Rural Weavers in Southern Bolivia: A Development Project Case Study

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Abstract

While most people would agree that economic development is an important goal, an understanding of exactly what "economic development" implies, and how to achieve it, are considerably more elusive. Specifically, this paper addresses the concern about whether very small-scale "grassroots-style" development projects for producers -- especially petty artisans -- really have the potential to make a positive impact on an ailing economy. A case study of a textile weavers' project in rural northern Chuquisaca, Bolivia, among the Jalq'a (Quechua-speaking) ethnic group, is presented in detail. The local-level organizations, known as "workshops", which administer this project are analysed along with economic data from households, in order to determine both the advantages of such a project for rural women weavers, and the project's limitations. The implications of a form of organization in which local-level organizations share administrative duties with a larger support organization -- in this case, the Sucre-based *Antropólogos del Surandino* (ASUR) -- are also discussed. The gains and potential gains made by weavers and their households as a result of this project are not overwhelming, yet they are valuable steps toward increased empowerment and an expansion of economic and social options for the Jalq'a.

Résumé

Bien que la majorité des gens semblent en accord avec le fait que le développement économique constitue un objectif important, la compréhension exacte de ce qu'il implique et les façons dont il peut être effectué sont beaucoup plus difficile à définir. Cet ouvrage traite en détails des difficultés rencontrées lors de projets de développement à très petite échelle de producteurs, plus spécifiquement de petits artisans, à savoir si ils ont vraiment le potentiel requis afin de créer un impact positif au sein d'une économie précaire. On se penche donc sur un projet de tisserands du petit village septentrional de Chuquisaca, en Bolivie, plus particuliérement d'un groupe ethnique, les Jalq'a, dont la langue d'usage est le Quechua. Quelques organisations locales, appellées "ateliers", qui administrent ce projet, sont analysées. Les données économiques des ménages sont également étudiées afin de déterminer les avantages et les limites d'un tel projet pour les tisserandes. Les implications d'une forme individuelle d'organisation dans laquelle les organisations locales partagent les fonctions administratives avec une plus importante organisation de soutient, dans ce cas-ci, "l'Antropólogos del Surandino" (ASUR), située à Sucre, sont aussi discutées. Les gains réels et potentiels résultant de ce projet, et dont profitent les tisserands et leurs familles, ne sont pas énormes, mais ils représentent toutefois un avantage précieux en favorisant leur indépendance et en rendant possible l'expansion économique et sociale des Jalq'a.

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Introduction

In the Presence of Poverty

To see a group of people in poverty, and desire to help -- this is the origin of the development project, a structured relationship between two groups of people, development workers and beneficiaries, in order to improve living conditions for the latter. Unfortunately, this relationship is neither a smooth nor straightforward one, and tends to end in failure more often than success. Over the years, the classic top-down development project has evolved to include a greater role for beneficiaries in the planning and execution of projects. This has been coupled with an increasing recognition of the importance of grassroots organizations which implement "development from below".

There are many definitions of "development" and "economic development". Some consider it to be the overall growth of the economy, which benefits individuals through increases in income and thus improved living conditions. There are significant equity problems with this view, however -- if the whole economy grows, then those who already control resources will likely be the primary beneficiaries, not those who need income most. The acquisition of the most modern technology is often implied in peoples' concepts of development, but this view fails to take into account the appropriateness of that technology and whether it can actually help make people better off. The purely social outlook, on the other hand, tends to suggest that shipping poor people medicine, food, and other aid will do, while considering neither long-term solutions nor the harm that an influx of free or cheap foreign goods may have on local production systems.[1]

Development, therefore, cannot be viewed either through a purely economic nor purely social lens, neither can it operate independently of the beneficiaries' local context. This is where anthropology comes in -- to understand the local context of development, the culture-specific social practices, exchange systems, and priorities. The goal of development should not be merely to increase GNP, but rather, to expand economic and social options for individuals, households, and communities.[2] For example, Esman and Uphoff (1984) argue that development must increase the efficiency of resource use (leading to the expansion of economic options), that it should be

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[1] The case of U.S.-to-Bolivia "food aid" -- the dumping of U.S. wheat on Bolivian markets -- is a prime example.

[2] *Human Development Report 1993*, United Nations Development Programme, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp.3-14.

concerned with equity, and that it should aim to empower groups of people who previously had little capacity to make claims upon resources.[3]

This paper focuses on a specific sort of development project, the production project. Production projects pursue development through income enhancement, rather than, for example, through infrastructure improvement or providing access to certain services (health, education, etc.). The goal of production projects is to benefit producers by helping them gain access to raw materials and markets and increasing their efficiency (through bulk buying, cooperative transport, and so forth).

It is important to recognize that projects do not exist in a vacuum, but are designed and carried out by organizations – groups of people working together. This paper is specifically concerned with small, local-level organizations for development, and therefore draws upon the literature of institutional economics and organizational theory. R.H. Coase (1937) on the nature of the firm, Douglass North's (1990) study on change in institutions, Esman And Uphoff's (1984) study of local organizations and Elinor Ostrom's (1990) research on organizations for collective action and resource management all inform this analysis.

Bolivia and the ASUR Textile Project

Bolivia is one of the world's main playing-fields for development projects. Considered the second-poorest country in the Western hemisphere (after Haiti), Bolivia is host to both international and nationally based organizations trying to make a dent in its poverty problem. In 1992 Bolivia received 303 million dollars in external aid subsidies (not counting loans)[4] – yet much of this money disappears without making any noticeable impact.[5] Overall, poverty continues, although some development projects have had positive effects on a small, local scale. These include provision of potable water; formation of agricultural coops and expansion of marketing (see Tendler 1983; Healy 1988; and Demegret 1984); education and cultural empowerment (Breslin 1988); access to health clinics; and the opening up of markets for handicrafts.

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[3] Esman, Milton and Uphoff, Norman. *Local Organizations: Intermediaries in Rural Development.* Cornell University Press, 1984, pp. 23-31.

[4] Most of this money ends up being filtered through government; the amount received by non-governmental organizations is unclear. *"Informe de Cooperación para el Desarrollo de Bolivia"*, PNUD 1994 quoted in Carafa, Carlos. *"Cooperación Internacional para la Sostenibilidad"* ProCampo no. 54, August 1994, p.5.

[5] Gutierrez, Jose Felix. *"Nueva Relación entre ONG's y Estado,"* ProCampo no. 54 August 1994 p.8.

This paper deals with an example of the latter sort of project, specifically, the organized production of traditional-style handloomed textiles for sale. Production is organized by the development organization *Antropólogos del Surandino* (ASUR) and the locally run organizations, or "workshops", which ASUR has helped to form. This is a case study, designed to examine ASUR's concept of "weavers' workshops" as a kind of local organization, and to evaluate whether this is a successful model.

What is Success? Harvests from the Grassroots

When evaluating the success of a development project, we must consider what factors are relevant and ask ourselves what kinds of results we are expecting the project to accomplish. The following evaluation undertakes a detailed presentation and analysis of the ASUR workshops' accomplishments and weaknesses within the local context; in doing so, it stands in opposition to the two forms of development project case reviews most commonly seen: the graph-and-number-heavy reports, often favoured by development institutions, which, however, tend to be limited in analytical scope and in consideration of the local context; and the overly optimistic reports which come out of cooperative-promoting organizations, which tend to see a project's potential as practically limitless so long as people are cooperating. This study attempts to find a meeting-point between these two approaches: to bring the numbers down to their practical implications and evaluate project gains within the context of the real economic and social situation, and without the aid of rose-coloured glasses.

The locally managed "grassroots" projects so highly recommended in the development literature of the last decade or so (IAF publications, Annis and Hakim 1988, etc.) tend to be nearly always small and limited in their impact. Even a highly successful project will usually make only one community, or one micro-region, better off. The rest of the economy goes on just the same -- that is to say, badly. Many of these grassroots projects are generously funded by outside agencies -- in fact, Healy (1988) argues that self-sustaining development may in fact *require* long-term outside investment. Considering this, and reflecting that each project, even when successful, yields advantages to a relatively tiny portion of the population, the question is bound to arise -- does grassroots development really work?

Annis (1988) recognizes this problem of grassroots development organizations' small zone of impact, and so addresses the issue of "whether small-scale development can become large-scale

policy"[6], focusing on the potential for the huge service-providing machine of the government to link forces with the energies and local know-how of grassroots organizations. This may, in fact, be a significantly useful niche for grassroots organizations in future, to work with government in order to provide efficiently services that government had formerly failed to provide on its own.[7] But what if we move beyond service provision to the realm of the production project -- which, in addition to providing services such as credit, aims to encourage and facilitate entrepreneurial activity in order to make a positive impact on the incomes of the poor? Here, we must ask whether small-scale development can become large-scale *economic change*.

Economic Expansion, Entrepreneurs and Petty Commodity Production

Buechler and Buechler (1992) argue that small-scale entrepreneurial activity can, in fact, transform an economy, at least in the case of urban producers. In La Paz, they found that producers such as carpenters, clothing manufacturers, bakers and others can run viable businesses at a very small scale, expanding in favourable times and contracting during economic crises, but generally managing to stay afloat.[8] Cook and Binford (1990) have also focused on the entrepreneurial potential of small producers in their study of Mexican peasant-artisans, citing brickmakers and clothing producers who expand beyond simple Chayanovian subsistence (in which all income is consumed by the household) to capitalist-style production[9] -- with the possibility for growth and dynamic expansion which this implies. Accepting the conclusions of these authors on the dynamism and innovation of small-scale entrepreneurs and their positive impact on the economy (local and, ultimately, national), we can then begin to see the rationale for encouraging small-scale production projects. A sweater-knitting project begun by ten women and a small grant, combined with a few hundred similar tiny projects, *could* transform an economy.

The key, however, lies in the concept of entrepreneurship. If the project members are entrepreneurial, if they seize the opportunity and make their businesses grow, transformation can happen. The problem is, however, that a self-conscious "development project", undertaken with

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[6] Annis, S. "Can Small-Scale Development Be Large-Scale Policy" in *Direct to the Poor, Grassroots Development in Latin America*, ed. S. Annis and P. Hakim, pp.209-218, 1988.

[7] Esman and Uphoff also state that government linkage can have positive effects for local organizations, depending on its nature and extent; excessive government linkage, however, can prove harmful, pp. 154-5, 230-1.

[8] Buechler, H. and Buechler, J.M. *Manufacturing Against the Odds: Small Scale Producers in an Andean City*, 1992, pp. 13-16.

[9] Cook, S. and Binford, L. *Obliging Need: Rural Petty Industry in Mexican Capitalism*, 1990, pp. 127-151.

neighbours and sometimes with aid-agency outsiders as well, cannot be simply equated with the family-centered entrepreneurship studied by Buechler and Buechler and Cook and Binford. The development project – especially when it relies on outside funding – is likely to attract a weight of individuals who are not necessarily entrepreneurial, but who join because the organization is there. Also, we might suspect that an individual's commitment to a development project would not be as strong as his or her commitment to a family-run enterprise.

Nevertheless, I agree with Attwood (1993) that Western intellectuals tend to have a blind spot when it comes to recognising peasant dynamism and entrepreneurial abilities, and the literature does, in fact, show a few examples of development projects that do expand and make significant contributions to the economy. Healy (1988) describes a Bolivian cocoa-producers' cooperative that grew into a federation of thirty-five cooperatives and expanded to build their own chocolate factory in La Paz; Attwood (1992) describes the expansion and success of cooperative peasant-owned sugar factories in India. In the case discussed below, we will see a third example of producers'-organization expansion – a small weavers' organization that has grown into a federation of thirteen local weavers' workshops and five community micro-enterprises. Though not an unqualified success story, this case is impressive in that it shows the potential of a small-scale development project to grow and provide advantages to producers on a cross-regional scale. And *it does so within a context rather different from those discussed by Attwood and Healy: petty-artisan, rather than agricultural, commodity production.*

Petty-artisan commodity producers are different from capitalist producers in that petty-commodity producers work to maintain a household subsistence level while capitalist producers invest in their businesses' expansion and growth. The two groups are not, however, separate universes, as Gudeman and Rivera's (1990) "house/corporation" dichotomy sometimes seems to imply; as Cook and Binford argue, some small enterprises are able to make the transition to capital accumulation, expanding and becoming economically dynamic.[10] Healy's cacao growers and Buechler and Buechler's small-scale urban producers offer some examples of this transition from subsistence production to capital accumulation. These are classic entrepreneurs, the kind of people we could expect to make "economic development from below" happen. But what of rural, low-productivity petty-artisan producers such as Bolivian handloom weavers? For the most part, they are still thought incapable of dynamic entrepreneurship and unlikely candidates for

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10 Cook and Binford, 1990, p. 236.

contribution to economic development. Even Cook and Binford, while they defend the entrepreneurial possibilities of small-scale peasant-artisan enterprises, present handweaving as simply a way women earn the extra pennies needed for household subsistence.[11] How does one capitalize and expand such a low-productivity, low-capital enterprise?

In looking at handloom weavers, we must move beyond indicators such as capitalization and the hiring of wage labour, which are not relevant to their situation, in order to ask how it can be possible that a weaving production project may in fact have a widespread and positive economic impact. The answer can be found through exchanging the idea of expansion as simply "growth" (from a small enterprise to a bigger one) for the concept of the expansion of *options*. We will see how the weaving production project gives women a new, reliable and low-risk cash-generating alternative -- the only low-risk production opportunity available in their economic setting. We will then see how the more entrepreneurial of these individuals take advantage of this situation to *invest* -- not in machines, but in *human* capital, and city land. By investing in the education of children and a family foothold in the urban environment, these entrepreneurial weavers are moving beyond the simple reproduction of the household to a strategy of multiple assets and income possibilities (similar to the Andean agricultural strategy of controlling multiple ecological tiers). Such a strategy may prove highly profitable in the long run. Even though the business of weaving, once begun, is limited in its potential for expansion, options for the household are not.

Thus, this case helps us to see what the possibilities of production-development projects may be for small, low-productivity petty-commodity artisan production. In Latin America, at least, some people are beginning to become impatient with the "drop in the bucket" effects of grassroots development projects, yet this case shows that such projects can grow to benefit more than a handful of individuals, and benefit them in a way that can have positive impacts on the national economy (through providing access to higher education, familiarizing rural women with the city and business skills, and reducing the weight of the dependence of large portions of the population on drought-prone agriculture). Yet, as I will also show, such positive effects are subtle, and success does not here imply large or obvious improvements in wealth or quality of life in the short term. Whether or not this is an acceptable definition of success, within the context of the weavers' current local realities, each reader must decide.

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11 Cook and Binford, pp. 165-9.

Methodology

I did field research from May to October 1994 in Maragua, a rural community with a weavers' workshop, and in the city of Sucre. ASUR has six workshops in rural Jalq'a towns; I chose Maragua because I felt that, being neither a large town (such as Potolo) nor a very small town (such as Carawiri), it would more likely be representative of the region and of the workshops' experience. Maragua was also a good choice in that it had a comparatively middle-aged workshop — I did not wish to work in the founding workshop of Irupampa, where ASUR staff had invested an unusually intensive (and thus unrepresentative) amount of training and leadership, nor in a very new workshop, where its effects would be very difficult to measure. I did visit Potolo, Irupampa and, briefly, Carawiri, but it is important to understand that the bulk of my data come from the Maragua workshop. As every community is different, my conclusions could be expected to vary somewhat when applied to other communities in the region.

I lived part-time in Maragua for four months (May through August), which comprised the harvest, threshing, and post-harvest seasons. Thus I was able to collect data which take into account differences between months of high and low agricultural commitment. I lived in a household of two workshop weavers plus their mother and two brothers; they very kindly found space for me (on the floor) at the request of an ASUR staff member. I participated somewhat in household activities, but spent most of every day visiting various other households in the community and outlying areas, conversing with both men and women (primarily in Quechua, but sometimes in Spanish) and carrying out semi-formal interviews (in which the questions were set, in no particular order, and as often as possible worked casually into conversations).

I used two samples: the household sample, fifteen households chosen from among all the households in the town of Maragua (excluding outlying areas); and the workshop weavers' sample, ten weavers chosen from the workshop membership list. I selected both samples using a random number table. I identified the household population (n=66) by creating a rough map of the "house clusters" which are the household residential units, and numbering these. When a house cluster turned out to be vacant (which happened twice), I excluded it from the sample and chose another to replace it. When a household owned a house cluster but lived primarily in an outlying area, I retained that family in the sample. The health post and the teachers' residences were not included in the household sample.

In this region, household assets primarily take the form of land, animals, and houses both in and out of the community. Land is measured in hectares, and no land is irrigated. Some land is suitable only for grazing while other land is dedicated to agriculture; data were not available on the exact proportion of each owned by each household, but all households have at least some agricultural land. A direct comparison of hectares owned is therefore used as an indicator of wealth differences. The physical house-structure is more unwieldy in terms of gauging value; some houses are tumbledown and some brand new, but all are hand-constructed of local adobe. Because all houses are associated with some amount of land, I have judged it expedient to exclude them from wealth data, with the assumption that differences will be reflected in the varying amounts of land, and in land location (also considered). Finally, the domestic animals which form a vital part of the household economy are given values based on FAO equivalents (one cow approximately equals eight sheep or goats[12] or, measuring carcass weight, about three pigs[13]), which I have used to derive a single, comparable number valuing "animal wealth" for each household.

In conclusion, I must mention that Maragua has a small mattress factory/workshop also initiated with the help of ASUR. It is very small, comprising only five active members at present (ten members overall), and with only occasional orders to fill. Though it would make an interesting case study in its own right, it has been excluded here due to space constraints. Its impact on the Maragua household economy is probably very small, as the bulk of profits up to this point (from the sale of 62 mattresses over two years) has gone toward paying off a loan which financed their building and a wool-separating machine.

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[12] This is derived from a cattle value of 1 and a sheep or goat value of .125, from FAO data quoted in Dahl, G. and Hjort, A. *Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy*, 1976.

[13] The average carcass weight for Bolivian cattle is given as 168 kg; for pigs, 50 kg. *FAO yearbook on Production* vol. 46 1992, pp. 215-225.

Looking Ahead

In the first chapter, I present a general introduction to the region of the study and to the Jalq'a ethnic group. We will especially consider Jalq'a weaving, a key indicator of ethnic identity and vital to understanding the local ASUR weavers' organizations profiled below. From this general introduction, we will go on to focus upon life in the community of Maragua, considering the physical setting, political structure, and household and community composition. Thus equipped with an understanding of the local social context, we will move on in chapter two to consider economic factors. Chapter two focuses on Maraguan households' production and income-generating strategies, wealth, consumption and division of labour, as well as relevant markets. Both chapters one and two describe in detail the context in which the ASUR weavers' workshops must function, and provide a background to further discussion.

Chapter three switches the focus from the local community to the development organization, as I describe the structure and methodology of ASUR and their local-level weavers' organizations. By chapter four, prepared with an understanding both of organizational workings and the local context in which the Maragua workshop is found, we will move on to a detailed description of the workshop "*Away T'ika*" in Maragua and the women who participate in it. Finally, in chapter 5, we will assess the outcome of the weavers' workshop organization and the ASUR weavers' project, considering what sort of benefits they have provided to weavers and their households.

