Index

Acción Communal, 143-46 Adult education, 33, 166-67 Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA), 143-46 Agrarian question, 2, 7, 18, 19 Agriculture, 2, 38-39 Alliance for Progress, 138-39 Alteños, 6, 10, 12, 21, 39, 43, 83, 181; antagonisms among, 35, 69, 184-85; and education reform, 87; and health care, 53, 54; and international funding, 155; and the military, 132; and NGO, 166; and political parties, 159; poverty, 74; and public education, 92-93; relationships among, 20; self-help, 59; solidarity among, 103; state and, 22; ties to kinfolk, 34; transportation, 55 Anticrético, 61-62 Arellano-López, Sonia, 137 Armed forces, see Military (the) Association of Household Heads of Bolivia, 100 Ayllus (extended kin groups), 159-60 Aymara, 1, 6, 22, 33, 38, 68, 79, 83,

106, 111; immigrants to El Alto, 40–41, 43, 53, 183, 185; marginalization of, 40; merchants, 40, 43; and military service, 117, 122, 125; miners and, 78, 185; professionals, 157; public education, 88 Aymara language, 6, 70, 79, 88

Bancosol, 146, 147–49
Banzer Suárez, Hugo, 36, 69, 84; regime, 110, 138, 139, 169, 194n4
Baptists/Baptist Church, 31, 63, 64, 65
Bilingual education, 90, 91, 184
Bolivian National Airlines (Lloyd Aéro Boliviano), 38
Bolivian Women's Day, 175
BONOSOL, 47
Bourgois, Philippe, 18
Boys (the), 2
Brazil, 1, 19, 34, 74
Broyles, William, Jr., 123
Brysk, Alison, 171

Campaña de Acción Communitaria Multiple (CADACOM), 129 Capitalism, 3, 6-7, 11-12, 71, 181-90 Capitalization Law (Ley de Capitalización), 47-48 Cárdenas, Victor Hugo, 196n3 Caritas, 145, 165, 173 Casera relationships, 149 Castells, Manuel, 188 Castro, Andrés, 58-59 Catavi-Siglo XX, 67, 70, 71, 73, 79, 81, 83, 84, 91, 169 "Catavi Thesis," 72 Catholic Church, 31, 32, 141, 151, 162, 173, 175, 198n8; and NGOs, 139 Centinelas de la Salud, 129-31 Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), 4, 15, 37-38, 40, 49, 67, 72, 93, 94, 101, 102, 135, 177, 179 Central Obrera Regional (COR), 40, 179 Centro de Servicios Integrados para el Desarrollo Urbano (PROA), 146 Chaco War, 109 Chapare, 37, 74, 93, 104, 132 Chiapas, 8 "Chicago Boys," 191n1 Chicago martyrs, 67 Children, 183; and class, 76; and disruptions of forced migration, 75-76, 77; working, 88-89 Chile, 1, 35, 37, 74, 79, 113, 169; military regime, 68-69 Cholera, 51 "Cholo populism," 39 Cholos, 6, 71, 148 Choque family, 60-66, 86 Christian Aid, 162 Christian base communities, 173 Cities, 4-5; and changing politics of struggle, 5–11; in global perspective, 20-22 Citizen-soldiers, 110-11

Citizenship, 20; and masculinity, 120; military service and, 106-8, 111, 117-22, 123-24, 189 Civic action programs, military and, 131-32 Civic consciousness, militaries instilling, 111 Civil society, 16, 19, 21, 142; NGOs and, 136, 180 Civilizing project of military, 105, 110, 111, 118, 122 Class, 5-6; children and, 76; and credit market, 148, 149; men and, 123-25; and military service, 111-17, 124 Class-based organizations, 84, 102-3 Class differences, 9, 53, 54, 91, 110, 146 Class solidarity, 67-68, 69, 70, 84, 185 Class struggle, 5, 6, 22, 68, 143, 183 Clavijo, Flavio, 153-54 Clientelism, 33-34, 166, 172, 182 Coca, 9; right to grow, 128-29, 135 Coca cultivation, 74, 93, 94, 95, 104 Coca-producing regions, 114 Cocaine, 14, 27, 70, 72 Cocaine trafficking, 1, 104-5, 128-29 Cochabamba, 74, 113, 152 Cold war, 8, 35, 103, 110, 112, 128, 171; end of, 104 Colegio San Salvador, 95–99, 100 Colombia, 86-87 COMIBOL, 72, 73, 74 Comité Cívico de El Alto, 40 Communism, collapse of, 189–90 Community organizations, 19, 33-34 Competition, 78-79, 83, 138 Compulsory military service, 7-8, 17, 20, 105, 106-7, 108-9, 115, 125, 132, 189 Conciencia de la Patria (CONDEPA), 39, 50, 58, 83-84, 101, 153, 161

