

CITIZEN VOICE IN BOLIVIA

Evaluation of women's citizenship for change through intercultural forums in urban areas

Effectiveness Review Series

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Photo: IFFI

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This report has been prepared by an independent consultant commissioned by Oxfam GB. The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed herein represent the points of view of its author, and may not necessarily be shared by the IFFI, Oxfam GB or other actors who have been involved in the project.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALD	Asamblea Legislativa Departamental (Departmental Legislative Assembly)
AMDECO	Asociación de Municipios de Cochabamba (Association of Municipalities of Cochabamba)
CAD	Consejo Autónomo Departamental (Autonomous Departmental Council)
CPE	Constitución Política del Estado (Political Constitution of the Bolivian Estate)
CDOM	Comisión Departamental de Organizaciones de Mujeres (Departmental Commission of Women's Organisations)
CIDOB	Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia)
CNMICIO-BS	Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Indígenas Originarias-Bartolina Sisa (Confederation of rural and indigenous women – Bartolina Sisa)
COAMAC	Consejo de Ayllus y Markas de Cochabamba (Ayllus and Markas Council)
COM	Carta Orgánica Municipal (Autonomous Local Statutes)
CONAMAQ	Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (National Council of Ayllus and Markas)
CSCIB	Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales Bolivia (Union Confederation of Intercultural Communities of Bolivia)
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Confederation of Rural Workers)
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DIO	Dirección Departamental de Igualdad de Oportunidades (Equal Opportunities Directorate)
EAD	Estatuto Autónomo Departamental (Autonomous Departmental Statute)
IFFI	Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral (Women's Training Institute)
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
LMAD	Ley Marco de Autonomías y Descentralización (Autonomy and Decentralisation Act)
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Towards Socialism)
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
OEG	Observatorio de Equidad de Género (Gender Equity Observatory)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PACEF	'Pacto para la capacitación y el empleo femenino'
PMCE	Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad (Women's Platform for Citizenship and Equity)
SLIM	Servicio Legal Integrado Municipal (Local Integrated Legal Services)
TPC	Todos por Cochabamba (All for Cochabamba)
ToC	Theory of Change
ToR	Terms of Reference

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of the effectiveness review of the project ‘Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia’ (Promoting Women’s Citizenship for Change in Urban Intercultural Spaces in Bolivia), implemented between 18 August 2008 and 31 March 2013 as part of Oxfam GB’s ‘Raising Her Voice’ (RHV) portfolio to promote the right and capacity of poor women to engage effectively in governance at all levels. The project was implemented by the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral, a women’s organisation based in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Project description

With a total budget of £498,876, the main goal of this project was to promote gender equality in the metropolitan region of Cochabamba. This was done through a number of actions aimed at strengthening the leadership and capacity of the women and institutions organised in the Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad (PMCE, henceforth the Women’s Platform) and coordinating their work with other related networks at regional and national level. Ultimately, it was expected that this would lead to greater participation and influence of women from Cochabamba in several political decision-making processes.

The Women’s Platform is a coalition of over 600 women and some 100 social and regional grassroots organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from the Cochabamba metropolitan region. Created in 2000 with a view to promoting the active citizenship of Cochabamba women, this network operates with the technical support of the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral (IFFI, Women’s training Institute),¹ which acts as its Technical Secretariat, and the financial support of Oxfam GB. This support has made it possible for the Women’s Platform to progressively gain operational independence from the IFFI and to obtain legal status in December 2012.

According to the project’s logframe, the purpose and outputs of this project were as follows:

Purpose: Organise women from the Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and La Paz metropolitan areas (particularly peri-urban zones) to actively exercise their citizenship and participate in public decision-making.

Output 1: Women’s organisations strengthened and coordinated in departmental, national and regional women’s networks, and with other social movements, in order to reinforce the gender perspective and to reposition the women’s movement as a major socio-political actor in proposals for social change.

Output 2: Women participate in public decision-making and influence decision makers.

Output 3: Organised women in Cochabamba and Santa Cruz are trained in socio-political participation, public accountability and advocacy.

Output 4: Up-to-date information and knowledge available to women’s organisations, socio-political actors and public opinion on gender policies, gender violence and discrimination.

Evaluation design

As per Oxfam Great Britain’s (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), samples of mature projects are being randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. This project was selected in this way under the ‘Policy Influence’ thematic area.

This review will focus specifically on investigating two concrete outcomes as identified by key stakeholders during preliminary conversations. The targeted outcomes have been validated in a group discussion during the field mission.

Outcome 1: The Women’s Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with their committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

Outcome 2: Proposals by the Women’s Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.

1.1 FINDINGS

Contribution scores chart

Outcome	Rating	Short Commentary
The Women’s Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with their committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy	5	The organisation’s strategy to mainstream gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy was found to be significantly effective. Evidence shows that the work of the Women’s Platform was key to the achievement of this outcome.
Proposals by the Women’s Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.	4	At local level there is evidence that the organisation has managed to include some of its traditional demands in local public policies. However, the contribution of the Project to achieving some of these political outcomes is not in all cases clear or conclusive.

Scoring key: Specific contribution of intervention

5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part & evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree & evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

Outcome 1: The Women’s Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with their committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

After the approval of a new Constitution in 2009, participation in the Autonomous Departmental Statute legislative process offered an extraordinary opportunity for women’s organisations to ensure that the constitutional guarantees on gender equity were reflected and developed in the autonomous legal framework. This has been the main goal of the Women’s Platform in the past five years.

Based on the information collected during the field visit and a comparative analysis of the different drafts of the Statute texts that have circulated over recent years, and the proposal documents submitted by the Women’s Platform, we can safely conclude that this outcome has been achieved with a high level of success and that the work developed by this Women’s Platform has been indeed a key factor in its achievement. This conclusion is strongly backed by the incorporation of a high number of the proposals made by women’s organisations to the text of the Statute. Analysis by independent experts also confirmed that, compared with other Departmental Statutes, the Cochabamba Departmental Statute of Autonomy is the most reliable in technical terms and the one that mainstreams gender equity in the most satisfactory way.

Additionally, different documents and testimonies gathered show that the continuous presence and lobbying by the Women’s Platform during the whole legislative process have significantly contributed to supporting the parliamentary work of members of the Departmental Assembly and have been key to establishing strong alliances with both women and men policy makers. In this regard the work and presence of the Women’s Platform during this legislative process is highly valued as rigorous and technically sound and a most significant factor in the materialisation of this outcome. Finally, the analysis of other alternative causal explanations shows that even if other actors, such as the Bartolina Sisa organisation, have also played an important role in the whole process, their contribution to the final outcome is less clear than that of the Women’s Platform.

Outcome 2: Proposals of the Women’s Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.

This evaluation has shown that the strategy developed by the IFFI and the Women’s Platform has effectively influenced a number of decision-making processes at local level. However, these results are fairly fragmented and lack a clear or visible strategic logic between them. The data collected also indicate that, so far, these achievements have not resulted in greater support or political institutional will for gender issues. In general, the purpose of the organisation’s actions at a local level was to contribute to mainstreaming gender in public municipal policies from different angles. The question is how much this can be sustainably achieved without the improvement of awareness and political will of the municipal institution. The organisation has been able to take proper advantage of the different windows of opportunity that have opened up to it to influence decision making at this level. However, this opportunistic behaviour, even if normal, and even desirable in advocacy strategies, should be reinforced with a stronger or clearer strategic approach.

1.2 PROGRAMME LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

- Generally speaking, in the past few years Bolivia has experienced important advances in terms of opening up the public space to sectors of the population, such as women, that had traditionally been excluded from decision-making arenas. Existing data show an increasing presence of women in the Bolivian public space and the approval of numerous laws that incorporate substantive advances for gender equity. However, although these

improvements are widely recognised at all levels, most people consulted for this review agree that the formal and legislative progress, including at a Departmental level, has not yet translated into real and substantial progress for women's lives. The introduction of gender equality provisions in the Departmental Statute of Autonomies offers an excellent opportunity and a strong point of departure to work for translating those principles into real progress and improvements in the lives of the women of Cochabamba, but it is certainly a challenging task. This will require a clear advocacy strategy and constant lobbying by the Women's Platform in the development of other secondary legislation needed, and for its implementation. Although the Statute text has still not been screened for its constitutionality, and is therefore not definitive, it would be advisable to begin identifying priority lines of work soon and start to outline possible strategies around them.

- Another clear learning outcome is that there is a strong need to devote further efforts to translate women's presence in the public sphere into real and substantive political participation. Many actors agree that there is a significant need for technical training and capacity building of women both in elected positions and management positions. The issue is to improve the training of women so that their presence in political institutions will result in an effective ability to be heard and to make decisions. It is also a question of training women and public servants in those legislative and management issues that can guarantee that the approval of the regulatory framework and demands for gender equity are implemented and materialise in specific projects and policies.
- Coordination with women in trades unions and social movements that have currently recognised political legitimacy has been one of the keys to success in the approval of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy. Coordination between women from urban and rural areas, as promoted in the framework of this project, has facilitated the building of the necessary bridges to advance towards a more plural and diverse women's movement. This line of work, in the view of most of the people consulted, and the women themselves, is key for different strategic reasons: 1) it allows greater integration of the social and gender agendas and ensures a richer variety of approaches; 2) it gives greater legitimacy and representativeness to women's demands; and 3) in most cases it allows greater access to the centres of power where, in theory, organisations that represent rural women currently have greater recognition and presence.
- Another challenge/learning consideration frequently mentioned during the interviews is the need to work more to improve the levels of awareness in men. The work done with some of them during the drafting of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy, for example, has shown that they can be key allies, and at the same time it has allowed them gradually to become more sensitive to these issues. This experience perhaps shows a direction to consider more systematically in future strategies.
- The strategy of the Women's Platform and the IFFI has been to work with the multiple actors and political forces present in both parliament and the town council. However, a recurrently mentioned challenge has been the usual predominance of party discipline over other interests. This often results in decisions that have been agreed with political players in forums and spaces promoted by the Women's Platform not being immediately reflected in their parliamentary/municipal vote. One possible strategy could be to begin working more directly with the structures of the different parties, and to seek strategic alliances at those levels of decision making too.
- At local level, data indicates that so far the many achievements of the Women's Platform and IFFI in different decision-making processes have not resulted in greater support or political institutional will for gender issues. This suggests the need to review the working strategy for the future and provides a good opportunity to make or revisit the current power analysis/map.

2 INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the effectiveness review of the project 'Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia' (Promoting Women's Citizenship for Change in Urban Intercultural Spaces in Bolivia), conducted between 18 August 2008 and 31 March 2013 as part of the Oxfam GB's global portfolio 'Raising Her Voice'. The project was implemented by the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral (IFFI), a women's organisation based in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia.

From 2008–2013, the global Raising Her Voice programme, funded by the UK government's Governance and Transparency Fund, supported projects in 17 countries worldwide to promote the rights and capacity of poor women to engage effectively in governance at all levels.

Each year, as part of its Global Performance Framework, OGB selects a random sample of sufficiently mature projects for a rigorous effectiveness review. This project has thus been selected from others conducted under the 'Policy Influence' thematic area.