Chapter One: The Setting

Chuquisaca and Oropeza

Bolivia can be divided into three main geographic zones: the *Altiplano*, or high plains, located in the western part of the country; the *Valle*, or Andean valleys; and the *Llano*, or flat lowlands of the eastern half of Bolivia. This study deals with the Valle, a Quechua and Spanish-speaking area with a history of Inca and Spanish domination, an economy based primarily on small-scale agriculture, and a distinctive style of dress among the indigenous population. The Valle is distinct from the herding, mining, Aymara-speaking altiplano and the conceptually far-away, non-Andean East -- where the indigenous habitants speak Guarani and other non-Andean languages and large scale plantations, Japanese rice colonies, and cattle herders have established themselves. Thus, the Valle reaches beyond a simple geographical distinction to include a social and cultural one as well.

The Valle comprises the departments of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and parts of Tarija; its two main cities are Cochabamba, the bread-basket of the colonial area and now a modern city, Bolivia's third largest; and Sucre, the former capital (and current judicial capital), a more conservative town in Chuquisaca. Coming into Sucre from Cochabamba, everything seems to become smaller. The valleys no longer stretch out wide and open, but squash narrow between mountains; coming into Sucre by plane is an unforgettable experience, as the plane must clear the last mountain then -- drop. The mountains around the city itself are small and round, really just hills compared with the long, high, bare stretch of mountain above Cochabamba. The hills are covered with scrawny stands of planted eucalyptus. The streets are narrow between colonial-white buildings, and the sidewalks are narrower, crammed to overflowing with students during term-time. Sucre is a university city. But if you make the long trek from the central plaza to Jaime Mendoza Avenue, where the train tracks run through, you see that it is also an indigenous city.

The Mercado Campesino is not far from Jaime Mendoza; the market has overflowed its building and spreads out over a small maze of streets. This is where indigenous people from the *campo*, the countryside, come to buy and sell. They arrive squashed in the backs of huge trucks with bags of grain and potatoes, or walking. The better-off among them may have a house here, in the outskirts of the city, unpainted adobe like the houses in the countryside. Quite a few people

have relatives in outlying Sucre barrios, accessible by bus. Some youths from the country may come to Sucre to finish high school -- if their family has enough money, and either a house or some relative willing to take in the student. Other youths come to work -- as mechanics, in construction, as maids. Some stay and integrate into the mestizo culture that dominates the city -- speaking Spanish, wearing western clothes. Others stay but remain *cholos* -- looking and speaking like those from the campo -- in the culture that seems to revolve around the city center without ever really touching it.

Sucre's surrounding province, Oropeza, is the seat of the Jalq'a Indian population -- the subject of this study. Oropeza is described in a 1975 study by *Acción Cultural Loyola* (ACLO) as one of the poorest provinces in the Department of Chuquisaca, and a region "rather dis-integrated economically" with a person-to-land ratio of .83 (that is .83 people of active age for every hectare of land) and the double difficulty of strong population pressure on the land and poor soil productivity.[1] It is a region of high mountains, narrow valleys, and bad roads, with Sucre as its main marketing center and very few other market possibilities. The economy is based on small-scale agriculture, primarily potatoes, corn, wheat, and barley, which are the main foods consumed by families in Oropeza.[2]

The Jalq'a

The Jalq'a are an ethnic group of about 26,000 people[3] concentrated in rural communities in the western part of the province of Oropeza (department of Chuquisaca) in the cantons of Potolo, Quila Quila, and Maragua, and the city of Sucre (see map, figure 1). The Jalq'a speak Quechua, the language of the Inca empire and one of the two main indigenous languages in present-day Andean Bolivia (the other is Aymara). The ethnic group's history in the area is unclear; Gabriel Martínez and Veronica Cereceda have researched the question of the group's origins extensively, and have concluded that Jalq'a probably is not a pre-hispanic ethnic identity; rather, the group seems to have formed later, of the remainders of the pre-hispanic *señoríos* (political units) of Quaraquara, Moromoro, and the northern part of the señorío of the Yampara.

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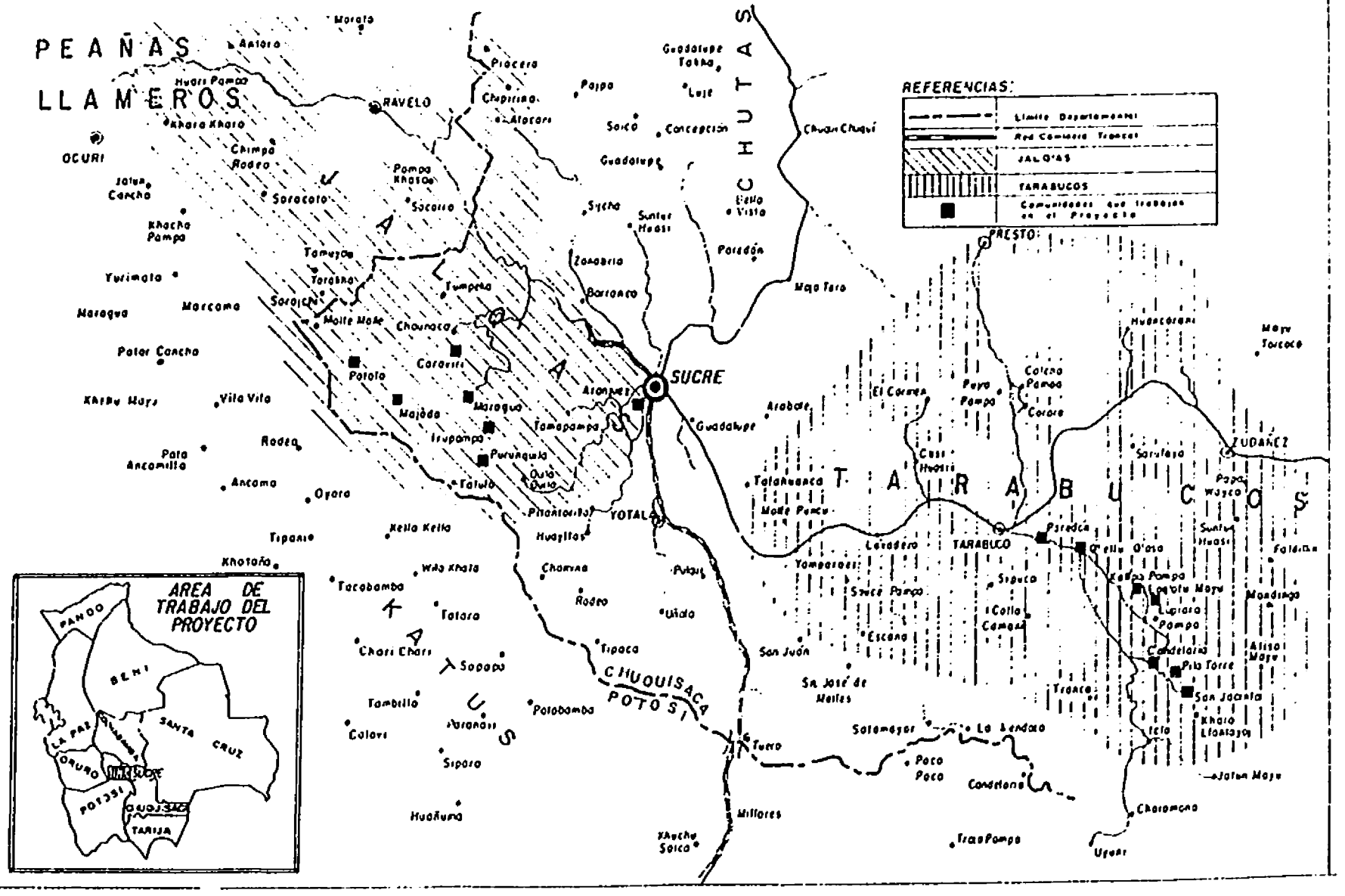
1 Acción Cultural Loyola (ACLO), *Estudio Socio-Económico, Provincia Oropeza, Tomo II*, Sucre, 1975 pp. 311-315, 338.

2 Ibid., p. 419.

3 ASUR (*Antropólogos del Surandino*), in-house publication, "*ASUR: Fundación para la investigación antropológica y el etnodesarrollo*", Sucre, n.d. (1993?) page 3.

Figure 1: Map of Ethnic Groups, Northern Chuquisaca, Bolivia (Source:ASUR)



In their examination of early colonial documents, Martínez and Cereceda found no mention of the Jalq'a as an ethnic group, and surmise that the ethnic identity may have been formed over the course of the 19th century,[4] perhaps as a result of the political disturbances and government pressure resulting from the Tomas Katari indigenous rebellions[5].

The Jalq'a refer to themselves by this name in contrast with other surrounding ethnic groups, though they also consider themselves *campesinos* (indigenous peasant farmers)[6] in contrast to the non-indigenous element of Bolivian society. Jalq'a are distinguishable from other Quechua-speaking campesinos by their particular costume, also known as *jalq'a*, and their distinctive weaving style. According to Martinez and Cereceda, they also have certain specific dances, music, and myths of origin.[7] However, many aspects of Jalq'a cultural identity and practice are held in common with other indigenous Andean cultures: the use of *chicha* (a kind of mild corn beer) and the coca leaf for ceremonial and social purposes; the peasant farming economy, including the control of various ecological levels; the use of pan-Andean music instruments such as the charango; and the cultural importance of cloth[8] are among these similarities.

The jalq'a costume (see figure 2) is unlike the dress of any other campesino group in Chuquisaca, although it has some features, such as the dark, embroidered skirt worn by women, in common with communities in neighbouring Northern Potosi. Among the Jalq'a, the women wear a one-piece dark-colored dress made of *bayeta* (cloth manufactured on a simple mechanical loom) and embroidered at the hem and sleeves with a design (usually floral) in bright-colored thread. A shawl made of the same material and also embroidered around the edges is pinned around the shoulders. The back of the skirt is covered with a woven *axsu*, or overskirt, with a section of solid colour (known as *pampa*) and a section of intricate designs (*pallay*). The axsu is tied at the waist

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4 ASUR ibid., p.3

5 See Klein, Herbert. *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 64-86, for a discussion of this and related rebellions.

6 The indigenous people of highland Bolivia have chosen this name for themselves, as opposed to the term *indio* (Indian) imposed upon them by outsiders. One of the consequences of the 1952 revolution in Bolivia is that the term *campesino* came into general usage. I will use this term throughout the paper, with the understanding that it refers to people of indigenous background (either peasants or recent migrants to the cities who still identify themselves as such).

7 ASUR, ibid.

8 See Murra, John, "Cloth and its Functions in the Inca State" in *American Anthropologist* vol. 64 no. 4 pp. 710-728, 1962; and Goodell, Grace, "The Cloth of the Quechuas" in *Man's Many Ways*, ed. Richard Gould, Harper & Row, 1973 for discussions of the importance of cloth in Andean culture.

with a handwoven belt (*chumpi*), and may be doubled over or pulled up over the back and pinned at the shoulder. The axsu likely evolved from a pre-columbian tunic; it became a smaller accessory primarily as a result of government attempts to eliminate indigenous costume at the end of the 18th century.[9]

Jalq'a men wear a long white shirt (which may have some dark cloth sewn on the sleeves), tucked into white pants which are worn low on the hips. The pants are wide and may be rolled at the ankles. Both the pants and the shirt are made of bayeta. Men also wear *chumpis*, as well as a woven carrying cloth (*aguayu* in Spanish, *llijlla* in Quechua) tied diagonally across their chest or at their waist. Women also use *llijlla* carrying-cloths, but they are not an integral part of women's jalq'a costume, as is the men's llijlla. Men may wear a hand-woven poncho, generally solid-coloured with a few designs around the border. Both men and women wear a rounded white felt hat with bands of intricate, bright-colored designs (often flowers or stylized birds). A machine-made sweater (women) or shirt (men) may be worn under the jalq'a costume.

The jalq'a costume is, however, no longer such a prominent feature of Jalq'a communities. In the village of Maragua, out of all the Jalq'a women over age sixteen in randomly selected households, only about half "wear jalq'a" on an everyday basis[10]. The other women wear the costume common to all Quechua-speaking campesinos in Bolivia: a knee-length flared skirt (*pollera*), a blouse, and a sweater (see figure 2). The *pollera* and sweater are nearly always mass-produced, bought at the market in Sucre. Blouses can also be bought there, but at least some of the women in Maragua sew their own from cloth and sequins bought in town. Even among the women who wear jalq'a on an everyday basis, at least one also wears a pollera frequently, and most will at least own a pollera for festivals or trips to town. The decision whether to wear polleras or jalq'a as daily dress does not appear to be linked to age; among the group of 25-35 year olds 50% wear jalq'a; of 45-60 year olds, also 50%. However, young unmarried women (under twenty-five) are unlikely to wear jalq'a on a daily basis; none of the 15 to 25-year-olds in the sample do so.[11]

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9 ASUR, Textile Exhibition, *Museo Textil*, Sucre (current).

10 Between 46.7 and 53.3%. Data on one of the sixteen women is missing.

11 I did know one young woman who wore jalq'a for a time, then switched back to pollera. With her, it seemed to be a case of trying out something new, and then growing tired of it. Girls will sometimes own a Jalq'a outfit to wear for school programs, festivals, etc.

Figure 2: Jalq'a Costume

Left: Women's jalq'a costume; Center: Women's fancy pollera; Right: Men's jalq'a costume

Left: Women's pollera; Right: Women's jalq'a costume, full length view with hat.

With the exception of a couple of the older men, most men in Maragua wore Western clothes (often the secondhand American clothes plentifully available in Bolivia) for everyday use, switching to jalq'a only for special occasions. The hand-woven poncho co-exists with mass-produced jackets, and sandals made from recycled rubber tires are a shared clothing feature with other Bolivian campesinos.

Although much of the Jalq'a population has switched away from ethnic-indicative clothing to a less-distinctive style which identifies them as part of a much wider group (Quechua-speaking Bolivian campesinos[12]), many still own a jalq'a costume and will use it occasionally for festivals and other special events. The "best dress" of Maraguan women -- always brought down from the rafters (where clothing is hung) when I came visiting with a camera, was sometimes a jalq'a and sometimes a fancy pollera. Occasionally, women asked for two photographs: one in their best pollera, the other in their jalq'a. An eighteen-year-old and a twenty-three-year old, for example, both owned a jalq'a costume and wanted to be photographed in it. Some Maragua men owned jalq'a which they wore, for instance, to a school event where parents were invited.

Going into the city, it is more likely that a campesino will wear the pollera or ordinary shirt-and-pants typical of the Quechua-speaking campesino population in general. Even women who wear jalq'a daily may choose to switch to a pollera for a trip to town; one informant whom I always saw wearing jalq'a explained that that was why she owned polleras -- for trips to town. Jalq'a dress can be seen in Sucre, especially in the campesino market area, but it is less common than the more homogenous costume.

Weaving Among the Jalq'a

The Jalq'a are known for their distinctive weaving style, seen most clearly in the *pallay* (decorated portion) of the women's *axsu* (see above). The pallay consists mainly of animal shapes, both real and imaginary, such as winged pumas and two-headed birds, in a free-fall design. Often animals appear inside other animals. The amount of pallay relative to *pampa* (solid colour weaving) varies; as the intricate pallay is obviously much more time consuming, shrinkage of pallay is considered an indication of decline in craftsmanship and axsu quality, as is enlargement or

12 Aymara-speaking campesinos have a markedly different clothing style.

simplification of the animal designs. The origin of these animals, known as *khurus*, is unknown, though some attempts have been made to interpret them.[13]

The axsu is usually bordered with a set of simpler designs, commonly the diamond representing *Inti*, the sun. Axsus are always woven by hand by women, on a simple loom made of limbs (from the *Molle* or other local trees) and usually propped against a wall at an angle. The weaving is warp-faced (that is, the vertical threads, or warp, make up the design), and usually between two and four colours; women pick out the design with a sharp stick, passing the shuttle and beating the weft down by hand. With the same basic techniques, but weaving primarily *pampa*, women also make ponchos for husbands, brothers and sons; *llijllas* (carrying cloths), small carrying bags, and *chumpis* (belts) which are often elaborately designed. With a coarser yarn[14], they weave *phullus* (blankets) and *costales* (grain sacks). Many of the blankets and grain sacks now used are handwoven, and these products continue to be made, although the llijllas are being replaced with machine-made carrying cloths, which are more brightly coloured and of a softer, more flexible material.

Yarn for household weaving comes primarily from local sheep. Sheep are a common component of the household economy; in the village of Maragua, with the exception of two single people living alone, all sampled campesino households owned sheep -- though the number varied from seven to ninety head. Neither alpaca nor llama are present in the area, although formerly alpaca wool was brought to the area by travelling traders from Oruro and Potosi.[15] Women spin the yarn by hand using a drop spindle; often, they will spin while pasturing animals, or while walking from place to place. Two sorts of spindles are used; the *phuska*, for the initial spinning, and the *k'anti*, for the plying of yarn. According to one informant, it takes about two weeks of spinning to accumulate enough yarn for an axsu (about one kilo). The yarn is then used in natural colours or dyed by the weaver using herbal, mineral,[16] or commercial dyes, in general use since the 1950s.[17]

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13 For example, Veronica Cereceda has suggested that animals inside other animals may signify giving birth.

14 Made from a poorer quality wool, with a cut length of 8-10 cm. García Murillo, M.E., in "*Textiles Jalq'a de la Comunidad Potolo*", monograph, Sucre, 1990, pp. 44-45.

15 Ibid., p. 43.

16 García Murillo (ibid., p.60) lists some of these, such as *quesña*, a plant which gives the colour blue, and *tacu*, a mineral which gives the colour red.

17 Ibid., p.65.

With the establishment of ASUR weavers' workshops in communities such as Maragua, women are now also producing special textiles for sale using wool (sheep and alpaca) imported into the area from other regions of Bolivia (such as the department of Oruro). This non-local wool, bought by the organization ASUR on behalf of the local workshops, is considered to be of much better quality and more appropriate for the production of high-quality textiles.[18] Less experienced weavers spin this wool by hand; however, more experienced weavers are permitted access, through their workshops, to machine-spun wool produced by the ASUR-sponsored factory in neighbouring Irupampa. In any case, production of textiles with local wool continues (see below).

Bayeta cloth (made on Spanish looms), is used in both men's and women's jalq'a costumes, and was traditionally woven by men in Jalq'a communities -- however, in some communities such as Maragua, men no longer do this weaving. People from Maragua buy bayeta in the market in Sucre, where it is produced in small workshops by urban micro-entrepreneurs. People may buy bayeta either as yardage they sew themselves or as completed garments. Dresses and shawls can be bought already embroidered; traditionally, the embroidery was done by men for the women. Women may also embroider dresses for themselves. The style and complexity of the embroidery tend to vary considerably among individuals, although floral patterns are most common[19].

A few decades ago, Jalq'a weavings, most notably their intricately decorated axsus -- known as "Potolo pieces" after the town of Potolo -- became very popular with collectors. Travelling buyers bought up Jalq'a weavings, including the valuable antique pieces, at extremely low prices -- bartering 3 or 4 meters of bayeta in exchange for 2 axsus, for instance.[20] At this time the Jalq'a considered handwoven items to be of low prestige value.[21] This attitude may, however, be changing. After their unfortunate experience with collectors, the Jalq'a have become more aware of the value of their weavings, which are unique in Bolivia and even known to have been copied by admiring weavers in other parts of the country.[22] In this paper we shall see how one

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18 ASUR staff textile specialist, personal communication.