Index • 213

Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB), 114, 199n13 Conklin, Beth A., 171 Consejo Nacional de Educación (CONED), 90 Consent, 16–17 Consumerism, 69, 76 Contradiction, 10, 21 Cooper, Frederick, 15, 16 Coordinadora Nacional de Redes (CNR), 151, 161 Corrigan, Philip, 16 Costa Rica, 137, 171 Credit market(s), 148, 149 Crime, 30-31 Cuban Revolution, 110, 139, 189 Cultural discrimination in microcredit programs, 150-51 Cultural diversity, 160, 185 Daily life, 182, 185; militarism in, 122-28; military and, 104-32; neoliberal state and, in changing global system, 11 - 18Day care programs, 33, 143, 165, 167-69 Decapitalization, 47, 48, 49 Decentralization, 48-49, 136, 182; public education, 92, 93 Defense Ministry, 129 Democracy: and development, 137; militarized, 106, 188; NGOs and, 11, 138, 139, 145 Development, 163; funded through NGOs, 155; military and, 131–32; notion of, 137; participatory, 136 Development programs: military, 105-

6, 108, 128; of NGOs, 136 Development theory, neoliberal, 188 Disease prevention, 129–30 Domestic workers, federation of, 176-79 Domestic violence, 127 Domination, 5, 11, 16, 18, 35; coercion in, 17-18; forms of, 4; Popular Participation Law and, 49; struggle against, 10; and subordination, 74-75 Draft evasion, 108–9 Drinking, 65, 76, 123 Drug trafficking, 30-31, 34, 104-5, 113, 132 Eastern Europe, 152 Economic crisis, 27, 105, 122, 186; effect on middle class, 156; effect on poor women, 163; international organizations and, 138; military and, 105-6, 128-32; NGOs and, 142-43, 154, 155 Economic power, 8-9 Economic restructuring, 3-4, 141, 181, 187; global, 6, 188; and social relations, 75; and state's relationship with poor peoples, 108 Ecuador, 69 Edelman, Marc, 14, 137, 171 Education: NGOs in, 152; parents in/and, 99, 101; route out of poverty, 184; see also Public education/schools Education Ministry, 50 Education Reform Law (Ley de Reforma Educativa), 9, 15, 21, 22, 47, 48-49, 50, 82, 85, 87, 92, 93, 94, 103, 183, 184, 186; modified, 102; support for, 101 Educational reform, 20, 184; resistance to, 90-95; teachers and, 103 El Alto, Bolivia, 1–2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 17,

20–21, 22, 25–46, 48, 181–90; appeal to immigrants, 28–30; artisan

214 • Index

El Alto, Bolivia (Continued) groups, 173, 175; Ciudad Satélite, 43; credit market in, 148; daily life in, 64, 66; deprived of tax revenues, 51; development schemes in, 128; domestic violence in, 127; effect of Popular Participation Law in, 159-61; growth of, 39; housing, 55–59; "La Ceja," 25-26, 39, 40, 55; military bases, 35-37; military service, 106, 110, 116-17, 120; neighborhood committees, 49; neighborhoods, 35; NGOs in, 10, 11, 137, 142, 152, 154, 159, 165-72, 179; NGO staffs in, 157; opportunism and corruption in, 172; organized protests in, 104; politics of land development in, 56-59; poverty in, 53; public education in, 88-90; public works construction in, 143-46; relations of former miners and immigrants in, 82-85; relationships of inequality in, 107; relocated miners in, 9, 68, 69, 74, 75-82; social life in, 18, 19; teachers' strike in, 86, 87, 93-94, 99-100, 101-2; Villa Exaltación, 45; Villa Pacajes, 40-41; Villa Pedro Domingo Murillo, 57-59, 61; Villa Santiago II, 61; Villa 16 de Julio, 43-46, 60, 61, 166; villas, 43; zones, 40-41, 43 El Salvador, 9 El Teniente (mine), 68 Employment, 2, 35; competition for, 78 Employment opportunities: El Alto, 74; for returning military, 122-23 Empowerment, 9, 146, 147; female, 151 En las Tierras de Potosí (Mendoza), 7 England, 16, 17

