis of their work.

Box 12. Citizens and information

It is incredible how they (the neighbours) use even technical terms: I brought a surveyor to carry out a diagnosis. Never before they had the chance to deal with these issues and now they do.

Interviewee: Director NGO Gregoria Apaza, El Alto

Even the vocabulary of the citizens has changed, they talk about operative planning, participatory planning, budget, they know what a POA is.

Interviewee: Vladimir Ameller, Economic Development Director, VPEEM

4.7.4 Actors

According to the PPL, the main actors of the process are the citizens represented in the OTBs, the VC and the municipal government. Because of the differences mentioned between rural and urban contexts, the nature of problems in urban areas and the existing relationships between NCs, VCs and MGs, the participation of the OTBs in urban planning is quite difficult.

4.7.4.1 Neighbourhood organisations

In the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz the neighbourhood organisations or neighbourhood councils (NCs), members, activities and roles, their relationship with the municipalities, with the VC and with the Federation of Neighbourhood Councils (FEJUVE)⁷⁹ are very similar (Blanes, 1998).

⁷⁹ There is a FEJUVE in each main city. They re-structured to fit the framework of the PPL, creating intermediate bodies in the urban districts and promoting the organisation of FEJUVEs in the secondary municipalities. There are already 45 secondary FEJUVEs in the provinces (Blanes, 1998).

The neighbourhood council has been recognised in popular areas because of its role in channelling demands, finding solutions to the neighbourhood multiple needs and because of their relationship with the administrative structures of the municipalities. The NCs are a matter of the poor. The precarious situation of the neighbourhoods forces neighbours to get organised to get projects done, often leaders benefit personally from this situation, developing relationships with political parties and municipality officials. In general the organisational structures of the NCs are very formal and standard, mainly because of their relationship with FEJUVE that established standard norms for this type of organisations. Normally the Councils are chosen by elections for a two years period.

Through these organisations, citizens build a dense and highly valuable social network, that helps them in their urban insertion. The well-off sectors of society do not need this type of organisation for such purpose.

In these cities, the NCs occupy the weakest established urban spaces, the hardest living conditions and are faced with the highest risk. Only a small proportion of the population has access to basic services and is either in bad conditions or has low coverage. A lower percentage from the average has access to potable water, few have sewerage, and transport is quite limited and expensive. The neighbours concentrate their efforts on the most urgent and pressing issues: security of tenure, electricity, roads and transport, lack of water and sewerage. Their action is a good practice of urban management but restricted to the neighbourhood consolidation phase. In this respect every single improvement has been normally achieved after innumerable visits to the municipality or to the companies in charge of the services.

As the NC represents the linkage between the municipality and the citizens, in informal settlements, citizens rely on its organisational, negotiation and lobbying capacities with the municipalities. On the other hand, the municipality could not act in these areas without this organisational resource.

In general, the job instability in the municipalities and the consequent administrative discontinuity forces every MG to start all over again. The councils lack a reference point in the medium and long-term different from the physical infrastructure projects. The lack of institutionalised integral and co-ordinated urban action also affects the neighbourhoods that only see the needs of the their specific neighbourhood and not the inter-relations that this has with its surroundings.

Some elements that influence negatively in the participatory planning process are: the formal structure of the NC, the personal character and even monopoly in the management of the council and the responsibility of the president of the NC of the relations with the municipality and other organisations.

In the new context there are also potentialities that could influence the level of participation such as the democratic elections promoted by the PPL in the NCs that have generated interest in other members of the neighbourhood to participate and the division of the municipality in districts that increases the possibilities of planning by districts and consequently requires that the NCs develop suitable structures to support the process. The councils can also provide a bottom up approach when identifying priorities and activities. The social integration and consensus of the population around these activities is generally high, and in this sense the work carried out by the grassroots in the neighbourhood is valuable for the promotion of their integration in the urban dynamics.

In a rigid leadership structure predominantly masculine such as the NC, the participation of women in the NCs is still very limited. The NCs leaded by a woman, are often the result of political party supported leadership which does not necessarily mean a bigger identification of the

political system with women's and gender issues but most probably the identification of suitable openings to maintain their positions of power.

4.7.4.2 The vigilance committee

It was created to articulate the grassroots with the MG and to oversee the implementation of the participatory plans. One delegate per district forms the VC. Although the members of these committees are supposed to represent the position of the NCs in their relation with the municipality, there are also personal interests to pressure or impose conditions to the municipality using the mandate that the PPL gives them. VCs are strong especially in places where there is a strong tradition of organisation because there is a social control system developed within that allows better communication, feedback and decision-making. In that case they are less vulnerable to political interference.

Until recently the lack of resources and technical capacities did not allow the VCs to fulfil its independent fiscalisation role. Since the members of the VC are used to work in terms of projects and emergency situations, despite their capacities and interest they may feel overwhelmed by the magnitude of the municipal and urban problems treated.

An important problem is that the VCs do not relate much with the NCs. Since its relation with the MG is key for the fulfilment of its responsibilities, the first years of the implementation of the law, the VCs were more focused on sorting out their own positioning towards the municipality neglecting its relationship with the NCs.

In some cases, the VC was elected initially through processes set up by the municipalities. It gathers lots of power in few hands with few resources. In this way, the VC risks to become a formal and bureaucratic mechanism prone to corruption.

4.7.4.3 Municipalities

The municipalities from bigger cities have to fight against their embedded centralising and authoritarian practices. They are not used to citizen's participation and feel threatened by the new roles given to civil society. However all municipalities must obey the law and are fulfilling their role for local development in different degrees. Evidently the motivation to facilitate the process can have different grounds and strong political manipulation has been evident in bigger cities.

Although some municipalities have established units to address gender issues, this is not enough if they do not have sufficient financial and human resources. It is stressed that cultural aspects should be considered with priority, for instance the Aymara culture will be predominant among the migrants in El Alto while in Cochabamba the Qhechua culture will be dominant.

4.7.4.4 Youth

There is a general perception that too little is done for young people and that there is lack of relevant policies aimed at the 18-27 age group. Due to the lack of attention to their needs there are problems with increasing alcoholism and delinquency. NCs concerned with the dangerous influences youth face, try to assist them with the provision of sport facilities.

There is little opportunity for young people to participate; either they are not allowed by their parents or lack sufficient encouragement by the existing local organisations. They are not represented formally in local organisational structures, despite them being a big percentage of the

population.⁶⁰ The current organic structure of the OTBs does not include specific youth representation, although young people can, according to law, occupy the highest positions.

One of the few efforts with this segment of the population came from the MG of Cochabamba that started in 2000 a Municipal Youth Council made up of diverse youth organisations. For the executive part, a Youth Unit was created inside the municipality and basic infrastructure and funding provided. Unfortunately, the initiative has been coerced by the governing political party and as a result has little support from other actors. The main idea of the Youth Council was to organise young people in each OTB so that each NC has a youth directive. From an intended bottom-up approach, the initiative has turned to be top-down and many expectations were deceived (see Box 13).

Box 13. Municipal Youth Council of Cochabamba
The Mayor's office invited the OTBs and young youth directives to form a Municipal Youth Council. In a meeting of all the Neighbourhood Councils of District 1, I was elected as representative. The Council had four representatives per district. Initially we met every 15 days, afterwards it got lengthier as we were discussing the approval of the Statutes, there were problems, personal interests, and everything was reorganised. The Steering Committee is made up of 10 people on different commissions. At the district level we are co-ordinated by a sponsored member of the NFR party. It is clear to me that this is an idea of the NFR, it is a political idea to invite young people to help them for the general elections in 2002. Although the Youth Council had a social interest and because of that I took part in it but then I realised it was political interest.
José Cochabamba

4.7.4.5 Women

In the recently enacted laws there is a strong attempt to look at gender equity and to follow this in central and local government strategies and plans⁶¹. The Political Parties law (Ley de Partidos Políticos, 1999) and the Electoral Code (1999) established 30% female representation in all political parties. However in the 1999 municipal elections only 246 (14.5%) women were elected and of the 23 majors who had absolute majority, only two were women⁶². Many feel that participation "...is not a question of quotas, it is a question of sensing opportunity, creating opportunities" (GM).

The Bolivian evaluation of Beijing+5 considered that although there were advances incorporating gender into health and education policies, this was very weak for the productivity and employment areas. The Bolivian progress report for Istanbul +5 mentions that despite of the progress made by the Gender Equity Plan of the VGGF in incorporating gender equity in public policy, women remain disadvantaged and the feminisation of poverty is a growing concern in the country (Rep de Bolivia, 2000).

Obstacles for women's participation are often intangible and as analysed in section 4, women face higher illiteracy levels, frequently do not have a birth certificate or identity card so they are not legally recognised as citizens, are disenfranchised and unable to start legal procedures. Men are more likely to have these documents or at least a military service certificate, which enables them to affect their rights as citizens.

The participation of women in local organisations and in decision-making could be traditionally strong and not necessarily improved by the new legislation⁶³ (see Box 13). This however, depends on the type of settlement, OTB and the history of the local organisation. For instance, "the ex-mining communities are very structured and organised and female participation is greater

⁶⁰ In El Alto 80% of the population is younger than 35 years of age (INE, 1992).

⁶¹ For instance "Global strategy for the equality of gender in the popular participation processes". (VPPFM, 1999)

⁶² This was in the departments of Beni and Pando.

whereas OTBs in the more recent informal illegal settlements are more dominated by men" (CARE)".

However, despite the progress made, men still dominate decision-making structures at the local level. Women's time is limited because of the innumerable tasks they have to perform. On the other hand, family is considered the social base of the community that is based on a patriarchal hierarchy and that establishes certain social control and women's dependency towards the social group she belongs to. Any factor that alters the established community structure is rejected and as such the presence of women in public life is rejected.

Often women's participation in organisations is not approved because it affects the family cohesion on which the community is based and of which she is the main actor, but also because their participation is linked to the lack of control that men have over them (Salazar, 2000). Women are conceived as being there for others but not for themselves. Perhaps because of this although their demands are different from men, they do not prioritise their needs over the family's needs. In fact, the demands of poorer and less socially integrated women reflect the demands of the family and the community with priority. Sometimes their demands can even reinforce the traditional sexual division of labour, by being oriented to the family and community rather than to their own empowerment. This was also clear from the results of the CGDs (section 6.2.2), a tool that can also be used by women as a means to present the collective demands.

Women who participate face stigmatisation, exclusion and rivalry from other women. Young women leaders are considered incomplete because they lack a half. For older women their presence in public life is interpreted as laziness when in reality they have to assume their public role sometimes engaging their younger daughters to help them and thus repeating gender oppressions from a generation perspective. Women leaders are harassed and mocked by men to set limits to their individuality. Under this perspective, women's participation is cyclic, subject to specific contexts, their organisations are informal and most of the time stimulated by external agents. In urban areas women forced by poverty, their individual initiative and less social control over them participate more than in the rural areas. Often a process of urbanisation of indigenous cultures takes place. Men on the other hand seem to relate better within the existing society structures and within the dominant culture than women.

The PPL with its instrumental regulations assumes that all actors are in a similar way available and qualified for public participation, something that is not necessarily true for women, especially for the ones from rural origin. The conditions of illiteracy and lack of proficiency in Spanish of many women reinforce existing inequalities between men and women.

Box 14. The Luis Espinal neighbourhood in Tarija.

The Luis Espinal neighbourhood in Tarija was an informal settlement, highly eroded and after rehabilitated by the informal settlers, mainly ex-military, who had played a central role in the construction of the neighbourhood. From the military vigilance to avoid eviction, after four years in 1989 the neighbourhood obtained security of tenure. In about ten years and with the implementation of the PPL the neighbourhood became an OTB, highly organised and working collectively for the improvement of their living environment. In the past years they have managed to set up an inter-institutional Committee for the Protection of Green Areas in which the municipal government, NGOs and other 15 neighbourhoods are members. Women from the Luis Espinal neighbourhood lead the committee.
Source: Salazar, 2000.

4.7.5 Power

The PP process requires civil society to participate actively in the identification and prioritisation of the demands. Based on the demands of the OTBs and the existing resources, each district then defines its District Development Plan (PDD). A process of prioritisation of the demands of the PDDs takes place within the MG with the participation of the VC, to define the PDM and consequently the POAs. Thus the final decision-making on the activities and budget allocations proposed in the PDM is mainly in the hands of the Municipal Council and the Mayor who must approve the document to make it viable and ready for its implementation. Demands are prioritised according to their strategic importance or available resources, but also according to the personal positions of the technicians and worse from the politicians. So even if a demand is strong and valid, it can be left out based on technical, administrative or political grounds. Thus even if a gender specific demand will make its way to the last decision-making level, chances are that it will not be supported because culturally is underestimated and it has reduced political impact. The limited presence of women at these levels (see section 6.1.2) reduces even more the chances of such a demand to be understood or even considered. As a whole, decision making is still a state attribute where civil society is a key support but not yet the centre of the process.

The initial stages of the PP process where the community participates more actively are the first level where the unequal power relations are perceived. As explained in section 6.1.2, these spaces seem ideal for the ones who are culturally expected to "know how to talk" but restraining for women who "fear talking in public". In this sense, the approach followed by the PAP seems conducive to overcome these limitations and provide adequate space for the actors to articulate their demands and become empowered.