19 Floral patterns may well have been inspired by Spanish clothing styles; see García Murillo (1990).

20 ACLO (*Acción Cultural Loyola*), p. 455.

21 Ibid., p. 476.

22 In Candelaria in 1979, local Tarabuco women who viewed a textile exhibit at a local hacienda had school children copy the Jalq'a motifs into their notebook; some of these later showed up in Tarabuco textiles. Meisch, Lynn. "The Living Textiles of Tarabuco, Bolivia" in *Andean Aesthetics: Textiles of Peru and Bolivia*, ed. B. Femenias 1987, p. 58.

organization, Antropólogos del Surandino (ASUR) has contributed to the self-valuation of Jalq'a weaving style and revitalization of quality textile production in this region.

Maragua

Maragua is a village, a microregion which includes outlying settlements, and a larger political division known as a canton. The canton of Maragua, which comprises the villages of Maragua, Irupampa, Majada, and surrounding areas, had a 1986 population of 1,279[23] and lies in the province of Oropeza west of the city of Sucre. The land is rugged and mountainous, between 3000 and 4000 meters above sea level[24], populated primarily by indigenous peasants practicing small-scale, mainly subsistence agriculture.

This study takes into account only Maragua village proper, tucked into a bowl of land and geographically distinct from the rest of the microregion. The microregion of Maragua consists of 120 households[25], or a population of approximately 500 (average sampled household size = 4.1); the village itself is only about half this size, as it does not include the outlying houses and settlements "jakay patapi" ("way up on top") on the far rim of the bowl out of sight of the village center, or on the other side of the rim. These areas, such as the settlement/hamlet of Melgarada, are considered part of "Maragua" for purposes of political representation; however, due to their geographic isolation and the indication of one upland informant that "this is not Maragua – Maragua is down there" (in the village center), I felt able to consider the village proper as a separate entity. This is the area represented in my household survey.

The village consists of two unpaved roads connected by a dry river bed. The roads connect Maragua to Sucre via Chaunaca (a small community on the Potolo-Sucre road), and to the neighbouring community of Irupampa. There is a school (including teachers' residences), a Catholic church (closed except on holidays), and a health post staffed with a nurse. Some houses are located along the road, others are scattered a short distance from it, and all are interspersed with agricultural fields.

Houses in Maragua, as is typical in the rural highland valleys of Bolivia, are constructed of adobe bricks, with dirt floors, wooden doors, no windows (or else very small uncovered

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23 Martínez, G., Cereceda, V., and Ramiro Molina; *Archivo Textil, Movilización Cultural e Investigación Antropológica en Torno a los Textiles Andinos Bolivianos*, 1986, p. 19.

24 ACLO, 1975, p.335.

25 Local informant (Spanish-speaking Jalq'a campesino)

rectangular holes), and an adobe hearth for cooking. Local food consists almost exclusively of grain, potatoes, and corn, usually served in soup form; green vegetables and fruit are practically never seen in Maragua; and meat, along with occasional eggs, is a rare luxury.[26]

The adobe bricks used in house construction are made by individual households (usually the men), often with the help of neighbours, with readily available local earth. Adobe is an excellent insulator, keeping the house warm in winter and cool in summer; this is its advantage over stone, which is also readily available locally, and which is generally used for corral construction. In Maragua, nearly all the roofs are of ceramic tile, legacy of a former hacienda owner who insisted that the local campesinos improve their residences by replacing straw roofs with tile.

The "house" occupied by a Maraguan household could more properly be called a "house cluster", as it generally consists of at least two small one-room buildings (each with its own roof), often clustered around an open courtyard. A kitchen house, one or more sleeping houses, a store-house, and perhaps a weaver's workroom (which may also be located in the open courtyard, often under a shelter made of branches to keep the sun off) are typical components of the residence, along with adjacent animal corrals.

I counted approximately sixty-six house-clusters in the village, with an average sampled household size of 4.1, thus allowing a population estimate of 271. Several of the houses in outlying areas, on the mountainside (not included in the survey), are owned by households who also have houses the village center. This is an example of the classic Andean control of various micro-climates at different altitudes, with the goal of varying production and minimizing risk (see Murra 1975).

History and Ethnic Composition of Maragua

Maragua is located on lands previously belonging to haciendas -- large agricultural properties owned by descendants of Spanish families and worked by an indigenous labour force in a feudal serf-patron relationship. With the Bolivian Agrarian Reform of the 1950s, 62.6% of the land of the haciendas of "Maragua" and "Pampas de Maragua"[27], which form part of the present

[26] Food tends to be unvaried, but eaten in great quantity when available. Though droughts will sometimes put pressure on food supplies, the harvest of 1994 was a good one, and portions of food were generally huge.

[27] *Instituto de Geografía Militar*, Sucre, Bolivia, *Expediente No. 5452*, n.p. Of the total 132.11 hectares, 4.11 hectares are unaccounted for in the numbers given.

village of Maragua, was ceded to the indigenous workers, known as *arrenderos* (sharecropping tenants). There are no data for a third property, the hacienda "Carmelo Herreras", which may also have formed part of present-day Maragua.

The families of most of these ex-*arrenderos* still live in what is now Maragua, and their family names are prevalent throughout the village. Other village families are originally from Irupampa or other neighbouring villages or settlements, also ethnically Jalq'a. Generally, they have married in. There is, however, a non-Jalq'a element in the community as well, comprised of:

1. Non-Jalq'a outsiders who have come to live permanently in the community, e.g. a Catholic sacristan and his two sons (all now deceased), and their families. These are usually *criollos* or mestizos,[28] or of other indigenous ethnic groups (for example, the wife of one of the sacristan's sons is of the Tarabuco ethnic group [also Quechua-speaking]).

2. Non-Jalq'a outsiders, usually mestizos from the cities, who have come to live temporarily in the community (e.g. schoolteachers). This group is excluded from this study as they consider themselves -- and are considered -- outsiders.

3. Ex-hacienda-owners, descended from Spaniards, although sometimes racially mestizo, who still own some of their pre-agrarian-reform land in Maragua. There are two families of ex-hacienda-owners in Maragua, who live part of the year in Maragua and part of the year in Sucre. Because of their historical association with the community, I included these households in the survey.

Due to the amount of relocation of indigenous communities associated with the conquest and colonization of Bolivia, and limited data on the subject, it is unknown whether Maragua existed as an ayllu (indigenous Andean kin-based community) in the period before the conquest, and whether there is any continuity in the families resident in the area from that time. What is known is that Maragua is comprised primarily of descendants of the indigenous *arrendero* class

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[28] A *criollo* is a descendant of Spanish colonizers; a *mestizo* is a descendant of Spanish and indigenous ancestors. The words, especially *criollo*, are seldom used in Bolivia; both groups consider themselves Bolivians, and some racial mixing has probably occurred even among the criollo group. In practice, however, there is a social distinction; the criollos are the ex-hacienda-owning families; the mestizos are the professional and commercial middle class.

dating from the pre-Agrarian Reform period, a group of people who identify themselves as ethnically Jalq'a in common with a large area of western Oropeza (cantons of Quila Quila, Maragua, and Potolo) and who tend to intermarry with other ethnic Jalq'a of surrounding areas.

Political Structure and Representation in Maragua

Political representation in Maragua and surrounding villages is based upon a system of *sindicatos* -- peasant unions which came into being as a result of the Revolution of 1952.[29] The sindicato system is a multi-layered representational structure, beginning at the local level with a community sindicato and ending with the umbrella central committee in La Paz -- which in turn forms a branch of the nationwide Central Obrero Boliviano (COB) or Bolivian Workers' Union.

Maragua has a community sindicato, made up of several committee members representing the community, and including a director. The community sindicato makes decisions at the local level -- for example, regarding community work such as the paving of the school patio. They hold community meetings, which one member of each household will attend. One female informant who spoke Spanish told me that either her husband or father-in-law usually goes, but if they are out of town, she will go instead. The reasons for organizing a sindicato are posted in Spanish on the walls of the meeting house (which originated with the weavers' project but is also used by the sindicato), and include: to "seek the common good" "improve our production" "resolve problems" "execute projects" and "sell our harvests at better prices". Members of the Maragua micro-region (village+outlying areas) attend community sindicato meetings.

The next level of representation is the cantonal sindicato, which includes representatives from the three main villages in the canton: Maragua, Irupampa, and Majada. These representatives do not have a set meeting place; they may meet in any of the three communities. The community sindicato reports to them, and they report to the higher-level sindicato in Sucre. The canton also has three elected *alcaldes* (literally mayors) to perform administrative functions, and other support offices such as *corregidores*.

The textile-production project and related ASUR projects are independent of, yet have ties to, this local political structure. When the weavers' workshops were first begun, for instance, communities were approached through their sindicatos. Currently in Maragua, workshop and

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[29] See Klein (1982), pp. 227-245, for a discussion of the 1952 Revolution.

sindicato share a common meeting area, and officeholders in the local sindicato may also be involved in the workshop. One man, for instance, originally became a workshop director through his service as a corregidor and representative to the canton-wide sindicato. As workshop directors are elected, those men who have served visibly in local government are obviously much more likely to be chosen; among women, skill and experience in weaving, as well as having time available to serve, are the main indicators of those who will become workshop directors. Wealth and class differences seem to have little or no impact on the choice of directors (see below). Finally, while both the sindicato and the projects try to work in coordination and avoid conflicts, they are distinct bodies with separate meeting times and different higher-level organizations to which they report.

Household Composition in Maragua

Household composition in Maragua, as in much of the Andes, comes in many variations, with the nuclear family household predominating.[30] Sixty percent of households in the sample were nuclear-family households and, except in the case of the one elderly couple and the ex-hacendados, all have resident children[31]. The elderly couple, though living alone, live next door to their son's household (a residence pattern I saw in another couple of households in the sample, as well). Single-person households made up 20% of the sample (3 households); all of these were a widow or widower.[32] Extended-family households, that is, households including a third generation, comprised the final 20% of the households; only one of these is obviously patrilocal. Another is made up of an unmarried mother, her children, and her elderly father; the third household also includes an elderly father living with his daughter, her husband, and their children.

A pattern emerges of the aged, widowed parent living with a child, often a daughter and her family. When this is not the case, and the elderly must live alone, it is because children have moved away, usually to the cities. These tend to be families with more tenuous links to the

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30 See Custred, G. "Peasant Kinship, Subsistence and Economics in a High Altitude Andean Environment" in *Andean Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Bolton and Mayer, 1977, p. 127.

31 Some resident children are older; one unmarried twenty-six year old, for instance, still lived with her parents.

32 In one case, not in the sample, an elderly woman who never married lives alone. This woman and a close friend, a widow who lives across the road, consider themselves "one household" due to their friendship and shared activities. However, they maintain separate residences and were therefore counted as separate households for sampling purposes.

community of Maragua (the two sacristan's sons' wives, for instance, both of which are from outside the area). Another pattern is that practically all families have children, who will either move away from the village or live with their parents until they marry. When married, they will likely set up a separate household, often near to the parents' house.

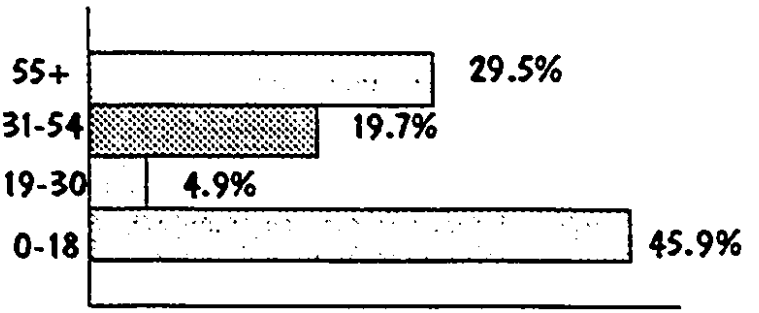
The number of children in each family tends to be, but is not universally, large. Large families are common in agricultural communities because of the need for household agricultural labour, but the limited amount of cultivable land in many Andean communities precludes the inheritance of sufficient land by many of the children in a family. This is one of the main engines pushing migration to wage labour and sometimes better education in the cities; it may also be a force toward smaller family size in the future. Currently, the average number of children per campesino couple in Maragua (including non-resident children)[33] is 4.79 -- about five children per family. The number of children per family varies from two (three cases) to eight (three cases), and the most common number of children was four.

The young (under 18) and the old (over 55) predominate in Maragua (see figure 3); an unusual pattern, and indicative of high out-migration from the community. The range of ages for all members of households surveyed is from 5 months (in May 1994) to an estimate of 110 years. Children under 18 are almost half -- 45.9% -- of the population, while only 4.9% of the resident population is between the ages of 19 and 30. Over 55-year-olds are another large group, comprising 29.5% of the population. Marriage tends to be late; none of the under-eighteen-year-olds I met during my stay were married. Some women marry in their twenties, and some earlier; it was not thought odd that women or men in their late teens or early twenties should be still unmarried. Later marriage may be attributable to the high out-migration rates and the tendency of many young people to live outside the community for a period of time (studying, working, or performing obligatory military service) before possibly returning to their community to marry.

[33] Based on the household sample. In the households with multiple generations, I included only the youngest generation (children of the parents, not of the grandparents) in this calculation, so that the extended-family households are not given undue weight.

Figure 3: Age of Maragua Population

Source: Sample of 15 Maragua households



Here we conclude the general introduction to the physical, social and cultural setting in which the textile-production project is found. In the next section, we will continue to focus on the community of Maragua as we consider the local household economy.

Appendix to Chapter 1: Textile Terminology

aguayu: a woven carrying-cloth

axsu: a woven overskirt, often with intricate designs, worn by Jalq'a women

bayeta: a cloth manufactured on a simple mechanical loom

chumpi: a handwoven belt

costales: grain sacks

jalq'a: the distinctive costume of the Jalq'a ethnic group

k'anti: a spindle used for plying yarn

khurus: intricate animal designs used in Jalq'a weaving, usually found on *axsus*.

llijlla: carrying cloth, same as *aguayu*

pallay: a section of designs in a woven piece

pampa: a section of solid colour in a woven piece

phullus: handwoven blankets

phuska: a spindle

pollera: a flared cloth skirt; also refers to the widespread indigenous women's costume comprising this skirt, a blouse, and a sweater

poncho: a thigh-length, sleeveless, handwoven tunic, worn as an outer garment by men

Chapter 2: The Maraguan Household Economy

In this chapter we will examine the economy of Maragua, focusing on the household. We will consider production and income-generating strategies, wealth, markets, consumption and division of labour, and so define the context in which a development project such as the ASUR weavers' workshop must function.

Production

Maragua is a community of agriculturalists who produce food for their own use and small, occasional surpluses for sale in the market. Exceptions to this rule are the non-indigenous element of the population, that is, the ex-hacienda-owners (*hacendados*), who are not included in the following data unless otherwise noted.

Crops grown in Maragua include wheat, corn, potatoes, barley, quinoa, fava beans, and peas. Households do not cultivate fruit. Due to the lack of irrigation, Maraguan farmers produce only one harvest per year; the agricultural year begins in October and ends in July with the completion of the harvest and the grain threshing. The labour-intensive sowing months are November and December; May through July, during the harvest and threshing, are also extremely busy.[1] After the threshing is a period of three months where agricultural labour requirements are low and some men migrate to find temporary work elsewhere.

Land in Maragua is controlled at the household level, and nearly all families own some land. The amount of land owned, however, varies considerably among households. Land grants to ex-*arrendero* families (see above) in this area during the Agrarian Reform (mid-1950s) varied from 1.95 to 13.31 hectares, with a mean of 5.1 hectares;[2] since then, land has been bought, sold, and divided in inheritance. Currently the average landholding in Maragua for campesino households is larger than the 1950s figure: 7.24 hectares. Although the twenty-five hectare property was an outlyer, it is not the only large property; two of the weavers' workshop sample households (see below) also had similarly large landholdings. Though it seems that this higher

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1 See ACLO, 1975, figure 33, for more details on the agricultural calendar of this region

2 Standard variation 3.3, with a median of 3.7 hectares. From the two properties for which data was available. Includes cultivable and uncultivable land. *Instituto de Geografía Militar*, Sucre, ibid.

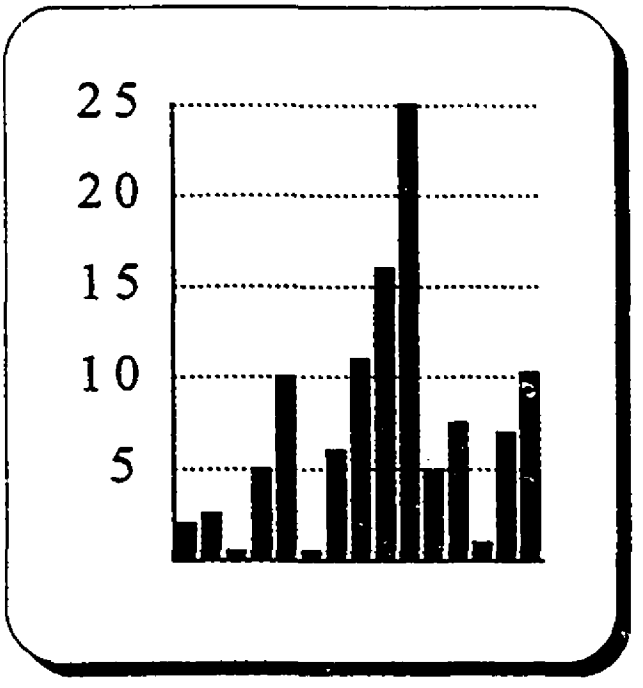
average 1994 landholding would indicate that there has not been fragmentation of landholdings (a pattern seen often in rural Bolivian communities), I would hesitate to draw this conclusion, as 1950s data were not available for all surrounding properties, and 1950s campesinos may have owned more land than the above number indicates.

Table 1: Landholdings in Hectares of Sampled Households in Maragua

House	Hectares in Maragua	Hectares not in Maragua	House in Sucre?	Total Hectares
1	2	0	no	2
2	2.5	0	no	2.5
3	0.5	0	no	0.5
4	5	0	no	5
5	5	5*	no	10
6	0.5	0	no	0.5
7	6	0	no	6
8	11	?	yes	11
9	16	0[1]	no	16
10	25	.05+	yes	25.05
11	3	2#	no	8
12	5.5	2*	yes	7.5
13	1	0	yes	1
14	7	0	no	7
15	9	1.25+	no	10.25

[1] A son not resident with the household owns 18 hctrs. in Sucre
*= in Chaunaca #= in Quila Quila += in Sucre
Household #8 is the ex-hacendado household.

Figure 4: Landholdings in Hectares in Maragua, Graphic View



These land totals do not represent cultivable land; in fact, Acción Cultural Loyola has estimated that in the province of Oropeza, only 62% of the average landholding is cultivable.[3]

Uncultivable land can be put to use as pasture. Animal husbandry is, in Maragua as in much of this region, an activity closely associated with agriculture, as burros are needed for the grain threshing and oxen are needed for plowing. Animals also provide fertilizer and dung for cooking-fires, as well as food products such as eggs and occasionally pork, goat meat, and beef (which is dried). Milk is not common due to the small number of cows, whose main purpose is the production of calves. Sheep are valued for their wool, which is used in household weaving, and burros function as pack animals for carrying water or goods to market. Occasionally, animals are sold. Llamas are not present in the community, and horses only in small numbers, but every family will have some combination of sheep, goats, burros, cattle, pigs, and chickens, and often all of the above.