With a total budget of £498,876, the main goal of this project was to promote gender equality in the metropolitan area of Cochabamba by strengthening the leadership and capacity of women and institutions organised in the Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad (Women's Platform) and by coordinating their work with other related networks and social movements. Ultimately, it was expected that this would lead to the greater participation and influence of women from Cochabamba in political decision-making processes.

This report will focus on assessing the project's effectiveness in influencing two concrete outcomes selected by the implementing partner, the IFFI. This analysis will follow a predefined protocol, Process Tracing, a qualitative research method that is particularly useful in inferring causal relationships. The targeted outcomes are:

Outcome 1: The Women's Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with its committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

Outcome 2: Proposals by the Women's Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.

3 EVALUATION DESIGN

3.1 PROCESS TRACING

Oxfam GB has adopted a Global Performance Framework. Among other things, this framework involves the random selection each year of closing or sufficiently mature projects under six outcome areas and rigorously evaluating their performance. These evaluations are referred to as Effectiveness Reviews. Effectiveness Reviews carried out under the ‘Citizen Voice’ and ‘Policy Influencing’ thematic areas are to be informed by a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference.

Policy Influence and Citizen Voice interventions work towards achieving specific intermediary and final outcomes. The Evaluator’s first task is to help identify the scope of the intervention, including the outcomes or changes it is seeking (or sought) to achieve, and the activities undertaken to bring these about. The Evaluator then seeks evidence of the extent to which the intervention’s key targeted outcomes have materialised; investigates the causal mechanisms responsible, i.e. how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draws conclusions about the significance of the intervention’s contribution.

As such, the purpose of the evaluation is not simply to focus in on only one explanation for an observed outcome-level change. Rather, the approach is more nuanced and should accomplish three things: 1) shortlist one or more evidenced explanations for the outcome in question (which may or may not include the intervention); 2) rule out alternative, competing explanations incompatible with the evidence; and 3) if more than one explanation is supported by the evidence, estimate the level of influence each has had on bringing about the change in question.

While not intended to be a mechanical sequence of linear steps of how the research exercise should proceed,² the following eight steps form the core of the research exercise’s protocol.

1. Undertake a process of (re)constructing the intervention’s theory of change, in order to clearly define the intervention being evaluated – what it is trying to change (outcomes), how it is working to effect these changes (strategies/streams of activities) and what assumptions it is making about how it will contribute to these changes (key assumptions).
2. Work with relevant stakeholders to identify up to three intermediate and/or final outcomes considered by stakeholders to be the most significant for the evaluation to focus on (central to the intervention’s theory of change and useful for learning/forward planning).
3. Systematically assess and document what was done under the intervention to achieve the selected targeted outcomes.
4. Identify and evidence the extent to which the selected outcomes have actually materialised, as well as any relevant unintended outcomes.
5. Undertake ‘process induction’ to identify salient plausible causal explanations for the evidenced outcomes.
6. Gather required data and use ‘process verification’ to assess the extent to which each of the explanations identified in Step 5 are supported or not supported by the available evidence.
7. Write a narrative analytical report to document the above research processes and findings.

8. Summarise aspects of the above narrative analysis by allocating project/campaign 'contribution scores' for each of the targeted and/or associated outcomes. This is not expected to provide a precise measure of contribution, but rather a sense of how much the campaign was likely to be responsible for the observed change(s).

For the full process tracing protocol, please see Oxfam GB's Policy and Practice website: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/methods-approaches/project-effectiveness-reviews>

This report is a result of the application of this method to the evaluation of the Project 'Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia' (Women's Citizenship for Change in Intercultural Urban Spaces in Bolivia) implemented by the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral (IFFI) of the city of Cochabamba in the framework of Oxfam GB's 'Raising Her Voice' portfolio.

3.2 DEVELOPMENT OF LOGIC MODEL

During implementation, the logical framework of the project was refined and adjusted. Some work was also done on several aspects of its theory of change.³ In practice, however, the two never merged into an explicit theory of change as such. Following the research protocol, and as a first step in the evaluation process, we worked with key stakeholders to (re)construct the theory of change for the project.

An extensive desk review of project documents helped the Evaluator to prepare a preliminary version of the implicit theory of change of the project. This was then discussed and validated in a participatory workshop conducted during the field visit, which was attended by four of the people in charge of the project's implementation. This activity made it possible to share the multiple views and opinions that different key actors had of the intervention. Furthermore, the discussion helped to refine the formulation of the two targeted outcomes and to begin to identify some evidence of their materialisation.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

The conclusions and findings presented in this report are based on the information gathered after extensive documentary analysis and numerous interviews and workshops conducted with a significant number and range of actors. A field visit to Bolivia took place from 10 to 28 February 2014 and covered the cities of La Paz and Cochabamba. The Evaluator was able to gather information from 64 people consulted through in-depth interviews (individual and group), participatory workshops and a written questionnaire. In the selection of informants both purposive and convenience sampling methods were used. Although many of the people consulted were identified and agreed on before the field visit with the organisation responsible for implementation, a number of additional key informants were identified once on site and through snowball sampling. This made it possible to trace the alternative causal explanations that arose in different conversations.

The following research tools were used:

Desk review: The Evaluator reviewed all the relevant documents produced in the framework of the project and a significant amount of additional documentation compiled during the field visit. A number of third party reports, regulations and official documents were also reviewed. A list of the documents reviewed is at Appendix 1.

In-depth interviews: In total, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 people. In some cases, because of the limited availability of the informants, the Evaluator opted to conduct group interviews in small groups of two or three people. In selecting the interviewees, the Citizen voice in Bolivia: Evaluation of women's citizenship for change through intercultural forums in urban areas

Evaluator made a special effort to guarantee that multiple perspectives and voices were represented. The interviewees included a balanced sample from decision makers (municipal and departmental government and legislative representatives), political parties, grassroots women activists, civil society organisations and NGOs, both men and women. A number of key independent experts (bellwethers) were also included to provide an independent and overall perspective on the issues, and to help triangulate findings. A complete list of the people consulted and the field visit agenda are provided in Appendix 2.

Questionnaire: During the General Assembly of the Women's Platform for Citizenship and Equality, which happened to coincide with the field visit, the Evaluator distributed a brief questionnaire to a limited number of attendees who agreed to participate. The sample was selected based on the following criteria: sufficiently senior members of the organisation who had not previously been interviewed or had not participated in any of the workshops organised for the review. Overall, 14 questionnaires were handed out; all of them were completed.

Participatory workshops and/or discussion groups: In addition to the preliminary meeting with the IFFI team responsible for project implementation, two participatory workshops were held with 16 women members of the Statutes and the Coordination and Strategy Committee of the Women's Platform. The aim of these workshops was to create inclusive spaces for reflection in which to examine and analyse the outcomes and learning considerations that emerged from the project.

Preliminary findings workshop: During the field visit significant room for interaction and ongoing feedback was provided. A final debriefing workshop with the implementing organisation and a representative of Oxfam GB office in La Paz was also held. This workshop opened the way for discussion and analysis of the preliminary conclusions and findings, helped to fill in information gaps and contributed additional documentation.

The conclusions and findings that we present below are based on the information collected with the tools described. All of them have been carefully validated and triangulated. On the one hand, the data and documents were compared with the subjective perceptions of the interviewees; on the other, the perceptions of the different actors on a specific subject were analysed by cross-referencing them to give an approximate interpretation that can be assumed to be as objective and impartial as possible. When triangulation was not possible, this is explicitly stated. In presenting these findings, we will intentionally quote many of the people consulted for the review, especially women. This is our way of doing them justice, in recognition of their work and voice.

3.4 LIMITATIONS

During the evaluation process the Evaluator enjoyed full collaboration and support from both the IFFI and Oxfam GB key staff. Their support in providing documentation and contacting key stakeholders and organising the agenda was key to the smooth running of the field visit.

In terms of evaluating Outcome 1, it was possible to apply the process tracing protocol without any particular difficulty. Other than the usual difficulties of conducting interviews with some key informants for reasons of agenda, no notable limiting factors were found.

Some limitations were, however, found in applying this methodology to Outcome 2. In the first place, the very nature of the outcome, which consists of a sum of minor local policy-influence outcomes, has made it more difficult to infer or identify other alternative or concurrent causal explanations, and, in some cases, to draw together the level of evidence required for process tracing. Secondly, the work of the IFFI and the Women's Platform at a municipal level covers a range of decision-making processes that often date back over ten years. This made it difficult to clearly isolate or profile each of the processes and to find people with sufficient institutional

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memory and complete information on all and each of these cases. Finally, the field visit coincided with the carnival celebrations, a factor that limited the availability of many municipal government informants.

4 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The project 'Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia' was conducted between 18 August 2008 and 31 March 2013, as part of the global Raising Her Voice portfolio, jointly funded by the DFID and Oxfam GB. The project was run by the IFFI, a women's organisation based in the city of Cochabamba.

With a total budget of £498,876⁴ the goal of this project was to promote gender equality in the metropolitan region of Cochabamba through a number of activities and strategies aiming to a) strengthen the leadership and capacity of women and civil society organisations organised in the Women's Platform and b) coordinate their work with other networks and social movements. Ultimately, the idea was to ensure greater participation and influence by this network, civil society organisations and women in different departmental and local political decision-making processes. An additional aim was to raise awareness and build the capacity of decision makers in gender issues and gender policies.

The Women's Platform is a coalition of over 600 women and some 100 social and regional grassroots organisations and NGOs from the Cochabamba metropolitan region. Created in 2000 with a view to promoting the active citizenship of Cochabamba women, this network was launched by, and operates with the support of, the IFFI⁵ and the financial support of Oxfam GB. Although in the past few years the Women's Platform has progressively gained operational independence from the IFFI, at the time of the evaluation the IFFI was still playing a key role as the technical secretariat of this network. The Women's Platform obtained legal status in December 2012.

According to the project's logframe, the purpose and outputs of this project were:

Purpose: Organise women from the Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and La Paz metropolitan areas (particularly peri-urban zones) to actively exercise their citizenship and participate in public decision-making.

Output 1: Women's organisations strengthened and coordinated in departmental, national and regional women's networks and with other social movements in order to reinforce the gender perspective and to reposition the women's movement as a major socio-political actor in proposals for social change.

Output 2: Women participate in public decision-making and influence decision makers.

Output 3: Organised women in Cochabamba and Santa Cruz are trained in socio-political participation, public accountability and advocacy.

Output 4: Up-to-date information and knowledge is available to women's organisations, socio-political actors and public opinion on gender policies, gender violence and discrimination.