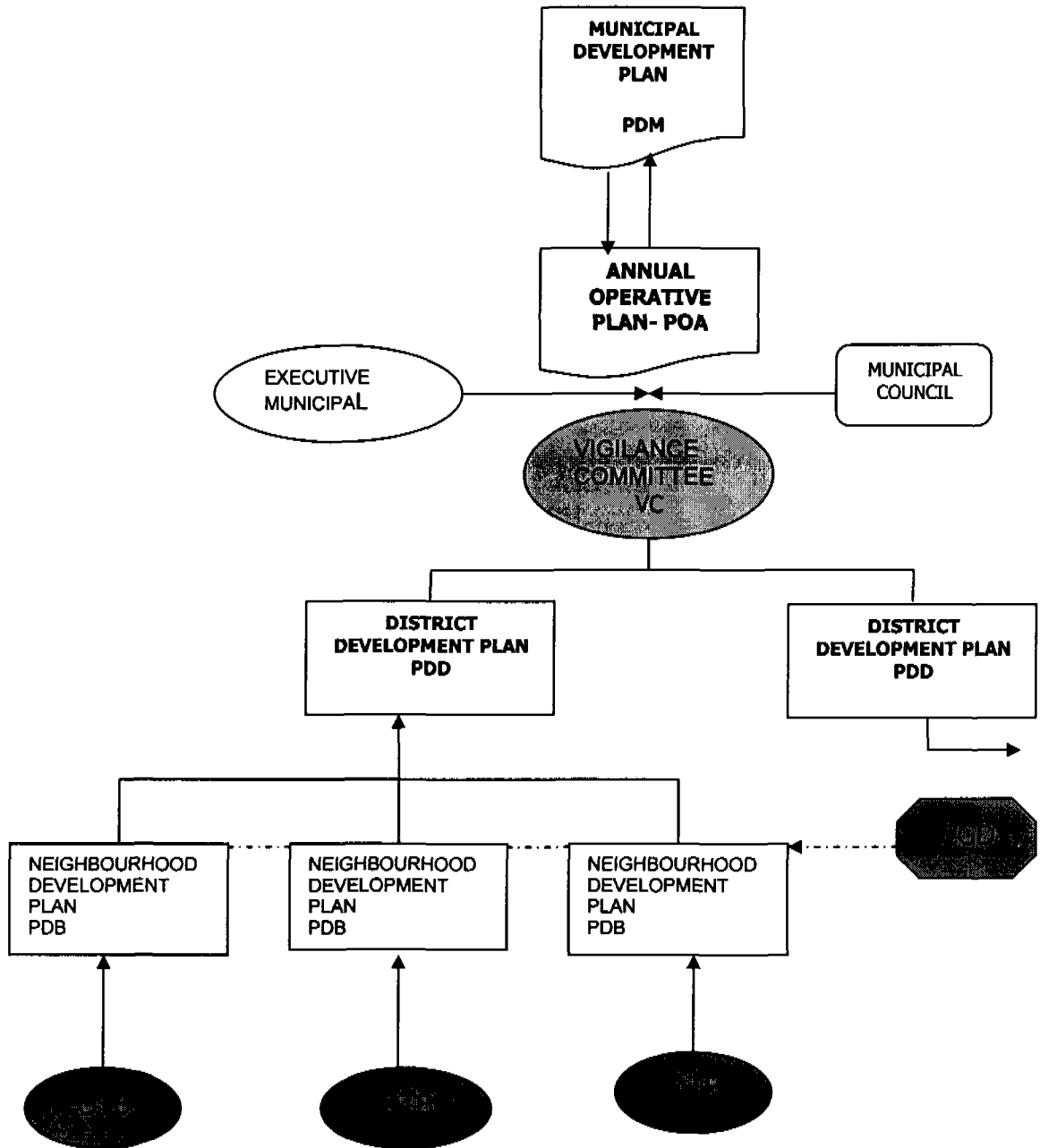
Box 15. Villa Serrano experience

The Main Federation of Peasants of Chuquisaca determined in its 1993 departmental congress that the number of women in their Steering Committees must be at least 50% in relevant political and strategic posts. Villa Serrano, a member of the Federation, implemented the decision. The presence of women leaders in this municipality at high decision making levels has become a reference for the young, who see an opportunity to enter the public world without the obstacles their mothers faced. But despite the fact that the local political system gave voice to women, this has not necessarily meant that their demands were considered, perhaps because the majority is still not compromised with the issue and due to the fear that if expressed the unity of the family could be at risk. Source: Salas 2000.

But the internalisation of gender strategic demands still face many difficulties at all levels. For instance although domestic violence was successfully brought from the private to the public sphere and as a specific gender demand it has generated mobilisation and support from various levels, it still has problems to reach the grassroots level due to lack of experience in the management and institutionalisation of the issue, lack of financial and human resources, lack of continuity and the existing patriarchal structure where violence is legitimated as a masculine right. Gender demands should be also seen considering the different political interests between women that are influenced by their social group and according to the gender relations that pass through patriarchal set ups which are cultural in essence (e.g domestic workers).

The implementation of the PPL is showing an ample spectrum of results because each political and cultural reality applied its own mark on it. The local power struggle is not only evident at the political parties level but also among the social organisations that existed before the law. In many cases patronage oriented leaderships were reinforced especially when there was a fragile social organisation in the area with the consequent reproduction of existing inequalities and gender biases. The PPL process was better internalised when there was a high degree of internal cohesion and political legitimacy as in the case of Villa Serrano which although not yet receptive to gender demands (see box 13), it has opened the possibilities to create equity in the long-term. Finally, the attribution of the VC to observe the financial management of CT by the municipality is a step forward in the devolution of power to social actors. The extent to which this measure could be misused as a political tool is subject of a different analysis.

Graph 7. Municipal participatory planning process



CGD= Complementary Gender Diagnosis.
 OTB= Territorial Grassroots Organisation

Box 16. Popular Participation in Bolivia (Law 1557)

- The Popular Participation is part of the institutional reform of the Bolivian State that includes decentralisation to the municipal level, new flows of resources for local development and organised participation. This reform had a great impact on the relationship State/civil society and on the distribution of the social expenditure.
- Popular participation in Bolivia involves the population in local development and as a national norm valid for all the municipalities of the country.
- The bases for the participation are the territorial grassroots organisations (OTBs), recognised legally as subjects of development and with an important role in the municipal planning.
- Law 1557 has advanced in rural areas due to their traditional social organisation. In the cities the process has been slower with weaker organisations and more complex challenges to solve. In the cities there have been advances in the growing awareness of citizens' rights, processes and the management of technical and accounting concepts.
- The automatic recognition of traditional structures of organisation and decision making have also accepted de facto the traditional conditions of oppression that women face, especially in rural areas, despite the gender approach that the law has.

Chapter 5

BRAZIL

Participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre

5.1 The country

Brazil is a Federal Republic made up of a Federal district, 27 States and 5,506 municipalities. With 169,590,693 million inhabitants, Brazil has the largest population in Latin America. The majority live in the south-central area, which includes industrial cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte. Approximately 81% of the population live in urban areas. Rapid growth of the urban population has assisted economic development but has also created serious problems for major cities. With 8,511,965 km² the country is divided in five big regions where the population are unequally distributed and mainly represented in the south-east (42.63%).

During the 60s and early 70s Brazil had relevant economic annual growth rates. This situation changed in the 1980s, when, Brazil's economic performance was poor in comparison to its potential. The country's economy was unable to respond to major events, the second oil shock; increases in international real interest rates; the Latin American external debt crisis and the ensuing cut off of foreign credit and foreign direct investment, reflected the country's largely inward-looking policy orientation in place since the 1960s.

Due to this critical situation, the 1988 Constitution introduced significant rigidities in budgeting and public expenditure. As a result there was a steady rise in the inflation rates, which reached monthly rates of 50% by the middle of 1994. In the early 1990s besides liberalisation of external trade and a framework for privatisation, the country underwent a major change in economic regime with the introduction of the Real Plan in mid-1994. The plan reduced inflation through a managed exchange rate, de-indexation, structural reform and privatisation. As a result the annual consumer price inflation dropped to 2.7% in 1998, as compared to over 2,000 percent in 1994.

Throughout its history Brazil has experienced social inequalities. In terms of the Pombalina policy⁸⁴, indigenous, black people and farmers were defined as "homens maus" (bad men) while people detaining power and resources were considered "homens bons" (good men). Despite the declaration of independence and the end of slavery, the ex-slaves and its descendants had to face social limitations inherited from colonial times. This discrimination was then expressed in the labour market and the delayed industrialisation process that in order to be competitive was based on low labour prices and prime resources, exploitation of natural resources and on State subsidies. At the moment Brazilian population is ethnically divided by colour or race as white (54%), black (5.4%), mixed (39.9%) and yellow and indigenous (0.6%)⁸⁵.

In Brazil, poverty levels and high inequality are linked to wide disparities in regional development, education, health, land and capital assets, and public spending. Income per capita in the richest state (São Paulo) is over seven times the income per capita in the poorest state (Piauí). About 33

⁸⁴ In the XVII century the Pombalina policy was established changing the conception of territory and giving priority to the occupation and indiscriminate exploration of natural areas and resources within. In that context indigenous peoples and farmers were seen as potential enemies and subjects of slavery and war. During the reign of Joao VI the situation worsened with the war declaration to all tribes that resisted the incorporation of their land to the colonial rule. (IBAMA, 2000).

⁸⁵ The indigenous population in Brazil amounts 300,000 people (0.2%) living in 12% of the national territory.

percent of the population in the north-east lives in poverty, compared with 11 percent in the richer south-east. Brazil has a considerable number of NGOs focusing on poverty issues.

Despite a remarkable increase in water service coverage since 1970s, the sector still faces considerable challenges. The poor are still largely excluded from the services, north and north-east regions lag substantially behind southern regions, and only a limited portion of sewage collected gets treated.

Although 35% of the population have less than 15 years of age, Brazilian population sector that is growing more is in working age. It is expected that this sector will exert great pressure on the labour market for the creation of employment in the coming ten to fifteen years. The ageing of Brazilian population will also generate pressures regarding the growing number of old-age dependants. (IBAMA, 2000)

5.2 Environment

The chapter on Environment in the 1988 Federal Constitution strengthens the role of local power in this area. However, municipalities find it difficult to deal with the environmental problems at all levels. The importance of environmental management is not yet fully recognised and sometimes considered irrelevant. In almost all the municipalities there is a lack of technical capacities to implement the activities and analysis required. It is also evident that there is a lack of integration with other areas, that are necessary to make the work more effective, such as health. Given national and state environmental regulations, when the municipalities start taking care of environmental matters they must avoid being too flexible or lowering those established levels, since they can create considerable operational conflicts. However due to the mentioned lack of capacities, some municipalities may often be faced with those situations.

Art 182 of the 1988 Constitution establishes that every city with more than 20,000 inhabitants must have a Master Plan approved by the Municipal council. This plan is the policy instrument for development and urban expansion. They must be coherent with the environmental management plans and the outcomes of the planning should be informed to the population so its implementation becomes easier. For informal settlements, either a Master Development Plan with Environmental Guidelines or a local Agenda 21 should be prepared.

Federal Law 6.938/81 and the Law on National Policy on Environment presented the concept of a National Environmental System (SISNAMA) that creates public policy at federal, state and municipal levels. The National Environmental Council (CONAMA) is also relevant because it includes the participation of organised civil society and it has power to deliberate.

Every municipality must establish a Municipal Environmental System (SISMUMA) to set up guidelines and norms, manage and develop relationships with other institutions and with the community

Some time ago, it was common among candidates to prefects and councillors to say, "sanitation does not bring votes" because they were underground works not visible enough. Today this perception has changed and is not only a matter of prioritisation of the sector (Zular, 1999). The Special Secretary of Urban Development (SEDU), dependent of the President's office, indicates that 14% of urban population does not have access to drinking water and that 51% are not connected to a sewerage system. Wastewater treatment reaches only 20% of the population and deals with only 10% of the wastewater generated daily⁸⁶. The magnitude of the environmental problem caused by the ejection of wastewater into water sources is perhaps one of the main problems of the country.

⁸⁶ Data from the National Survey of households-PNAD 1997 and the National Survey of Basic Sanitation-PNSB, 1989. The results of most recent National Survey on Basic Sanitation will soon be available and show the developments of the sector.

The results of the census show improvements in the provision of drinking water, from 46% to 81% between 1970 and 1991. In part this was due to the implementation of the National Plan of Sanitation (PLANASA) by State companies through agreements between the municipalities and the National Health Foundation until the end of the 80s. The Municipal Autonomous Services of Water and Sewerage (Serviços Autônomos Municipais de Água e Esgoto), operated directly by the Prefectures, since they can perform at lower costs than the State companies also contributed to this growth despite of the financial crisis affecting the municipalities. Finally, the privatised services model that is on the increase⁸⁷ also contributed to this growth.

The federal investments in the sector have decreased from 0.34%GNP in the 70s, to 0.13%GNP in the 90s (Perrone, 1999 in Zular). In order to provide the service to everybody by the year 2010, an investment of 0.38%GNP would be necessary⁸⁸. However independently of the measures taken by the Federal government, and considering that the sector is flexible in terms of the management options, that privatisation of the service is in the increase and that municipalities are not strong enough to regulate and supervise strong private companies, inter municipalities co-operation is basic for finding solutions adequate to all levels.