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3 ACLO, ibid., figure 70.

Table 2: Number of Animals Owned By Sample Households

House	Sheep	Cattle	Burros	Chickens	Pigs	Horses	Goats	Total	Animal Wealth Index
1	10	4	1	2	0	0	0	17	6.25
2	25	2	2	10	6	0	0	45	9.13
3	7	0	3	10	2	0	0	22	4.54
4	10	5	3	3	4	0	3	28	10.96
5	90	5	5	36	3	0	50	189	28.5
6	40	2	6	4	2	0	0	54	13.67
7	61	2	3	10	0	0	0	76	12.63
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	27	3	2	2	3	0	0	37	9.38
10	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	4
11	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	6	6
12	40	3	3	11	6	2	20	85	17.5
13	0	1	2	4	0	3	0	10	6
14	30	1	4	0	3	0	10	48	11
15	48	10	6	6	2	0	42	114	27.92
Total	388	43	45	98	31	5	125	735	

House #8 is the ex-hacendado household

Agriculture and animal husbandry are not, however, the only elements in the economy of Maragua. According to Morales (1993), these elements alone are often not enough to cover family expenditures (especially in years of poor agricultural yields) and other strategies are necessary to supplement household income.[4] Migrant wage labour, local farm labour paid in kind, and production of textiles for sale are other income-generating strategies frequently used.

Migrant wage labour from Maragua is generally directed toward the Bolivian cities of Cochabamba and Sta. Cruz, both of which are experiencing considerably more economic activity

[4] Morales, Miguel A. *Evaluación Económica del Programa Textil Jalq'a Tarabuco*, 1993, p.5.

and growth at present than the closer departmental capital, Sucre. Some people, however, do find work in Sucre. Generally, migrants are men who work in construction or large-scale agriculture on a *jornal* (day wage) basis. Male migration to the coca-producing areas in the Chapare was not reported in Maragua.[5] Migrations are often seasonal, taking place during the agricultural off-season (August-October), when there is little work to be done in the community. Young men may also migrate on a year-round basis, either returning to the community after a time away or electing to remain in the urban setting. Young women may also migrate to the city to work, although this is rarer; one woman in the sample had found work as an *empleada* (maid/nanny) and lived in several Bolivian cities before eventually returning to Maragua to marry.

Another option for generating additional income -- in this case, as in-kind produce -- is agricultural work for others within Maragua. In addition to traditional Andean forms of work-sharing (*ayni*) and work trade (*mink'a*), which are also present in Maragua, there are two situations in which agricultural work for others can be done for hire. One is to work for the ex-hacienda-owner on a sharecropping system (*al partir*); in this case, a campesino household farms the land owned by their former patron and receives half of the harvest. This situation appears to be based more on traditional patron-campesino links between certain families than on the financial need of the sharecropper. The father in household five, for example, used to be an *arrendero* (sharecropper) until he passed these duties onto his son (house four); house five is, however, the wealthiest household in animals and one of the four wealthiest houses in land, while house four is far from the poorest. Similarly, the father in household twelve worked as an arrendero until recently, when he turned this work over to his son and daughter-in-law.

The other situation in which agricultural labour for others can earn income is when campesinos work for other campesinos on a day-labour basis. This work is generally seasonal, during the periods of most intense agricultural activity, when wealthier campesinos with more land may find family labour insufficient to carry out necessary activities. Payment in this case is also in kind (one campesino says he pays an arroba [25 pounds, or 11.34 kilograms] of wheat a day for help with the harvest).

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[5] There are two possibilities here. One is that, with easier access to the cities of Sucre, Cochabamba, and Sta. Cruz, men from Maragua do not migrate to the Chapare to work as do campesinos in some other parts of Bolivia. The other possibility is that, due to the association of the Chapare with the cocaine industry and the U.S.'s known opposition to this, people were reluctant to mention any connection with the Chapare to me.

A final income-generating alternative in Maragua is small-scale production of goods for the market. This is almost exclusively textile production by women. Textiles produced by hand on horizontal looms are made for household consumption and for sale. In the past, the only marketing options were to sell in the city (on the street, in the market, or to shop-owning intermediaries), or to travelling buyers. Often, used weavings were sold (not to mention valuable antiques); in this market, a period of use can increase textile value.[6] More recently, with the introduction of textile projects into Maragua (first by Acción Cultural Loyola and later by ASUR), textile production has become a more important part of the Maragua economy. A small mattress-production workshop begun with the assistance of ASUR also has expanded production possibilities for a small group of owner/workers (primarily men) in the last two years. Men's bayeta-cloth weaving is present in some other areas of the region, but it is not currently practiced in Maragua.

Markets and Transportation

Unlike similar-sized villages in other parts of the Bolivian *Valle*, Maragua has no weekly market (*feria*), nor is there a market nearby. To sell agricultural products and textiles, and buy other goods (supplementary food products and clothing), residents of Maragua generally have two options. One is to travel to Sucre, the nearest city, and buy and sell in the campesino market (open daily) or on the street. The other is to trade with *comerciantes* (peddlers) who occasionally travel to Maragua; this may be on a barter or a cash basis.

Travel to Sucre is the most popular option, due to the sporadic nature of *comerciante* visits, their limited selection of goods, and their tendency to inflate prices. A trip to Sucre is, however, time-consuming. With the exception of a couple of transport trucks that may (or may not) show up in the community around harvest time, there is no public transportation link between Maragua and Sucre. Maragua is about an hour's drive out of the way from the main Potolo-Sucre road, on a road that, though recently improved, is still of very poor quality. Thus, the only vehicles that enter the community on any kind of semi-regular basis are the jeeps belonging to the development organization ASUR. In theory, it is possible to get a ride to town with ASUR, and people in Maragua express some interest in knowing when the vehicle is due to show up. In

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[6] See B. Femenias, *Andean Aesthetics: Textiles of Peru and Bolivia*, 1987, p. 5.

practice, however, the free ride seldom pans out, for a campesino must have his or her bundle assembled and be ready to leave precisely when ASUR is -- and ASUR tends to follow no set schedule.

The ex-hacendado families usually have a vehicle of their own, or else they have arranged with relatives from the town to drive out to the community and pick them up. One family is only in Maragua once or twice a year, while the other has only recently begun to spend a significant portion of time there, making consequently frequent commutes to and from the city. It is unclear at this point whether this family would be willing to offer neighbours occasional rides into town.

Thus lacking motor transport, campesinos have the option of walking to Chaunaca, a small town on the Potolo-Sucre road, and catching one of several daily transport trucks from there, or following a track that goes to Sucre via a more direct route. The walk to Chaunaca takes about two hours (depending on the speed of the walker), alternating between the main road and various steep short-cut paths; the truck then takes another hour to hour-and-a-half to arrive at the campesino market in Sucre. The walking option, preferable when one has large livestock to transport, will take nearly a day, with the advantage of not having to pay truck fare. Truck fare per person from Chaunaca is two bolivianos,[7] with an additional charge for cargo.

Most typically, people from Maragua will remain in town about two days, selling what they have brought and buying such items as cooking oil, sugar, matches, mass-produced sweaters, shawls, or carrying cloths, bayeta cloth and cotton thread (sewing thread, embroidery thread, or the bright-colored yarn used in decorative poncho borders), hats, children's clothing (usually second-hand) and so forth. Purchases are, however, often limited to what can be carried up a steep mountain upon one's back. If larger purchases are necessary, it is of course possible for another family member to meet the returning traveller in Chaunaca with one or two of the family burros.

It should be mentioned that Sucre's largest manufacturer, Fancesa Cement, is seriously considering the exploitation of rock deposits in the Maragua area, with an eye to the possibility of constructing a factory nearby. Residents of Maragua are currently uncertain as to their opinion on the Fancesa move, and on the position they will take regarding granting Fancesa permission to mine rock in the area. The main potential advantage would be the construction of a new road directly linking Maragua with Sucre. The disadvantages are less well understood, but would

[7] At the time the research was done, the exchange rate was around 4.6 bolivianos/U.S.dollar.

certainly involve disruption of the landscape, possibly of agricultural land as well as pasture, and likely some disruption of community life as outsiders and their machinery enter the area. A factory, depending on the sort of waste products it produces, could conceivably bring disaster for local agriculture and thus the entire local economy, but plans for this potential project are far enough in the future that its possible effects have not come under any close review.[8]

Division of Labour

To explore how the people of Maragua spend their time and how work is divided within the household, I carried out a time-allocation study with the sample families. In order to take account of seasonal variation in activities, the study consisted of two phases: the first in late June and early July, when agricultural activities (the harvest) predominate; and the second during late August and early September, considered the agricultural off-season.

The study takes into account daylight hours only; in my experience in the community, little productive activity takes place after dark. Also, very late or very early visits to households would not have been appropriate. Each day was divided into one-hour time frames[9] from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. I then numbered the time frames for the week of 29 June and the week of 25 August and randomly selected visit times (one per week) for each household. The data are taken from both observed and reported activities,[10] and include all household members over the age of sixteen (most children, boys and girls, attend school through age 15 [3rd Intermedio, or approximately 8th grade]). Girls will weave before this age, but -- according to their mothers -- only a little, because they are still in school.

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[8] My concern is, of course, *will they?* At least one Spanish-speaking member of the community has expressed strong and uncritical interest in the entrance of any factory or enterprise in the community, to provide jobs. The counteracting force in this debate is a (legitimate) distrust on the part of Bolivian campesinos toward the motives of people and institutions in the dominant hispanic culture; although *Valle* communities tend to be reasonably open to outsiders, they also have considerable experience in organizing themselves to defend their interests.

[9] For instance, 7-8 am. Distance between households -- especially because some people had to be searched out in their high-mountain residences -- made smaller time blocks impossible logistically; when two visit times fell back-to-back, it would not have been feasible to make the trip and arrive within the assigned time period.

[10] For example: I arrived to find M. weaving and, when I asked where her husband was, she told me he was at a meeting in Irupampa. Or, if no one was home at the time of the visit, I would ask neighbours where household members were and what they were doing. Observed activities include only the moment of arrival (any moment within the one-hour time frame).

Table 3: Description of Activity Categories, Time Allocation

1. Agricultural Activities (harvesting, threshing and other agricultural processing and transport activities)
2. Herding Activities
3. Weaving Activities (spinning, weaving, or loom preparation)
4. Cooking
5. Child Care
6. Water or Wood Transport, or Clothes Washing
7. Out of Town (in Sucre, in Chaunaca)
8. At a Meeting
9. House Repair
10. Wage Labor
11. Non-Work (Resting, Ill, Socializing, Eating, Dressing, etc.

Simultaneous activities are all counted. All resident members of the 15 sample households are included.

Table 4: Time Allocation Results
Percentage of all activities reported

Men, June-July	Women, June-July
Agriculture 33.3%	Agriculture: 40%
Non-Work 33.3%[1]	Non-Work 16.7%
Out of town 19%	Child Care 13.3%
Herding[2] 9.5%	Herding 10%
Water/Wood 4.8%	Out-of-Town 10%
	Cooking 6.7%
	Water/Wood or Washing 3.3%
	Weaving 0%

Men, August-September	Women, August-September
Out of Town 45%	Weaving 20% of activities
Non-Work 20%	Child Care 20%
At a Meeting 10%	Out-of-town 15%
Agriculture 5%	Cooking 15%
Child Care 5%	Non-Work 10%
Water/Wood 5%	Herding 10%
House Repair 5%	Water/Wood or Washing 10%
Wage Labor 5%	Wage Labor 0%
Herding 0%	

1 This number may be artificially high due to the coincidence that two men in the sample were ill.

2 A few times I had to make educated guesses about whether individuals "out in the fields" had taken their animals along to graze. Often they do.

Figure 5: Time Allocation, Men, June-July

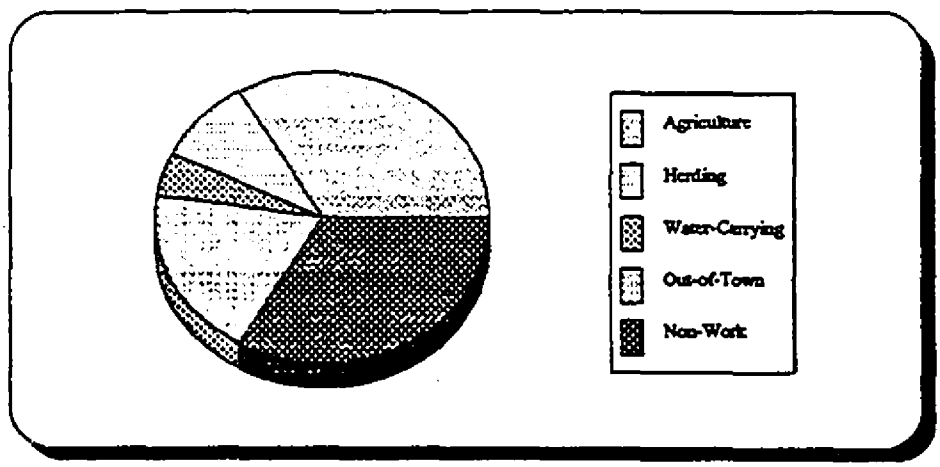


Figure 6: Time Allocation, Women, June-July

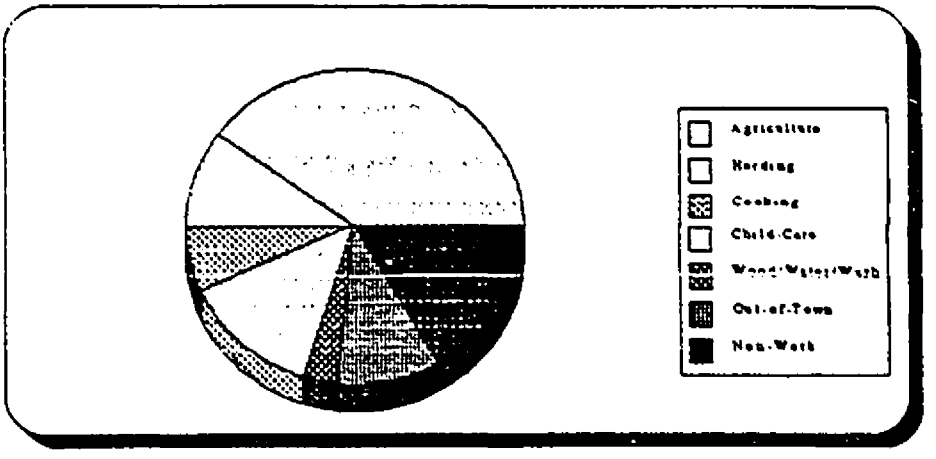


Figure 7: Time Allocation, Men, August-September

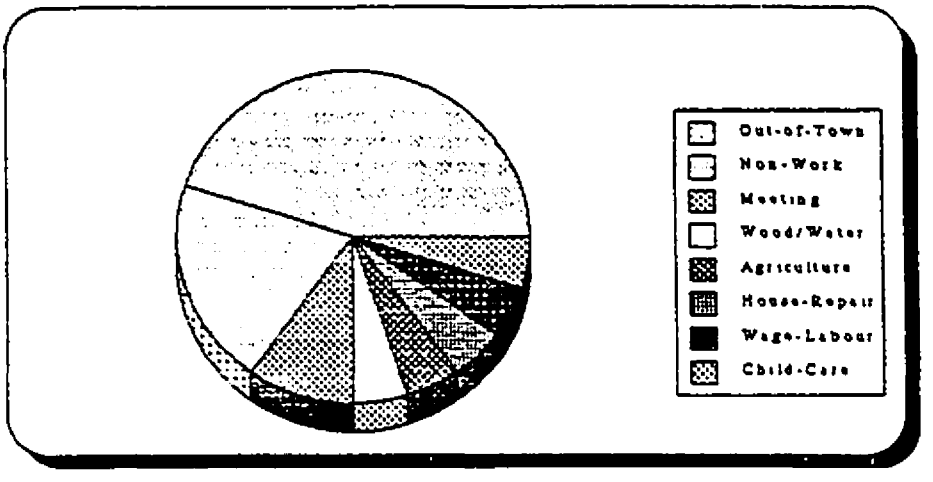
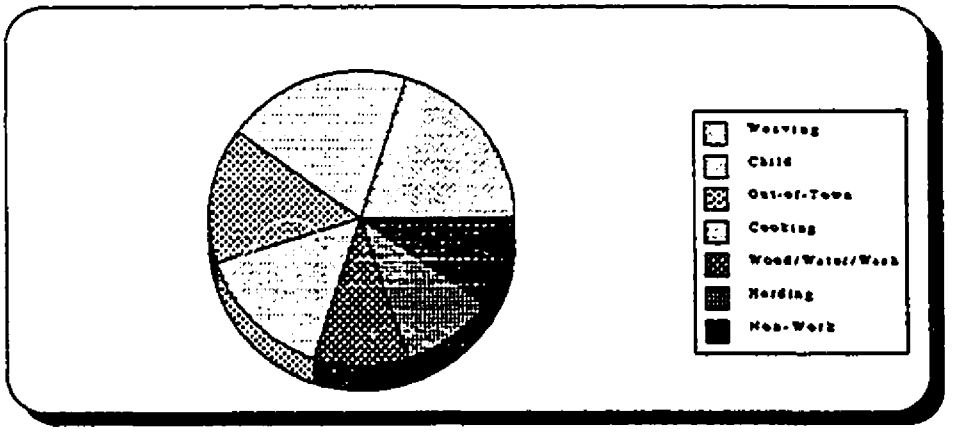


Figure 8: Time Allocation, Women, August-September



From these time-allocation data, we can draw the following conclusions about productive activities and the division of labour in Maragua:

1. Agriculture is the primary productive activity during the agricultural season for both men and women. Though at first glance it appears that agricultural activities may be more prevalent among women, a contingency table of observed and expected frequencies (table 5) shows that this difference is not significant. Both men and women are equally involved in agriculture.

2. The intensity of agricultural labour does not seem to vary significantly between households where women are receiving an income through workshop weaving, and those where they are not. By comparing the eight households which have at least one current workshop weaver against the seven houses without, we see that in the eight workshop households in June-July, thirteen out of the twenty-three people are performing some sort of agricultural activity. In the non-workshop households, five of the thirteen people are doing so. The difference between the two sets of households is not significant.[11]

3. Weaving activity increases significantly for women in August after the agricultural season is over, to become their primary activity along with child care. It would not, however, be correct to assume that no weaving takes place during June and July; despite the fact that observed weaving during time allocation visits was 0%, some weaving was going on in the community at this time (see below). However, weaving was of relatively little importance compared to agriculture, for workshop weavers and non-workshop weavers alike.

4. Men practically never cook (only a single man living alone will generally do so), and men only very seldom participate in child-care activities. Both men and women (and also children) herd animals and gather wood and water, though it is generally elderly men and children who perform the gathering activities. Men are responsible for house repairs and will generally undertake these after the end of the agricultural season. Community and inter-community meetings tend to be postponed until then, as well.

[11] At a 10% level of significance, testing for the significance of a difference in proportion (z-distribution).