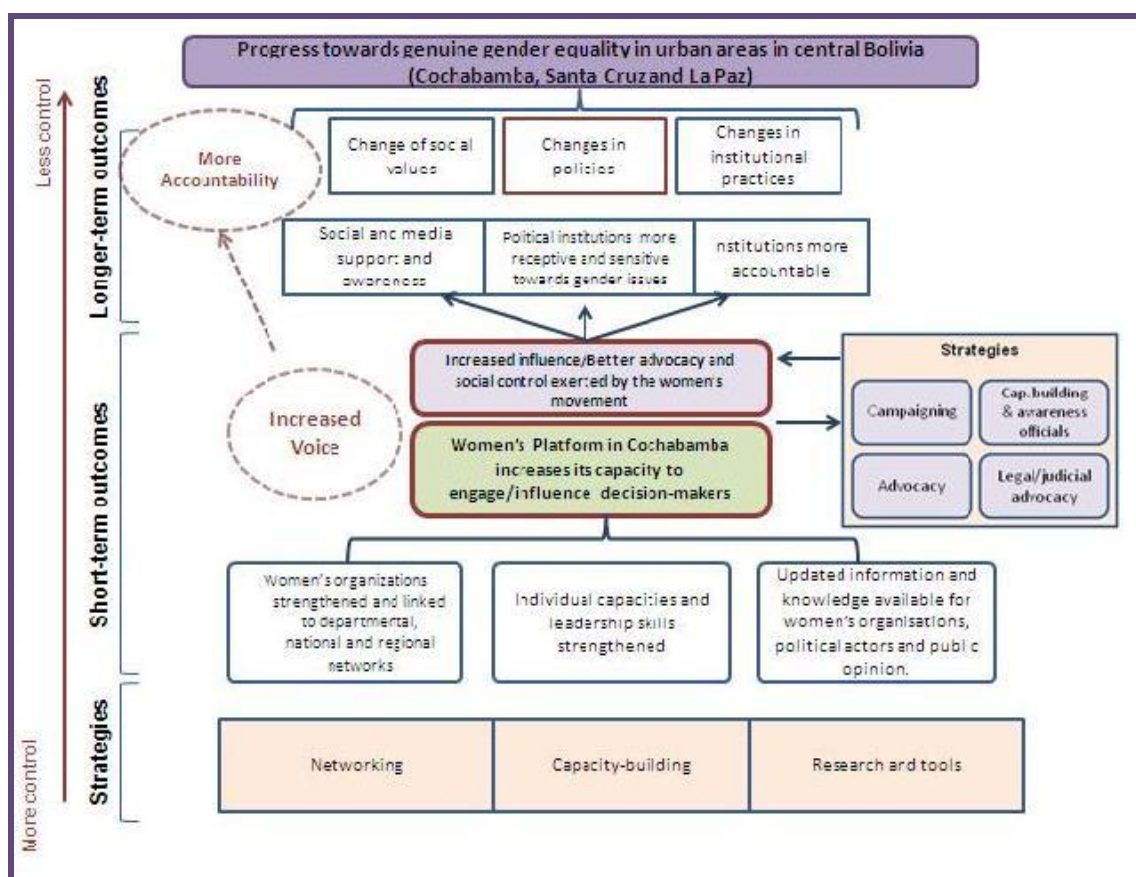
Geographic scope

The project was implemented in the urban area and metropolitan region of Cochabamba, but also included a series of state-wide actions aimed at coordinating women's movements in the department of Cochabamba with other networks and wider departmental and national social movements.

4.1 THEORY OF CHANGE

Figure 1 attempts to illustrate the network of implicit and explicit assumptions on which the intervention was based and identifies several outcomes that were expected to be achieved in the short, medium and long term through the implementation of the activities and strategies supported by the project.

Figure 1. Progress towards genuine gender equality in urban areas in central Bolivia



The 'Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia' project is based on a key underlying assumption: that, in the medium or long term, the strengthening of the Women's Platform and women's organisations will result in increased participation and voice of urban women in the Department's governance processes and, therefore, in greater accountability, sensitivity and adaptation of institutions and public policies to gender equality demands (changes in the *institutional sphere*). This change in the institutional and political culture in terms of gender equality, requires a series of preconditions, some of which are clearly identified in the working documents.

- Greater social and media support for issues relating to promoting gender equality.
- Institutions and political representatives are more sensitive, have more capacity and are more receptive to gender equity.
- Legal frameworks that incorporate a clear gender dimension and reflect women's rights and interests.
- Officials and public servants who are more qualified and aware of this subject.
- Accountable institutions and officials.

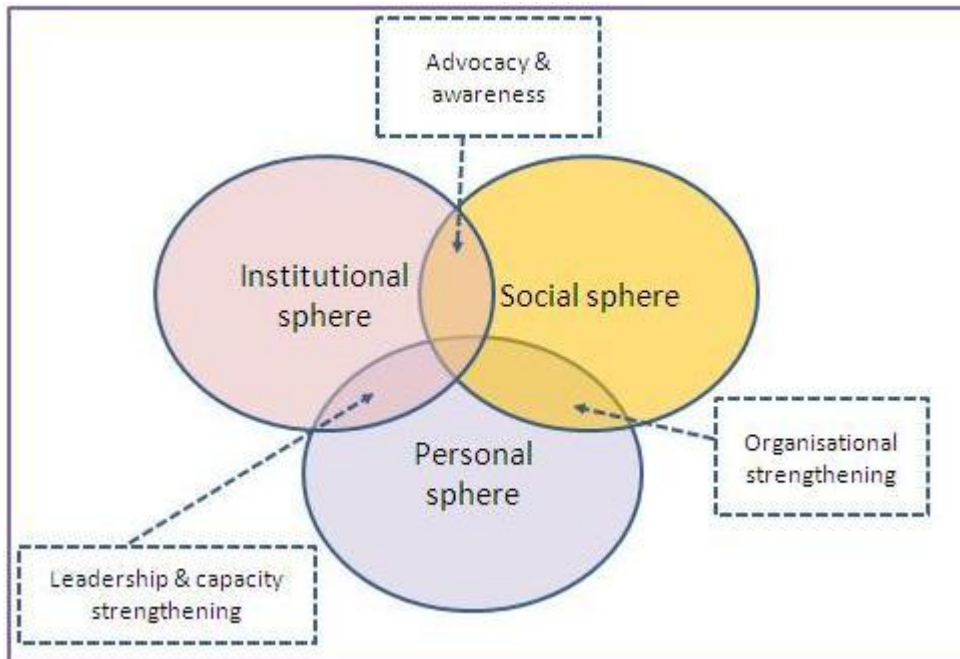
To achieve these changes, the project suggests the need to strengthen the advocacy capacity of the organised women's movement (changes in the *social sphere*), by providing them with the necessary tools and skills to effectively: a) gain support in public opinion (through social

mobilisation) and the media (in order to change sexist depictions and stereotypes in advertising); b) work on advocacy, lobbying and sensitisation of the authorities and decision makers to foster a change of political and institutional culture in favour of gender equality in Cochabamba.

Finally, this strategy of change also assumes the need to work in the *personal sphere* in order to strengthen the leadership, capacity and self-esteem of the women associated with the movement, and their knowledge about their rights.

To a greater or lesser degree, the project therefore influences the three spheres that affect the opportunities of women to participate in the processes of governance.

Figure 2. Spheres that affect women’s opportunities to participate in governance



4.2 TARGETED OUTCOMES

This review will focus specifically on analysing two of the three intermediate outcomes identified initially in the Terms of Reference (ToR) and refined with the main users of the evaluation during the field visit.

Outcome 1: The Women’s Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with their committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

Outcome 2: Proposals by the Women’s Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.

Both outcomes are more or less directly related to the final ‘changes in public policies’ outcome, reflected in the project’s theory of change. Many other activities and achievements made in the context of the project are therefore excluded from this analysis. In particular, constraints of time and resources have not allowed evaluation of the work carried out with the Observatory of Gender and Media, an extremely interesting project that would be worth evaluating in its own right.

5 FINDINGS

5.1 THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN BOLIVIA

In this section we will briefly describe the complex political and social atmosphere in which this project has been conducted. We will focus on those aspects that may have significantly influenced its implementation.

In December 2005 the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), led by Evo Morales, won the presidential elections in Bolivia; Morales then became the country's first indigenous president. Since then, Bolivia's development has been marked by a series of intense and complex processes of political and social transformation. These processes materialised in the passing of a new National Political Constitution (Constitución Política del Estado – CPE) in 2009 and the promotion of *decentralisation*, a process that devolves major areas of sovereignty to the different territories (departments and municipalities) and peoples (indigenous communities) and that is still ongoing at the date of this review.

The new political, economic and social structure is also being designed with a far-reaching *commitment to participation*, by including diverse sectors of the population, such as the indigenous peoples and women, who had traditionally been excluded. Both the constituent and decentralisation processes have therefore opened the way to the participation of these sectors of the population, represented by different social movements⁶ that today, are considered the main legitimate stakeholders of the 'process of change' spearheaded by the MAS.

The literature reviewed agrees that, with Evo Morales as president, the relations between the government and these social movements have acquired an enormous significance '*to the point that government defines itself as a process that is intimately linked to social movements*'.⁷ This active participation of social organisations in the 'process of change' becomes apparent in both the institutional discourse⁸ and the presence of prominent social and rural leaders within the new government. The findings obtained by the study produced by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), between March and April 2012, on the 'Political culture of democracy in Bolivia' also concludes that Bolivia is one of the most participatory societies in Latin America, and that in the last few years the country has managed to '*establish significant support in electoral, party, protest, civic and community participation*'.⁹

The crisis of NGOs

It is interesting to note that this context of opening up participation to new social actors (trades unions, rural and indigenous organisations), who are now recognised as political entities/actors, co-exists with an atmosphere of relative concern and mistrust about the work of national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Compared with the open recognition given to the former as political actors, the latter are often questioned about the activities they carry out in the country and are occasionally accused of political interference.¹⁰ This situation has forced some NGOs to reconsider their profile and, in some cases, such as with the IFFI, to focus or channel their work through grassroots social movements, for instance the Women's Platform, which should, at least in theory, enjoy greater legitimacy and room to manoeuvre in this context because of their very nature and social base.

The participation (voice) of women in ongoing political processes

Despite the great progress made in participation, the LAPOP report also states that the variables of poverty and gender ‘*adversely affect levels of political participation, since women and the poor (in Bolivia) are less engaged in political activities than other citizens*’.

This concern is present in the agenda of the main women’s organisations and institutions that vindicate their right to participate in the definition of the ongoing political processes: ‘*in the end, how can the “common good” be achieved if there is no equality of conditions to participate in its definition?*’¹¹

With this final goal in mind, the Coordinadora de la Mujer, the main network of women’s organisations and NGOs in the country,¹² has defined a number of objectives:

- To occupy the public space through participation in political parties and citizens’ associations, obtaining equal access to political power and resources.
- To guarantee that the process of decentralisation and devolution of power takes into account the need to challenge patriarchal models.
- To be familiar with and have access to the texts of priority bills of parliament that promote women’s rights.
- To raise gender awareness among civil servants and public administration employees.
- To promote gender-sensitive budgeting aimed at overcoming gender inequalities.
- To take the necessary steps to ensure that the principles of gender equality and women’s political participation enshrined in the new Constitution materialise in practice.

Given the above challenges, feminist activists and women’s NGOs in Bolivia, mostly from a professional and urban background, have been demanding inclusive political processes where their voice and claims are heard and taken into consideration.

Most sources suggest that this demand is not always reflected among women’s union and rural and indigenous organisations’ priorities, which normally defend broader social agendas and are still somewhat reticent to accept the gender discourse and many of the traditional demands of feminist organisations. In the words of Fernando Mayorga ‘*unlike the rural and indigenous movement, there is no similar action to suggest the existence of a women’s movement; instead the impetus to participate was the result of the work of a network of feminist activists, NGO associations and backing from international cooperation bodies that promote gender equity on an international level*’.¹³ This absence of common ground on positions and agendas between the rural women’s trade unions and urban women’s organisations, the latter being considered inheritors of the feminist struggles and generally with stronger ties to the NGOs, is an important factor to consider when analysing the work done by the IFFI and Women’s Platform in this project.