The collection and final disposition of solid waste are also growing problems. The policies of reduction, reuse and recycling of materials are not sufficiently promoted. More than five thousand municipalities have problems of inadequate waste management. The main four areas of concern are: adequate location of sanitary fills and other forms of treatment such as composting, incineration or recycling; improvement of urban cleaning operations with adequate equipment, routes, frequency and personnel and with optimal costs; adequate control of emissions and effluents from landfills and environmental education to promote the production of less waste and its adequate disposal. Many municipalities face problems finding suitable places for their landfills. In this sector there are good examples of inter-municipalities collaboration and the involvement of the private sector.

Few states started systems of licences and control of industrial pollution. After a pilot stage, the system of licensing and control was regulated by national law No 6.938 and some CONAMA resolutions, in general terms it has well defined attributions. At national level there is strong consensus on the need to widen and consolidate the action of municipalities in this area, especially with activities that have local impact. In the States that are big territorially or with a big number of industries, in general its environmental agencies lack the operational capacity to cover all the licensing and control themselves. There are some successful experiences of decentralisation to the municipal level with the transfer of some responsibilities, once basic technical and institutional requirements are fulfilled, such as the existence of a Municipal Environmental Council and a well qualified municipal body. There is also co-ordination at various levels for the elaboration of environmental impact assessments.

Noise pollution is an increasing problem especially in densely inhabited areas that causes conflicts between people with different interests, tolerance levels and mutual respect. For the municipalities this originates most complaints by the community. In Belo Horizonte these are around 70% of all the complaints presented.

The increase in the private car use is causing the complete collapse of the transport systems. In Sao Paulo there are approximately 5 million vehicles running every day. Issues such as the type of fuel and vehicle used, its maintenance and the state of the public transport are of concern.

⁸⁷ 27 State companies are in charge of the water provision systems of 74% of the population in 3,300 municipalities, 1,200 municipalities are served by the Autonomous services of water and sewerage and until 1993, 625 municipalities were supported by FUNASA for their autonomous services.

⁸⁸ The 2001 budget allocates R\$ 1.84 billion for investments in sanitation in municipalities with up to 30,000 inhabitants, making a 355% increment of the budget of the National Health Foundation.

There are of course some successful experiences that have been amply studied such as Curitiba and Santo Andr⁸⁹.

Environmental awareness has increased substantially, with more involvement of the private sector and civil society at large. There are many associations and NGOs working on environmental education. At municipalities level there are positive experiences in the framework of the local Agenda 21 projects and environmental education offices.

Brazil, a country whose rain forests contain the largest repository of biodiversity in the world, hosted the Rio Environment Summit in 1992. Key "green" issues in Brazil include deforestation in the Amazon and other regions; and soil loss to erosion.

5.3 Women In Brazil

Overall, Brazil has progressed significantly in addressing gender issues and reducing gender gaps. Three major advances are worth noting. First, women's access to and use of contraceptives has increased enormously, resulting in a sharp drop in the fertility rate and the size of households. Second, education levels for women have increased to the point that, on average, women now have more schooling than men do. And third, although men still predominate in the labour market, women's participation has steadily increased over the last two decades and the wage gap between men and women has also decreased (Correia, M et al, 2001).

Historically, important women's sectors have been active in the political and social life of the country, even before the recognition of full citizenship (1932). Their presence in the struggle for peace and democracy is unquestionable. However, it is only in the past twenty years that women emerge in local politics as an expressive public actor, struggling for a place in power and reaching visibility in their fight against domestic and sexual violence, laws and discriminatory practices, reproductive rights and institutional spaces.

Actually Brazilian women represent 50.8% of the population. They are principally urban, young adults and have an average of 2 children each. Approximately one fifth of households is female headed, representing approximately eight and a half million households.

Although the educational levels of Brazilian women have improved in the past decades, the educative context still suffers from serious problems. Due to the big ethnic, regional and socio-economical differences the sector has serious deficiencies. In the north-east, for instance, 24.6% women are illiterate which amounts to almost twelve million women only in that region. Black and brown women face worse conditions than white women who normally present better educational levels. During high school women seem interested in professions related to social areas and services contrary to men who choose technical and industrial ones.

At higher educational levels women are heavily represented in humanities and educational sciences while they have minimal presence in engineering and other technical careers. Within the educational system, women are most of the majority primary school teachers, half of secondary school teachers and a minority in higher education.

Studies in Brazil have concluded that text books and teaching methods tend to reinforce gender segregation and stereotypes, linking men to public life – and all its dimensions of work, leisure, politics, wealth and power – and women to the private sphere of the household. The availability of early childhood care and education programs remains poor. Because household labour continues to be assigned to women, low coverage of childcare facilities disproportionately affects women's labour market opportunities, particularly poor women's.

⁸⁹ In Santo Andr— the project is Municipal transportation and traffic management (UNCHS, 2000)

Although health conditions have improved, there are still differences according to region and ethnic group. In terms of health services, pre-natal care for pregnant women continues to be inadequate, maternal mortality is on the rise, being the problem particularly acute among indigenous women. On the other hand, contraceptive use among males is minimal, thereby posing a significant risk in the spread of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) and other sexually transmitted diseases. The north and north-east regions health needs relate more to mother and child care, while in the south and south-east regions there is more concern with adult related illnesses. Women from the north and north-east have lower life expectancy and bigger mortality rates, especially at young age due to obstetric reasons. In this region women have higher fertility and use fewer contraceptive methods. In all regions black and dark women face the worst health conditions. In general the life expectancy increased from 51 years in the 50s to 66 years at the beginning of the 90s, black women have fewer probabilities to survive to 65 years of age than white women do. The life expectancy gender gap –12 percent greater for women than for men – is quite high.

Women participate in the economy through domestic work and market related activities. The division of tasks has flexibilised lately but it is still socially accepted that women have responsibility for the household work, whether they are part of the labour market or not.

The feminine labour force grew from 7 million in 1970 to 14 million in 1980 and an estimated 25 million in the 90s. Women represented 35.0% of the economic active population at the end of the 1990s especially in urban areas. Brazilian women are mainly employed in the service sector, commerce and offices. There is a high proportion of professional women mainly teachers and nurses. They are almost equally represented in the public administration where they make 41% of programme and administrative officers, although they do not hold high level decision-making positions. Women face high levels of underemployment and only get 66% of the salary that men receive for the same work.

Employment matters also have to do with ethnic group of origin. The participation of black and mixed people in the labour market is highly unstable in comparison with white people, occupying the lowest levels in the occupational scale. Black women are the most disadvantaged of all groups, and the gap prevails even when education and hours worked are taken into account. Researchers suggest that factors outside the labour market, such as marriage, children or work interruptions, may explain part of this gap. Given that women have higher levels of education, their lower salaries vis-à-vis men's mean that women's returns to education are lower than that of their male counterparts.

Brazil never had a woman president. The first woman minister was nominated in 1982. Since then, an important growth in women's representation in the public administration has taken place, although with less presence at the highest levels. At the municipal level since 1972 there have been a gradual growth of women in prefectures, especially in the north-east⁹⁰. In 1997 there were 304 women prefects elected in comparison with the 5,201 men.

Since 1933 Brazilian women have been involved in the parliament, although in small numbers. In 1986 there was a significant increase following a campaign set up by the National Council for Women's Rights, when the number of female deputies tripled and when the first black and poor woman reached Congress. In 1999 one hundred and three women were elected to Congress.

Women have been active actors in the history of Brazil getting mobilised to get the right to vote, and during military dictatorships for the return to democracy. Feminism and the women's

⁹⁰ The northern states were always characterised by their high level of women's participation for Councillors and Prefects. However in Brazil there is a big number of women who enter politics to give continuity to familiar projects, ensuring like this the maintenance of political power for certain groups. In this region, women's participation is a result of the political power of traditional elite. (IBAM)

movement contributed to the social movements bringing a new political culture on board. Since 1983 in some states, Women's Condition Councils (CCM) and the National Council for Women's Rights (CNDM) were created. These Councils showed a big lobbying capacity at different levels of government and between 1985 and 1989 introduced successfully gender issues in the agenda of the executive, legislative and judiciary powers.

Women's participation in neighbourhood organisations, workers' and professionals' unions is heterogeneous. At grassroots level women are very active, in professionals unions they have an important representation but this is very reduced in workers unions. At grassroots level women's presence is relevant but varies according the type of organisation. In the 70s the mother's clubs had a more political perspective and were key for the development of the Movement Against the Rise of the Cost of Living. At this time feminist groups started working with the mothers' clubs and the goals of defence of the poor and vulnerable were enhanced. In this way the conscientisation and action of community women went further than the traditional feminine roles.

Within workers' unions women's participation is low although the rate of growth is significant. In the 70s and 80s in the National Confederation of Unions (CST) and the Central Workers' Union (CUT), a Committee on the Feminine Condition and a National Commission on the Working Woman were created. By the end of 1991, the CST had 22 Committees on the feminine condition in its central councils and the CUT's congress had a 18.8% of women participation. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geographical Statistics (IBGE) in 1988 from 28,652 workers representatives, 8.4% were women.

Within professionals' unions, women were representing 25.7% of the posts in 1988, although in traditional organisations this presence is almost no existent.⁹¹

TABLE 9. Brazil's Gender Profile

Characteristic	Women (%)	Men (%)
Population	50.8	49.2
Age		
<15 years	34.4	36.5
15-29 years	58.4	58.2
Health		
Life expectancy (years)	71	63
Average fertility rate (number of children)	2.2	
Education		
Illiteracy total	13.3	13.3
Primary enrolment rate	96.0	100.0
Youth illiteracy rate	6.0	10.0
Head of household		
Head of household urban	20.0	80.0
Employment		
Economic Active Population	35.0	65.0
Service and commerce	72.6	41.6
Average income	66.0	100.0
Political participation		
Deputies in Parliament(1998)	7.6	92.4
Governors	3.8	96.2
Municipal Councils (1998)	5.8	94.2
Central Workers' Union (CUT) Steering Committee (1983-1991)	5.9	94.1

Source: IBGE, IBAM,

But while Brazil has witnessed many advances related to gender, a number of issues affecting men and women's welfare remain. Quantitative and qualitative information indicates that violence among young adult males, male violence against women and sexual violence against boys and girls continues to be high. Among other things, violence against women affects women's ability to negotiate safe sex and avoid sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. Priority issues are the

⁹¹ There was only one woman in the Association of Engineers between 1986 and 1990.

support to the Black Women movement by NGOs and grassroots organisations and the articulation between race and gender mainly based on the discrimination and social exclusion that black people experience.

5.4 Relevant Legal Framework. The 1988 Constitution

As a federal state Brazil has a national legislation applicable all over the country and specific state Constitutions and legislation. The Constitution of 1988 contributed to modify the balance of political power inside the country transferring power from central government to the states and cities themselves.

The new constitution i) determined the decentralisation of power and resources to facilitate the satisfaction of local needs by the municipalities; ii) recognised the increasing interest of the citizens in the management of public matters; iii) facilitated the incorporation of new mechanisms of social participation in the decision-making process such as the referendum, plebiscites and co-management councils.

The 1988 Constitution either through principles or instruments tried to incorporate citizen participation in public management. For instance, Art 198 III expects the participation of the community in health related activities and services and from Art 206 IV the democratic management of public education. In planning terms, the Constitution prescribes participation through the co-operation of representative associations in local planning (Art 29 XII). In practice this participation has taken place more intensively in the process of elaboration of master plans and of annual budgets of the municipalities.

To democratise public management, federal laws promote the creation of councils with citizen participation, linking the transfer of federal funds to that measure. In practice, the municipalities have health, social assistance and education councils but also before the Constitution was passed, at their own initiative the states set up planning councils or development councils with the participation of civil society in their organisational structure. This tendency to widen participation has to co-exist with the bureaucratic organisational set up adopted by the Brazilian State at all levels. In an administration excessively regulated, hierarchical, based on the division of work and impersonal these two modalities of work cannot avoid having difficulties with each other.

At the moment there is certain agreement that planning has to incorporate the issue of power as well as politics, participation and ethics (White, 1991). However, this incorporation is not easy since participation introduces conflict of interests, value judgements and power struggles among others.

In the particular case of women, the 1988 Constitution presents advancements that are widened in the State Constitutions of 1989 and the Municipal Organic Laws of 1990. Despite of this, there remain some contradictions especially with the civil code, for instance with issue of domestic violence.

The 1988 Constitution strengthened the role of local governments, transferring them the power to enact urban legislation on the use and development of urban space and the responsibility for the implementation of urban and housing policies. They obtained the right to create their own organic law and the duty of preparing a master plan for municipalities with population above 20,000 people.

Ribeiro (1995) in a study carried out on the organic law of 50 largest municipalities established that the universal access to basic services and infrastructure as urban rights, a more democratic city management and the redistribution of the costs of urbanisation, were elements that could help build a new model of urban planning and management.

According to the 1988 Constitution the budget has public character. It defines three integrated tools for its elaboration: the **multi-annual plan (PPA)** covers the term of the administration featuring expenditures, programmes and works that last more than a year; the **law of Budgetary Guidelines (LDO)** based on the PPA defines the objectives for next year and the **law of the Annual Budget (LOA)** includes the budget of projects and programmes according to the objectives of the LDO. The modalities used by each municipality to incorporate citizen participation in the budgetary exercise depend on each municipal administration such as in the case of Porto Alegre or Belo Horizonte.