Equipo Técnico de Apoya a la Reforma Educativa (ETARE), 91 Escobar, Arturo, 137 Ethnicity, 78, 110, 146; and credit market, 148, 149; and military service, 111-17, 124 European funding agencies, 138, 158, 163, 165, 166, 171 Federación de Amas de Casa, 166-67 Federación de Juntas de Vecinos de El Alto (FEJUVE), 32, 40 Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB), 15, 70; Twenty-first Congress, 72 Federation of Parents of El Alto, 101 Feminism, 162 Ferguson, James, 188 Fernando Valle, Luis, 129 "Field of force," 20, 21 Fiesta del Señor del Gran Poder, 43 Fiestas, 41-43 Financial institutions, 8, 10, 15, 17, 19, 183, 188 First Departmental Congress of Nongovernmental Organizations, 135-36 Fisher, William, 137 Flores, Genaro, 102, 103 Food-for-Work programs, 8, 41, 138, 142-51, 188 Food handouts, 71, 72, 151, 165, 173; in exchange for labor, 138, 143, 145; military, 115-16 Foreign aid, 141 Foreign citizens in Bolivia, 157-58 Free-market reform/policies, 1, 2, 13, 46, 88, 91, 141, 176, 181 Freire, Paulo, 173 Friedman, Milton, 12

Index • 215

García Meza, Luís, 118 Gender, 131, 146, 162, 179; military service and beliefs about, 107; and patronage, 157 Gender discrimination, 143 Gender relations in households, 75, 76 Ghouls, 53-54 Gledhill, John, 16 Global capitalism, 7, 8, 10 Global connections through NGOs, 155 - 80Global economic order, 181 Global economic restructuring, 188; education reform in, 90-95 Globalization, 12, 76 Global power, state in, 188 Global system, changing neoliberal state and daily life in, 11-18 Governability, 8–9 Government: corruption, 141; and education reform, 87, 89, 91, 92-93, 94-95; and teachers' strike, 96, 97, 99, 102 Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), 146 Grassroots organizations, 31, 83, 137 160; NGOs and, 164-78, 179, 185, 187 Green, Linda, 9 Guarani, 106 Guatemala, 9 Guatemala City, 19, 33-34 Haiti, 86-87 Handicraft project, 173-76 Haymarket Square, 67 Health care, 2, 33, 51-54, 131, 132, 143; NGOs in, 152 Health education programs, 105, 129-

31

Households, gender relations in, 75, 76 Houses, 59-66 Housing, 55-59, 74, 75, 81 Illiteracy, 88 IMF, see International Monetary Fund (IMF) Immigrants, 1-2, 27, 28-30, 32, 37, 38, 39, 154; housing, 55-56, 57, 59-66; ties to natal communities, 34 In Search of Respect (Bourgois), 18 Indianness, 171 Indians, 70, 100; ambivalence about arming, 109; credit market for, 148, 149, 150; in military, 118, 124, 126, 130 Indigenous peoples, 7, 37, 107, 157, 171, 179; civilizing agenda for, 108; enfranchisement of, 110; marginalization of, 160; and the military, 108-9; public education for, 88; race and class exploitation, 53-54; racist paternalism toward, 130-31 Individualism, 64, 137, 138 Informal economy, 2, 19, 120, 122, 142, 148, 182 Instituciones Privadas de Desarrollo Social (IPDS), 152 Inter-American Development Bank, 146-47 International aid/development organizations, 2, 8, 11, 132, 151, 155, 163, 164, 170-71; policy agendas of, 156; and health care, 51; NGOs and, 161 International funding, 166, 169, 186; competition for, 152-53; contending for access to, 155; dependence on, 137; NGOs and, 141, 154, 156, 179; popular organizataions and, 172

216 • Index

International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2, 3, 12, 13, 14, 17, 87, 102, 183, 184 International organizations, 6, 138; social policies mandated by, 141–42; support for NGOs, 140–41 International Women's Day, 135 Internationalism, 190