Key data on the political representation of women in Bolivia

- In September 2012, 35% of ministerial offices were headed by women.
- In 2012, 23.8% and 47% of the members of the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament were women.
- At Departmental level, women currently represent 28% of all assembly members.
- In the local elections of 2010, women occupied 7% of mayorships and 43% of council positions.

Source: Observatory of Gender (Coordinadora de la Mujer)

5.1.1 The context of autonomous regions in Bolivia

The National Political Constitution enacted in February 2009 enshrines the many cultural and national diversities as a fundamental pillar of the Bolivian state, which defines itself as 'plurinational, community-based [...], decentralised and with autonomous regions'. This statement of principles gave rise to the Autonomous Project that was launched that same year with the celebration of regional referendums in the different Departments. The process was subsequently regulated with the passing of the Autonomies and Decentralisation Framework Act in July 2010. This Act regulates a complex and multi-layered autonomous system, which includes four types of autonomies: departmental, indigenous rural, municipal and regional. In the Cochabamba Department referendum, adhering to autonomous status was supported by 80% of voters.

At a municipal level, the autonomous process is developed by the drafting and passing of the Autonomous Municipal Charters (Cartas Orgánicas Municipales – COM), a process that is still ongoing in many municipalities, albeit at a slower and uneven rhythm if compared with the development of departmental autonomies. The drafting of these Charters follows its own specific procedure, which is markedly participatory, but at different stages of implementation in each territory. Several municipal councils in the Cochabamba Department have already approved some of these Charters and submitted them to the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal for final review. However at the Cochabamba Metropolitan Region level and particularly in the municipality of Cercado, the process is still at a relatively early stage. Although on many occasions, these processes were mentioned by some of the informants consulted for this review, they are not specifically being analysed here.

What is the Departmental Statute of Autonomy?

This is the basic institutional law of autonomous territorial entities. It ratifies the ability of a department to govern itself, by expressing the will of its inhabitants. It defines their rights and obligations, establishes their political institutions, competencies, financing, and the processes through which more bodies in the autonomous region will develop their activities and relationships with the State. The Departmental Statute of Autonomy is subordinate to the National Political Constitution (CPE).

Source: Igualdad y Equidad de Género en el EAD de Cochabamba; IFFI, July 2011

5.2 OUTCOME 1

Outcome 1: The Women's Platform of Cochabamba has contributed, with their committed and steadfast participation, to mainstreaming gender in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

Participating in the drafting and definition of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy (and also in the Organic Municipal Charters) was, in the eyes of the IFFI and the Women's Platform, an extraordinary opportunity to ensure that the constitutional guarantees on gender equity were reflected and developed in the autonomous legal framework. Achieving the incorporation and mainstreaming of gender equity in the statute text has been a core objective of the work of these organisations over the last five years.

5.2.1 Materialisation of the outcome

Based on the information collected during the field visit and a comparative analysis of the different drafts of the Statute texts that have circulated over these years, and the proposal documents submitted by the Women's Platform, we can safely conclude that this outcome has been achieved with a high level of success.

The draft Departmental Statute of Autonomy was finally approved by the Departmental Legislative Assembly (ALD) on 13 November 2013 and submitted to the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal for review on 10 December that same year.¹⁴ A simple reading of the text presented to the Constitutional Court confirms: a) the use of a careful, non-sexist language; b) the incorporation of the principle of gender equality in a significant number of provisions, and c) the incorporation of a high number of the proposals made by women's organisations to the text of the statute.

This analysis is also shared by the majority of the people interviewed in this review. When asked about the different Departmental Statutes currently being drafted and how each of them deals with the gender issue, the different external and independent actors consulted agreed in signalling the Cochabamba Departmental Statute of Autonomy as the most reliable in technical terms and the one that mainstreams gender equity in the most satisfactory way.

'If I had to evaluate the statutes approved from the standpoint of gender, I would say that the first is Chuquisaca's, the second Cochabamba's and third La Paz's... But I would also say that in terms of how much was included, Cochabamba has managed to incorporate its proposals throughout the whole text of the Statute, [and] to make them mainstream.'

'I believe we have incorporated the gender perspective in the most important structural provisions.'

Among the advances incorporated into the new Statute of Cochabamba, informants particularly highlighted the guarantees for electoral parity and alternation, included mostly in Article 17 of the text approved, but also in other articles across the Statute. Although it is true that the Statute reproduces the content of the National Political Constitution in this respect, the new wording strives to go a step further so that, despite limitations, it guarantees that the presence of women in political spaces is not limited to their occupying substitute positions. In theory, candidate lists must include a principal woman or man candidate and a substitute of the opposite sex, who should alternate mid-term. However, what tends to happen in practice is that women occupy mostly substitute positions and that, even when they are nominated as principal candidates, a large proportion of them are pressured and harassed to abandon their office, sometimes even before taking it.¹⁵

This barrier to the political participation of women has a great deal to do with the political parties' prevalently patriarchal culture and stiff resistance to incorporating women in principal positions. As a result, despite the formal guarantees included in the National Political Constitution, parity is not yet totally reflected in the real representation of the legislative bodies. The incorporation of the guarantee of parity in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy has therefore been a major area of contention for women's organisations and the clearest point of mutual positioning between urban women's organisations (including NGOs) and union organisations for rural women.

5.2.2 Salient causal stories

In this section we will identify and describe the possible circumstances or interventions that may have contributed to the incorporation of the gender perspective in the departmental statute law but make no judgement on the weight of this contribution. Of these, we focus especially on the participation and role played by the Women's Platform, the object of this review.

The contribution by the Women's Platform for Citizenship and Equity to the statute process.

In evaluating the work of the Women's Platform it is important to note that the IFFI has been, so far, its single, exclusive source of funding and technical support. Projects, such as the one

being reviewed in this report, therefore represent a significant contribution to their work and outcomes.

As already described in previous sections, the project 'Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia' focused on strengthening the advocacy and networking capacity of the Women's Platform. This has paved the way for its presence and participation in the drafting of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy.

Over the last five years, the Platform's presence and participation in this legislative process have varied in intensity. They have also adapted to the different needs that have emerged throughout the process. This strategy was structured around three core concepts:

- 1. Strengthening the advocacy capacity of the Women's Platform and its leaders to make proposals and to defend their demands.** To achieve this, a series of workshops and capacity-building sessions were launched, aimed at both creating a learning space to generate concrete proposals on the Statute and also strengthening skills and core personal competencies, such as dealing with the media, public speaking, new technologies, and so on. These training activities and workshops allowed the Women's Platform to agree on a number of clear and concrete proposals, and to present and defend them firmly before policy makers using clear arguments and rigorous data. As the examination of the many proposal documents presented shows, an important and comprehensive effort to touch upon each and every different section of the Statute was made. Furthermore, each of those proposals was accompanied by a clear explanation of its legal and political grounds. The proposal documents deal with a broad range of subjects, from gender-sensitive budgeting to the right to political participation and fair representation, from sexual and reproductive rights to the right to live without violence.
- 2. Coordination with women from rural areas.** In a particularly complicated scenario, in which rifts and differences have surfaced between the urban and rural perspectives, the Platform's strategy was designed as an attempt to establish a more horizontal dialogue between rural and urban women. The aim was to integrate the positions and claims of the Women's Platform and women from rural and indigenous organisations regarding this particular legislative process, in a joint position/proposal. Since rural and indigenous women's organisations are clearly recognised as political actors, it was assumed that these demands would gain legitimacy. In search of this consensus, the Women's Platform promoted a number of different events and opportunities for coordination with rural women from other regions in the Department; the most important of these was the creation of the Departmental Commission of Women's Organisations (CDOM in Spanish) which, in association with the Departmental Directorate for Equal Opportunities (DIO), a body dependent on the Cochabamba Governor's Office, managed to bring urban and rural women together to work on a common agenda for the Departmental Statute.

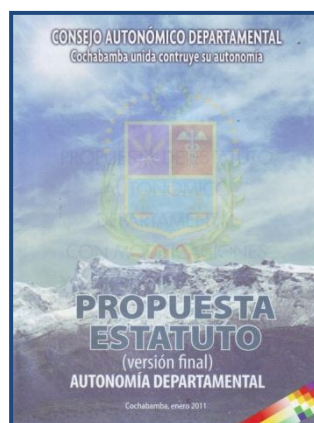


These events and spaces aimed to bring more diversity and representativeness to the policy demands of women's organisations, but also, and most importantly, to allow women from rural and urban backgrounds to meet, familiarise themselves with and recognise each other's realities. In the words of one of the people consulted, it was useful '*for us women to recognise each other in our diversity*'. It was with this goal in mind that another of these events, the *WarmipachaKuna Fair*, began to be celebrated. The festivity coincides with Bolivian Women's Day and offered a yearly space for meeting, dialogue and intercultural recognition.

3. Finally, a core element of the strategy was to guarantee a **constant and continued presence of the Women's Platform** at all levels during the legislative process. This presence manifested itself in various ways through the different stages of the process which, to simplify, we break down into two:¹⁶

Pre-legislative process (2009–2011): This covers the period from the celebration of the autonomous referendum in 2009 to the presentation of a first draft of the Statute by the Autonomous Departmental Council (CAD) in January 2011. During this stage, the process was driven by the Delegación Prefectural para las Autonomías y el Fortalecimiento Institucional (Prefectural Office for the Autonomies and Institutional Strengthening), which created the CAD in July 2009. The CAD consisted of 36 representative organisations and institutions in the Department and was tasked with producing a first participative draft of the Statute. From the outset, one of the key organisations in the CAD was the Women's Platform, which, as demonstrated in the official documentation,¹⁷ managed to introduce 13 representatives onto the different working committees and one member onto the Steering Committee. Furthermore, the Platform was able to take charge of at least three working committees' secretariats.¹⁸ According to some Platform's representatives these positions were strategic for introducing many of the proposals. The first draft of the Statute, a result of this first stage of work, was officially presented by the CAD in December 2009.

The first months of 2010 (April–May) were marked by the first autonomous elections, and the resulting formation of the first departmental government and the Departmental Legislative Assembly (ALD). The MAS was the clear winner of these elections, obtaining an absolute majority of seats in the Departmental Assembly. Since then, and until July 2010, when the Autonomies Law was passed, the CAD continued to gather adjustment proposals and to review the text. The definitive version of the draft was presented to the newly elected ALD in January 2011.



Legislative process (2011–2013): This is how we refer to a stage in which the draft statute text is returned to the ALD, the institution legally responsible for its approval. During this phase, the Assembly made the text available for discussion and comment from both civil society organisations, via sector based and territorial workshops, and from citizens via the opening of books for proposals. After this stage, the Assembly worked internally towards the development of the regulations. They also hired a consultant with a small technical team, which used inputs Citizen voice in Bolivia: Evaluation of women's citizenship for change through intercultural forums in urban areas

from the previous phase and gathered proposals into a single working document. It is important to specify that, although the document prepared by the CAD was the result of a widely participatory process, driven by the government itself, additional new statute proposals appeared at this point and the CAD's text became an additional, and not the only, text to be considered. Overall, six proposals were submitted, only three of which could be taken into account.¹⁹ In practice, this obliged the Women's Platform to start the whole advocacy process almost from scratch because when the Assembly first presented the text resulting from its own internal work and proposals, they found that '*suddenly, our demands had disappeared*'.