5.5 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

7.5.1 Formal women's structures

Since 1983 the Federal, State and municipal governments created the Women's Condition Councils (CCM). They are formal institutions part of the public administration whose councillors are nominated by the head of the Executive in each case. Their main objective is to represent, promote and defend women's interests. Their decision-making power, degree of representativity and lobbying capacity varies a lot according to the strength of the social movement and the priority that the governor gives to the issue.

The CCMs are mandated to propose measures and guidelines and promote policies and programmes that seek the elimination of gender inequities and improve women's living conditions. They are very important since they are the main mediators between women's movements and the government. It is also expected that those bodies can absorb the demands and transform them into recommendations, programmes and policies to be implemented by the government. However as many other instances caring for women's interests they experience marginalisation and tend to implement very specific activities with little capacity to influence public policy and thus losing the possibility to have gender perspective incorporated in sector policies

A study carried out by Araujo (1995) on the experiences of state and municipal women's councils revealed that the political spaces occupied are limited and their position in the hierarchy of the institution is not important, they have financial limitations and lack adequate human resources and physical space, they are more ideological bodies rather than technical promoters of public policy, and have difficulties in their relationship with others sectors of public administration.

5.5.2 Women's Special Advisories and Co-ordination offices

The Women's Special Advisories started at municipal level during the administration of the Workers' Party (PT). They are an innovative and alternative option to the CCM in the sense that they promote popular participation, which is part of the PT's agenda. The practical implementation of the popular participation varies from municipality to municipality and the PT recognises that the proposed participation is not always ideally put in practice, despite the efforts, in part because of the existing weaknesses of civil society. None of these popular participation efforts deals specifically with women. The PT recognises having difficulties to understand gender issues in all its dimensions, public or private, but keeps an open attitude towards it (Bittar in IBAM, 1997).

The second experience is more related to gender issues, the Advisory Councils of Women's Rights look for the recognition of women's discrimination and of the government's responsibility in the promotion of women's policies. They were set up in Santo Andr  (1989), Santos (1989), Sao Paulo (1989), Diadema (1991) and Piracicaba (1991). The advances made differ from city to city in part because of the existing power relations between the municipal administration, the political party in charge and existing women's movements; the acceptance and understanding of

internal sectors of the administration; as well as the diverse administrative autonomy and financial resources available for the work, that often would impend the application of public policies for women.

5.6 Gender In Brazilian Municipalities

The incorporation of a gender perspective is a big challenge for public administration and especially for the municipal Executive in spite of the benefits this inclusion could have increasing their efficiency and effectiveness.

Democracy as related to participation implies that a society is democratic as long as the people have significant opportunities to participate in the formulation of public policies. As one of the main attributions of the municipality, the formulation of public policies and then the definition of programmes and most adequate means for its implementation, must consider the differentiated forms of participation between men and women in the process of formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies.

The research "Mulher e política pública -Woman and public policy" (IBAM, 1991) establishes that most municipal programmes and activities are related to health -focusing more on reproductive health and family planning- training of manual work, promotion of women's organisation, nutrition, children and teenager support and childcare maintenance. Few municipalities had activities related to housing, basic sanitation, services and urban facilities, agriculture, environmental protection, administration and personnel policy. The programmes refer to women in their traditional roles of mothers and wives and most activities are associated directly or indirectly to social assistance policies, to which women are a target group.

The institutionalisation of women's issues through the establishment of the councils referred to in the previous section has been relatively successful in their efforts to guarantee that sector policies tackle inequal conditions faced by women. However if these efforts do not link with other municipal bodies and civil society there is the risk that they concentrate the discussion in specific bodies that can influence policy but do not implement it.⁹²

Another less known activity is the planning for gender that considers the transformation potential of the impact of planning and its capacity to start transformation. It starts from the recognition of the unequal relations between men and women and seeks to ensure that women have equal access to opportunities as men. It is a technical and political activity, assumes that conflict is inherent to the planning process, it is related to a transformation process and it is assumed as an intrinsic activity to planning. It is not about designing policies or programmes exclusively for women, but to consider that in all actions, women and men experience different impacts from public policy and that they as such are responsible for the changes in power relations, either inside or outside the local government (Martins, 1999).

However, de Mattos argues that there is still a unilateral concentration of power that influences in many levels of public and private life. When gender is institutionalised in public administration, the unit responsible for preparing and implementing specific policies almost never has the status of a Secretary, the team do not participate in the meetings of the Secretariat and depend on higher hierarchical levels. These units are characterised by the limited participation in the structures of power, the dependence on higher levels for decision-making and the lack of financial resources. The attitude of condescendence with the existence of women's spaces implies a constant struggle within the same administration.

⁹² By the end of 1998 there were 13 State councils and 53 Municipal councils for the rights of women (Monteiro, 1998)

2001 Municipal experiences on gender incorporation

In Barra Mansa-RJ (166,000 inh.) women's demands have priority in the OP. The Municipal Secretaries of health, urban development, social promotion and education, with the organised women's movements and the SEBRAE, carry out the 'Enterprising women's meeting' to design proposals that help women organise at work. The municipality also established a women's health centre.

In Angra dos Reis-RJ (92,000 inh.) a women's special organisation set up the programme 'Women, city, health, education and work' to promote women's organisation. Also an Administrative Forum on Gendered Public Policies was set up to co-ordinate the actions of the different Secretaries working with women.

In Ipatinga-MG (195,000 inh.) a department of community development-DEDEC was created to insert women as priority target group within the social assistance policy. The programmes on employment and income generation are relevant to support the better qualification of women for the labour market.

In Porto Alegre-RS through the Women's Public Policy Advisory and the Human Rights and Citizenship co-ordinating unit support is provided for the production, commercialisation, funding and technical training for low income women. Also reproductive health, AIDS prevention and a shelter for women victims of domestic violence were established. Teachers are trained on gender issues.

In Santo André-SP (625,000 inh.) the Advisory on Women's Rights has four programmes: violence and health, education, employment and income creation, organisation and citizenship.

Source: de Mattos J, 2000

5.7 Participatory Budgeting

With the increasing lack of credibility in the actual political system, there seem to be two main options, either to recover social trust in the capacity of the State to act as a regulator and promoter of changes in social reality or to create processes that can produce these changes in a sustainable manner. In an article published by the Folha de São Paulo in 1993, Tarso Genro, then Prefect of Porto Alegre, expressed that "among others, a social reaction to exclusion is the emergence of new ways of community life, that intend to influence the State to rescue citizenship and the dignity of the group, promote the emergence of a new non-governmental public sphere, not dependent on commercial relationships, that seek co-management actions with the State, diluting private interests and which enhance public interests".

While state policies can promote significant material improvements and reduce poverty levels they could also increase the de-politicisation and social de-articulation. With this in consideration it might be rather necessary to stimulate policies that promote the popular self-organisation.

The reform of the State and existing governance requirements pressed by multilateral and bilateral organisations as well as by the organised civil society, have opened up spaces for new participatory practices. One of these practices relates to the requirements of transparency and accountability from the State. In Latin America the way budgets are prepared has become a matter of citizen's interest⁹³. This because budgets, its revenues and expenses, reflect the inequities and exclusions of the socio economical and socio political dynamics and could constitute a platform for change, incorporation and modification.

The direct participation of the citizen in the management of public resources and in the definition of actions, opens the way to build a political system that combines the direct identification of priorities by the population with the delegation of power, setting up a new ground for democratic practice. It is also important because it recovers citizen participation in political activity.

Three key moments are recognised in the process of participatory budgeting: formulation, ensuring the incorporation of demands and citizens' rights; implementation, ensuring fiscalisation mechanisms; and design of daily monitoring schemes for the population.

⁹³ Current experiences include Villa El Salvador in Peru under the leadership of Desco, Mexico with FUNDAR, the Women's National Service of Chile, Agende in Brasil and the Andean region with UNIFEM (Vargas, 2000).

In the framework of this research, the experience of Porto Alegre, Brazil will be examined under the parameters of analysis defined previously. The experience is relevant not only because of its national⁹⁴ and international visibility but because of the development process it has followed and that could provide important inputs for the analysis. As argued in chapter 4, successful participatory interventions can hide gender inequities. With this in mind, I continue with the analysis of the experience of Porto Alegre.

5.8 Participatory Budgeting Of Porto Alegre

Porto Alegre is the capital of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. It has 1,290,000 inhabitants and it is located in the middle of a metropolitan region that has approximately 3,000,000 inhabitants. Between the 60s and 90s the industrial sector decreased in importance becoming instead a big centre of services and commerce. During those decades the citizens suffered the consequences of a centralist and excluding political system and an economic development model supported by big industries, bankers and military authoritarianism. Until the beginning of the 80s there was a big population growth and a high concentration of income in few hands, causing serious inequalities and leaving a third of its population without the provision of basic infrastructure

The city has a relevant associational history that resembles the one of the state Rio Grande do Sul⁹⁵. In 1956 a municipal decree opened the door for citizen participation in various councils and then the State Federation of Community Associations (FRACAB) was created in 1959. The Union of Tenants' Associations' of Porto Alegre (UAMPA) established in 1983, was intensely involved in housing, education, health services and human rights among others.

With the political opening in 1983 the first direct elections in the past 30 years took place and a populist municipal government was elected. During that time the municipality⁹⁶ decided investments without considering the population and attending different priorities. Besides, the municipality was facing a complete financial and administrative crisis. The system of tax collection was not working and the revenues were not enough to even finance a minimum of projects.

For the second elections in 1988, the elected Frente Popular⁹⁷ proposed in its programme the establishment of "Popular Councils". In 1989 when this new administration started, the municipal budget allocated for investments was only 3% of the budget. A big segment of the population lived in illegal settlements, without drinking water, sewerage or paved roads. However, because of the associational strength of the city, there was an open disposition towards new experiences and proposals on popular participation. In some regions of the city a solid history of community associations already existed and as soon as social groups realised that the authorities offered to share decision-making and jointly decide matters related to the budget, the initiative ignited a participation fever unprecedented in city's history.

At the beginning the new administration did not have a detailed model but a set of vague and mostly ideological notions about state democratisation, thus this social experiment was built over time. At this point, there was not political consensus among the parties of the winning coalition

⁹⁴ Actually there are around 100 municipalities implementing the experience with various features. Five out of the fifteen major cities are developing the process. These are: Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Recife, Porto Alegre and Sao Jose dos Campos.

⁹⁵ In rural areas of Rio Grande do Sul the association capacity of the poor is remarkably higher than in other Brazilian states. The influence of the state in the history of the country has been mainly political. Perhaps the most famous is Getulio Vargas who served twice as president of Brazil and carried out important reforms (Navarro, 1996).

⁹⁶ For the purpose of this study we will refer to the municipality of Porto Alegre instead of the Prefecture of Porto Alegre to avoid confusions between the levels analysed in both cases.

⁹⁷ With the return to democracy and the new constitution, the representatives recovered the right to change budgets. The workers from the automobile industry of Sao Paulo were an active social movement. They got better organised and founded a left wing party called the Workers Party-PT. In 1989 they won the elections in many cities and in Porto Alegre they established a new way of dealing with the budget process asking the population to participate, assembling the budget not only according to the government's own opinion but also considering the public opinion.

on how to put into practice these ideas. The first year was then very erratic in terms of municipal orientation and may be because of this according to Navarro (1996), it was prevented that a given model could be imposed on the process. Each step was the result of negotiations among the political factions in power and a result of a continuous dialogue with community associations.

The Prefecture organised the S.O.S. Porto Alegre activity to demonstrate the citizens that the new administration really wanted to serve the population. For this, between 200 and 500 civil servants worked each week on specific regions of the city in order not only to become visible but to carry out inexpensive public works and tighten personal links with the population and their leaders. When the first meeting took place, this action proved instrumental and effective.

In 1989 the financial crisis and lack of trust of the population resulted in a modest participation of citizens in the participatory budgeting process (Orçamento Participativo-OP). In 1990 the participation was still limited also considering the financial limitations of the Prefecture. From that point onwards the municipality recovers investment capacity through a deep tributary reform and the OP takes big impetus. The government has increased resources to attend demands and the population started verifying that their decisions are respected and are resulting in the improvement of their living conditions. At the beginning of the OP experience there were cases where communities were struggling to get sewerage or a road for 30 or 40 years.

From 1991 the OP process became massive, mobilising communities from all regions. For instance, in 1994 more than 11,000 people and in 1998 more than 35,000 people participated in the first and second assemblies called *rodadas* and intermediate sessions directly co-ordinated by the Prefecture. Together with the meetings organised by community associations and other civil society bodies, this could reach up to 100,000 people involved in the process⁹⁸.

The process has been improved over the years. At the beginning it became clear that the priorities of the poorest regions where most of the population live were very different from the regions where better off communities lived. In the first case basic sanitation was urgent while in the latter case the main worry was cleanliness and care of parks and gardens. Within the poorest neighbourhoods there were also differences between communities, some were more organised than others to express their demands.

The process had to deal with some obstacles. Before the OP started, communities had to relate with the municipality on a clientelist basis in order to get any developments in their districts. Because of this institutional culture, the communities and their organisations did not have any experience in debating important matters and technical issues, such as the municipal budget. Finally and despite the tributary reform the resources were still not enough to fulfil all the demands.

The important challenges faced were to overcome the passivity of the citizen and the clientelist relationships, stimulate participation, define investments and expenditures on basis of objective criteria accepted by the communities and be able of perceiving the city from a set of priorities that acknowledges the enormous existing differences.