Jackson, Jean, 171 Jehovah's Witnesses, 31 John Paul II, Pope, 198*n*8

Katari, Tupac, 37 Katarismo, 196*n3* Kowarick, Lúcio, 50–51

La Paz, Bolivia, 1, 2, 7, 8, 20, 25, 26-27, 35, 36, 39, 43, 80, 122, 147-48, 162; conscription in, 114; cooperatives, 173; credit market in, 148; demonstrations in, 135; immigrants to, 39; marketplace, 76; military service, 120; minivans, 55; municipal government, 51; NGO staff in, 158; NGOs in, 33, 136, 152, 176, 179, 180; organized protests in, 104; school attendance in, 50; siege of, 37; teachers in, 87, 93-94, 95, 99, 100, 102; U.S. embassy in, 128; Zona Sur, 27 - 28Labor, 3, 7, 38; disciplining, 15 Labor movement, 4, 67-68, 69, 71, 102, 183; leaders, 71; neoliberal attack on, 15, 186 Land, 38, 55-59 Land development, politics of, 56-59 Land speculators (loteadors), 56, 57-59 Landlordism, 61-66, 182 Latin America, 3, 8, 17-18, 131; armed

forces in, 104; cities in, 5; popular movements in, 183; urban poverty, 18 - 19Leeds, Elizabeth, 34 Left (the), 2, 14, 140, 141, 148, 155, 171, 183, 187; NGOs and, 151-54 Lesotho, 188 Levenson-Estrada, Deborah, 33-34 Lewis, Oscar, 18 Ley Marco de la Reforma Educativa, 90 Liberal Party, 7 Literacy training, 33, 129 Local organizations, 48-49, 159-60 Local people: and development, 137; NGOs and, 164-65, 187-88; state and, 142 Lower-class men, subordination of, 123-25 Male power, 123, 124–25, 131 Managua, 19 "March for Life and Peace," 72 "March of the Empty Pots," 135 Marcus, George, 21 Márquez, Cristina, 132 Marxism, 79 Masculinity: class privilege and, 125; military service and, 106-8, 111, 117-22, 123-24, 125, 189; subordinate/dominant notions of, 125 Material conditions, 185 MBL, see Movimiento Bolivia Libre (MBL) Medellín Congress, 138, 139 Mendoza, Jaime, 7 Mestizaje, 160, 198n4 Mestizos, 6, 129, 149, 150 Mexico, 8, 16 Mexico City, 19 Michel, Oscar, 49-50

Microcredit programs, 138, 142, 146-51, 152, 188 Middle class, 13, 15, 43, 137, 179, 190; access to credit, 148; and military service, 123-24; and NGOs, 154, 155-64, 172, 186 Militarism, 8-9, 103, 182; in daily life, 122 - 28Military (the), 14, 17, 37, 105, 182, 188-89; and Bolivian society, 108-11; budget cutbacks, 115-16; civilizing mission of, 105, 110, 111, 118, 122; and daily life, 104-32; development programs, 189; opposition to, 114; relationship with people, 20; role in democracy, 22, 127-32 Military bases, 35-37, 105, 106, 115 Military booklet (libreta militar), 117-19, 124, 126, 127 Military rule, 16, 69, 110, 128, 138, 159, 186, 187 Military service, 22; benefits and entitlements of, 105, 117-18, 123; class, ethnicity, and regional affiliation in, 111-17; effects of, 124-25, 127; experience of, 122-24; masculinity and citizenship and, 106-8; women and, 125-27; see also Compulsory military service Miners, 2, 6, 9, 13, 43, 82–83, 171, 183, 184; dispersal of, 73-75, 170; and military 114; and politics of revanchism, 67-85; relations with Aymara immigrants, 185; relocation, 20, 22, 68, 75-82; security, subsistence, and struggle, 75-82; and the state, 69-75 Ministry of Human Development, 136, 154, 163; Subsecretariat of Gender, 178