'In this process, probably for the first time ever, closer and more horizontal relationships developed between women in the rural and urban areas.'

During this stage most advocacy work focused on the Departmental Commission of Women's Organisations (CDOM), a body created in October 2010 on the recommendations of the Platform and IFFI. The aim of this commission was to further communicate the Platform's proposals for gender equality and equity and to open them to other women's organisations so that these demands could be more effectively considered in the official statute-drafting process. According to the people then responsible for this departmental body, the initiative was well received at the time, and in some way it provided specific content to the work of a directorate that was created and functioning without a clear mandate. It must be noted that the autonomous experiment in Bolivia is still too recent and that the new departmental government came into being without any statutory law as reference. The CDOM brought together 43 urban and rural women's organisations, representing the five regions in the department, including the Women's Platform for Citizenship and Equity, the 'Bartolina Sisa' Departmental Federation of Indigenous and Rural Women of Bolivia and indigenous organisations such as CONAMAQ. This commission provided a valuable meeting space for sharing views and proposals relating to the Statute. This was expected to give greater legitimacy to the whole advocacy strategy.

One of the central activities promoted in the framework of this Commission, and funded by the project, was a 'training of trainers' programme with the participation of 22 women facilitators, responsible communicating the women's proposals for the Statute in the five regions of the Department. Under the leadership of the Departmental Directorate for Equal Opportunities, the Bartolina Sisa organisation and the Women's Platform (with the IFFI's financial and technical backing), the programme made it possible to discuss these proposals in 45 workshops in 23 municipalities. As a result, several proposals were adjusted and some others were added. Overall, the new document officially presented by the CDOM to the Departmental Legislative Assembly in October 2011, with significant media presence,²⁰ featured 95 amendment proposals affecting 43 articles from the draft project of the statute.

Since then, the work of the Women's Platform has focused on monitoring and lobbying the Assembly's legislative process. The strategy combined constant meetings with members of the Assembly (including members of the Steering Committee of the ALD), organisation of events and training sessions and a number of social mobilisation and media actions, such as marches, publicity spots and slots on TV and radio, and late-night vigils.

The Departmental Statute of Autonomy project was approved by the Departmental Legislative Assembly in November 2013. By the date of this review it had been submitted to the Constitutional Tribunal for final revision.

Other possible causal explanations

During the field work the Evaluator worked with the different key actors to analyse the extent to which they believed that the work done by the Women's Platform and its participation in this process was (or was not) a determining factor in the final outcome: the incorporation of the gender perspective in the text of the Statute. Two other possible factors soon emerged.

'The constituent assembly is a significant milestone for us; it was there that we learnt how to get results.'

In the first place, there was a unanimous perception that the approval of the National Political Constitution, and the effective incorporation of gender equity into this fundamental text, marked the path to be taken by the process of autonomous decentralisation and the approval of the secondary legislation. Furthermore, everyone agreed that the constituent process itself, and the active involvement of women's institutions and organisations led by the Coordinadora de la Mujer in the constituent process, was an extremely significant learning experience for these organisations. Both the Women's Platform and the IFFI actively participated in this constituent process.

Another significant emerging factor was the role played by the departmental Confederation of Indigenous and Rural Women of Bolivia, 'Bartolina Sisa', in Cochabamba. This social organisation is a national trade union and is affiliated with the Single Union Confederation of Rural Workers in Bolivia. The Bartolina Sisa Confederation was one of the five organisations that formed the Unity Pact in 2004,²¹ the main social force of Evo Morales' government and the mainstay of the 'process of change', and the only one specifically for women. It is therefore one of the leading social organisations and a key player in the decision-making spaces on a national and departmental level. During the drafting of the Statute of Autonomy of the Department of Cochabamba, the Bartolina Sisa Confederation was already involved from the pre-legislative stage, when it accepted the First Secretary's Office in the Autonomous Departmental Council.

At a later date, the organisation joined the CDOM where it worked with the Women's Platform in both the drafting of proposals and their socialisation in rural areas. Women in this organisation who were interviewed for this review also confirmed their participation in different training events and meetings promoted by both the Women's Platform and IFFI. However, at the end of 2011, the difficult political context in the country affected the relationship between these women's organisations, which has significantly cooled ever since. This prevented them from sustaining their previous level of collaboration and coordination during the legislative phase. At this point Bartolina Sisa refocused its work on its original (pre-CDOM) set of proposals.

5.2.3 Findings

On the basis of the information gathered for this evaluation, it can be concluded that the approval of the National Political Constitution (CPE) was indeed an extremely important and necessary condition that facilitated the work done by the women's organisations in other regulatory development processes, such as the drafting of the Departmental Statute of Cochabamba. However, the outcomes obtained in the different Departmental Statutes, both those 'adapted'²² to the new constitutional system and those written from scratch, show that, while necessary, the constitutional factor was not sufficient to guarantee that all statutes satisfactorily reflect the principle of gender equity. This is, for example, the case with the Statutes of Pando and Beni, which, in the view of the different actors consulted, mainstream gender issues in a more dilute and less structural way than the others. This fact seems to suggest that the work done by the different women's movements in each department, and their different social and political circumstances, eventually determined the outcome obtained.

In fact, in the case of Cochabamba, the data gathered suggests that the work done by the Women's Platform was a key factor in reflecting and, in some cases, exceeding the constitutional recommendations on gender equality in the Departmental Statute of Autonomy. There are a number of arguments and indicators that back this finding:

1. The incorporation into the Statute text of 48 of the proposals put forward by the Women's Platform. Based on a comparative study of the different proposal documents and the final text approved by the Legislative Assembly, we can verify that the two versions overlap

greatly and that at some points in the process (for example, at the official proposal submitted by the CAD) many of the proposals by the Women's Platform were included almost verbatim. This word-for-word rendition has gradually disappeared in subsequent texts, although much of the essential content proposed has been maintained. By way of example, among many other provisions, the Statute project approved includes:

- that lists of principal candidates for Assemblies must consist of equal numbers of both sexes; in the substitute list, half of the candidates must be men and the other half women (Article 17.3.III);
- that the Governor has the following duty and responsibility: 'to promote the equal participation of men and women in plans, programmes, projects and activities under the government's responsibility' (Art. 38.12);
- that departmental budgets shall be based on the principles of social equality, gender and generational equity, and human development indices; and
- Article 79. Equal opportunities and gender: this includes a series of policies that the departmental government is obliged to develop in order to achieve equality and gender equity.

The constant lobbying and presence of Women's Platform representatives during the entire legislative development process is well documented and verified by all policy makers interviewed. The official document and records show that the Women's Platform stands out with a marked participation during the pre-legislative stage on both the board (where it had a seat) and in the different working committees, with 13 representatives. That level of participation continued along the whole legislative process. All parliamentarians interviewed for this evaluation unanimously agree that the presence of the women from the Platform in the Assembly premises was constant and that their contact with them was regular and much appreciated. They also stress that the Women's Platform demonstrated a substantial ability of purpose and significant technical reliability.

As an anecdote, many informants mentioned that, other than the media, the Women's Platform was the only civil society organisation invited and present during the assembly's all-night plenary session when the vote on the final consideration of the text of the Statute project was held.

'The other space where I have seen the presence of [my] women colleagues is the departmental legislative process. I didn't know them, they had a clear strategy, and deployed their entire network. I saw them in all the events. They had settled in well and were talking at every panel and had a proposal that no other civil society organisation had.'

'Its permanent presence has become visible.'

'It was one of the most coherent, most consistent analyses of all the organisations I have worked with, one of the institutions with the soundest proposals. They had prepared a thorough analysis. They had even marked the articles which referred to women and those which didn't, [they asked] where there were space for claiming political power and where not. Why were there few economic resources and more were needed... It was an excellent analysis.'

The women assembly members also noted that the work of the Women's Platform has been of enormous support in their parliamentary work in defence of proposals for women. They also value the creation of workshops and capacity-building spaces in which different actors (including assembly members) could meet. They were also considered extremely useful to form networks and alliances on different levels. Significantly, several women agreed that the spaces created by the Women's Platform on a departmental level (and the Coordinadora de la Mujer on a national level) were the very few venues where they were able to meet with other women

assembly members, including those from their own party. These spaces were instrumental to building consensus among women parliamentarians on some critical issues and proposals by women's organisations. Although this is something that they generally value very positively, they also note that this encounter seldom resulted in the unanimous, en bloc support of the women assembly members when voting in parliament to incorporate these issues into the Statute text. At the time, they say, party discipline reasserted itself strongly, and with it, the imposition of an agenda that did not always match women's interests.

'The IFFI and the Platform have been a substantial support for us during the statute-drafting process. They gave us a number of different documents such as white papers on the broader legislation, specific articles from the CPE that were not included. They also trained us in communication and relations with the media.'

'Contact with them helped us to defend these proposals in the plenary session of the Assembly.'

In their relationship with the assembly members, several people also noted the importance of the Platform's work with the men assembly members who at times became strategic allies in this process. In this respect, the men assembly members interviewed confirmed that their relationship with the women representatives of the Women's Platform was continuous and that beyond facilitating their parliamentary work, on a personal level it had also helped them to learn and gain greater insight into gender issues. '*Something positive that the Platform has done is to make the leadership of the assembly, which is normally always run by men, more sensitive to these issues.*' Finally, they suggest, it helped to bring certain issues to the debate which, some feel, might not otherwise have been raised: '*While not everything that they proposed was incorporated, it shook us. The great achievement for me is that [their intervention] shook up the assembly members, it provoked debate on these issues, which would otherwise not have been raised.*' This suggests the need to push forward along these lines and include men in the different activities and advocacy work in a more strategic and systematic way.

The people consulted agree that although the members of the Bartolina Sisa organisation, many of them members of the assembly themselves, have also played a role in supporting gender proposals for the Statute, the weight of this contribution is less clear than with the Women's Platform. Firstly, we should recall that in the first days of the legislative process and until the Tipnis conflict broke out, both organisations were working together at the heart of the CDOM. This resulted in a joint document of proposals and in theory, a common position of rural and urban women regarding gender issues and the Statute. In addition, as already mentioned, the women from this organisation interviewed confirmed that they attended training sessions, workshops, and meeting spaces created or promoted by the Women's Platform and/or the IFFI around this particular legislative process.

This joint work is positively viewed by women in both organisations and by the women and men assembly members and decision makers interviewed who, for the most part, believe that coordination of women from the urban and rural areas enriches the process and gives their proposals greater legitimacy.

'When the Bartolinas talk, they talk of social rights, not about women. It is another political perspective: they talk of political process, MAS, social organisations; for them the argument is not gender.'

'The Women's Platform was the most important body to have coordinated actors and proposals. I know no other organisations of this kind, other than the Bartolinas which is another example, but their proposals probably do not extend beyond the area of rural development.'