After twelve years of implementing the OP, Porto Alegre has the highest literacy rate of any major Brazilian city, a relatively low number of squatter settlements, efficient waste disposal and clean water on tap. For instance the home water supply raised from 78% in 1990 to 99% in 1999, sewerage coverage from 46% in 1989 to almost 83% in 2000. Garbage collection, which was one of the biggest urban problems in 1989 now, reaches all the residencies, pavement reached more than 400 km especially in peripheral regions. The public school enrolments have more than doubled in the last 10 years.

⁹⁸ This figure represents 8% of the total population.

5.9 Analysis Of The Experience

5.9.1 Rules

The 1988 Constitution incorporates popular participation in the budgeting process. For instance, Art 29 "the municipality will be guided, among others, by the principle of (...) x) co-operation of the representative associations in the municipal planning, and xi) popular initiative of projects of law of specific interest of the municipality, of the city, or of the neighbourhoods, through the representation of at least five percent of the electors.

As well as the 1988 Constitution highlights the "representative associations", later federal laws specify some of them, making them obligatory such as the Children and Youth Rights Council (Law No 8.069), Municipal Health Council (Law 8.142) and the Social Assistance Council (Law No 8.742). These municipal councils created by law receive financial resources from the federal government and their composition must include the same number of government and civil society representatives. These could be defined as formal instances of popular participation since the constitution and the municipal laws establish them.

In the case of Porto Alegre there have been attempts to approve a law for the process in the Municipal Council, but this is not popular neither with the people nor with the MG that wants to keep the public character of the experience instead of giving it a formal one. There was a political decision to avoid the institutionalisation of the process to keep it out of the Municipal Council's hands. This reflected the historical suspicion of community organisations on government promises. It was decided that the process should stay autonomous so it guaranteed the "sovereignty of association" which was a political objective from the beginning. In face of future political changes there is also the question of the limits that this effort of direct democracy or direct participation has.

The non existence of a law for the OP presents also a conflict between two positions: one that considers it is necessary to guarantee its existence, independently from the municipal administrators in charge of the municipal Executive and another one that fears this regulation will make the process loose its dynamism and also would allow the Municipal Council to decide the permanent format of the process, taking away this decision from the Executive.

Since the process has been evolving, in order to provide a guiding framework, the Executive has developed a set of internal regulations that define the role and functions of each of the actors of the process. These regulations are approved on a yearly basis by the committee of the participatory budget (COP) to guide its work and incorporate any changes in methodology or approach.

5.9.2 The process

It is not the intention of this study to go into details regarding the details of the process that the OP follows. However, it is important to have a clear perspective of the sequence of steps and involvement of the actors for the analysis. For that reason, a brief summary on the process is provided in this section.

As a first step the city was divided in sixteen regions according to geography, social characteristics and community organisation. To ensure that other functional organisations were involved in the process other participatory structure was set up according to themes: city organisation and urban development, transport, health and social assistance, education, culture and entertainment, economic development and tax contribution.

Annually the Prefecture organises two big assemblies (rodadas) in each of the regions and other meetings according to themes. Since the Prefecture cannot start a new investment plan without the presentation of a report justifying if any of the approved demands were not implemented (Art

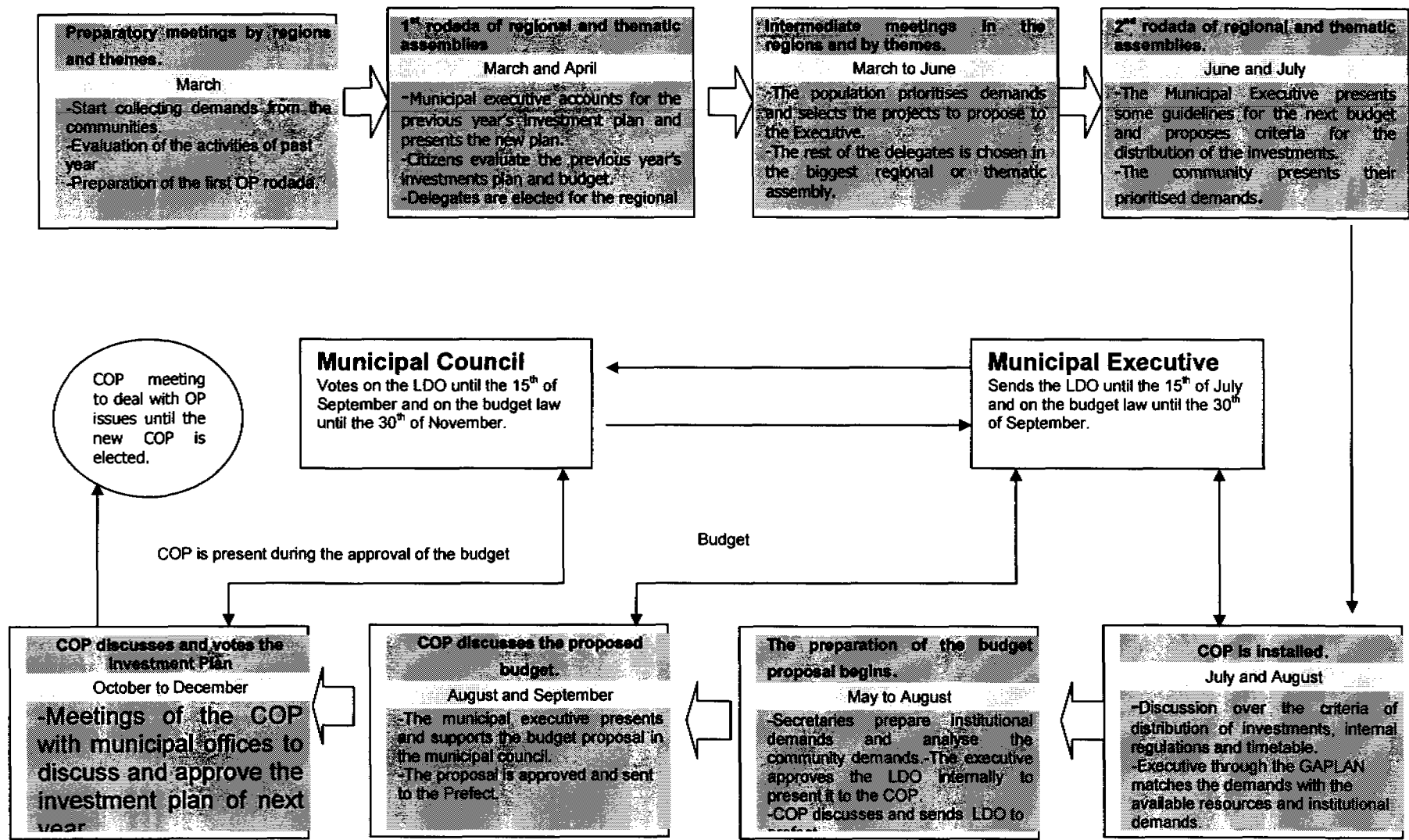
10,ii), in the first rodada, the evaluation of previous year's investment plan, the new available investment funds are presented and the community elects its delegates. In between the two rodadas, a number of meetings organised by the communities according to themes and regions take place and it is where the communities analyse their needs and decide on their priorities and demands. These smaller meetings are key because they enhance debate in the neighbourhoods allowing bigger participation and where priorities are defined to ensure later on funding and investments. The priorities are finally defined in the Regional and Thematic Delegates Forum formed after the first rodada

In the second rodada the community-prioritised demands are presented and delegates are elected for councillors to the Participatory Budget Council (COP). Each region and theme has two councillors and two alternates, one representative and alternate from the Municipality Workers' Union (SIMPA), and likewise from the UAMPA. The Municipal Executive has two representatives and alternates, one from the CRC and one from GAPLAN, that have voice but not the right to vote.

The COP receives technical support from the GAPLAN (Planning Unit) that is directly linked to the Mayor's office. Both COP and GAPLAN start combining regions' priorities with financial availability and technical arguments when necessary.

The delegates meet at least once per month and support the COP councillors with information and sharing the developments of COP discussions with the communities. The COP meets once per week and is in charge of developing the investment plan and later on to monitor its implementation. The investment plan is defined following a established criteria to ponder the differences among regions. The criteria basically are lack of services or infrastructure, the region's total population, population in poorest areas and the priorities chosen by the region. This criterion has evolved from discussions between the MG and the citizens, there were at least two modifications before the actual criteria were defined in 1993. In the current internal regulations, a Tripartite Commission is formed to discuss the municipal social policies. For this commission three councillors from the COP and three alternates are elected.

The investment plan is the result of regional and sector demands, and more general proposals related to the strategic planning of the city. It is also the result of an intense dialogue between communities, their partners, civil and cultural organisations and the municipal government. Once the investment plan and its budget are ready, it becomes a decree proposal, the LDO that is submitted to the Municipal City Council for approval. For a clearer illustration of the process, check Graph 8.



Graph 8. Participatory budgeting process. Source: Fedozzi

5.9.3 Resources

5.9.3.1 Financial resources

The Brazilian tributary structure is based on indirect taxes on goods and services and it is not well distributed among the administration. In general terms, the Union receives 55%, the States 28% and the municipalities 17%. This causes high dependency of the majority of municipalities on the transfers from the Union and the States as the main source of financial resources. It is important to note that the transfer of resources to the municipalities determined by the 1988 Constitution was phased in over time and was only completed in 1993.

The tributary reform carried out in Porto Alegre allowed a significant growth of the revenues from taxes⁹⁹ and today it represents more than 50% of the total budget. This was achieved because of the debate with the communities and the knowledge of where and how public resources are applied supported by a strong political will from the municipal Executive. A tight financial control was applied, looking for debtors and devising mechanisms to avoid tax evasion. Through various legal measures, the property tax- main source of revenue- was modified and transformed into a progressing scale. The indexation of other taxes such as waste disposal and collection, water distribution and other, also took place.

This created the conditions so the resources for the OP have steadily grown since 1992, achieving its peak in 1994 (US\$ 82 million) (Navarro, 1996). Santos argues that this growth might have reached its maximum limit considering the national policy of tight fiscal control and the attempts to reduce the transfer of state resources to the municipalities. In this respect considering the greater role that local governments have to play in the education sector may not make it longer possible for the MG to use alternative funding for this area and thus use it to increase the level of available investments budget for other areas, the OP included. See Table 10.

The Mayor, Tarso Genro, explains " where the arguments begin are over the money set aside for investment: about 15 to 20% of our budget, depending on the year to be used for new works and certain special services linked to them. Competition for this money is fierce within the community because we receive about 1,300 demands each year and can only satisfy between 300 and 350 of them."

TABLE 10. Investment budget available for the OP

Year	Proportion of investments (%)
1989	3.20
1990	10.00
1991	16.30
1992	17.00
1993	14.00
1994	17.00
1995	13.40

Source: Atlas ambiental de Porto Alegre, 1998

⁹⁹ The Municipality regulates and collects taxes over urban property, services, transfer of real state, prices and public services. From the transfers received from the government the most important is the merchandise circulation tax.

An analysis of the priority areas funded by the OP between 1994 and 1996 shows that sanitation stays in the first place, followed by land regularisation, road pavement and urban planning. Areas such as health, education and social assistance together do not reach those levels of investment. See Table 11.

TABLE 11. Areas of major investment 1994-1996

Area	1994 (%)	1995 (%)	1996 (%)
Sanitation	46.53	41.43	37.16
Land regularisation	18.41	10.68	12.13
Road pavement	18.08	21.06	24.41
Urban planning	6.83	14.42	15.32
Other ¹⁰⁰	10.15	12.41	10.97

Source: Prefeitura Municipal do Porto Alegre in Stumpf.

5.9.3.2 Human resources

From 1991 onwards the OP process became massive, mobilising neighbourhoods from all districts of the city. For instance, in 1994 more than 11,000 people and in 1998 more than 35,000 people participated in the first and second rodadas and intermediate sessions directly coordinated by the Prefecture. Together with the meetings organised by community associations and other civil society bodies, this could reach up to 100,000 people involved in the process. Resulting from their involvement in the process exceptional neighbourhood leaders have sprung up in the most unexpected places as the case presented in Box 18.

Box 18. The rubbish recycling centre

Maria Maria is a poor mother of five, the leader of the "Rubbish recycling centre" in Vila Pinto. The neighbourhood is one of the poorest in the city, and recently one of the most violent. In 1994 its economy was based on drug dealing. However, the situation has improved dramatically due to a project which offers a genuine economic alternative to the residents of Vila Pinto. At the beginning when she asked help from the Mayor for the project, he doubted whether the project could get people to change from drug dealing to recycling. Nevertheless, she challenged Maria to prove him wrong. She admits that the income from drug dealing is immediate. But rubbish is a reliable commodity. Rubbish also brings in a totally guaranteed return. Today it's the only material with the surest economic return of all. There's an endless supply of it, it's a serious environmental problem, which can always be converted into income by this kind of community. And you don't need any complex technology to separate and recycle it.

Source: "Doing the right thing," City life, 2001.

Most of the literature revised for this study provides general overviews considering the participation of the community as a whole. However from some examples and considering the increasing number of women participating in the process, that is later presented, it is possible that the OP process has triggered women's initiatives for setting microenterprises that help them improve their family's living conditions but also give them financial security and a better position regarding control of resources and decision-making.

¹⁰⁰ This includes investments in education and health mainly.