5. Travel from Maragua to Sucre or Chaunaca is common; a rough estimate would be that for an "average Maraguan", about 15% of his or her time is spent out of town. Actually, of course, the number varies considerably among people; some go frequently, some never go. Men's travel intensifies by quite a bit at the close of the agricultural season while women's travel intensifies only slightly. This may have to do with weaving activities, which keep women occupied in Maragua in August and September while men have very little to do; also with child-care duties (one informant told me that was why she hardly ever gets into town -- she has four children under age seven).

What these figure do *not* seem to indicate is that the large number of men out of town in August are men migrating to work at wage labour. Only one of the 9 men out of town was doing so, and that was to nearby Chaunaca. Nobody was in Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, or other popular migrant destinations. Rather, the men who were out of town were either attending to their land in another area (Chaunaca or Sucre), visiting Sucre for a few days (with a wife or daughter along), returning to a second residence in Sucre, visiting friends (one person), or performing military service (one person). Thus, we can begin to suspect that, despite a high incidence of long-term out-migration, *seasonal* migrant wage labour is currently not of great importance in Maragua's economy. This contrasts with the situation in many other rural Bolivian communities, in which a large out-migration to wage labour takes place as soon as agricultural activities are completed.

Table 5: X^2 Analysis of Time Allocation Data*; Agricultural and Non-Agr. Activities By Sex

Week of June 29, 1994 (Harvest Season)

Activities	Agric.	Non-Agr.	Total
Done by Men	7	14	21
Done by Women	12	18	30
Total	19	32	51

*Quantities given are the number of times this activity occurred in time-allocation data.

X^2=.2352, not significant. This indicates no significant difference in the amount of time that men and women spent doing agriculture.

A second set of data on labour allocation to weaving also grew out of the time allocation study; this involved asking the weavers in each household whether they had done any weaving on the day before the random visit. Twelve of the fifteen households have weavers and are represented here. Elderly women who no longer weave, or young girls who are just learning, are not included.

Table 6: Time Allocation Extension; Weavers in Household Sample

"Did you weave yesterday?"

	Week of June 29	Week of August 25
Weaver 1	no	no, herding
Weaver 2*	no	?
Weaver 3*	no	no
Weaver 4*	no	no
Weaver 5	no	no
Weaver 6	?	? in Chaunaca
Weaver 7	no	yes, 2-3 hours
Weaver 8*	no	no, drank chicha
Weaver 9*	yes	no, herded sheep
Weaver 10*	yes	no, in Sucre
Weaver 11*	no	no, herded sheep
Weaver 12	no	no, but spinning
Weaver 13*	no	? Weaving in progress
Weaver 14*	no	?
Weaver 15*	no	yes, 1-2 hrs.
Weaver 16*	no	yes, most of day
Weaver 17	? in Sucre	?

*=Workshop Weaver.

During the August visits (when weaving is most prevalent), I was also able to compile a list of alternate activities which may take the place of weaving. The following table indicates whether or not the individual was weaving during the August visit, and if not, what she was doing instead.

Table 7: Weavers in Household Sample, August-Sept., Weaving and Alternate Activities

Weaver 1	Not weaving. Visiting.
Weaver 2*	Yes, weaving.
Weaver 3*	Yes, weaving.
Weaver 4*	No. Playing soccer.
Weaver 5	No. Ill.
Weaver 6	? In Chaunaca
Weaver 7	No. Napping
Weaver 8*	No. Washing clothes
Weaver 9*	Yes, weaving.
Weaver 10*	No. In Sucre.
Weaver 11*	No. Toasting corn
Weaver 12	No -- But spinning
Weaver 13*	Preparing Loom
Weaver 14*	No. Herding
Weaver 15*	No. Travelling.
Weaver 16*	No. Washing clothes
Weaver 17	No. Herding

*=Workshop Weaver.

Both of these tables suggest that herding is an important labour activity for women -- something that did not come through as clearly in the other set of time allocation data. It is important to note that herding is not a seasonal activity; unlike agriculture and weaving, it appeared in the data for *both* June-July and August-September. Thus, from a year-round perspective, herding is just as important as agriculture and weaving. From my experience in Maragua, I saw herding to be a major labour-consuming activity for some women, as was child care, which women take for granted and tend not to report as a conscious "activity".

Finally, these tables allow us to address a couple of interesting questions:

1. *Do workshop weavers weave full-time each day in the agricultural off-season?*

The above tables show that many of the workshop weavers were involved in activities other than weaving, even in August. The majority said that they did not weave at all on the day before. This suggests that workshop weaving is not a full-time activity; it is a flexible activity which can be put aside to make way for other time requirements. The tables give specific instances of these other time requirements -- herding, clothes-washing and travelling being foremost among them.

2. *Are workshop weavers abandoning their agricultural activities in order to dedicate more time to this cash-earning activity?*

The answer here appears to be a clear *no*. We have already noted that weaving drops to near-zero during the agricultural season. The above data confirm this observation. Looking at the June-July agricultural season data, we do not see workshop weavers weaving -- with two exceptions, both of whom come from the same household. The great majority -- 81.8% of workshop weavers -- were not weaving either the day before or at the time of the random visit in June-July.

With this, we conclude our preliminary examination of the household economy in Maragua. In the next chapter, we will proceed to an analysis of the development organization ASUR, and of the Maragua weaving workshop, now an important factor within the local economy.

Chapter 3: Organizational Structure and Methodology of ASUR

Weavers' workshops are community-level organizations for the production of textiles for sale. They are linked vertically to their founding organization, Antropólogos del Surandino (ASUR), a private non-profit foundation which oversees seven workshops in the Jalq'a region and six additional ones in the neighbouring Tarabuco region. ASUR has also helped to begin several small community businesses in the Jalq'a region -- a rabbit-raising project (Carawiri) a mattress-production project (Maragua) and a spinning and dying factory (Irupampa) -- as well as establishing men's tapestry-weaving workshops in two communities (Potolo and Carawiri). These projects are not discussed here in any detail, as the paper focuses on ASUR's largest and best-known project, the weavers' workshops for women.

The Grassroots, And the Gardener

The permanent staff of ASUR are not Jalq'a weavers; they are anthropologists, textile specialists, and engineers living in the city of Sucre. Thus, we are not dealing here with a grassroots organization. Rather, the weavers' project has the classic shape of a development project: something brought in from outside a community to benefit people in that community. Throughout much of the history of development projects, their beneficiaries have had only a passive role to play: they receive instructions concerning what they must do (weave sweaters, lay pipe for water projects, etc.) while their benefactors take charge of project design, implementation, and administration. Though this system seems at first glance most efficient, experience has shown that top-down development projects tend to fail -- often spectacularly -- due to administrators' ignorance of grassroots realities (cultural, social, and economic).[1] ASUR is well aware of the dangers of such top-down planning. This is why it has designed projects which try to function as far as possible *as if they were* grassroots projects -- while retaining the form of an external development agency.

This seems contradictory, and yet the problem which ASUR and other development organizations working with rural producers must face is essentially a contradiction. The people --

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[1] See, for instance, B.S Baviskar and D.W. Attwood, *Finding the Middle Path: The Political Economy of Cooperation in Rural India*, 1995 on the case of sugar factories in rural India.

that is, project beneficiaries -- *know* -- and they *don't know*. They know about their needs, their desires, and their ways of organizing activities and decisions -- including how to adjust a project's demands to fit into their daily life. They know how to produce a product well, and they know that this product could be the key to providing them with needed cash income. However, they usually don't know about accounting, administering group enterprises, reaching and dealing with buyers and banks, record-keeping and other skills necessary for success in a business world based in an alien cultural tradition and, often, an unfamiliar language. Thus, the contradiction -- and how to resolve it?

A project run completely by campesinos might never find its way into being, due to lack of trust between individuals[2], the intervention of local elites[3], or the intimidating size of the task at hand and lack of access to necessary resources. With the presence of people with strong organizational and administrative talent, however, or the intervention of an outside "catalyst" who organizes people and then withdraws (see below), these difficulties may be surpassed and a project come into existence -- run by people at the grassroots who have the splendid opportunity to participate actively in their own development. Yet if that project fails quickly due to the problems mentioned above, of what use is it? Certainly some people have had the experience of organizing themselves, and this experience may bear fruit later.[4] However, for true "development" to occur, I would argue that we must see not only active participation by a significant number of people in the community, leading to greater empowerment for them,[5] but also some improvement in material circumstances -- whether this is in the form of better health, more access to education or, in the case of the production-centered projects under consideration here, increased or at least more secure sources of income.

Thus, the modern movement toward grassroots development has not dispensed with the need for outside development organizations, but it *has* required a significant alteration in their approach. One option, which Hirschman, Esman and Uphoff have described, is the role of "social promoters" or "catalyst agents".[6] These are individuals or organizations, generally from outside the community, who become acquainted with local people and their problems, plant ideas of

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2 Hirschman, Albert O. *Getting Ahead Collectively*, 1984, pp.56-7.

3 Esman and Uphoff, pp.256.

4 Hirschman, pp. 42-57 ("The Principal of Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy").

5 See Esman and Uphoff, pp.27-28.

6 Hirschman, pp. 78-94; Esman and Uphoff, pp. 253-258.

cooperation, help local groups get started, and then withdraw. This system seems to work well[7] as the promoter provides a link between people for trust-building and idea generation. This way of stimulating the formation of local organizations has come into prominence as a viable option for areas where local organizations have not emerged by way of local initiative.[8]

ASUR's approach shares some similarities with that of the "catalyst agent". ASUR is made up of outsiders who have become acquainted with local people and their problems. They have helped local groups get started, and they hope at some point to withdraw. ASUR has also played a significant role in stimulating idea-generation in the communities, yet its role goes far beyond this. ASUR performs long-term administrative functions, which catalyst agents generally do not, and has continued its work with the weavers' workshops for over a decade. ASUR is not a catalyst agent, neither is it a typical top-down development organization. It is similar to the institutional organizers in the Gal Oya project described by Uphoff (1992) who, while acting as catalysts, also took over long-term organizing work. ASUR goes farther, however, to act as a second-tier organization and upper-level administrator of projects. Yet it does not administer projects by edict, but in close cooperation with the local-level organizations. Thus ASUR is something different: an organization for development, rather than an organization of developers; not a spreader of concrete but a gardener of the grassroots.

ASUR's Methodology

ASUR's methodology is built, implicitly and explicitly, upon five main principles:

1. The co-gestation of projects by ASUR development staff and community members.[9]

2. The sharing of administrative responsibilities by ASUR development staff and community members.

3. The training and empowerment of some community members and gradual transferring of administrative responsibilities to them.

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[7] For example, see Esman and Uphoff's performance scores for catalyst-initiated LOs as compared with shared-initiative or government-agency initiated LOs, p.164.

[8] Ibid., pp. 253-8 ; See also Uphoff, *Learning from Gal Oya*, 1992, on the key role played by institutional organizers in a previously unsuccessful water-management project.

[9] This is similar to what Esman and Uphoff (pp. 163-9) refer to as "shared initiative", and begins after ASUR has entered the community in its organizational catalyst role.

4. The thorough knowledge of various aspects of local culture by ASUR staff.
5. The role of advisor which ASUR adopts in relation to the community administrators.

In the following sections, we will examine these principles and the structures which support them in more detail, as we see how they apply to ASUR's first and primary production project: the Jalq'a women's weaving workshops.

1. Co-gestation

ASUR did not set out to be a development organization. It began with two Chilean anthropologists interested in textiles -- Veronica Cereceda and Gabriel Martínez -- who were concerned with the declining quality of Jalq'a weavings. As in most tourist markets, demand for weavings in Sucre was linked less to quality than to a desire for a piece of exotic Bolivian life that could be had inexpensively. This, combined with the buying-up of antique weavings by outsiders[10], and the less-frequent use of traditional dress in the communities (see above) meant that the more intricate and time-consuming designs were being or had already been lost from the weavers' repertoire. Fearing the disappearance of a unique and beautiful weaving style, Martínez and Cereceda began to consider how they could revive the production of high-quality weavings. The obvious solution was to find a market which would appreciate, and compensate the weavers for, quality work.[11] Yet first, weaving would have to be improved to attract these buyers, and production organized so that buyers could be supplied.

Thus, the Jalq'a were present, in a sense, in a dialogue which planted the seeds of the eventual weavers' workshops -- they were present through their art, and the possibilities of that art. Soon, the people themselves joined the project gestation process, as Martínez and Cereceda began to visit Jalq'a communities and discuss with community members the possibility of starting a project to recoup weaving quality, with an eye toward -- eventually -- selling the *axsus* which women would produce. Some communities were distrustful of the outsiders, but the community of Irupampa's reaction toward Martínez and Cereceda's proposal was favourable.[12] Women

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10 Crespo Callau, Monica. "*Sistematización de una Experiencia de Desarrollo Rural con Grupos Indígenas: "Proyecto Textil y Micro-empresarial Jalq'a"* ASUR 1989-92. p.5

11 See Sick-Connelley, Deborah. *The Role of Tradition in Development: A San Juan Paiute Case*, MA Thesis, New Mexico State University, 1986, on a San Juan Paiute basket-weavers' association which was also organized with the goals of locating buyers and eliminating middlemen. However, in the Paiute case, strong local demand (from Navajos and Hopis) was still considerable enough that quality decline had not taken place.

weavers were eager to expand their knowledge and weave "like in the old days", and practically all the women in the community wanted to participate.[13] The first priority was to bring samples of lost weaving designs -- in the form of photographs of textiles in various collections -- to community women, so that they could expand their weaving repertoire. Martínez and Cereceda eventually set up a base in Irupampa and lived in the community while they and the community members discussed how best to organize the project, and the women practiced their weaving.

Who were the community members who participated in this co-gestation process? They were Jalq'a campesinos, not *hacendados*, and they were both men and women. Martínez is fluent in Quechua, so the dialogue was not limited to those members of the community who speak Spanish. At first, the discussion was likely limited to the male political figures in the community -- the *sindicato* committee members -- but Martínez and Cereceda soon began holding general meetings open to all members of the community, especially the women[14]. This was feasible as Irupampa, like Maragua, is a small community. The 95% of Irupampans who are currently shareholders in the spinning and dying enterprise, a later ASUR-initiated community project,[15] support ASUR's claim that the great majority of the community has been involved. From the general community-wide meetings, a small group of people was elected as the first committee of directors. These people then began to work more closely with ASUR.

2. Sharing of Administrative Responsibilities

Committees of directors for ASUR projects are generally made up of both men and women -- women are the weavers and men, according to Cereceda, tend to be better educated and more comfortable with roles which require public speaking. As noted above, the selection of directors is based on interest and weaving and community leadership experience. Wealth seems not to be a factor; the two male directors in the household sample had an average landholding of 2.75 hectares and animal wealth index of 7.75, both below average, while the two female directors in the workshop weavers' sample similarly had a low average landholding of 2.25 hectares. Male

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13 Cereceda, V. et al. *"El Taller-Piloto de Iru Pampa"* in *Archivo Textil, Movilización Cultural e Investigación Antropológica en Torno a los Textiles Andinos Bolivianos: Primer Informe de Trabajo* ASUR, Sucre, May 1986, p. 173

14 Crespo Callau, p.6.

15 ASUR (Antropólogos del Surandino), in-house publication, *"ASUR: Fundación para la investigación antropológica y el etnodesarrollo"*, Sucre, n.d. (1993?) page 19. See also Healy, "Back to the Future: Ethnodevelopment Among the Jalq'a of Bolivia" in *Grassroots Development*, vol. 16 no. 2, 1992 pp.22-35.

and female directors do not usually come from the same household, but they do come from the same social class.

The job of the directors' committee is to take on all local-level administrative functions: the distribution of wool or yarn and record-keeping, the overseeing of the dying process, the examination and preliminary quality-grading of the *axsus* produced by the weavers, a certain amount of teaching and quality control, the running of weekly weavers' meetings, and the organization of the girls' weaving classes. The directors are not responsible for the marketing of axsus or the acquisition of primary materials (wool and/or yarn, dye, and mordants), although occasionally someone from the local committee will buy wool. Marketing and acquisition of materials is generally not handled by the local organization at all; rather, ASUR staff members handle these functions out of their base in Sucre. Thus, the administration of the project is shared between ASUR and the local committees.

Since Cereceda and Martínez began working in Irupampa in 1985, the textile program has grown to become one of the department of Chuquisaca's largest development projects. Between 1989 and 1992, it received $428,242 U.S[16] in financing and has gradually grown to a permanent Sucre-based staff of eight development managers and additional support staff (a shop manager, an accountant, etc.), whose salaries are funded by grant monies[17]. ASUR staff members make frequent visits to the twelve rural communities now served by ASUR.[18] The weavers' project has spread due primarily to community interest; a few Maragua weavers, for example, attended meetings at the workshop in neighbouring Irupampa before later establishing their own. Despite this, however, the Maragua workshop is now very much a separate entity, and has stronger links to ASUR than to the Irupampa workshop. Horizontal links between the various workshops are weak, but a federation made up of representatives from all workshops has been formed and plans to undertake some administrative functions. Also, the workshops have agreed to pool a portion of their monies in a common fund, so as to minimize individual workshops' risk of insolvency.

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16 Morales, Miguel A. *Evaluación Económica del Programa Textil Jalq'a Tarabuco*, 1993, appendix B5. All sources are not known, but significant grant financing (over $150,000 U.S.) has come from the U.S.-based Inter-American Foundation, and ASUR continues to receive some grant support.

17 Money for salaries does not come out of the weavings' earnings, with the exception of the shop manager, whose salary falls under commercialization costs. Weavers receive slightly over 60% of the selling price of a textile.

18 Irupampa, Maragua, Carawiri, Potolo, Purunquila, and Majada in the Jalq'a region; Candelaria, Pila Torre, San Jacinto, S.J. del Paredon, Q'illu Q'asa and Qullpa Pampa in the Tarabuco region. Another workshop is located in Arajuanez, a neighbourhood of Sucre, with Jalq'a weavers.

3. Training

ASUR's plans for the future of the weaving workshops include the eventual phasing out of all ASUR staff participation and complete auto-administration and auto-gestation of new workshops and other projects. Toward that end, ASUR has provided and continues to provide training and experience to some members of the communities in administrative functions. The training is of two types: general courses open to anyone at the community level, and more specific, intensive experiences targeted only to a few community leaders. The first sort is done less frequently: a math and accounting course taken by about twenty participants in 1993 in Maragua, for example, and a few other similar courses, primarily in Potolo and Irupampa. Plans for a week-long accounting course in each community were in process at the time of the study; these courses were to be targeted to committee directors but open to other interested members of the community. The accounting courses will be taught by four campesinos (two in each region), selected on the basis of their abilities and trained by ASUR staff.

More intensive, targeted training such as the teaching campesinos receive is logistically simpler for ASUR to carry out, and thus more common. ASUR concentrates training more intensively on local directors, in such areas as quality evaluation of weaving, record-keeping and local workshop administration, and shop management (each workshop must send a director every few weeks to assist at the ASUR-run textile shop in Sucre).[19] Though such concentration of training has its advantages, giving some people the necessary skills to be good leaders, it also runs the risk of putting the power of eventual project administration in the hands of a few. Local leaders can be overloaded with training and resources and thus separated from the rest of the community, to the point where they can no longer represent its interests.[20] ASUR, however, has attempted to discourage this sort of divisiveness by setting up teaching programs such as the one mentioned above and by incorporating director turnover into the workshop structure, through periodic elections and the creation of higher-level positions for former local directors. Such turnover (in which about 20% of workshop members have been able to serve as directors -- see below) makes room for the entrance of new administrators at the local level.