'At a certain point, in spite of the achievements that had been made, the Bartolinas withdrew from the process. They follow the orders of their cadres.'

However, the impact of the complex social and political context on this rural-urban rapprochement was significant, and from 2011 each group took a different path in its advocacy work. The strategy of the Bartolina Sisa organisation re-focused on the initial document of demands that they defended in the pre-legislative stage. Unfortunately, we could not have access to this document, which, according to the people consulted, did not differ substantially from the policy demands of the Women's Platform and probably, they agree, drew from much of the previous joint work, even though its focus was more rural.

Secondly, there is a unanimous perception about the vertical nature of the Bartolina Sisa organisation and its clear affiliation with government decisions and men's union organisations. This, in the view of most of the interviewees, often tends to subordinate the organisation's positioning on gender issues to other more generic social or political agendas; according to them this also happened during the drafting of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy. That happened, for example, with the proposal to ban candidatures from men with a record of gender violence, which did not make it to the final text because of insufficient support among women assembly members (many of them from the Bartolina Sisa organisation). This proposal had been agreed on by both the Bartolina Sisa organisation and many of its assembly members in previous work meetings.

Overall, the testimonies collected show a unanimous perception of the important but secondary role played by this organisation in this particular legislative process.

Finally, we should mention a possible factor that we did not have the opportunity to investigate in depth: a possible contribution from the 'Capacity-building and Female Employment Pact' (PACEF) project implemented in Cochabamba by the Municipality of Sacaba and Vinto, the Commonwealth of Municipalities in the Andean Region of Cochabamba and the Association of Municipalities of Cochabamba (AMDECO) with EU funding. Although the documents consulted suggest that the project mostly focused on actions to promote employment skills, it also included some capacity-building activities with councillors and assembly members that aimed at introducing the gender perspective into their political work. This, they suggest in their final report, resulted in mainstreaming gender in several acts and statutes: 'Departmental Statute of Autonomy, the law of Human Development and the organic municipal charters include gender-related aspects.' Unfortunately, it was not possible to gain access to either the people responsible for its implementation or key actors familiar with this project; the information collected is, therefore, limited to noting that none of the people interviewed spontaneously identified any of these actors as a decisive factor in the process. When asked about the possible participation of AMDECO or its partners in this process, only people from the IFFI remember and acknowledge the presence and collaboration of these organisations in the capacity-building and socialisation activities at a municipal level and in the dissemination of the law against harassment and political violence against women.

In view of the information set out above, we can conclude that the Women's Platform's contribution in the framework of the Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos project is clear and has been key to achieving this outcome.

'I believe that if they [the Platform] had not followed up this process and insisted with their proposals, the text of the Statute would not have reflected, as effectively, the participation of women.'

5.3 OUTCOME 2

Outcome 2: Proposals by the Women's Platform have been incorporated into the political agenda of the municipality of Cercado.

Since its foundation in 2000 the Women's Platform for Citizenship and Equity has been predominantly an urban-based network. Created in the municipality of Cercado, the Platform includes many local neighbourhood associations, mothers' clubs, independent professionals, business and craft associations, institutions like the IFFI, and grassroots union organisations, among many others. In recent years, the Women's Platform has extended its scope of activity to the whole metropolitan region of Cochabamba, which includes the municipalities of Quillacollo, Sacaba, Tiquipaya, Vinto, Sipe Sipe and Colcapirhua.

Although the advocacy work by the Women's Platform at a local level is carried out in all these municipalities, this report focuses on analysing the results obtained in the municipality of Cercado, the departmental capital and urban centre in which some 62% of the region's total population lives.²³ Advocacy work here is led by the Comité Impulsor de Dirigentas (Committee to Promote Women Leaders), a local network of women and organisations that are members of the Women's Platform.

5.3.1 Materialisation of the outcome

The main objective of the Platform's advocacy work is to participate in the different local decision-making processes and to monitor and lobby local action to promote greater gender equity. In the past few years with the support of this and other projects, the Platform has gained some key capacities and advocacy skills that have facilitated their work at municipal level. However, despite its undisputed progress on several critical issues, the Evaluator could not find clear evidence of a significant impact of this work on improving local awareness and political will towards gender issues on a more structural level.

Nevertheless, despite the unanimous perception among informants from inside and outside the municipal government that gender issues are still not a clear priority in the municipal agenda, there is evidence that the Women's Platform and the IFFI have managed to incorporate some key specific demands in the political agenda of the Municipality of Cercado and to influence decision-making on different levels of local management, principally:

- the institutionalisation of spaces of accountability;
- the consolidation of the Integrated Municipal Legal Services (SLIMs);
- the creation and operationalisation of the Women's Commission;
- the approval of City Ordinance 4023 regulating the promotion of advertising with sexist content; and
- the inclusion of the ban on using sexist violence and the traditional water-balloon fights in City Ordinance No. 4216/201, and the general regulation of activities during the carnival festivities.

This section does not aim to comprehensively cover the intensive work carried out by the Women's Platform on a municipal level; instead it notes some of the outcomes and political decisions in which a more or less significant contribution was identified and confirmed.

5.3.2 Findings

As already stated in section 3.1, this analysis follows a pre-defined methodological protocol. However, in reviewing this outcome we have faced several difficulties that limited both a complete triangulation of some aspects and the clear identification of other possible alternative causal explanations that may have had an influence on obtaining this outcome.

The main limitation relates to the lack of access to informants with sufficient historical and institutional memory of some of the processes analysed. It should be noted that the advocacy work of the Women's Platform in this municipality dates back almost to its creation in 2000 and many of the political decisions, in which the network's influence has been analysed, draw from processes set in motion with governments and municipal technical teams that are no longer in power. This has complicated the processes of reconstruction and causal induction required by this methodology.

Nevertheless, significant influence by the Women's Platform or, where appropriate, the IFFI could be confirmed in a number of regulations and political decisions at a local level. It should also be noted that, at a municipal level, the tendency to confuse the institutions has been more frequent. This may be due in the first place to IFFI's public experience at the municipal level that goes back years before the creation of the Women's Platform. In the second place, it is most probably related to the very process of consolidating the Platform: as described in previous sections, it is an initiative that is strongly driven and supported by the IFFI and, although it has gradually won independence from that institution, it keeps strong ties to it in the local collective imagination.

At a departmental level, the distinction between the two organisations was clearer, but this is probably due to the fact that the Women's Platform participation in the legislative process happened at a time of relative maturity for the movement and that many departmental actors, being relatively new in office, were in general less familiar with both the IFFI and Platform. At a municipal level, however, despite the IFFI's strategic decision to downplay its own profile in favour of the Platform, its leading role continues to be strongly felt by the people consulted, which complicates the identification of the Women's Platform as a different political actor.

This is important because, in theory, the pluralistic composition of the Platform (consisting of local organisations with a significant social base) should enhance its legitimacy and political participation. In practice, however, a significant number of the decision makers consulted for this review spontaneously rejected the idea of the Platform being representative because they perceive it to be an urban, professional network, which lacks the presence of rural women (even though many women in the Platform have a rural background). Whereas in the analysis of Outcome 1 coordination with women from rural areas proved to be strategic in helping to overcome some of the challenges created by the political context, such as the lack of legitimacy attributed to the institution (IFFI), at the municipal level in Cercado, an obviously urban environment, there is no similar rural organisation with which it can establish alliances.

Over and beyond this relative confusion between the two organisations, the data gathered suggests that the work by the IFFI and/or Women's Platform has had a significant influence on the following issues:

The institutionalisation of spaces of accountability ('rendiciones de cuentas')

The demand for 'accountability' sessions, as spaces for participation and citizen control of municipal government action has been a strategy of the IFFI since at least 1996. The institution has regularly requested open public meetings with the competent authorities to analyse the state of implementation of the Annual Operative Plans and to monitor public spending earmarked for projects that promote gender equality. In recent years, monitoring has been reinforced with the research and the publication of reports and bulletins, an activity conducted in

the framework of this project through the Observatory for Gender Equity (public policies and gender-sensitive budgets component).

According to the people consulted, the constant demand by the IFFI and the Platform has been a key factor in the institutionalisation of these meetings and the obligation of public authorities to be accountable. The accountability sessions have also been crucial in consolidating IFFI as a local (and also national) point of reference in terms of gender-sensitive budgeting, and as a watchdog for local public policies.

The calling of these accountability meetings and the presence of the Women's Platform and IFFI in them is abundantly documented in both the institution and official records. It is also a municipal practice that all the informants consulted in this review, women and men alike, spontaneously attribute directly to the two organisations' influence and work. Today, the accountability sessions continue to be held periodically, although both people in the Women's Platform and other informants consulted indicate that they are drifting strongly towards a protocol-based format, with limited space to participate.

There is also evidence that the investment in gender equity reflected in the Cercado municipal budgets, which are analysed annually by the IFFI's Observatory for Gender Equity, although fluctuating, have grown in relative terms since 2007 (baseline) and in no case have they decreased relative to this. While it is true that this increase cannot be easily attributed to a single factor, it serves as an indicator of the possible impact of the supervision and control carried out by the organisation through these accountability spaces.

Consolidation of the Integrated Municipal Legal Services (SLIMs)

The SLIMs are municipal units specialising in domestic and family violence and gender discrimination. They usually consist of a lawyer, a social worker and a psychologist who offer a free service of information, guidance, and psychological, social and legal help to victims of family or domestic violence and discrimination. Violence against women is another sector of the work of IFFI's Observatory and one of the areas in which the Women's Platform is involved. Both institutions have consistently lobbied the municipal authorities to guarantee the continuity and quality of the service.

Initially this outcome was not considered as a focus of the evaluation. This was because, according to the IFFI itself, many of the advocacy actions relate to previous periods. However, it did quickly emerge as one of the main achievements of the IFFI/Women's Platform. Interviewees unanimously stress the important role played by both organisations in the consolidation and decentralisation of these services in the municipality of Cercado, which, until about 2012, operated haphazardly and were poorly staffed.

Continuous pressuring and lobbying by the Women's Platform was key to the approval of a specific budget line at the end of 2012,²⁴ aiming to guarantee the continuity of this service. This has allowed the opening of 11 SLIM offices in different districts of the municipality in the last two years and has substantially improved the working conditions of SLIM's employees. It is worth noting that in 2013 the Women's Platform carried out its own evaluation of this service's operation. The evaluation was conducted anonymously with women who passed themselves off as users of the service. The results were handed to the competent authorities who admitted to feeling satisfied and 'watched' by the organisation. This is taken as a fair indicator of both the improvement in the Women's Platform's institutional capacities and the consolidation of its presence as a watchdog organisation at a municipal level.

'The IFFI and the Platform were insistent on this issue. Now, we at the council have given it a budget and have decentralised it to the districts (11 SLIM offices). We made the decision in 2012 because the IFFI and the Platform were exerting a lot of pressure on us.'

Based on the spontaneous mention of this outcome by most of the decision makers at a municipal level, and their consistent recognition of the importance of the contribution made by the Women's Platform, we can safely conclude that it is a key result where the contribution of the Platform's effort in advocacy work and empowerment has been most significant.