As an outgrowth of the participatory budget some residents formed an NGO called "Eyes on the budget" with the purpose of monitoring the use of public funds and providing critiques of the budget process. The group establishes its findings in a monthly journal.

5.9.4 Actors

5.9.4.1 Grassroots participants

There have been studies on the socio-economic profile of the participants in the OP carried out in various occasions. The work of Setzler (2000) and Abers (1998) is mentioned often. For the purpose of this study, I use the results of the research carried out in 1999 by the Centre of Advice and Urban Studies (CIDADE-Centro de Assesoria e Estudos Urbanos) and the municipal CRC to establish the socio-economic profile, the level of involvement, the motivations to participate in the process and the political perceptions of the participants of the OP.¹⁰¹

According to this research, in 1999 in the OP meetings participated more women (51.4%) than men (48.4%). In comparison with the results of 1995, there is a growing trend for women's participation in the process (from 46.8% to 52.3%), especially during the first stages of the process. Their presence is bigger both in regional and thematic meetings, 56.25% and 50.51% respectively and increasing in terms of oral interventions (14.15% are women and 17.23% men).

Most participants are older than 34 years of age (47.91%)¹⁰², married (51.1%)¹⁰³, earn up to two minimum salaries income (30.22%)¹⁰⁴ and have attended school up to first level (58.13%)¹⁰⁵. By far the most represented occupational sector is the non skilled manual workers (21.85%) followed by housewives (8.47%), teachers (7.12%), non manual non skilled workers (6.93%) and maids (6.35%)¹⁰⁶.

The reasons that motivate their participation indicate that 53.9% do it in order to fulfil their demands and 16.27% in order to serve the community. Only 2.51% do it for reasons of citizenship and democracy. The OP process is claimed to be known by 61.88% of the participants but interestingly 67.95% do not know the differences between the regional and thematic objectives set up by the process. This is significant because it shows certain insecurity in relation to their own knowledge of the functioning of the OP process.

Since the information of the study is not completely disaggregated, an attempt to understand the increasing participation of women in the process can be done on the basis of other studies on

Box 19. Women's experience with leadership
Jussara Beatriz (57-41) was one of the first councillors in Vila Planetano. She got involved in politics through the church and women's groups. As a city councillor visited the neighborhoods on residents' needs, she took the opportunity to represent the neighbourhood. "I was not political before but my family needed a proper place to live so I had to start fighting for it". At first I did not have faith that was going to get an upgrade in this area. I was under a lot of pressure from my neighbours and from the council. But as our demands turned into budget lines we began to see the results of our work. Direct participation gave the community a stake in local politics, teaching them about city administration and democratic forms of governance. Jussara learned how to write formal letters and make speeches. "I always suffered discrimination because I was poor. But taking part in the process made me feel like a human being. I discovered that we have the same rights as each person".
Source: Governing our cities, 2001

¹⁰¹ For the implementation of the research 9% of the participants in the OP of 1998 were interviewed (CIDADE)

¹⁰² Women have 50 or more years age (25.2%) and between 34 and 41 years (22.71%) (CIDADE).

¹⁰³ 21.75% women and 29.36% men. A significant number of single people also participate 33.40%, 18.58% women and 14.82% men.

¹⁰⁴ Two minimum salaries amount approximately to 228US\$. 17.13% women and 13.09% men and 25.51% receive between two to four minimum salaries (CIDADE)

¹⁰⁵ 2.98% of the participants were illiterate. Most of the participants with education up to third grade prefer to participate in the Education, culture and entertainment thematic group, making 50% of the participants in it and 42.86% in the Health and Social Assistance thematic group.(CIDADE)

¹⁰⁶ The range of occupations covers teachers, domestic workers, informal market sellers, micro-entrepreneurs, students, civil servants, agriculture and nuns. 31.18% are employed by the private sector, 18.77% are self-employed, 10.88% by the public sector, 2.61% are retired and 10.97% are unemployed (CIDADE).

community participation in Brazil. Due to the identification of women with the domestic sphere, with new forms of political participation such as the OP, new relationships between the domestic and private sphere emerge. Poor women suffer the most direct effects of inadequate housing and lack of services and they realised that there is no solution possible but at a collective level. "For housewives, the neighbourhood is often the only space to develop social relations and to improve the household living conditions, and for each this means the improvement of the neighbourhood. It is not even about building a public sphere of action, but that the construction of private life depends on social action" (Lobo, 1987). Under these conditions, the identification of women with the domestic sphere and her family roles are the base of their movement towards public spaces.

This transformation of women in political subjects based on their common deprivations, does not take place only because of the existence of these deprivations or their domestic responsibilities. Fundamentally there are also the new experiences of collective discussion of these daily problems, possible by their participation in church groups, mothers clubs, etc within the communities (Cardoso, 1987). In these levels public space is conquered but there is also a transformation of the understanding of traditional roles. In this sense the OP seems to provide a higher level for the discussion and consideration of these deprivations, a bigger audience – meaning women not only talking to women- and sufficient mechanisms to be able of being elected councillor or delegate, than the traditional organisations where women participate. Women seem to be taking the opportunity for a political space provided by the process.

In general people feel their neighbourhood has benefitted from services or public works (58.5%) and 60.3% acknowledges that participation almost always effectively defines works and services. There is also a high credibility put on the councillors and delegates (69.5%) and 59.6% considers that the information and clarifications provided by the administration is satisfactory. 66.89% participate in some type of civil society organisation, mainly the Tenants' Associations followed by religious and cultural organisations¹⁰⁷.

Although the number of participants members of the Popular Councils and neighbourhood unions has decreased from 8.68% in 1995 to 3.9%¹⁰⁸ in 1998, the number of total participants in the OP process has increased in the same period. Of them 60.54% participated in the process in the previous years which could indicate a more or less stable public around the process. This could indicate the development of new leadership, away from clientelist practices of the past, among the grassroots level.

From the results of the study is also clear that the ones who do not participate in the process are the very poor. Perhaps it is worth remembering a survey carried out by Desposato in 1991 in 150 municipalities all over Brazil, the results showed that for the poorest and less-educated economic survival concerns (cost of living, low salaries and job opportunities) are a top priority and not really infrastructure that seems to be the main focus of OP investment. As income raises over the minimum wage¹⁰⁹, people's concerns shift to the provision of public goods and services.

In 1995 another survey (Fedozzi) identified participants along ethnic lines as white (71.54%), black (10.76%) and brown (14.46%). This information is not provided in the research of CIDADE.

¹⁰⁷ According to Setzler (2000) in his study of Porto Alegre, 38.4% of the population belong to a civic association.

¹⁰⁸ This reduction could be caused by the reduced opportunities that the process offers to use leadership for personal interests. It is not explicitly mentioned in the study but it can be interesting to check from which areas these leaders come and whether this areas have strong organisational history.

¹⁰⁹ Around \$US76/ month.

5.9.4.2 Delegates and councillors

Among the OP participants 16.4% were already elected as delegates or councillors, from these 65.4% were older than 42 years, and the proportion between men and women is 54.1% to 45.9% respectively. However there is bigger women's representation in the thematic groups. The delegates and councillors are mainly non-skilled non-manual workers (20.6%), manual non-skilled workers (11.2%) and teachers (11.2%). Self-employed and retired workers make 49.4% and unemployed 9.41% of the delegates and councillors.

Delegates and councillors also participate in other organisations –91.2% and 92.3% respectively–principally in their Tenants' Association, popular councils and neighbourhood unions. Fifty percent of the elected councillors and delegates occupied decision-making positions in their own organisations. Before the OP process started 49.4% participated little in civil society organisations and 28.2% just the same.

The delegates and councillors also acknowledge that their communities were benefited by the OP process (81.8%), 70% consider that the information received was adequate, and 69.4% that the process allows them to decide on works, services and policies.

There is the increased perception that good delegates are necessary. The notion of representativeness is affirmed in many regions as a social value. There seem to exist a democratic conscience being formed among low-income groups who are becoming used to intense negotiations, face complex issues and deal personally with high level officials in relation to the budget and its mechanisms. Learning how to participate and negotiate with other groups is an inevitable necessity.

According to the rules of procedure, the delegates transfer information to the community on the issues treated by the COP, they oversee the investment plan from its elaboration to the conclusion of the works, make up the commissions that are formed for the investment plan, bidding, social policies, etc, deliberate over difficulties found in the elaboration of the investment plan, discuss and propose over the multiannual plan and on the annual budget, and deliberate with the COP about modifications needed in the process of OP.

Obviously there are problems related with the selection of the delegates and the relationship they have with those they represent. Autonomy, accountability and transparency are often mentioned. However, according to Santos the popular sectors in Porto Alegre are actively engaged in preventing the process to fall into the old clientelist and authoritarian system.

5.9.4.3 Community organisations

They are autonomous towards the Prefecture and formed principally by regional grassroots organisations that articulate the participation of the citizens and the choice of priorities of the regions. Since they are autonomous, the degree of organisation of neighbours varies in each region, in other words it does not exist in the same manner in all the regions of the OP. They have different frameworks, organisational levels, functioning and participation mechanisms, according to the tradition of the region. They can be called Popular Councils, neighbourhood unions or regional articulations. It is estimated that there are more than 300 grassroots movements in the process.

5.9.4.4 Participatory Budgeting Council (COP)

The COP is the most important administrative sphere to establish the new budget, for it has a final say on any issue related to the budget, counting only on technical assistance provided by the municipality. The COP members elect four representatives and alternates to make up the Co-

ordination Committee of the COP. Other three councillors and alternates are selected to be part of the Tripartite Commission to discuss social assistance policies.

The COP is in charge of proposing, fiscalising and debating over the revenues and expenses of the municipal power. It is elected for one year with the possibility of re-election. Its main competences are: to give opinions over the government proposal on the Law of Budgetary Guidelines, on the budget proposal to be sent to the Municipal Council, on municipal tributary policy and tax collection, on the government planning projects and activities and the annual budget presented by the municipal executive, to oversee the budget implementation, fiscalisation of the government plan giving opinion on the changes on the investment plan and on the application of extra-budget resources. It should also decide with the municipal executive on the methodologies and participatory tools used to define the budget and the government plan. Give its opinion on the investments prioritised by the municipal executive and to request technical documents to the secretaries and government agencies. The votation procedure is by simple majority and its decisions are sent to the municipal executive. In case of rejection, they come back to the COP for further analysis.

They meet at least once per week and with the delegates once per month to inform about the process of discussion and to collect suggestions and/ or decisions in written (Norms of procedures of the COP, 1995)

Other levels of community participation are the regional assemblies, regional forum of the budget, thematic meetings and technical forum of the budget.

5.9.4.5 Municipal government

Over the years, the experience has defined a structure (see Graph 9) that plays a co-ordination role between the Municipal Executive and the citizens. According to Felozzi, at this level the actors could be defined as:

Administrative and internal bodies of the Municipal Executive in charge of the management and technical-political aspects of the budget discussions with the citizens. They are i) **GAPLAN** (Planning Unit) created in 1990 to centralise operations in the hands of the mayor's office and to technically organise all approved demands within the government structure;

ii) the **CRC** (Co-ordination Unit of the Relationships with the Communities) is a mediating agency linking the municipal authorities with community leaders and maintaining a close relationship with their associations;

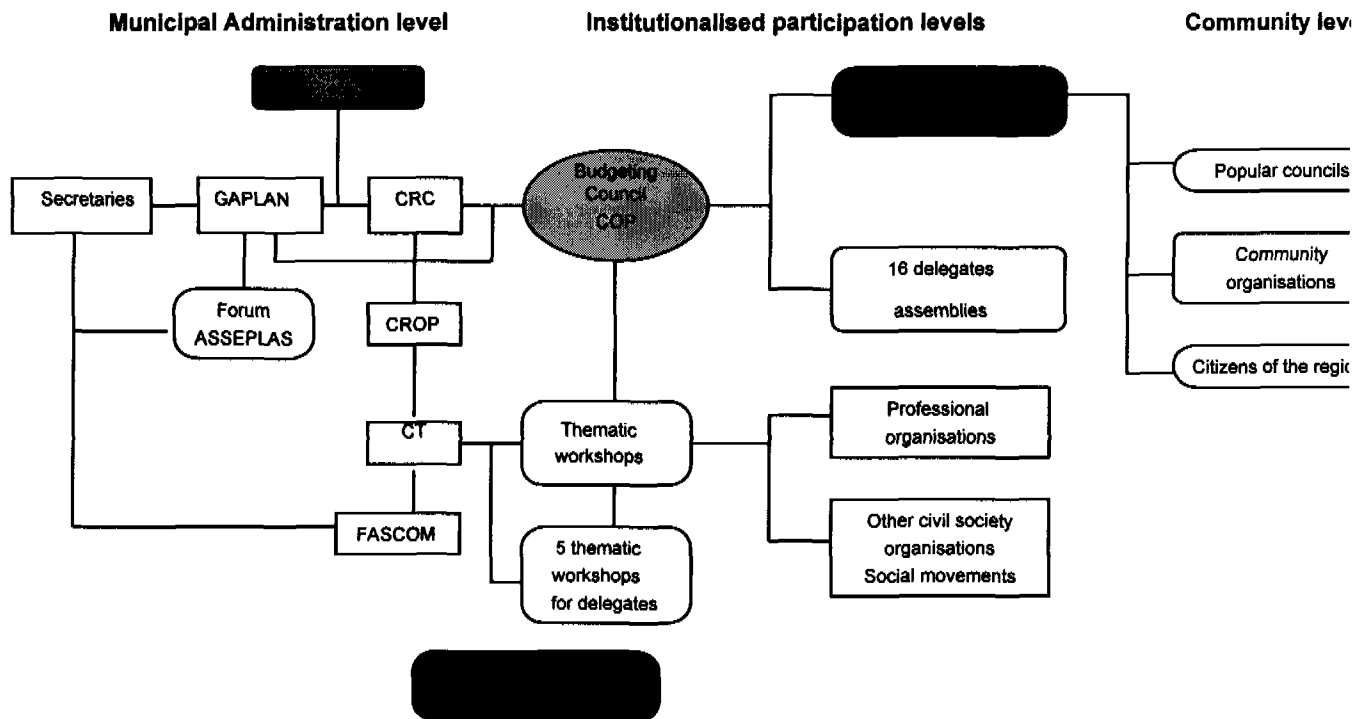
iii) the **ASSEPLAS** (Forum of Planning Advisors) who are government experts in charge of integrating the preliminary decisions by the COP and GAPLAN to other secretaries and municipal agencies, collect information, request technical studies and so on.;

iv) the **CROP** (Regional Co-ordinators of the OP) in charge of the relations with the community associations and leaders, collecting demands and local initiatives, helping organise meetings sponsored by local association and supporting their leaders to prepare the rodadas;

v) the **FASCOM** (Forum of Community Advisers) brings together the whole group of municipal staff in charge of any kind of relations with the community. It tries to harmonise actions and implement a global policy supported by the municipality and the thematic co-ordinators (CT).