Ministry of Planning and Coordination, 153 MIR, see Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) MNR, see Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) Morales, Alex, 93, 179-80 Moral regulation, 16, 111 Mothers' clubs, 83, 145, 165, 173 Movimiento Bolivia Libre (MBL), 140, 153, 154, 161, 163 Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), 139, 140, 141, 154, 162 Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), 38, 65, 83, 84, 88, 109-10, 114, 154, 167 Multiculturalism, 9, 91 Narcotraffickers, 104 Nash, June, 4 National citizenry, creation of, 7-8 National Congress of Education, 90 National Federation of Household Workers, 176-79 National identity, 88, 109, 111, 198n4 Nationalism, 108, 129; military in, 110, 113, 114 Nation-building, 7, 8, 181 Nation-state, 7, 17, 105 Neighborhood associations, 10, 83; neighborhood committees (juntas de vecinos), 32, 49, 58, 159-60 Neoconservatism, 12 Neoliberal development theory, 188 Neoliberal NGOs, 138, 140, 141-42, 151, 154, 187 Neoliberal policies, 171; NGOs and, 11, 142; resistance to, 102, 135; worldwide shift to, 140

Neoliberal reforms, 21, 22, 93, 103, 104; effect on middle class, 156 Neoliberal restructuring, 20, 21, 32, 71, 80, 105, 184-85 Neoliberal state: and daily life in changing global system, 11–18; repressive apparatus of, 106 Neoliberalism, 2-3, 4, 8, 9, 12-13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 47, 51, 103, 181, 186, 187; brutality of, 190; consequences of, for ex-miners, 84; effect on military, 115; fight against, 179, 180; military and, 189; NGOs and, 136, 137, 138, 141, 151, 152, 154, 163; and public education, 93, 183-84; teachers in struggle against, 85, 87 New Directions mandate, 138 New Economic Policy, 12-13, 71-72 New World Order, 189 NGOs, see Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) Nicaragua, 86 Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 10-11, 17, 19, 20, 21-22, 31, 32–33, 41, 89, 135–38, 142–43, 155-56, 181, 185-86; control of subsistence essentials, 83; developmental, 10-11, 137-39, 147, 157, 165; and grasssroots organizations, 164-73; and health care, 51-53; and housing, 56, 62-63, 64; and the Left, 151-54; and microcredit, 147; middle-class professionals and, 154, 155-64; openness to, 198n6; and popular organizations, 173-80; relationship with local people, 187-88; role of, in Bolivian society, 158-59; staff, 33, 157-58, 172, 177; and the state, 136, 137, 138-46 Normal schools, 88

Oppression, 12, 18, 22 Order/disorder, military and, 104-5, 131 Organizaciones Territoriales de Base (OTBs), 49, 160, 161 Oruro, 114 Pachamama Center, 173-76 Palenque, Carlos, 39–40 Pan American Health Organization, 129 Paraguay, 109 Parents: and education reform, 87; educational costs passed to, 92; and private schools, 93; relationship with teachers, 184; of sons in military, 116-17; and teachers' strike, 99-103 Pataki, George, 86 Paternalism, 124, 130-31 Patriarchy, 132 Patronage, 83, 84, 157 Paz Estenssoro, Víctor, 12-13, 47, 91, 141, 170 Paz Zamora, Jaime, 141, 152–53, 158 Peasants, 1-2, 137, 139, 154, 171; and military, 113, 114, 117, 119, 124; and miners, 70-71; racist paternalism toward, 130–31; right to grow coca, 128-29 Pentecostals, 31–32 Pérez, Elizardo, 109 Petras, James, 137 Pinochet, Augusto, 68, 169 P. L. 480 program, 143, 145 Police, 17, 30, 104, 182; and teachers' strike, 86, 95, 96, 98, 100 Political parties, 39, 159, 164; affiliating with, 83-84, 185; and NGOs, 138, 140, 152, 154, 159, 161-62, 166 Political participation, 49–50 Political power, 8-9

- Politics: class, 185; of land development, 56–59; of representation, 18–19; of revanchism, 67–85; of struggle, 5–11
- Poor (the), 3, 4, 18, 189; Catholic Church and, 139; in cities, 5; and microcredit, 147; middle-class professionals and, 161–62, 164; and military service, 105, 107–8; NGOs and, 155, 156, 169–72, 179, 186; the state and, 181, 182; structural adjustment and, 141
- Popular movement, 186–87
- Popular organizations, 165, 187; NGOs and, 155, 156, 172–80
- Popular participation, 9–10, 145, 146, 187–88
- Popular Participation Law (Ley de Participación Popular), 9–10, 47, 48– 50, 91, 136, 145; forum regarding, 159–61
- Poverty, 6-7, 14, 47-66, 141, 142; alteños, 74; in cities, 8; decentralizad approach to alleviation of, 145; and domestic violence, 127; education as route out of, 184; effect on education, 103; El Alto, 30, 53, 88, 142; feminizing, 142-51; La Paz, 27; military and, 106, 129, 132, 189; in miners' relocation, 76-77; NGOs in alleviating, 154, 167; and politics of representation, 18-19; and school attendance, 50; structural adjustment policies and, 155; Third World, 137; women and, 151 Power, 17-18, 20, 137 Prado, Victor, 93 Premilitary program, 127–28 Private schools, 50, 92-93, 99 Private sector, 140, 141