The creation and operationalisation of the Commission for Women

The Commission for Women was created in September 2008 (City Ordinance 3851) as a municipal authority for the proposal, consultation and control of policies, programmes, projects that include gender-equity criteria and actions of prevention, promotion, protection and defence of women's rights in the municipality. The IFFI is one of the member institutions (NGOs) of this Commission and, in the opinion of the people consulted for this review, a key promoter of its establishment. The initial idea was for the Women's Platform to represent the interests of women in this organisation. However, due its lack of recognition as legal entity at the time, the platform was not officially accepted as a fully-fledged member. It was then decided to apply for IFFI's membership, something that would, even if indirectly, guarantee the presence of the Women's Platform in this decision-making space.

Despite its enormous potential as an institutional and participatory structure for the promotion of gender in local public policies, most of the informants within and outside the municipality agree that the commission is currently almost non-operational and plays a residual and unimportant role. This is principally due to a clear lack of political will on the issue of gender in the current municipal government and, according to them, a '*non-existent link between the ongoing political reforms and women's issues*'. An additional problem is that the gender discourse, also at a local level, still tends to be associated with the struggle of urban, middle class and professional women: this complicates the work of institutions like the IFFI and also that of the Women's Platform, which, although not strictly a network for women that match this profile, tends to be likened to them because of their close ties with IFFI.

After the Women's Platform obtained legal status in 2013, it officially requested admittance to the Commission: the request is still awaiting resolution.

The approval of City Ordinance 4023/2009 regulating the dissemination of advertising with sexist content

The IFFI started working on the depiction of gender roles in advertising at the end of 2008 with the incorporation of a new Gender and Media division in the Observatory for Gender Equity and the release of a series of reports and publications on the need to regulate the use of sexist advertising. In 2009 that work was reinforced with the organisation of the first award for 'Comunicar con Equidad' (Communicating with Equity), which, according to all stakeholders interviewed, served to put the issue on the national social and political agenda. Every year until 2012 these awards gave recognition to or criticised the good and bad practices of the advertising and communication agencies on gender equity. According to the testimonies collected, these awards have received widespread recognition and generated great interest on the subject across the country. Leveraging on this interest the Women's Platform and IFFI made a series of proposals to Cercado City Council, which was already working on approving an ordinance to prohibit the broadcast and dissemination of sexist advertising.

The city ordinance was finally approved on 15 December 2012. According to some of the people consulted, the IFFI's proposal and the impact achieved through the first prize-giving event were decisive factors in its adoption. Unfortunately, this information could not be fully triangulated since not all the interviewees had sufficient information on a process that took place over five years ago. A detail, or anecdote, that somehow supports IFFI's contribution to the incorporation of the gender perspective in this regulation is the suit for plagiarism that the organisation lodged in 2012 against the council for the unauthorised reproduction and use of some of its material. The organisation claims that the suit was settled at a trial with a ruling in its

favour, something also mentioned by decision makers. Unfortunately we have not been able to locate the corresponding documentary evidence.

The city ordinance is still in force and being applied in the municipality, although most of the people consulted agree that it is an initiative with limited impact. Firstly, the municipal authorities say this is because it does not include easily enforceable sanctions. But especially, they say, because most advertising is produced and broadcast nationally: this would require a higher-level regulatory framework for any significant change to occur. Despite these limitations, most of the informants and the press impact of the IFFI's work through the media observatory agree in highlighting the effort made and also recognise the institution's leading role on a subject that had not been dealt with in-depth beforehand.

The inclusion of the ban on the use of sexist violence and traditional water-balloon fights in the municipal regulation of the carnival festivities.



In 2009 the IFFI, the Women's Platform and the Municipal Directorate of Gender, Generational and Family Affairs launched its first awareness campaign to put an end to the traditional water-balloon fights during carnival. Those games usually have strong sexist connotations given the aggressiveness with which the balloons are usually thrown at young women. The campaign has been replicated yearly ever since.

'IFFI began to conduct campaigns. Then, at the council, we used the flyers they had. The publicity spots they funded were also broadcast.'

'The women's organisations, the Platform, have always been active in this area [the carnivals]. They have worked extremely hard to put an end to that violence.'

Under the slogan '*Let's enjoy our carnival without violence*', the campaign used a range of material for publicity, including among others, radio and television slots, large-format posters, flyers and a publicity bus. These were used to highlight the sexism behind these apparently innocuous games, put an end to them and position the subject of violence against women in the public eye. According to the municipal actors consulted for this review, the campaign – a recognised initiative of the IFFI and the Women's Platform – was soon accepted by the council, which incorporated the ban in the carnival's regulations and, as demonstrated in the banner (above), it adopted as its own the materials produced by the IFFI in the framework of the project evaluated.

Although there is no official data available, it is important to stress that the people interviewed during the field visit unanimously noted that the local regulation, together with the awareness activities and the ensuing campaigns of prevention, control and confiscation that the council implements every year now, has had an enormous social impact, and has been especially effective in reducing such aggressions that today are perceived to be almost incidental.

Despite this success, some people claim that the gender equality issue that prompted this ban has become blurred over time. Indeed, a look through the regulatory texts and even of some material in use in the 2014 edition, shows that the charge of underlying sexism in this behaviour has been displaced by other discourses, such as peaceful coexistence, the proper use of water, and caring for the environment. Even so, all the sources consulted confirm that the work by IFFI was decisive in putting an end to a practice and behaviour that notably restricted the freedom and integrity of women during these festivities.

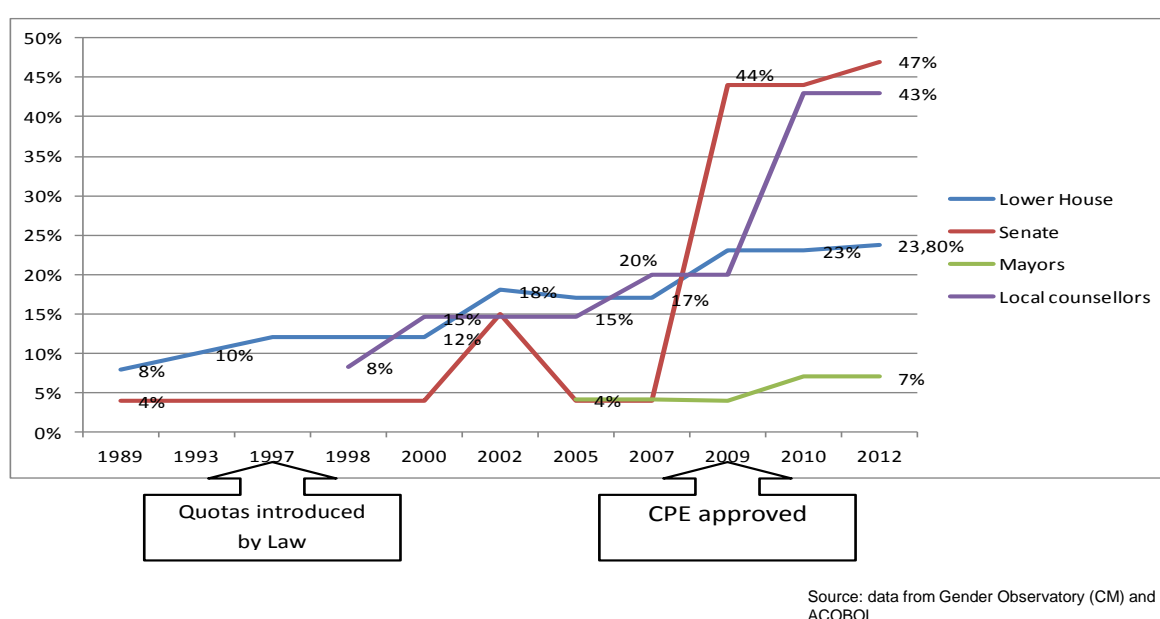
As some participants in this review rightly indicate, it should be stressed that this outcome is markedly different from the previous one, since it originated as an effort aimed more at changing behaviour and attitudes than promoting the approval of regulatory frameworks. While noting however that one of the consequences of this initiative has been to establish the ban in a municipal ordinance, it was considered appropriate to include it as an unexpected outcome.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

General considerations:

Existing data show an increasing presence of women in the Bolivian public space. Although largely drawing from previous measures, such as the approval of the law on quotas in 1997, as Figure 3 illustrates, the constituent process promoted by the current government and its establishment of the principle of parity was a major qualitative leap forward in terms of women's political participation. An illustration of this is that in 2012, and for the first time ever, the two legislative chambers were presided over by women.

Figure 3



The last five years have also been especially productive in the approval of laws that incorporate substantive advances for gender equity. The most important of these, to name but a few, include:

- The Political Constitution.
- The electoral law incorporating the principle of parity.
- Act 348/2013 to guarantee Women a life free of violence.
- Act 341/2013 in respect of participation and social control.
- Act 243/2012 against Harassment and Political Violence against Women.
- Act 045/2010 against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination.
- 2010 Framework Act of Autonomies and Decentralisation.

The extension of spaces of political participation to sectors of the population that, like women, had traditionally been excluded from the public sphere in the past few years, is revolutionary in that, at least at the symbolic level, it has given visibility to the diversity and plurality of Bolivian women in these spaces.

Citizen voice in Bolivia: Evaluation of women's citizenship for change through intercultural forums in urban areas

However, although these improvements are widely recognised at all levels, most people consulted for this review agree that the formal and legislative progress has not yet translated into real and substantial progress. In part, they explain, this is because of the lack of real political will to apply and comply with the laws approved and the scant resources usually assigned to their implementation. But also because in many cases the ability of women with a presence in the political institutions to make decisions is still overly limited, which means that their presence does not always guarantee that their voice will be heard.

'The challenge now is to qualify that presence, to give content to participation by women, to move from symbolism to action. At the moment, increased participation is not helping women advance in exercising their rights.'

'In the Assembly, when we are in session, men speak and women tend to be quiet. Women vote following the party line. For the most part I ask my female colleagues what we voted for and they don't know: they don't know what they are voting for.'

These limitations recur at a Departmental level where there is a real risk of approved regulations being '*just words*', something to be taken into account in the advocacy strategy of women's organisations. However, it is clear that the progress made and the introduction of gender equality provisions in the Departmental Statute of Autonomies offer an excellent opportunity and a strong point of departure to work for translating those principles into real progress and improvements in the lives of the women of Cochabamba. This will require a clear advocacy strategy and constant lobbying by the Platform in the development of other secondary legislation needed and for its implementation. Although the statute text has still not been screened for its constitutionality and is therefore not definitive, it would be advisable for work to begin on this strategy soon by identifying priority lines of work and starting to outline possible strategic roadmaps around them.