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[19] In Irupampa, home of the spinning and dying enterprise, directors have received more intensive training in accounting and cost control, which they now manage themselves (with counsel from ASUR and occasional review by a professional accountant), and also, to a certain extent, in machine maintenance.

[20] See Esman and Uphoff, p.249.

Thus far, however, training of community directors, except in the community of Irupampa, has been rather limited; directors do keep records of raw materials, completed *axsus*, and current attendance, and have sufficient administrative skill to keep local workshop activities (meetings, weekly dyeing and loom-warping sessions, and children's classes) running smoothly; however, in other administrative areas their participation is still limited and does not appear to be expanding. The Sucre shop internship, which tends to be viewed more as a responsibility than as a learning opportunity, is generally handed over to a single member of each committee, nearly always male[21] -- who goes and sits in the shop beside the ASUR staff member who actually runs things. This staff member does attempt to teach community representatives about the functioning of the store. According to her, some people understand and help with shop activities, but others don't know how to do anything and are stupid about the work -- "not because they're dumb, but because the work doesn't interest them."

Meanwhile, the local workshops still rely on ASUR to obtain raw materials, calculate costs, set prices, pay labour, and market the final product. Workshop directors have learned to evaluate weavings, and do so for every piece before the weaver takes it to Sucre. However, the directors' evaluation is reviewed and sometimes changed, with accompanying explanations to the weaver, by ASUR staff members in Sucre.

Despite this, ASUR still hopes to be able to turn over the workshops, at some point, to complete campesino control. An economic analysis commissioned by ASUR in 1993 predicts that the textile project will be profitable enough to be completely self-sustaining by 1997, but this is based on an estimated sales increase from $77,000 U.S (1992) to $306,000[22]. Though sales are going well and the number of weavers is expanding, this figure still seems a bit overly optimistic; meanwhile, until such levels of sales are reached, ASUR is valuable to the workshops as a grant writer.

A recent tool which ASUR hopes will help in the gradual phasing-out of its administrative role is the federation *Wiñuy Mulli* ("The Eternal Molle Tree"), an organization made up of elected representatives of workshops and other ASUR-initiated community businesses from both the Jalq'a and Tarabuco regions. Originally represented by four directors -- two Jalq'a and two Tarabuco --

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[21] From the seven Jalq'a workshops, only one woman was involved in the shop internship at the time of this study. The competing demands of child-care and herding likely have a lot to do with this.

[22] Morales, pp.19-20, 29.

Wiñuy Mulli now only has two active directors, the other two having lost interest. These two men travel between Sucre and their home communities, meeting regularly with ASUR's head projects manager to plan investment of a $5000 U.S. grant into new community enterprises in the Tarabuco region. Their role is to evaluate project proposals by the communities and provide credit to those that they believe will be capable of repaying the loan – which can then form a fund to support new workshops and enterprises in both regions. This credit fund is to be the core of what the ASUR project manager hopes will be a strong economic federation, the first of its kind for campesinos in the two regions.

The two Wiñuy Mulli directors have, through their experiences with ASUR and local government, been well trained in the processes of project administration. They work closely with an upper-level ASUR manager, keep their own records, and manage a bank account. Yet there are some difficulties which have prevented Wiñuy Mulli from making the transition to complete auto-administration. One is, of course, that it lacks the active participation of two directors. Although Wiñuy Mulli directors do receive monetary compensation for time worked, these two directors' responsibilities in their communities and lesser interest in project administration have left them unable and/or unwilling to carry out the tasks which the local directors elected them to do.

Another serious problem is a lack of access to information. Libraries in Sucre are not open to the public, and Wiñuy Mulli has no money of its own to hire experts, so the organization has no way to get the information it needs for project evaluation. For example, one community has proposed a camomile-growing and -marketing project, and ASUR has identified an export market, but people in the community have only grown camomile on a very small scale until now. They lack experience in the costs of inputs such as the purchased seeds and irrigation necessary for commercial production, and nobody in Wiñuy Mulli or ASUR knows enough about this to evaluate whether or not the project would be profitable. Such difficulties with information access have meant that Wiñuy Mulli has so far been unable to develop a procedure for evaluating projects proposed by communities.

4. Cultural Literacy

One of ASUR's most distinguishing characteristics is that, as an organization begun by anthropologists, it is an extremely culture-conscious development organization. Not only does this

entail a generalized respect for the people with and for whom they work, but culture-consciousness has a strong echo in more specific aspects of ASUR's methodology.

First of all, ASUR's projects all grow out of a culturally familiar context: the traditional handloom, the familiar designs, and the women's own identity as weavers. This minimizes the disruptions in community life and identity which a new project can cause, as well as making the project less alien and threatening.[23] Women are accustomed to fitting weaving into their schedules and they are comfortable with the activity, which they continue to do in their own home. Men are accustomed to seeing women weave. Thus, rather than being something which descends upon a community requiring many new skills and attitudes, the weavers' project calls upon familiar skills and centers upon an object, woven cloth, which is already of strong cultural value.[24] It is instructive that, although various non-traditional production projects have come into being through ASUR (the mattress workshop, the machine-powered spinning factory, etc., see above), ASUR has always begun in each community with the weavers' workshop. The other projects came later; often, men would see the success of the weavers' workshop and request that ASUR help them start a project "for us men".[25]

Secondly, ASUR's expectations of weavers and other project participants are built upon a thorough knowledge of community economic and social realities. ASUR workers understand the rhythms of community life – for example, the intense time requirements of the harvest season – and thus do not require that production levels remain constant or organizational responsibilities take precedence over agricultural ones. ASUR understands that, in the campesino economy, the need for money fluctuates, and earning activities must be balanced with other duties; for this reason weavers are not required to take out permanent membership in the workshop, but may enter and exit according to their needs and their individual calculations of the money/time alternative.[26] Cereceda and Martínez's experience living in the community of Irupampa has, of course, been instrumental to their understanding of such issues. The decision to include men in workshop administrative positions, for example, grew out of Cereceda's observation of the

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[23] A new organization which does not fit people's informally established ways of doing things is not likely to succeed; see North, Douglass, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 1990, p.45, on how change in formal institutions does not necessarily imply any immediate change in behaviour.

[24] See Murra (1962) on the importance of cloth in Andean cultures.

[25] Although, in the case of the spinning factory in Irupampa, the women soon took over practically all of the spinning work.

[26] V. Cereceda, personal communication. See also D. Sick (1986) for her discussion of indifference curves in the choice of whether or not to weave, among San Juan Paiute basket weavers.

reluctance of many of the women to speak in the meetings. Though I, as an outsider, was sceptical that women would stand back and let men talk about *weaving*, this observation was later confirmed by a weaver in Maragua: "Men know how to speak in meetings," she told me. "That's what they do."

Finally, ASUR's methodology requires that ASUR staff members, though no longer resident in the communities, integrate themselves as much as possible into the communities' cultural context. ASUR staff members travel to the communities to meet with local committees of directors; at meetings, they hand out coca leaf to the people present -- a traditional social gesture in indigenous Andean cultures -- and accept a handful in return. At celebrations, ASUR staff joins campesinos in the *ch'alla*, a ritual toast to the Pachamama (Earth-Mother). ASUR staff members speak Quechua, drink *chicha* (a locally prepared, beer-like beverage) and, in general, try to act as little as possible like people from Bolivia's dominant, urban culture when they visit communities.

5. ASUR's Persona

Having examined some of the main aspects of ASUR's methodology, we may now ask more specifically: how has ASUR conceived of the outside development organization's role? We have seen how ASUR functions as a co-administrator in the short term, and a teacher with the stated goal of project auto-gestation and self-sufficiency in the long term. We have seen that ASUR solicits active campesino involvement in the gestation and administration of projects, and fits projects into -- rather than imposing them upon -- the existing fabric of community life. ASUR workers also try to fit into the community themselves, as much as possible, by observing local customs and speaking the local language. Yet they are still outsiders, and thus must approach the communities in some role, some persona which mediates their dealings with campesino communities and individuals. This section considers the question of *who is ASUR?* from the point of view of the communities.

Many of the weavers in Maragua perceive ASUR as a facilitator of productive activities: ASUR "buys wool and dye" (for us), "brings dye and yarn" (to us), "sells weavings in their shop", "helps weavers make money", and so forth. The local directors, who work more closely with ASUR, see ASUR's role more so that of a advisor: ASUR comes to see if things are going smoothly; its role is that of "a guide" that "helps the community". In meetings between ASUR and

community directors' committees, ASUR staff members review workshop records and offer advice on organization and administration (such as counselling directors not to release new wool to a weaver who had not yet finished an earlier project, or suggesting that directors keep completed and as-yet-uncompleted contracts in separate binders). ASUR supplies binders and the typewritten contracts which a weaver signs when receiving wool or yarn from the workshop, thus facilitating the directors' administrative duties.

ASUR staff members also serve as mediators in conflict resolution. At one meeting in Potolo, local directors discussed conflicts among themselves, including suspicions of money mismanagement and accusations of irresponsibility. The ASUR worker's role in the meeting was to mediate this discussion, offer suggestions on how to avoid future conflicts ("keep a record of all purchases, even if it's just ten cents"), and to counsel the directors on the importance of working together: "It's only natural that there are disagreements, but you need to be patient and work them out together." In another conflict over a debt owed by a group, an ASUR worker gave the people the form of the solution (to discount money from each product sold until the debt is paid) but left the details (deciding how much money to discount and drawing up the agreement) to be worked out locally.

ASUR staff members are only occasional visitors, coming to each community on average once or twice a month, for a day or so. Their function is to bring items such as wool, dye, and typewritten contracts which facilitate the functioning of the workshops; to ensure that local administration is running smoothly and to make suggestions and help iron out the difficulties when it is not; and to act as an outside mediator and counsellor in conflict resolution. Thus, within the community, ASUR is an *advisor* and a *facilitator*. Once outside the community, however, ASUR's role expands to include the marketing of weavings and paying of weavers, the writing of grants, and the locating and hiring of teachers (for math and accounting classes, for instance). In this context, which weavers enter when they take their weavings to town to sell, ASUR is a *customer* (and a demanding one) and a development *organization* -- in the sense that it possesses an office, offers benefits to campesinos, and has workings -- according to some of the weavers interviewed -- too complicated to be understood.

Are Workshops Cooperatives?

In the introduction, I referred to some of the recent literature on cooperatives, and now we will consider ASUR weavers' workshops in the light of this previous research. Are the workshops cooperatives, and what can their experience add to the discussion on different forms of cooperative organization?

Esman & Uphoff define cooperatives as local organizations in which members pool their resources to produce primarily private benefits.[27] The weavers' workshops involve a pooling of resources, but only to a limited extent. Weavers contribute neither money or time directly to the workshops; however, a third of a weaving's profit (after paying the weaver and the cost of raw materials) goes back to the local workshop, and another third into a common weavers' fund shared by all the workshops.[28] This distribution of profits is handled by ASUR, but the money is administered by the weavers and their elected representatives. Thus, weavers are pooling their resources indirectly. They are also producing a private benefit, weaving income, which does not spill over into the rest of the community. Thus, at least marginally, the weavers' workshops fit Esman and Uphoff's definition of cooperatives.

Iriarte (1979),[29] examining the Bolivian situation, emphasizes the spirit of solidarity among members which is found in true cooperatives. The weaving workshops show solidarity by holding regular weekly meetings of all weavers, in which they discuss problems and jointly plan future events. Also, from day to day, weavers will often ask after other weavers ("Has she finished her axsu yet?") and thus seem to show a degree of group-consciousness, despite the solitary nature of their weaving (which is done independently in each woman's home). Yet this is still a consciousness dependant, to a large degree, on the weavers' relationship to a common buyer. It is difficult to imagine the group solidarity outlasting a failure of ASUR to buy and market their weavings.

Iriarte also states that, for a group to be a cooperative, it must have collective possession of the means or instruments of production.[30] Here it seems that the weavers' workshops do not meet this criterion, as looms are owned by individual weavers. However, the yarn and dye are owned collectively, in the sense that they are bought with common weavers' earnings and administered by

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27 Esman and Uphoff, pp.61-4.

28 The final third of profits goes to pay the ASUR store staff and other marketing/ advertising costs.

29 Iriarte, P. Gregorio. *El Cooperativismo y la Comunidad Indigena*. La Paz, 1979.

30 Iriarte, p. 50.

the directors of each local workshop. Thus, we can argue for some collective possession of the means of production, as yarn and dye are costly inputs while looms are common in the community – most every household possesses at least one.[31]

The weaving workshops, therefore, stand on the border of cooperativism, possessing the characteristics of cooperatives, but only to a limited extent. Within current discourse on cooperatives, they provide an example of the blurriness of the line between cooperatives and other forms of collective enterprises. ASUR does not consider the workshops to be cooperatives, because, as one ASUR worker put it, a cooperative is built around the philosophy of *cooperation* while the weavers' workshop's emphasis is on earning money. He considers the workshops to be businesses. They fulfil the classic function of the "firm" as described by Coase – enabling the weaver to save on transaction costs associated with locating and making individual contracts with wool sellers, textile buyers, and so forth.[32]

Thus we see that the *cooperative*, which we usually speak of in the agricultural or third-world context, and the *firm*, which seems to have an aura of first-world executives, are actually very close cousins – the primary difference, as ASUR's definition of weaving workshops seems to point out, may well be simply a difference of philosophy – a focus on profit-earning pragmatism rather than the cultivation of cooperation for its own sake. The weavers' workshop seems to straddle the divide between the forms of organization – emphasizing the earning of money over cooperative ideals, but also consciously remaining open and available to as many weavers as are interested in participating. Here is a cooperative that does not preach cooperation, and a firm which does not wish to limit the number of partners who enjoy its benefits.

The weavers' workshop is, however, working in a context notably different from the first-world, profit-oriented firm, and though its stated objective may also be "to make money", it is doing so within the particular setting of the household economy. Relying exclusively on non-waged family labour, weavers' household economies still tend to be focused on simple reproduction rather than profit generation and expansion into capitalist enterprises.[33] Yet at the same time, weavers' households exist within the context of the wider commodity economy

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[31] And what of the textile store? Here, it would be incorrect to say that the weavers own their marketing instrument collectively; rather, the store is owned by the foundation, ASUR, and administered on the weavers' behalf.

[32] Coase, 1937; see also North, 1990.

[33] This is, of course, quite similar to Chayanov's view of the peasant economy. Chayanov, A.V. *The Theory of Peasant Economy*, The American Economic Association, 1966.

(through their sale of agricultural products, textiles, labour, etc.), and thus, as Cook and Binford (1990) argue in reference to Mexican petty artisans, they have the potential to expand.[34] Cook and Binford, as well as Buechler and Buechler (1992), give examples of small producers whose businesses, though still small and primarily kin-based, have begun the process of capital accumulation. However, workshop weavers are for the moment less concerned with profit than with subsistence; "making money" primarily means earning income to fund necessary household expenditures.[35]

Organizational Structure and Membership

The weavers' workshops are part of a multi-tier organizational structure, beginning with the local weavers' workshop and proceeding through the Weavers' Federation (a federation of all thirteen workshops in both regions) to the Wiñuy Mulli Federation (which includes both workshops and other community micro-enterprises). The development organization ASUR functions as an umbrella organization, working alongside, and sometimes above, the Federations (see Figure 9). Before the Federations were formed, ASUR acted as the second tier of the organization. Now, ASUR counsels the Federations and carries out some functions which the neophyte federation directors are not yet capable of assuming.

The multiple-tiered structure has great importance in the functioning of workshops, as raw materials, finished products, and earnings all pass between the workshop and higher levels of the organization. This structure is based on the election of representatives from the bottom up (with the exception of ASUR personnel, who are not elected); unlike a bureaucratic hierarchy, it involves committee descision-making and extensive consultation and contact among the various levels. Both Ostrom[36] and Esman and Uphoff[37] have cited the apparent benefits of this sort of structure for maintaining a successful organization.

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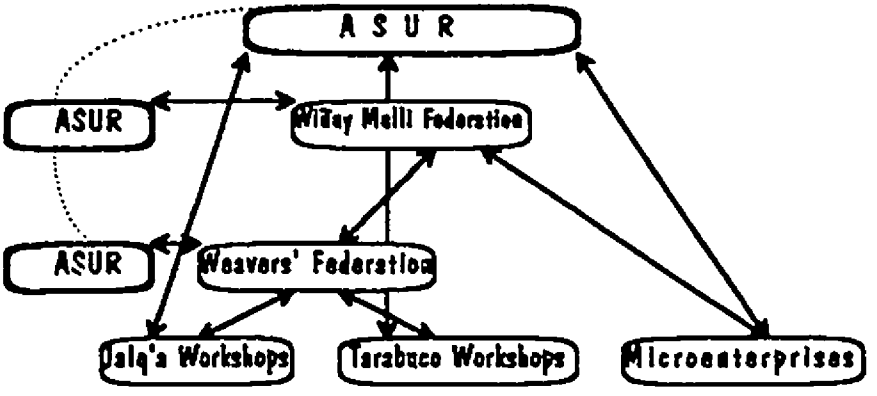
[34] Cook and Binford, 1990, pp. 13-14, 151. They suggest that such transitions from petty-commodity to capitalist production will be found in conditions where household survival depends on its links to the capitalist economy.

[35] See Gudeman, S and Rivera, A. *Conversations in Colombia: The Domestic Economy in Life and Text*, 1990, on the distinction between the house and the corporation and the concept of the "replacement of the base" in the household economy (pp. 9-12; 51-2).

[36] Ostrom, Elinor. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, 1990, pp.90-102. She refers to tiers as "nested units", and only really considers different levels of technical requirements (ie. different levels of canal management); Esman and Uphoff develop the concept of the tiered organization more thoroughly.

[37] Esman and Uphoff, pp. 149-51.

Figure 9: Organizational Structure of ASUR and Associated Projects; Communication Flow



The weekly meetings of all members, in which problems are discussed, issues debated and leaders selected, are an important feature of the workshops' structure. While all members are not able to attend every week, regular attendance is strongly encouraged and a meeting generally included between 35 and 40 members, from a June 1994 membership of 63. Considering that some weavers must walk from mountainous outlying areas, sometimes a half hour's journey, after dark, these are reasonable attendance figures. The meeting time is set by the members, and night is preferred as it does not take time from other activities, and the meeting room has electric lighting.

Local directors preside at the meetings, raise issues and moderate discussions, while members also raise issues and discuss them openly. ASUR workers generally do not attend weekly meetings, nor do weavers' husbands in most cases. The workshop meetings, open as they are to all member input, are an example of a "collective choice arena" as Ostrom defines it; she argues that such an arena increases organizational effectiveness by allowing those who know most about local situations and needs to influence change.[38] In fact, the workshop meetings seem to work in much

[38] Ostrom, pp.90-102. See also Esman and Uphoff, p. 145, on the advantages of participatory decision-making structures.

this way, giving weavers a forum in which they can make their needs known while also becoming more aware of the situation at higher levels of management (such as in the textile shop in Sucre).