Private volunteer organizations (PVOs), 151-52 Privatization, 3, 7, 13, 49, 72, 182; of health care, 51–52; legal framework for, 47; NGOs and, 11; protests against, 104; of public education, 15, 17, 50, 92; of public lands, 57; of public sector, 82 Procrédito, 147, 149 PRODEM (Programa de Apoyo de la Microempresa), 147 Promujer, 146, 150–51 PROSALUD, 51 Protestantism, 31-32 Public education/schools, 7-8, 22, 54, 75, 86-103; in civilizing mission of state, 100; in El Alto, 88-90; in mining districts, 71, 72; neoliberalism and, 184; privatization of, 15, 17, 50, 92; reform of, 82, 85, 86; responsibility for, transferred to municipalities, 50, 92; see also Teachers Public policy debate, 18-19 Public sector, 13, 104, 156, 188 Public works projects, 7, 143-46, 188

Quechua, 106 Quechua language, 70, 88 Quechua-speaking people, 6, 27, 88

Race/racism, 7, 18; and patronage, 156; prejudice, 53, 54; in public school system, 103
Racial mixing (mestizaje), 160, 198n4
Racist paternalism, 130–31
Reagan, Ronald, 12
Reaganomics, 12
Reform laws, 21, 46, 47–50
Regional affiliation, and military service, 111–17

Relocalización, 183-84 Relocalizados, 73, 77-82, 83 Remedios, "Comadre," 39 Resistance: to educational reform, 90-95; strategies of, 156 Revolution (1952), 38, 63, 88, 108, 109, 114; miners in, 69, 71, 72 Rio de Janeiro, 34, 193n3 Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia, 137, 149, 150 Rojas, Leonidas, 67, 79-80, 82 Romero, Fernando, 197n12 Sachs, Jeffrey, 12 Sánchez de Lozada, Gonzalo, 12, 13, 15, 47, 135, 136, 154, 167, 177, 187-88 Sandanistas, 19 Santa Cruz, 113, 152 Sao Paulo, 193n3 Sayer, Derek, 16 Schirmer, Jennifer, 9 Second Vatican Council, 138, 139 Security, miners, 75-82 Self-help, 19, 59 Seventh-Day Adventists, 31, 98 Shining Path, 112 Sider, Gerald, 17-18, 185 Siles Suazo, Hernán, 13, 14, 140 Small business developmnet, 33, 152 Small-scale projects, 32-33, 163, 176 Smith, Carol, 9 Smith, Gavin, 17-18 Social change, 4, 184-85 Social Emergency Fund, 141 Social initiatives, of military, 129-32 Social life, 4; state and, 184-85 Social mobility, 64; NGOs and, 155-56; teaching as avenue of, 95, 100, 184 Social organization, NGOs in, 136-37

Social policy, 8; mandated by international organizations, 141-42 Social relationships, 3, 6, 18, 35, 182; changed by neoliberalism, 3, 4; and credit, 149-50; dependence on, 64; economic restructuring and, 75; exploitation rooted in, 84; of former miners and immigrants, 69, 82-85, 183; of inequality, 20-21; militarism and, 122-28; within oppressed groups, 107-8; religion and, 31-32; in worker solidarity, 80 Social security system, 47, 190 Social services, 11, 142; provided by NGOs, 138, 141, 152; retrenchment of, 4, 138, 182, 187, 189 Socialism, collapse of, 141, 154 Society: military and, 108–11; state and, 16 - 17Sole Federation of Popular Womens' Organizations of El Alto, 173-76 Solidarity: among alteños, 103; NGOs and, 179-80; of teachers, 87, 95-97, 98 Solidarity of group(s), 148-49 Spanish language, 70, 113; in education, 88 State (the), 4, 8, 13, 181-90; in capitalist society, 16-17; challenge to, 180; and cities, 4; contradiction in, 10; education in civilizing mission of, 100; miners and, 69-75; in neoliberalism, 3, 105; and NGOs, 136, 137, 138-42, 153, 154, 158; relationship with citizens/local people, 22, 35, 47, 137, 142, 159-60; relationship with impoverished peoples, 108; and society, 16-17; spending on social services, 51, 54; use of force, 8-9; use of