Administratively, the new practices improved the whole functioning of the Prefecture. The staff feels their services are better valued by citizens as a result of a closer interaction between social groups and municipal civil servants. With all the existing councils, there is a greater number of external eyes inspecting the government's performance and because of the Works Commissions (comissoes de obras) there is a reduction in the costs of public works.

Graph 9. Organigram of the Participatory Budgeting process



GAPLAN =Planning unit; ASSEPLAN=Forum of planning advisors; CRC=Co-ordination Unit of the Public Relations with the communities; CROP=Regional Co-ordinators of the OP, CT=Thematic co-ordinators; FASCOM=Forum of community advisors

Source: Fedozzi, 1997

5.9.5 Power

The sharing of power with the communities started in the early steps of the process. For instance, before the OP the city was subdivided in four regions (1979), each electing one councillor who together constituted the "Community Council". This Council was ridden with political malpractices, never worked properly and proved inefficient to face a complex urban scenario. The reorganisation was necessary and it was done allowing the community associations themselves to decide how the city should be subdivided. The UAMPA called its members to a meeting where after deliberating divided the city in 16 regions. They, the UAMPA members, reflected more on community identity than on cartographic elements.

Further in the process the main themes discussed in the rodadas are set up by government officials in charge of a region and the community leadership and are not only restricted to public works. It seems that the entire process of the OP assigns different degrees of decision-making power to the communities regarding their priorities, demands and its institutions reflected in the final budget and investment plan presented to the Municipal Council.

In the OP case, the Municipal Council is forced to share its powers with the Executive and citizens' organised movements. Despite the fact that the Municipal Council has the right to change the entire budget, the changes have been very few perhaps due to the pressure that is applied by civil society in support of the budget proposal. What is remarkable is that the local

councillors for long representatives of the political —lite have lost the monopoly in the representation of local interests and their role as one of the main actors in decisions regarding the allocation of public resources (Souza, 2001).

The Prefecture has also used its powers to come with a new approach for security of tenure adopting a legal instrument known as the “concession of the real right to use”. This does not give the informal squatters full ownership of the land-which remains public property- it gives them security of tenure through a 50-year leasehold contracts which prevent evictions and can be passed on to relatives.

Despite the increasing participation of women in the OP process, it is interesting to note that this reduces gradually as the level of decision-making increases. The inequity in decision-making power is not only restricted to domestic level, it is also transferred to the bigger scale of the community. In some other experiences of the country, it was commented that “men only participate actively in the important meetings where the technicians assist”, the continuous work of sensibilisation and mobilisation is left for the women to do and on a voluntary basis. “When men mobilise is not thinking on the improvement of the houses, streets, children’s conditions. It is because they have other type of interest, they want to be President of the council, Councillor, politician. They want something for their own benefit”. Although we cannot state that this is the situation of Porto Alegre, despite of the process and the achievements made, Brazilian culture is still restrictive to women’s empowerment and it is possible that Porto Alegre through its participatory features is struggling against that trend. See Table 12.

TABLE 12. Degrees of female participation in different levels related to the OP

Sex/instance	OP (%)	Tenants Association (%)	Dir. Tenants Association (%)	Delegates OP (%)	Councillor OP (%)
Feminine	46.78	44.90	39.53	41.28	40.00
Masculine	52.25	54.46	59.69	58.14	60.00

Source:Fedozzi Luciano, 1997.

Chapter 6

Main findings and conclusions

Analysing participatory experiences is always challenging because of the risks involved in understanding the historical, political and cultural contexts in which the experiences take place. The challenge increases when gender matters are incorporated. This chapter presents some of the findings resulting from the analysis of the experiences and proposes some areas that may require further consideration while trying to answer the initial questions that guided this study.

Despite the big differences in cultures, scales and economic and human development, Bolivia and Brazil share some trends regarding the consideration of gender issues and the status of women. Albeit the advances made at conceptual and implementation levels, in both countries the condition of women in comparison to men remains disadvantaged almost at all levels. The patriarchal hierarchies prevalent in key institutional sites in both countries appears reflected in many areas of social interaction and influences the manner and degree in which certain sectors of women can participate in public life.

At macro policy level, Bolivia seems to have incorporated gender conceptualisations further than Brazil. Starting from the National Constitution, the law against domestic violence and certainly the analysed Popular Participation Law, they all incorporate at least rhetorically the intentions for greater gender equity and the State makes explicit the adoption of the GAD approach for its interventions. Structurally the creation of the actual Vice-ministry of Gender Generation and Family Affairs¹¹⁰ has supported the incorporation of a gender perspective in public policy and has taken the lead in capacity building activities at various levels.

The macroeconomic level remains gender neutral in both countries and efforts to incorporate this approach in the GNP, or the analysis of the gender consequences of structural adjustment policies has been if at all an initiative from the NGOs. Because of its importance perhaps in the future both countries might see the need to have data available reflecting the costs of political decisions on women and men in both countries.

6.1 Regarding gender inequalities

Bolivia and Brazil have adopted the main guidelines of sustainable development as policies of state that are reflected in various policy documents and strategies.¹¹¹ In both countries there is a growing concern with social inequalities and the specific situation of women and minorities.

In Bolivia there is an explicit recognition of the importance of gender equity for the achievement of sustainable development. Methodological and instrumental tools were developed at central level to facilitate the incorporation of this approach in public interventions, the openings created were taken up by NGOs and projects in light of their specific agendas and even to support MGs technically. However, despite of the number of regulations, methodologies and structures created Bolivian women's participation still faces constraints in the public space related to the complex cultural context and the existing gender ideology.

¹¹⁰ During the past administration this was denominated Vice-ministry of Gender, Generation and Ethnic Affairs. There are some relevant conceptual losses regarding ethnic matters not only reflected by the change of name.

¹¹¹ The latest Bolivian Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty, 2001 and the Brazilian Reduction of Social Inequalities, Subsidies for the elaboration of the Agenda 21 in Brazil, 2000 reflect this.

Brazil has made efforts to fulfil women's needs following traditional approaches and creating specific women's structures. These structures have limited action and suffer a series of obstacles within the public administration itself. It seems that often the efforts for gender incorporation end up on "only for women" or "add women on" initiatives. The municipal experiences with gender incorporation show the treatment of various strategic gender demands but yet again only targeted to women.

In both countries a bigger conceptual clarity seems necessary within the public sector to support better existing processes and achieve greater integration of efforts. As the Bolivian experience shows, the adoption of a certain approach is just a first step in the achievement of greater gender equity, the biggest challenge remains in its adequate adaptation to the local context and being able of articulating the generated differentiated demands to build common development strategies and hence achieve a real institutionalisation of gender responsiveness.

Perhaps due to the approach adopted in Bolivia it is easier to find disaggregated information at central level. There are also many efforts to initiate and systematise processes especially by NGOs in this new context. Bolivian women seem to participate more when there is less social control over them. This sense of autonomy is principally found in urban areas where there are more external factors influencing the community sense prevalent in rural areas. In this respect various NGOs considering that women could make a meaningful impact on governance if sufficiently empowered, informed and confident have developed specific approaches to improve the quality of women's participation in the PP process, working on specific strategic gender needs such as leadership, self-esteem and knowledge of the mainly masculine decision-making field. In general it seems that men because of their permanent or temporal insertion in the formal labour market and their capacity to relate with the dominant culture and its codes better, have more spaces and better chances for political participation than women. Women's participation can be restricted by their limited time available for neighbourhood activities, the patriarchal tradition prevalent in both countries and the management of participation and deliberation codes, for which illiteracy in both cases and the lack of proficiency in Spanish of many poor women in Bolivia, represent big obstacles for their participation.

If NGOs and projects are not gender sensitised, the intermediate role they play interpreting community's demands could also lead to a distortion or oversimplification of the initial demands into practical and executable demands that could cover practical gender needs but that may oversee the strategic needs within. This reinterpretation also affects the political sense of participation simplifying it into a purely demand gathering exercise.

On the other hand it is important to consider that the needs emerging from poverty coincide with women's own needs, in other words the needs of daily living become strategic needs. In this sense it would appear that grassroots women do not seem to consider their own empowerment, and instead they pose neutral demands in gender terms reflecting the family and community demands as priorities even when special tools as the Complementary Gender Diagnosis (CGD) are applied. However, the use of methodological tools such as the CGD can also be seen as a way of exposing men and women to different perspectives of their own reality and through that create the opportunity to analyse and transform this reality in the long term. In this respect the level of internalisation of the concepts by the professionals carrying out this experience or any similar is key since they should be able of "listening" what men and women are really saying, facilitate the emergence of voices of the marginalised and consider the voices of dissent.

From both experiences it is evident that if there is a strong tradition of organisation in the neighbourhoods, then participation and decision-making are also quite structured and organised, and even there are more possibilities and spaces for women to participate. In many cases women organised around demands generated by poverty are often also able of taking the leadership as in the cases of the Luis Espinal neighbourhood in Bolivia and Marli Medeiros with her initiative on the Rubbish Recycling Centre in Porto Alegre.

The CDG experience in Bolivia shows that even if a specific methodology is developed and implemented to improve gender responsiveness, the existing cultural perceptions regarding public participation still influence the participation of women at higher levels of decision-making, the way their specific demands are re-interpreted into more standard formats and even if considered in the planning the chances of failure due to lack of financial and political support for its implementation. The strategy adopted by the NGO Gregoria Apaza to lobby women's demands into the district plans turning them first into accepted community demands could be a way of overcoming difficulties faced by gender specific demands created by the cultural context.

In terms of decision-making the Bolivian experience is highly dependent on the negotiations between the Mayor and the VC representing the interest of the districts. Due to the mainly male composition of the VCs even if a valid and strongly represented gender specific demand reaches this level, there are many chances that it will be overlooked because it is culturally underestimated and principally because it has reduced political impact. The decision-making process followed in Porto Alegre gives more chances for a gender specific demand to appear in the final budget, within the predefined areas of investment.¹¹² What appears to be missing is greater awareness at grassroots level on how gender strategic demands can influence greater social equity. In both situations despite the openings and weaknesses of the decision-making structures, men are still in control.

For Bolivia the strategy developed by the PAP project in Santa Cruz (40-30-30 participation formula) to overcome the unequal levels and conditions of women's participation seems interesting to improve the degree of participation of women and other groups in the process. The participation then is not only limited to the NCs as recognised actors by the PPL but also to key functional organisations that otherwise will not be incorporated. Complementary the awareness raising activities on gender targeted to both women and men support this effort and fulfil a clear strategic need appears to be relevant for both experiences.

In Bolivia the existence of a more favourable working framework promoted the mobilisation of extra resources from other actors, many of which were targeted to fulfil strategic gender needs and improve the participation of women and men in the PPL process. In Porto Alegre the areas of investment are not only restricted to basic services and infrastructure because the structure of the process allows other type of demands to be considered and as such offers an opportunity for gender specific demands to be considered. However, besides the OP process, there are also a wide variety of Municipal councils that may consider these strategic needs. The level of relationship of these councils with the OP process and its influence regarding the promotion of gender needs could not be determined by this study.

The PPL is based on the assumption that customs and traditions must be respected. However many aspects of these cultures present highly embedded gender inequities, interiorised by women themselves, that the law with all its gender intentioned procedures and regulations, still helps to replicate. The PPL recognises the OTBs as key actors of the process and leaves outside key functional organisations that are more likely to represent women's demands. Considering the still weak participation of women within the OTBs, the PAP experience shows a rather simple way of equilibrating that imbalance in the short term. In that sense the reproduction of gender inequalities as described by Kabeer seems to hold true.

Likewise the successful approach to participation in Porto Alegre does not necessarily imply that gender inequalities cease to exist. They are only more difficult to perceive because they are hidden behind the use of neutral concepts such as citizens and community that cover the particularities of the involvement of women and men. In different degrees both initiatives open the possibilities to create equity in the long term.