While the two aspects of workshop structure we have so far discussed have fit theorists' characteristics of good, potentially successful organizational structure, a third would not. The weavers' workshops allow for free entry and exit, which theorists consider unwise due to the corresponding likelihood of "free-rider" problems. That is to say, members will feel they can enjoy the benefits of the organization without contributing to it if some investment is not required to become or remain a member, and if there is no sharp line defining who is a member and who is not. In the case of the weavers' workshops, however, free riders have not become a problem. In a discussion with ASUR co-founder Veronica Cereceda, she argued that the free entry and exit option is vital in the workshops due to periodic shifts in money needs in the campesino economy; for weavers to maximize their utility, they must have the flexibility to join the workshop and leave it at will.

Weavers do come and go at will, but re-entry is not entirely free. If a weaver were to leave without completing a weaving project, she would still have to complete it and turn it in (that is, fulfil her contract) before she could regain access to the organization's raw materials. On the other hand, because weavers do not usually contribute directly to the organization's functioning (through money or work to benefit the group), it could be argued that *all* are free riders (on the work of ASUR and a few committed directors). This is not, however, entirely the case, due to:

1. The fact that a percentage of the money received from sale of their weavings is the money upon which, for the most part, the local workshop runs: this money pays for raw materials and expenses of the local workshops, including compensations to directors for days worked. The salary paid to the textile shop manager and interns and advertising costs also come from textile profits. Weavers do get a "subsidized ride" however, as they receive ASUR's assistance free; ASUR support-staff salaries, building and shop overhead, gasoline, and so forth are funded by grants.

2. A significant number of weavers -- about 20% -- can be expected to function as directors at some point,[39] and thus contribute to necessary administrative functions. For these individuals, who

[39] Out of the sample of ten Maragua weaving-workshop members, two, or 20%, had at one time been a member of the committee of directors, and out of the survey of Maragua households, 22.2% of households with an

are serious weavers, the personal benefit to keeping the organization functioning (the availability of a ready and well paying market for their weavings) outweighs the expenditure of time involved in administration. Also, due to the high visibility of the organization in the communities, there is a certain amount of prestige involved in becoming a director. Finally, directors may be compensated by being selected to travel to Washington D.C. with ASUR to participate in the International Folklife Festival.[40] Though this travel is subsidized, weavers earn the privilege of taking this trip through long and dedicated work, in which they are expected to contribute their time and expertise to the organization..

Thus we see that, because weavers contribute to the organization in a form that also benefits them individually (the production of weavings for cooperative sale), free riding is much less likely to become a problem here.

What are the benefits of belonging to the local workshop? Zapata Cusicanqui, in his analysis of artisan cooperatives in Bolivia, says that for low-income groups, *material incentives* are the most important determinants of whether people will join an organization.[41] This is essentially what the workshops offer weavers -- the benefit of a ready market for weavings which pays upon delivery. Though several weavers expressed dissatisfaction with the prices ASUR paid them (advanced weavers can earn significant income from weavings, but less experienced weavers tend to earn less), quite a few of the weavers in Maragua stated directly that they had joined the workshop "for the money"; others said that they had joined because they like to weave. Those who were dissatisfied with the current level of payment generally expected that their next weaving would be better, and thus earn a higher price (both the local directors and the ASUR staff buyer discuss weaving quality with the weaver, enabling her to learn from past mistakes).

Weavers who belong to a local workshop enjoy the easy availability of raw materials in the community; any Thursday, a member in good standing can come to the workshop to "take out" wool or yarn, warp their looms on one of the workshop's several loom frames, and dye yarn using the workshop's facilities (at least one portable burner, tubs, and dyes). Wool is available to

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ASUR weaver (past or present) had a member who has at some point been a director.

[40] Most recently, a small group attended and gave presentations at the Festival in June 1994. Travel was funded by a grant, and the directors selected to go also received a payment from the Festival for their contribution.

[41] Zapata Cusicanqui, Carlos *Las Cooperativas Artesanales de Bolivia, Departamento de Estudios Cooperativos, Universidad Católica Boliviana*, La Paz, 1978. pp. 154-5

beginning weavers, weavers who are weaving smaller projects (half-axsus, chumpis, and small carrying bags), and those who prefer to spin their own wool; these weavers then spin by hand, using a drop spindle. Manufactured yarn from the ASUR-initiated community factory in neighbouring Irupampa is available for more experienced weavers working on full-size axsus. This work commands a higher price in the shop and thus compensates the higher cost of paying factory labour; meanwhile, the expert weaver is spared the time-consuming task of hand-spinning.[42] To take out wool or yarn, a weaver signs a contract specifying the amount she is taking and the date by which she agrees to bring a finished product to the workshop directors for evaluation and tagging. Thus, weavers are essentially receiving their raw materials on credit.

After tagging, the weaver personally takes her project – usually an *axsu* or half-*axsu*, though sometimes a small *chumpi* or bag – to the Sucre shop, by foot or truck transport. There, her weaving is re-evaluated and she is paid immediately, according to a pay scale developed by ASUR and based on weaving quality. The convenience and low-risk of selling directly to ASUR, rather than having to seek a buyer on the street or in the market, is a factor in the decision to join the workshop. "Tourists pay more, but not if they don't come," explained one informant; as we have seen, trips to town are often short, and relying on direct sale implies a considerable risk that the textile won't be sold at all.[43] Selling to ASUR, the weaver knows what to expect; she has already discussed her work with community directors and knows approximately what price she will be paid upon reaching Sucre. She can then count on using that money to accomplish her in-town shopping.

In return for these benefits, the active workshop member is expected to complete projects within the specified time, to attend weekly meetings, and to accept the directors' and ASUR's evaluations of her weaving. The sanction with which the workshop disciplines members is "not giving wool" – that is, cutting off the individual's access to the organization's stock of raw materials. As locally produced wool is not accepted for workshop products, due to its poor quality, "not giving wool" to a weaver essentially excludes her from participation in the workshop and from the opportunity to sell to ASUR.

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[42] However, many weavers complained about the poor quality of the Irupampa machine-spun yarn, explaining that it was unevenly spun, thick in one place and thin in another.

[43] There are of course the *artesanías*, or shops that buy weavings, but they – being profit-oriented intermediaries – pay less than the other alternatives, and often decline to buy as well.

This exclusion could be, but is generally not, permanent. Directors may refuse wool to a member who does not attend meetings until she begins to attend regularly again, for example, or withhold wool from a weaver who has not completed an earlier project until she completes it. A weaver who perpetually turns in late and low-quality work may be excluded permanently, but this is uncommon. If a weaver does not agree with the directors' assessment of her work quality -- even after discussion with them -- she has no recourse but to accept the price offered. She is bound by contract to sell to ASUR, but if she is seriously dissatisfied, she can decide not to take out wool in the future and thus exit the workshop. Though dissatisfaction with pay is common, exit seems not to be; in the community-wide household sample, there was no weaver who had exited the workshop permanently due to dissatisfaction. One had exited temporarily for this reason but later returned, one had exited due to age, and everyone else was either still weaving, or had never woven, for the workshop.

Considering this, it seems that the workshop is performing some important service, something that makes it worth women's while to stay with it even when they think they are being underpaid. In the following sections, we will consider the Maragua workshop in more detail, analyzing especially its economic impact at the household level and considering what factors influence weavers' decision to participate in the workshop.

Chapter 4: The Workshop Away T'ika ("Weaving Flower")

In this chapter we focus specifically upon Maragua's local weaver's workshop, which is called "*Away T'ika*", Quechua for "Weaving Flower". The Away T'ika Workshop was founded in 1986 by a group of ten weavers who were familiar with the workshop in neighbouring Irupampa. Membership has grown significantly since then, to fifty-four members in 1991 and sixty-three at the time of the study. Three-quarters (75.9%) of the 1991 members were still participating in 1994; of those no longer participating, some had moved away. The workshop had three directors in 1994; two women and one man. The workshop complex now includes four buildings: a modern, lighted meeting room built in 1988 (and also used for community *sindicato* meetings), a mattress workshop, a dyeing workshop, and facilities for a future men's bayeta-weaving project (currently used as additional meeting and teaching space for the weavers' workshop). Workshop members are women weavers of all ages, though predominantly young; 70% are under age 35 and 40% under age 21.[1]

The workshop continues to attract new, young weavers by periodically offering a girls' weaving class. In Maragua, a class was held during the school vacation in late June and early July[2] 1994 for fifteen days, eight hours a day. The students were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. They wove small half-*acsus* with complex *khuru* (animal) designs, working in groups of three with a workshop member as their teacher. Teachers received salaries from the workshop fund. The class, attended by fifteen girls, was targeted toward the eventual incorporation of these young weavers into the workshop. As would be expected, most of the girls (80%) had mothers who wove for the workshop. However, the presence of three girls whose mothers did *not* weave for the workshop suggests that the workshop is continuing to expand in the community and attract members from new households.

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1 Data from the sample of workshop weavers taken in 1994.

2 The class was scheduled only for ten days, but the teachers and directors decided that the students were not yet sufficiently advanced in their projects, and so extended the project a week.

Who are the Away T'ika Weavers?

Away T'ika weavers in 1994[3] had a mean age of 32.5 years old (standard deviation 14.85), and their ages varied considerably, with a range from 16 to 60 years old in the sample. Seventy percent of the weavers were married, the others were single. The married weavers had an average of about two children under age ten living at home, with a range of 0 to 4 children.[4] Landholdings also varied a great deal, with a range from 0 (farming borrowed land) to 20.5 hectares; the mean landholding was 7.1 hectares (standard deviation 7.5). Fifty percent of the weavers owned a house and/or land in Sucre, a desirable commodity, especially for sending children to school.

Weavers had belonged to the workshop for an average of 4.1 years[5], with a range of membership duration from six months to eight years. Half of the weavers had belonged to the workshop for four years or more, the other half for two years or less. Thus, we see a rather even distribution of older and newer members, suggesting that the workshop membership is neither static (limited to its original core membership and closed off to newcomers) nor constantly fluctuating (which would possibly indicate dissatisfaction with the workshop). On average each weaver had made 3.8 *axsus* for the workshop.[6] Fifty percent of weavers had woven three axsus or less; the remaining half had woven more than three, with a range from one to ten axsus.

Forty percent of workshop weavers wear *jalq'a* dress on a daily basis; the remaining sixty percent wear *pollera*. This is consistent with the percentage of women wearing jalq'a in Maragua overall (around 50%, see above). Thus, the Away T'ika weavers are not a more traditional group than the rest of the community, neither is the workshop encouraging its members to return to traditional dress (though it may be stimulating some interest in traditional dress among the younger members). Conversely, an argument could be made that the workshop weavers are somewhat more "modern", in that a larger percentage of them (30%) speak Spanish, the language of the urban culture, compared with campesino women in the community as a whole (11.1%).

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3 Data from the workshop weavers' sample.

4 One case is missing. Only the weaver's own children are considered here, not younger siblings living at home. The missing case had one or two children under age ten and is included in the correlation data.

5 Standard deviation = 2.95.

6 Standard deviation = 2.91. Half-axsus are counted as .5. They are approximately half the size of a full-size axsu.

Table 8: Workshop Weavers in Maragua

	Age	# of Children	Under Age 10[1]	Land (in hect.)	Property in Sucre?	Wears jalq'a?[2]	# of axsus for ASUR[3]	Years in Workshop
1	50	2	0	6	no	yes	3	2
2	35	6	2	3.25	yes	no	10	8
3	34	4	4	10.25	yes	no	4	2
4	18	0	0	3	yes	no	1	0.5
5	40	8	(1 or 2)	3	yes	yes	7	7
6	21	2	2	20.5	no	no	1	1
7	17	0	0	20.25	yes	no	1.5	2
8	16	0	0	3	no	no	1.5	4
9	34	4	4	0	no	yes	4	6
10	60	9	0	2	no	yes	4.5	8
Average	32.5	3.5	≈1.4	7.1	yes=50%	yes=40%	3.8	4.1

[1] Children under age ten living at home.

[2] On a daily basis.

[3] Data from the weavers themselves. ASUR data were not available to me due to computer difficulties in their office. Half-axsus=.5.

Source: Random sample of ten workshop weavers, 1994.

...And Why Do They Weave?

Active workshop weavers often said they weave about one axsu a year. We can compare each weaver's number of completed axsus against her years of workshop membership to arrive at a "weaving intensity" for each weaver, calculated as the total number of axsus divided by the number of years. This allows us to compare the average number of axsus per year for each weaver.

Table 9: Weaving Intensity of Maragua Workshop Weavers

Weaver	Axsus	Years	Weaving Intensity
1	3	2	1.5 axsus/year
2	10	8	1.25 axsus/year
3	4	2	2 axsus/ year
4	1	0.5	2 axsus/year
5	7	7	1 axsu/year
6	1	1	1 axsu/year
7	1.5	2	.75 axsu/year
8	1.5	4	.375 axsus/year
9	4	6	.666 axsus/year
10	4.5	8	.563 axsus/year

Thus, we see that weaving intensity ranges from a low of .375 axsus/year (or about 1 axsu every three years) to a high of 2 axsus/year, with a mean of 1.11 axsus per year.[7]

There are differences among weavers both in the overall number of axsus they have produced for the workshop and in their weaving intensity. Some weavers dedicate a larger portion of their time to weaving, others dedicate less. What are the factors contributing to this variation, and to the decision whether or not to weave? One factor could be family wealth, especially landholding; weavers in households with more land might be expected to have less need of weaving income and, due to agricultural commitments, also have less time available to weave. Another factor could be the number of young children the weaver has; certainly child care could be expected to take up time which could otherwise be spent weaving.

The land hypothesis, however, did not prove correct. There is not a statistically significant relationship between weaving intensity and landholdings (r^2= .0013) or between landholdings and the number of axsus produced by weavers for the workshop (r^2=.198). While the two sample weavers with the largest household landholdings did tend to have lower-than-average weaving

[7] Standard deviation =.57.

intensities, weavers with the smallest household landholdings (two and zero hectares) had weaving intensities which were even lower -- probably due to non-land-related factors. One was a young mother with no other woman in the household to assist her, and one was an elderly woman.

Young children also seem to have little significant effect on weaving intensity (r^2=.0408) or the number of axsus produced for the workshop (r^2=.1149). Although it would seem that weavers with young children would weave less due to the demands of child-raising on their time, I suspect that this is counteracted by the fact that households with children need extra income.[8] Children wear clothes which must be bought in town, they increase household food consumption and, since some people in the community already have children studying in Sucre, parents may consider buying property there to give their children access to Sucre schools. Additional expenses are associated with attending school in town; one woman in the sample, for instance, had three children living at the household's second residence in Sucre with their grandparents, and she spends her weaving money to buy their school uniform (*mantiles*, not used in Maragua) and notebooks. Another weaver has bought land in Sucre with the specific goal of sending a young son to school there.

Thus, the intensity and extent of a weaver's production for the workshop cannot be easily explained by any single cause. Even herding, which we have seen to be a time-consuming activity for some women, is not necessarily a deterrent to weaving production; weaver #3, for instance, has one of the highest weaving intensities (2 axsus/year), an unusually large number of animals (animal wealth index=27.9), *and* does much of her household's herding![9] Weavers must balance incentives for weaving against disincentives, and find their optimum level of production -- a level which, as Cereceda noted, does tend to vary over time. Through my conversations with weavers in Maragua, I was able to identify some of these incentives and disincentives.

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[8] This echoes Chayanov (1966) -- labour intensification as a result of large family size and limited land, and the tendency to expend profits in consumption (pp.8-10). As noted above, the Maragua household economy at this point tends to focus primarily on simple reproduction, as resources are limited.

[9] Unfortunately, animal wealth indexes are not available for all workshop weavers. Weavers #1 and #2, both with slightly above-average weaving intensities, had animal wealth indexes of 12.63, slightly above the community average, and 11, about average, respectively.

Incentives include the need for extra income associated with children, the desire for extra money to buy new clothes in town (especially seen among the younger weavers), the desire to learn to weave well and improve one's craft, the enjoyment of weaving, the desire to obtain higher-priced food items such as sugar more regularly, the advantage of having property in Sucre (as visits to town are frequent) and the hope of purchasing this, and the potential of keeping all one's crops and not selling a part for cash. Aspirations to serve on the director's committee do not seem to be a large factor; two young Spanish-speaking weavers specifically said that they were not particularly interested in becoming directors due to the time commitments involved.

Disincentives to weaving for the workshop include time constraints associated with other duties (especially child care, herding, and cooking) and the necessity of attending workshop meetings when time is constrained -- which triggered a temporary exit from the workshop in one sample case. Eye problems and old age are also deterrents to weaving. The difficulty of weaving the complex designs required by the workshop is a disincentive to some weavers, as are the low prices paid to workshop weavers just starting out and the need to spend time on other weaving projects (usually for household use). Finally, the physical strain associated with weaving, such as headaches and backaches, is a consideration as well.

Chapter 5: Workshop Performance

The time has come for assessment. In this section we will consider the effectiveness of the weaver's workshop as a local development organization. To evaluate effectiveness, I use Esman and Uphoff's "Efficiency-Equity-Empowerment" schema for evaluating the effectiveness of local organizations. I evaluate how the local workshop meets these three goals, using my own observations, weavers' evaluations of the organization's effectiveness (both direct verbal and participation-implied evaluations), and economic indicators of increased wealth or improved material circumstances for organization members. A final criterion of effectiveness, "expansion of options", is related to empowerment, and considers whether the development project has succeeded in expanding the options for a group of people whose economic and social possibilities have historically been extremely limited.

Efficiency and Economic Effects

One characteristic of a successful organization is that it increases the efficiency of resource use.[1] In the case of the weavers' workshop, resources can be defined as raw materials (wool, dye), cash capital (for buying raw materials), labour time, and existing markets (specifically the city of Sucre). As the workshop is a producers' organization, the main beneficiaries of more efficient resource use would be the weavers themselves -- who, by producing more efficiently, could expect higher returns. Thus, we would expect to see increasingly efficient resource use making a positive impact on the household economy.

Has the weaver's workshop increased the efficiency of resource use? It would be difficult to claim that raw materials are being used more efficiently -- local raw materials are not used in workshop weaving, and production techniques cannot change to allow significantly greater production with the same amount of wool or dye. One efficiency gain, however, is that weavers no longer individually have to seek out and buy high-quality wool and dye in small quantities. Bulk buying by the organization (with money from weaving sales) saves money, and thus increases the efficiency of weavers' cash capital; also, coordinated one-time buying means a more efficient use of the weavers' time.

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1 Esman and Uphoff, p.24.

The shop in Sucre increases the efficiency of market penetration, allowing the weavers to take increased advantage of the buying resources of a group of people (primarily tourists) who are in the market for weavings. The permanent, well advertised and frequently visited shop offers advantages over the preferred alternate technique of mobile street- or market-selling, for the product is accessible to buyers all day long, year round, and they know exactly where to find it. Also, the attached museum, which is a major tourist attraction in Sucre, and the quality of the weaving produced by the workshop, allow weavers to take advantage of a higher-end art market, while at the same time expanding this market by educating the public about weaving quality.[2] Finally, the existence of the shop and the project gives weavers access to the "socially conscious" consumer market, who are prompted to buy specifically because the weavings are produced by a cooperative.