military service, 105, 106-7, 108; ways to contol people, 104; see also Neoliberal state State agencies, retrenchment of, 32, 154, 156, 186 State institutions, 14-15; moral regulation through, 16, 17 Stoler, Ann Laura, 15, 16 Striffler, Steve, 69 Strike(s), 72, 73; teachers, 86-87, 93-95, 96-103, 179 Structural adjustment(s), 140–41, 155, 164, 165, 198n6 Struggle: forms of, 49, 69; miners, 75-82; NGOs and, 11 Subsistence needs, 3, 4, 38, 55, 83; miners, 72, 74, 75-82 Suffering, 120-22, 123 Supreme Decree 21060, 12-13, 15, 20, 71, 80, 82, 170 Surplus extraction, 138, 142-51, 188 Tax reforms, 14-15 Teacher-training schools, 88, 91 Teachers, 9, 15, 50, 89-90, 183-84, 185; accountability, 103, 184; challenge to established order 104; competency examinations, 91-92, 97; economic difficulties, 89-90; job security, 103, 184; NGOs and, 179-80, 186; parents' views of, 99-101, 103; social status of, 81-82, 100; in struggle against neoliberalism, 85 Teachers' strike, 20, 22, 37, 86-87, 93-95, 96-103; legacy of, 103; parents and, 99–103 Third World, 19, 43, 87, 146, 169, 170-71, 175, 182, 188, 198n8; communist threat to, 139; debt crisis, 8;

female-headed households in, 197n8; neoliberalism in, 190; poverty, 137 Thompson, E. P., 3, 5, 20 Tin mines, closed, 9, 13, 68, 183 Todos Santos (Day of the Dead), 41 Trade liberalization, 2, 6, 43 Transnationalism, 15-16 UMOPAR (Unidad Móvil de Patrullaje Rural; aka "Leopardos"), 128, 129 Unemployment/underemployment, 2, 5, 6, 68, 69; El Alto, 6, 51, 54, 56, 68, 182 Unidad Democrática Popular (UDP), 140 Unión Cívica Solidaridad (UCS), 84 Unionization, 37-38 Unions: miners, 10, 15, 70, 72-73, 74, 80, 85, 183, 185; and right to grow coca, 128; teachers, 82, 85, 93, 95, 101, 102 United Nations, 129, 138 United States, 7-8, 9, 94-95; aid programs, 143; and Bolivian military, 108; cities, 18, 190; financial aid, 153-54; Labor Day, 67; military aid, 110, 114; neoconservatism in, 12; poor neighborhoods in, 30; poverty debate in, 151; used clothing from, 43; and "War on Drugs," 104, 128-29, 132; welfare debate in, 145 U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 11, 51, 138, 141, 143, 145-46, 147, 151; and NGOs, 152 U.S. Defense Department, 131-32 U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, 128

University of Chicago, 68

222 • Index

Urban ethnographies, 20–21 Urbanization, 5 Urban spoliation, 50–51 Unwaged female labor, 138, 142–43, 145, 146

Vatican (the) 198*n*8
Vendors, 40, 43, 78, 79, 80, 182; and microcredit, 149–50
Vidaurre, Janette, 130–31 *Viernes de Soltero* (Bachelor Fridays), 195*n*12
Vigilance Committee, 49
Vilas, Carlos, 5, 15, 142
Volk, Steven, 71

"War on Drugs," 104, 128–29, 132, 189 Wilson, William Julius, 18 Women, 123, 124, 125; in labor force, 75; in labor struggles, 68; marginalization of, 160; and microcredit programs, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150-51; and military service, 125-27; and NGO programs, 142-46; and NGOs, 166-69, 170, 173-76, 179; poor, 138, 142, 165; projects focused on, 162-63; in teaching, 90, 95-96; vendors, 78-79, 80 Woods, Ellen Meiskins, 182-83 Worker identity, 79, 80 Worker solidarity, 70-71, 80 Working people, conflicts and divisions among, 70-71 World Bank, 11, 14, 82, 87, 91, 102, 129, 140-41, 152, 188