¹¹² Despite the fact that the areas of investment are defined in 15 areas, there is the possibility for the councillors to suggest other areas of interest of the community. (PPA)

6.2 On the potential incorporation of gender responsiveness in participatory environmental planning

In both cases there is an increasing potential leadership due to the involvement of common citizens either as OTB leaders in Bolivia or as councillors and delegates in Porto Alegre. These human resources are trained in and exposed to a variety of issues during the process and can later become elements of transformation. Just as with the GAIA project of information and environmental education in Porto Alegre and the TRUMAS in Bolivia, there is ample potential to raise awareness and bring a gender perspective into the brown and grey agendas through this social capital.

In Bolivia the new framework challenged the role of most of the NGOs that either changed, or took the opportunity to develop their agendas further. It is not clear whether the experience of the OP in Porto Alegre had any impact on the work of NGOs besides the experiences of CIDADE and the Eyes on the Budget cited in this work. Considering the development of a local Agenda 21 and the existence of the Municipal Environmental Council, it can be expected that certain transformation has taken place in the way NGOs operate there as well. On the contrary, the treatment of urban environmental issues by the MGs is evolving very slowly in Bolivia. The efforts to develop this agenda further remain in the hands of the Ministry of Sustainable Development and Environment and the Ministry of Housing and Basic Services. Besides, the problems of articulation and lack of clarity regarding responsibilities between levels for the environment constrain the developments even more. It is not yet clear how the experience gained by the national Agenda 21 programme will be used in relation with the PPL process.

It will be desirable that environmental NGOs and movements get more often involved in partnerships with the MGs to advance brown and grey agenda issues and enhance environmental education as well with other NGOs dealing with gender related issues to develop common lobbying strategies and more integrated efforts.

The participation that the PPL proposes is based on social organisations and only through the OTBs, there are no other channels through which citizens can demand or relate to the local powers. To succeed it requires successful social organisation. In Porto Alegre participation is practically unrestricted and direct, it relates more to citizen participation. In both cases the poorest and the well off do not participate as actively as the poor sectors do.

In this respect when considering the existing consumption patterns of the better off sectors of society and the cultural values that determine such patterns, then it is crucial to develop mechanisms for their incorporation in the processes analysed. Because of the levels of waste they generate, the level of resources they use and the better levels of education they have, the incorporation of these groups is fundamental for environmental management practices such as sorting, recycling and reuse. The issues of consumption and environmental impact highlight the relevance of gender analysis across social economical class and not only limited to one particular sector such as the poor.

When reflecting on the structures that both experiences have developed for its implementation and social control, it is not hard to imagine that these spaces of consultation and discussion can be also used for the formulation of urban environmental strategies and their respective action plans. The mobilisation of the grassroots to access basic services and security of tenure has relevant environmental connotations that have not been neither adequately articulated nor used in the existing participatory processes in Bolivia. Besides in the majority of big municipalities the provision of services, -water and sanitation, energy, solid waste collection and transport- is not directly carried out by the MG. This is mainly done by private enterprises often stronger than the MGs who are suppose to supervise them. On the contrary, in Porto Alegre the existence of the

Municipal Secretary of Environment (SMUMA)¹¹³, the Municipal Environmental Council and a local Agenda 21 process since 1996 have generated initiatives towards environmental protection, environmental education, database on the physical environment and integration with other municipal policies. To achieve an effective environmental management, Porto Alegre enhances the integration of sector policies (transport, housing, sanitation, environment, etc) under the leadership of the Forum of Sanitation and Environment formed by the municipal departments of water and sanitation, urban cleaning, environment and health, the municipal planning office (SPM), the secretary of the MG (SGM), the co-ordination of public relations with the community (CRC) and the municipal department of housing (DEM HAB). Resulting from this integrated approach and community participation the service levels have increased substantially. The environment, sanitation and health services are responsibility of the municipality.

Despite the advancements made in Porto Alegre and the weaknesses faced by the Bolivian MGs in this sector, it is fundamental to facilitate the access of relevant information to the citizens as to achieve informed consultations and decision-making. It is precisely with information management that important advances can be made in the incorporation of gender responsiveness in these processes. The generation of information, will then require serious financial and institutional commitments from the part of the MGs

Equally important seem the various levels of articulation established in both processes that intend to channel information and enhance decision-making. The Bolivian VCs still face many difficulties to fulfil their roles and responsibilities, they have not been able of keeping regular contact with the grassroots and can be subject of political influence and manipulation. On the contrary in Porto Alegre there is a more elaborated structure of articulation between the levels and constant feedback between the COP, delegates and grassroots, and because of that there are less opportunities for clientelist practices to continue. In that sense there are more chances to internalise the experience and exert social control of the process.

Both experiences are centred on the distribution of a specific percentage of municipal resources using participatory approaches. Since the budget is considered a very important tool to identify gender inequalities in the investments, to complement its experience with the OP, Porto Alegre intends to pursue the gender budgeting approach to assist in the determination of whether adequate finances are allocated to, for instance, basic services, transportation, the informal sector and micro-enterprises.

In the cases of Tarija and Porto Alegre the fact that the methodology used was guiding but flexible, and that it evolved and became more concrete in the process seems an important factor to recover trust from civil society and achieve the appropriation of the process. More concretely in the case of Porto Alegre the development of the methodology and the procedures over more than ten years with the active participation of the population involved has been a key element for the success of the experience.

This implies that participatory and gender responsive processes require long periods of time and continuity in the approach for its success. Changing the attitude of people is slow and requires efforts at various levels. In Porto Alegre the continuity provided by the PT during four continuous terms has provided the adequate framework and support for the internalisation of the process by the population. In that sense, despite the experience not being institutionalised by law as the PPL, it has been institutionalised de facto by the population and it will require a truly better option to replace it or curtail it.

¹¹³ The SMUMA was created in 1976 being the oldest in the municipalities of the country. (PPA, 1996).

6.3 Regarding cultures and gender responsiveness

The consideration of the ethnic factor is important because of the particular views and ways of appropriating space and nature that different ethnic groups have. Culture could provide the tools to identify certain characteristics of social actors, such as the way they represent and symbolise nature and its resources as a group or as individuals, the use they make of it, the techniques they use to extract these resources, their patterns of territorial occupation and settlement and the rationale behind the distribution of tasks associated with sex, age and labour specialisation. These practices should be seen under the light of their traditional character as well as of the changes that take place with the urbanisation of these populations, the urbanisation of indigenous cultures.

In Bolivia the state has assumed that the original cultures must have functionality within the political system through the articulation of their decision-making processes and activities under citizen procedures. The PPL foresees conciliation between historical practices, mainly rural, and western practices of citizen representation which can only be viable if the people involved accept to function under both logic and then are able to produce their own processes of transformation.

In Brazil this consideration goes mainly along race lines. However, due to a certain cultural homogeneity and cohesiveness given by the use of a common language, in a certain way facilitates interventions.

Whether race or ethnic group is concerned, it seems important to learn to adjust the methodologies used in order to reinforce positively certain environmental and social practices that people feel more identified with and also to work on the analysis of practices that have negative impacts on people and on the environment. Professionals working in this area, should be open minded to different cultural perceptions of nature, resources and people and try to determine the strengths and opportunities of each situation rather than only look at their weaknesses and threats.

6.4 Regarding approaches towards gender, environment and sustainability

In Bolivia the existence of an environmental legal framework (1992) has not supported the development of the urban environmental agenda as it could have been expected. There is still need for bigger co-ordination between various levels of government, more clarity in the definition of roles and responsibilities between the MG and the Prefectures, and between the PPL and the environmental regulations. The brown and grey agendas are still not dealt adequately by any MG or the ministry of the sector. It should not be difficult to create institutional and political mechanisms to articulate environmental and gender matters in the existing participatory framework, considering the agreements made previously between the VGGAF and the VPPFM for the consideration of gender and participation.

Since urban environmental problems are not limited by the boundaries of the city, the definition of municipality provided by the PPL including urban and rural areas could allow, in theory, the application of a more interconnected and balanced approach to environmental matters. Since environmental problems exist and are acknowledged when placed within a particular historical and territorial context, this consideration of the rural and urban components of the municipality could help develop local, regional and national strategies to find solutions to environmental problems. The main difficulty is that most of the municipalities do not have the suitable units to deal with these issues and that the Prefectures are not, at present, able of providing the support necessary for it either.

In Brazil, the existing legal framework is supported by a bigger decentralisation of responsibilities at local level. The existence of Environmental Councils and local Agendas 21s have allowed the intervention and capacity-building of civil society in environmental matters. However despite the comparative bigger advances made there is still not sufficient recognition of the importance of environmental management and lack of capacities and integration with other development areas. The experience of Porto Alegre in this sense is, as explained before, more advanced than from the majority of Brazilian municipalities.

The conception of urban environmental management as the simple provision of environmental infrastructure is not sufficient. The incorporation of a gender perspective in environmental management will require an integrated view of the city problems in view of the multiple sectors (manufacturing, industries, services, household), multiple systems (water supply, sanitation, transport), multiple levels (central, regional, local and community) and multiple actors (government, municipalities, NGO, CBO, women, men) involved.

In both cases the emergence of common citizens as leaders of their community is an opportunity to promote increased environmental awareness and action, especially if we consider the weak connections made between their actions and the impacts on the physical environment and their health. NGOs play a key role in this regard, as proved by experiences such as the urban reality and environment workshops (Talleres de Realidad Urbana y Medio Ambiente –TRUMA) carried out by PROA with 5,000 neighbourhood leaders in La Paz, Bolivia.

In both countries before these participatory initiatives took place, there was already an active contribution made by men and women through unpaid, shared and co-operative work in local initiatives designed to mitigate existing deficiencies or particular environmental problems and as a whole to improve the quality of life for their families. The understanding of the differentiated roles of women and men regarding the use and management of resources could facilitate the identification, and development of more realistic and suitable strategies geared towards the achievement of sustainable development that both countries are committed to.

Another issue to consider is which and under which modality urban services are provided and how this affects their access by the poor. A clear indicator on the dramatic consequences of the lack of civil society participation regarding the provision of basic services was the Water War in April 2000 in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The Bolivian government through the Capitalisation Law, semi-privatised a big range of state companies, among which were the water companies of La Paz and Cochabamba. In 1999 the government granted Cochabamba's water company in a 40 year concession contract to a consortium led by International Water Limited, Bechtel Enterprise Holdings and a minority investor from Bolivia. The new company raised prices immediately and social havoc erupted. With a minimum wage of US\$65 per month, many poor families had water bills of approximately US\$20. Water collection thorough wells required the purchase of permits, which threatened the access of water for the poorest citizens. The traditional uses of water by communities were not longer valid. Citizens organised and protested under the leadership of the Coalition in Defence of Water and Life to leave the water system under local public control. The protests in April 2000 ended up with the concession contract and resulted in the killing of one protestor by the army, hundreds of wounded and arrested citizens.

6.5 Regarding social equity and building of local power

Participation should not necessarily lead to consensus, since there is an inevitable confrontation of interests that can provoke changes in the correlation of social and political forces. Both experiences although in different degrees can be considered as efforts to create favourable institutional conditions for the emergence of citizenship. However, while their mechanisms for sharing power, based on rules and objective criteria to access municipal public resources, contribute to the devolution of political power, they still hide the difficulties that minorities face to participate. Both initiatives try to reach consensus on the interests and demands of the population, but the opinions of disagreement or from minorities who do not participate are

basically discarded¹¹⁴. So, despite reaching consensus, neither of the initiatives has developed functional mechanisms that could allow the interests of the minorities to be considered or at least acknowledged.

Both initiatives present challenges to the traditional political parties that need to democratise internally and create a new form of making politics. Governance of the local government level will only be possible when the traditional ways of relating with civil society through prebendalism and patronage are overcome as it is gradually happening in Porto Alegre. In Bolivia the lack of continuity in the support to the process by the present administration, has provided space for bigger political manipulation of the process with politicians finding ways to sustain their old clientelist practices within the new framework. The existing situation is quite complex, no generalisations can be made since it varies from municipality to municipality but in many cases "it is easy to buy loyalties of neighbourhood leaders when there is a lot of power on one side and great economic need on the other".

From both experiences it is clear that participation requires a civil society relatively organised, sufficiently motivated and prepared to share responsibilities to ease the agency of power transferred to society and avoid manipulation and clientelism.

The post PPL climate has encouraged the emergence of new social actors, whose real role will depend on the vigour and strength they can acquire. The formation of the Coalition in Defence of Water and Life in Cochabamba, popularly known as la Coordinadora, can be seen as an attempt by citizens to organise around an urgent social demand, water, through a new organisational structure.

Although decentralisation towards local governments has supported the emergence of both processes, this municipal development also implies a political development at this local level. It is important then to question whether these processes promote the transformation of the political culture of citizens or if they are just mechanisms established to control social conflict while switching the political character of participation into a more practical demand delivery system.

Likewise it is important to develop approaches and methodologies that explore, analyse and work with the differences existing between women and between men and women of different social classes.

Finally the consideration of gender and participation in planning must address issues of power, political interference and gender and social inequalities and not be confined as merely technical tools. Both gender and participation are highly political and as such necessary for social transformation.

¹¹⁴ Among them are the poorest, homeless, street children, illegal settlers, illiterate, ethnically or racially discriminated groups.

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