Conclusions and learning considerations:

- In recent years, the Women's Platform has grown in scope and capacity. The Platform has extended its territorial scope of action to include the other municipalities in the metropolitan region, and its members acknowledge that on a personal level they have acquired new skills, and that this has substantially improved their self-esteem and sense of empowerment. At an institutional level, it should also be noted that in recent years an enormous effort has been made to consolidate the Platform's organisational structure. It has also been endowed with a legal status that should open more doors for it in the future. These changes have resulted in an ever-clearer autonomy from the IFFI, the institution that has backed it since its inception. In the current political context, albeit with some limitations, the Platform has demonstrated that it is an organisation with major potential to defend the rights and interests of women. However, guaranteeing its sustainability and independence are key issues for the future. This is something that both the Platform and the IFFI are well aware of. It has led them to design a process that is currently being implemented. The steps taken so far seem to be heading in the right direction and the strategy designed by the organisation is promising. It is therefore recommended that they continue on this line of work.
- Despite difficulties and discrepancies, coordination with the women in trades unions and the social movements that currently have recognised political legitimacy has been one of the keys to success in the approval of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy. Coordination between women from urban and rural areas, as promoted in the framework of this project, has facilitated the building of the necessary bridges to advance towards a more plural and diverse women's movement. This line of work, in the view of most of the people consulted and the women themselves, is key for different strategic reasons: 1) it allows greater integration of the social and gender agendas and ensures a richer variety of approaches; 2) it gives greater legitimacy and representativeness to the women's demands, and 3) in most cases it allows greater access to the centres of power, where in theory organisations that represent rural women currently have greater recognition and presence.

- Another challenge/learning consideration frequently mentioned during the interviews is the need to work more to improve the levels of awareness in men. The work done with some of them during the drafting of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy, for example, has shown that they can be key allies, and at the same time it has allowed them to gradually become more sensitive to these issues. This experience perhaps shows a direction to consider more systematically in future strategies.
- The effort at capacity building and training made by the IFFI and Women's Platform has improved the network advocacy capacity and resulted in greater self-esteem and sense of empowerment of women activists. Despite this, various actors agree that there is a significant outstanding need for technical training and capacity building of both women in elected positions and women in management positions. This is an area that in their opinion needs to be addressed in the future. The issue would be to improve the training of women so that their presence in political institutions can result in an ability to decide, to be heard. But it is also a question of training women and public servants in those legislative and management issues that can guarantee that the approval of the regulatory framework and their demands for gender equity become implemented and materialise in specific projects and policies. At a legislative level, several assembly members recognise their lack of resources to tackle this mission alone and ask for a greater presence of the women's organisations in these processes of secondary regulatory development that are expected to happen in the near future.
- The strategy of the Women's Platform and the IFFI has been to work with the multiple actors and political forces present in both Parliament and the town council. However, a recurrently mentioned challenge has been the usual predominance of party discipline over other interests. This often results in decisions that have been agreed with political players in forums and spaces promoted by the Platform not being immediately reflected in their parliamentary/municipal vote. One possible strategy would be to begin working more directly with the structures of the different parties, and to seek strategic alliances at those levels of decision making too.
- At a municipal level, the evaluation has shown that the strategy developed by IFFI and Women's Platform has had a series of positive results: however, these results are fairly fragmented and lack clear or visible strategic logic between them. On the other hand, the data collected indicates that, so far, these achievements have not resulted in greater support or political institutional will for gender issues. This therefore poses questions over the future sustainability of a number of measures, which to a large extent remain at the mercy of political circumstance and relatively strategic and personal alliances. In general, the purpose of IFFI and Women's Platform's actions at local level is to advocate for gender mainstreaming within public municipal policies, using different points of entry. The question is how much can be achieved without improvement in the awareness and political will of the municipal institution. It is apparent that IFFI and Women's Platform have been able to take proper advantage of the different windows of opportunity that have opened up to them to influence at this level. However, this opportunistic behaviour, even if normal in advocacy strategies, should be reinforced with a stronger or clearer strategic approach. This suggests the need to review the working strategy for the future and provides a good opportunity to make or revisit the current power map or power analysis.

APPENDIX I: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

Project Documents

- Annual Report IFFI BOLB0 DFID-GTF 2008–2009
- Annual report IFFI BOLB0 DFID-GTF 2009–2010
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- Evaluation of annual work 2012; Plataforma De Mujeres Po La Ciudadanía y La Equidad
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- Síntesis de datos sobre la actual proporción de género entre autoridades de los Órganos Ejecutivo, Legislativo, Judicial y Electoral, Coordinadora de la Mujer; junio 2013
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APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INFORMANTS

- Alberto Borda, responsable departamental del Ministerio de Autonomías
- Albina Ledezma, Municipio Tiquipaya, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Ana María Ballesteros, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Ana María de la fuente, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Arminda Sánchez, Oficial Mayor de Desarrollo Humano e Igualdad de Oportunidades, Concejo Municipal del Cercado de Cochabamba
- Ascencia Pozo, ex dirigente, Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia 'Bartolina Sisa' de Cochabamba
- Asteria Chamani, Federación Departamental Comerciantes Minoristas, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Cecilia Estrada Ponce, consultora, ex directora de IFFI
- Celia Choque Chapare, Federación de Mujeres Colonizadoras de Mamoré, Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales de Bolivia
- Claudia Arce, Centro apoyo Mujer y la Niñez, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Edwin Guevara, Radio Kancha parlaspa
- Elizabeth Castellón, Comité Impulsor, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Eva Barrientos, Organización de Mujeres Líderes Barriales, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Georgina de Villarroel, Organización de Mujeres Gilda Navarro Quillacollo, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Gonzalo Vargas, actual Viceministro de Autonomías Indígena Originario Campesinas y Organización Territorial, antiguo responsable departamental del Ministerio de Autonomías
- Guido Cossío, educador social, CIES Salud Sexual Salud Reproductiva
- Jenny Perez, Sindicato de Trabajadores en Salud Albina Patiño, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- José de Lafuente, consultor en políticas públicas
- Juana Olivera, ex responsable de la Dirección de Igualdad de Oportunidades (DIO) de la Gobernación de Cochabamba
- Karla Villarroel, Asambleísta (MAS), Asamblea Legislativa Departamental de Cochabamba, ex dirigente Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia 'Bartolina Sisa' de Cochabamba
- Leocadio Mamani, Asambleísta (MAS), Asamblea Legislativa Departamental de Cochabamba
- Lina Concha, Independiente, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Mama Laureana Cunarana, COAMAC
- Marco Carrillo, Asambleísta (MAS), Asamblea Legislativa Departamental de Cochabamba, Ex responsable de la Delegación Prefectural de autonomías
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- Maria Eugenia Blancourt, abogada consultora, ex equipo técnico en la implementación del Proyecto
- María Isabel Caero, Concejala (MAS), Concejo Municipal del Cercado de Cochabamba
- María Lourdes Zabala, docente experta en género, Universidad Mayor San Simón, Citizen voice in Bolivia: Evaluation of women's citizenship for change through intercultural forums in urban areas

Cochabamba

- María Luisa Cabrera, Asambleísta (TPC), Asamblea Legislativa Departamental de Cochabamba
- María Miranda, ex responsable de la Dirección de Igualdad de Oportunidades (DIO) de la Gobernación de Cochabamba
- Mirela Armand-Ugon, consultora, ex responsable de la implementación del proyecto
- Miriam Iporre, Comité Impulsor, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
- Ninfa Condori, COAMAC
- Olimpia Pereira, Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia 'Bartolina Sisa' de Cochabamba
- Raquel Melgar, Responsable de la Dirección de Género Generacional y Familia del Municipio de Cercado
- Reyna Kapa, Municipio de Tiquipaya, Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad
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- Silvia Vega, directora de IFFI
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- Tania Sánchez, coordinadora del Programa de Presupuestos Sensibles al Género de ONU Mujeres
- Toribia Lero, COAMAC
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- Zarina Aruzamen, consultora, ex responsable del Observatorio de Equidad de género en la implementación del proyecto

NOTES

- ¹ To date IFFI is the only institution that supports and funds this network of organisations.
- ² significant iteration between many of the processes is expected and, indeed, desired
- ³ In 2011, the mid-term evaluation of the Raising Her Voice portfolio included a case study of this project, produced by Soledad Muñiz. During that process the author worked with the Women's Platform on the key elements of its theory of change. The evaluation is available on <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/womens-right-to-be-heard-an-evaluation-of-oxfam-gbs-raising-her-voice-portfolio-301544>
- ⁴ The budgetary contribution of the project under evaluation to the IFFI's global budget is estimated to be around 30% of the organisation's administrative costs over the last five years. This figure gives an idea of the importance of this project's contribution to the organisation's work and strategic objectives.
- ⁵ To date IFFI is the only institution that supports and funds this network of organisations.
- ⁶ When talking about social movements in Bolivia we refer exclusively to those movements that are institutionally recognised as social actors: trade union organisations, producers, indigenous and native organisations. As will be seen in the following section, the urban, peri-urban, social organisations and institutions (NGOs) are not officially included in this definition.
- ⁷ Mayorga F. 'Movimientos sociales en el gobierno de Evo Morales' (2007).
- ⁸ Idem. The researcher reflects numerous extracts of institutional discourse in which the predominant role social organisations are called on to play becomes visible.
- ⁹ <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/bolivia/Bolivia-2012-Resumen-Ejecutivo-051713-W.pdf>; p. 17.
- ¹⁰ http://la-razon.com/nacional/Gobierno-Bolivia-ONG-IBIS-injerencia_0_1964803571.html;
<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/afp/131220/bolivia-expels-danish-ngo-meddling-1>
- ¹¹ Women's Coordination Association – Coordinadora de Mujeres (web site):
<http://www.coordinadoradelamujer.org.bo/observatorio/index.php/reflexion/principal/boton/2/sub/3/tem/2>
- ¹² IFFI is a member of this network.
- ¹³ Mayorga, F. (op. cit).
- ¹⁴ On the date of the evaluation, the Tribunal had not yet made any pronouncement in this respect.
- ¹⁵ Estudio de Caso: Violencia política en razón de género, Nelson Machicao Beltrán; Joint programme: Promoviendo el cambio en paz; 2012; CONCEJALA- Revista de la Asociación de Concejalas de Bolivia – ACOBOL No. 5 – September 2010.
- ¹⁶ The drafting of the Departmental Statute of Autonomy has been a long and complex process; most of the documentation consulted splits it into at least five stages. The description we provide here does not, therefore, intend to reflect its many nuances and details, but to provide the reader with the main milestones.
- ¹⁷ Draft project of the Cochabamba Departmental Statute of Autonomy. Autonomous Departmental Council. Prefectural Office for Autonomies and Institutional Strengthening 2009.
- ¹⁸ Although only three Secretary's Offices are officially noted, people from the Women's Platform say they have semi-officially taken on another as a result of substitution.
- ¹⁹ http://www.lostiempos.com/diario/actualidad/local/20110807/cochabamba-tiene-al-menos-seis-ofertas-de-estatuto_136808_279352.html
- ²⁰ http://www.lostiempos.com/diario/actualidad/local/20111019/plantean-equidad-de-genero-en-estatutos_146121_301959.html
- ²¹ Although its composition has varied over time, the following social organisations are considered members of the Pact: Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB); Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales de Bolivia (CSCIB); Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Indígenas Originarias-Bartolina Sisa (CNMCIO-BS); el Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ) and la Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (CIDOB).
- ²² Some departments such as Tarija, Pando, Santa Cruz and Beni had already approved their statutes of autonomy; they therefore only needed to adapt them to the constitutional framework approved in 2009.
- ²³ INE Bolivia, projections of departmental population by province and municipality. 2000–2010.
- ²⁴ Approval was the result of over two months of meetings and continued lobbying by the Platform of the authorities at the Directorate of Gender. The women's organisations proposed extending the contract period of human resources at the SLIM offices, so that they could be permanently staffed, something that was not happening until that date.

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