Weavers who want to sell their weavings no longer have to walk the streets and markets to do so (or, alternately, accept a low price from a handicrafts shop); this can be considered a more efficient use of their labour. More advanced weavers also save spinning time by gaining access to machine-spun wool from Irupampa (though many express dissatisfaction with its quality). However, when it comes to the weaving itself, it is difficult to argue that the production of intricate *axsus* for the workshop is a more efficient use of labour time than the production of other products such as *phullus*, *ponchos*, *costales*, *llijllas*, and less-intricate axsus.

In fact, there has not been a direct substitution of one kind of weaving for the other. Practically all workshop weavers (100% of sample) do other, non-workshop weaving. Clearly, they have judged that this weaving (mostly for household use) is also an efficient use of their time, and have not chosen to replace all costales, phullus, and llijllas with the mass-produced substitutes (grain bags, blankets, and carrying cloths) readily available in the market in Sucre. This is despite the fact that sheep herding is time consuming; if workshop weaving were a markedly more lucrative use of time, we might expect to see workshop weavers selling off their flocks and dedicating their former herding time to workshop weaving. Such is not, however, the case in

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[2] The museum has been funded by grants. It is located upstairs in the same building as the textile shop and ASUR's offices, in downtown Sucre.

Maragua; workshop weavers have on average about thirty-five head of sheep (34.75) in the household, while non-workshop weavers have about twenty-eight head (27.5).[3] Rather than being necessarily more efficient, workshop weaving is a more intensive use of labour (requiring increased concentration and eye and hand exertion, as well as longer time commitments) and it results in a product which, though more valuable, must also be weighed against these high labour costs.[4]

Thus, we see that the efficiency gains of the workshop are concentrated in the areas of marketing efficiency and capital-use efficiency, with some minor time-efficiency advantages as well. Do we see these advantages reflected in improvements in the household economic situation? To answer this question, we must observe how weavers spend the income from their workshop weaving, how this income interacts with other household income, and -- as the workshop has been functioning in Maragua for ten years -- what kinds of wealth differences can be observed between households where members do or do not participate in the workshop.

1. How Weaving Income is Spent

Clothes are the most popular purchases made with workshop-weaving money; 70% of workshop weavers sampled said they use their earnings to buy clothes.[5] Rather ironically, women are using the income from their traditional Jalq'a weaving to buy themselves *polleras*. Forty percent of the sample said they buy food supplies: sugar was mentioned, an expensive and highly desirable item usually consumed in a hot tea or cinnamon drink. Thus, by far the greatest expenditure is on basic consumption items, simply expanding on the same kinds of purchases that campesino families generally make from the sale of surplus crops or animals. Thirty percent of weavers, however, were using their earnings to make long-term investments in children's schooling or land.[6]

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3 Data from the Maragua household sample.

4 A good weaver can net about $450 bolivianos (about $100 U.S.) for four months' work; at an average weaving pace of five hours/day, cash returns per hour of labour can be estimated at .75 bolivianos an hour -- only around 17 U.S. cents. Such are local economic conditions, that this is acceptable; there is a lack of alternate, easily accessible cash-earning activities for women.

5 Multiple responses

6 Non-workshop households in the sample tended not to have young children, so it is difficult to gauge whether they may be investing similarly with earnings from other sources. The one non-workshop household with young children did not own land in Sucre and was not planning to buy any imminently. All of the people I knew who had land in Sucre were either widows/widowers whose children had moved away, or workshop weavers.

2. Weaving Income vs. Other Income

What is the relationship between workshop weaving income and other household income? Here, I identified several patterns. Workshop weaving income sometimes *replaces* other income sources, and sometimes *complements* other income sources by allowing purchases either quantitatively larger or qualitatively better. In some cases, workshop weaving has replaced agricultural income by allowing a household to consume the percentage of agricultural products it previously had to sell in order to purchase goods in town. In Maragua, about half of the households with workshop weavers sold agricultural crops from the July 1994 harvest, compared with nearly all of the non-workshop households sampled.[7] While acknowledging the small sample size (n=14), it is interesting to note that workshop households who did sell tended to have larger landholdings and thus more surplus crops, while those with very small landholdings tended not to sell. This suggests that workshop weaving could be increasing food consumption by keeping more of the basic food products in the community, especially in the hands of the poorer households. It also may increase food consumption by providing cash to purchase supplements to food supply in drought years.

Another case of workshop income replacing other income sources is the case of weaving for sale on the street. Some weavers have decreased this activity or abandoned it altogether in favour of workshop weaving. Problems with local wool quality, the desire to be a member of the organization, and the potential for higher earnings with the workshop were among the reasons they cited, although the reliability of a market that pays on delivery and the raw materials given on credit were also likely incentives. Not all weavers, however, had switched from market selling to workshop selling; some, especially the younger weavers, never sold elsewhere before joining the workshop. However, for the 17.6% of Maragua weavers who have switched from street-and-market selling to workshop selling, the workshop must be providing an effective substitute for their former income source.

Finally, ASUR has claimed that workshop-weaving income has replaced income from male migration[8], allowing men to stay at home with their families during the agricultural off-season.[9]

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[7] N=6 non-workshop households; n=8 workshop households. These are campesino households only – the ex-hacendado household is not included.

[8] ASUR has not claimed that the workshops have made an impact on female migration, probably due to the lower occurrence of this, but it is possible that weaving could be providing another option for women whose families

Although this may be the case for a few families in Maragua, it does not seem to be the overall pattern; perhaps this is more prevalent in other communities. Of households in Maragua which have at least one male member and at least one resident weaver (workshop or non-workshop)[10], less than a third (27.3%) have a male member who *used* to migrate to work but no longer does. This represents three cases: a husband of a workshop weaver who used to migrate seasonally; a husband of another workshop weaver (and himself a past director) who lived in Santa Cruz for a year and a half to work in the airport construction project (likely before marriage) but has never migrated seasonally; and the husband of a non-workshop weaver (though himself a former director) who used to migrate seasonally. Only the first gives an example of migrant income possibly being replaced by workshop-weaving income. In the second case, migration occurred only one time. In the third case, workshop weaving is not involved, though the occasional *jornales* (day wages) paid to the workshop director would have contributed somewhat to the household economy -- less than migration (because directors usually work only once a week at most)[11] but entailing no travel costs. However, this individual is no longer a workshop director, yet still does not plan to migrate.[12]

On the other hand, another 36.4% of households have a male member who still *does* migrate -- and all four of these cases are households of workshop weavers! In two cases, these are only short-distance migrations (to Sucre or Chaunaca); in another case only the young, unmarried sons migrate (the father is too old); and in a fourth case long-distance migrations continue, supplemented by a regular $200 boliviano (about $43 U.S.)/month job as the school caretaker. As noted above, long-distance migrations do not seem to be of any great importance in Maragua's economy; however, these data suggest that it would probably not be correct to give much weight to weaving-workshop income as a substitute for temporary male migrations, nor for

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need cash, rather than migration to work in domestic service.

9 See Healy, "Back to the Future: Ethnodevelopment among the Jalq'a of Bolivia" *Grassroots Development* vol. 16, #2, 1992, p.21.

10 N=11

11 A *jornal* is $25 bolivianos/day. In a workshop such as Away Tika, with a small number of directors, a director can expect one journal about every two weeks (directors alternate responsibilities for the Thursday open-workshop day). One director is also paid for the week (about once every couple of months or so) which he spends in Sucre doing the ASUR shop internship (see above).

12 His father has irrigated land in the town of Chaunaca, so he will be doing agriculture during the dry season -- an option that people with land only in Maragua do not have.

permanent and semi-permanent out-migration, which continues (note population figures for Maragua, above).

Economically, would weaving provide a viable substitute for migration? A good weaver can net around $450 bolivianos (around $100 U.S.) for about four months' work combined with other household work (herding, cooking, child care, etc.), while a man can earn $25 bolivianos a day for two or three months during migration. That is, an active workshop weaver could expect about $900 bs. a year; a migrant male could hope for perhaps double that, or $1800 bs. -- though he would have to pay travel expenses and, nearly always, living expenses while away. Considering that living expenses can erode migrant income significantly,[13] it is possible that weaving provides a viable substitute (especially when there are several women in the household who weave), but it is not clear that many households are opting for this. Males who do migrate tend to be young, with no families and nothing to occupy them during the agricultural off-season, or more mature males who are focused upon the acquisition of cash, often for land purchase.

Workshop income not only *replaces* former sources of income, however; it also acts as a complementary income source, enhancing cash flow in the household and giving individuals the opportunity to buy more of desired items and to expand the range of items they buy. For example, I observed among the younger weavers a tendency to have several fancy dress polleras -- a highly desirable item. Land and education are examples of products which some households are choosing to purchase for the first time, specifically as a result of workshop weaving income. However, the overall evidence for the expansion of cash flow through workshop weaving is, unfortunately, not strong. Twenty percent of the workshop sample stated that they did not know how they spent their weaving income, simply that "it's gone", absorbed into typical and necessary household expenditures.

Thus, income substitution, as discussed above, emerges as a stronger pattern than income enhancement when we consider the economic effects of the weavers' workshop. Although income substitution may well have positive effects in increasing food consumption and decreasing the uncertainty and risk inherent in street-selling, we do not see weavers experiencing large increases in buying power as a result of their workshop participation.

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[13] Morales (1993), p. 6, states that migrant income is extremely variable, ranging between $0 and $250 U.S (about $1150 bolivianos) for two months' work. This variability is likely due to travel and living expenses.

3. Household Wealth

Is there any significant differentiation in wealth between workshop and non-workshop households, perhaps due to weavers' earnings? Considering land first, workshop weavers' households are not more land-rich than Maragua households in general; average landholdings for the two samples were practically identical: 7.13 hectares/ household for workshop-participating households, 7.24 hectares/household overall. Though 20% of the weavers in the workshop sample reported buying land with their weaving earnings, this was land in Sucre, in very small quantity, for the building of a house, and thus does not numerically impact overall landholdings. Considering animal wealth, data on animals from the household sample show that, of the fourteen campesino households, the six non-workshop households had on average about the same number of animals as the eight workshop households. The non-workshop households had an average animal wealth index value of 10.29, compared with 13.22 for the workshop households; not a significant difference.[14]

Because of the desirability of possessing property in Sucre as a home base for market trips or as a base for children to work or attend school, ownership of property in Sucre is a relevant wealth indicator. Here, we do see an interesting difference between workshop and non-workshop households -- while 28.6% of all campesino households in Maragua own property in Sucre, *50% of all workshop weavers' households* do so. Due to the small sample sizes, the difference between these two proportions did not prove significant.[15] Still, it seems that something is going on here.

A X^2 correlation of workshop weaving intensity with property ownership was significant (see table 10); although this is a cruder test and not conclusive, it reinforces something already referred to above: *some weavers -- probably those who are weaving more intensively -- are buying land, often in Sucre, and often with the express intent of sending their children to school there.* Two workshop weavers told me that they had bought land, using their weaving income, specifically for this purpose.

Reviewing the wealth data, we do not observe significant wealth differentiation between workshop and non-workshop households, and thus there is no evidence to suggest that workshop

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14 Using a t-test for the difference between two means; t = about -.733

15 Using a test of the difference between two proportions, with a z-distribution; z=1.089, a 36% probability that workshop weavers *aren't* more likely to own property in Sucre.

weaving is leading to any significant increases in wealth. Yet in the long term, this may happen. While the purchase of land in Sucre appears as only a minor wealth difference between the two sets of households in the short term, it may signify considerable long-term wealth improvement, as some weavers' children will have better educations and consequently better access to well paying jobs.

Table 10: Correlation of Weaving Intensity with Property in Sucre

N=10 Workshop Weavers.

	No Property	Property	Total
low intensity (0-.7)	3[1]	0	3
med. intens (.7-1.5)	2	3[2]	5
high intensity (2+)	0	2	2
	5	5	10 weavers

[1] One of these is a former director
[2] One of these is a current director

$X^2 = 5.2$, alpha=.10, 2 degrees of freedom, X^2 is significant

Participation, Equity, Empowerment

In the previous section, we observed the efficiency and economic effects of the Away Tika weavers' workshop in Maragua. We concluded that this local organization has increased the efficiency of weavers' cash capital, of market penetration, and also, to a limited extent, of labour time. We have seen that, at the household level, the income from workshop production has allowed a certain degree of substitution of other income sources, giving household members the option of keeping more of their crops for their own consumption, relying less on uncertain street-selling, and perhaps in a few cases, staying home instead of migrating. We have seen that workshop income does not, however, considerably expand buying power or lead to significant wealth gaps between workshop and non-workshop households, though the potential to afford land in Sucre could possibly lead to wealth improvements in the long term.

In this section, we will move beyond the economic analysis to a more social one, questioning whether the weaver's workshop organization is effective in promoting equity of

opportunities and benefits for people of the community and empowering them with "the voice and capacity to make credible demands...on (those) who control resources", functions which Esman and Uphoff state to be goals of local development.[16] Key to this discussion is a consideration of workshop participation -- who participates, and why; who makes the decisions; and what can levels of participation tell us about the weavers' perceptions of organizational success?

Is the weaver's workshop representative only of a small section of the community, perhaps controlled by this small group in an non-egalitarian manner? Is it, perhaps, a case similar to that found among an Indian women's craft cooperative described by Jain (1980), where only the best craftspeople enjoyed the bulk of the organization's benefits?[17] No, the weaver's workshop succeeds in promoting equity and empowerment by being open to practically all weavers in the community, both advanced and less-advanced, and by giving all of them the opportunity to sell through the workshop. The workshop also encourages group participation in decision-making functions. Leadership roles, also, are potentially open to all participating women and men, depending on their administrative skill and interest (rather than their social or economic position in the community).

In Maragua, 64.7% of all weavers ages 15 and over weave for the workshop. This is more than half, but still low enough that one wonders why the other 35.3% of weavers aren't participating. There are several reasons for non-participation. One major one is the lack of interest in weaving for sale. Just over eighty percent of non-workshop weavers weave *only* for household use, not for sale. This decision, in turn, relies on a number of factors, one of the primary ones being age. The complex *khuru* designs required by the workshop are difficult for older women, who complain of eye strain and difficulty in seeing the designs. If we exclude all weavers over age fifty-five, and also the one non-Jalq'a weaver, we now find that 83.3% of Jalq'a weavers ages 16-55 weave for the workshop -- not everyone, but, considering that all Jalq'a women know how to weave, indicative of a sizeable community participation in the weavers' workshop.

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16 Esman and Uphoff, pp.26-28.

17 Jain, Devaki. "Painters of Madhubani" in *Women's Quest for Power: Five Indian Case Studies*, 1980, pp. 164-217.

Another reason for non-participation is the workshop's emphasis on high-quality weaving. One woman, for instance, prefers to sell lower-quality axsus on the street in Sucre, where she earns more money than she would as a beginning, lower-skilled ASUR weaver – though, as she pointed out, less predictably. The workshop is equitable in that it permits any weaver to receive raw materials on credit (so long as she has not left an earlier contract uncompleted) and to sell the final product back to the workshop. However, the emphasis on quality means that prices paid to weavers vary considerably, from perhaps $140 bolivianos for an axsu to over $500 bs. – weavers are not compensated equally.[18] Yet this is an inequality based on merit alone, and is overcome as the weaver improves her weaving technique. This is why one woman remained in the workshop even though she only netted $140 bs. for her first axsu (compared with the $350 bs. – minus raw material costs – she used to get on the street). This woman is confident that she is a good weaver, and she knows her next axsu will be better, fetching a higher price.

Because the workshop does not accept items made with local wool (due to its low quality), workshop weavers continue to make use of their home-grown sheep wool for other, non-workshop weaving, which competes for time with workshop weaving. The most common woven products are *llijllas* (carrying cloths, mostly solid coloured) and *phullus* (blankets) – both woven by at least 90% of the weavers. Ponchos are also commonly woven for male household members; 60% of workshop weavers reported weaving ponchos sometimes. Weavers also make *costales* (grain sacks). Primarily, these items are made for household use. A few workshop weavers (20% of the workshop sample) sell textiles to non-ASUR markets in Sucre – one sells llijllas made of her own wool, another sells cotton belts.[19] Both of these women also weave regularly for ASUR, but they vary their activities with these less-demanding products.

Thus, we see that there is considerable participation in the workshop, but this participation is not full-time, nor does it imply the cessation of other, non-workshop weaving and selling. We see that the workshop offers benefits equally to all women in the community, with the exception of the older women, who are excluded due to diminished physical abilities. Better weavers do receive more benefits (in the form of higher payment) but all members have the potential to rise to this

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[18] This was likely difficult for the weavers to accept at first. Weavers tend to figure the price of a product based on how long it takes to weave, with no allowances made for the differing skill level of the weaver. ACLO, 1981, p. 463.

[19] She buys her raw material in town.

level. All members also participate regularly in the weekly meetings, where they have a voice to discuss issues and make decisions, and all may potentially exercise leadership roles within the organization.[20] Attaining the position of director is not linked with family wealth; the two female directors (former and present) in the workshop weavers' sample both had lower-than-average household landholdings (2 and 3 hectares), and the two male former directors in the household sample also had lower-than-average landholdings (one with five hectares and one with half a hectare). Thus, we see that, with the exception of the inequality based on age, the workshop offers "equity of opportunities and benefits"[21] for the people of Maragua, and demonstrates an encouragingly high rate of community participation.

What of empowerment? Here, the effects are somewhat less clear. Some empowerment is obviously taking place. As discussed above in the section on structure and methodology, community members administer the local-level functioning of the workshop with little outside help. They have gained experience in meeting together, resolving conflicts, and controlling raw materials and production. Through ASUR, they have also received some training in math and accounting, administration, and the functioning of the textile shop, all of which help to give them "the capacity to credibly make demands upon...(those) who control resources."[22]

This empowerment is, however, rather unequally distributed between men and women. Although the accounting course was attended by both women and men, local administration and textile shop internships are dominated by the men. Some women are too busy with other activities to wish to become directors, and those who do so are less comfortable with formal record-keeping duties than men are. Older women tend to have practically no formal schooling, while younger women have schooling (usually through eighth grade) but lack confidence; older males will usually have some schooling -- as directors, they tend to show up for meetings with notebooks, unlike the women. The administrative counselling given informally by ASUR is mostly directed toward the men, and often regarding written records. Thus, the administrative empowerment which may someday allow campesinos to take control of the entire production-and-marketing process is being

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20 There does seem to be a reasonably healthy turnover in workshop directors. Out of the sample of ten Maragua workshop members, 20%, had at one time been a member of the committee of directors; out of the survey of Maragua households, 22.2% of workshop households included a director or former director.

21 Esman and Uphoff, p.26.

22 Esman and Uphoff, p. 27.

unequally distributed between the men and the women, although I would not rule out the possibility that women's own choice is a factor in this.

Of course, there are also concerns about the sufficiency of the level of training in general -- are campesinos really receiving the knowledge they need to eventually take over administrative control of the entire weaving-and-microenterprises project? Certainly ASUR has made moves toward increasing empowerment, by exposing directors to shop management techniques and training campesinos to teach accounting skills to others in the communities (see above). Yet the whole process, as ASUR is aware, is a slow one, and ASUR is still managing a large chunk of the functions required to keep the local-level workshops going. ASUR faces several difficulties, including a lack of commitment of two of the Wiñuy Mulli federation leaders, lack of sources of information (discussed above), and all the problems involved in coordinating a project which grew much faster, and much bigger, than anticipated. While ASUR's staff tries to plan for the future, one often has the feeling that they can do little more than run fast to stay in place. Thus, technical empowerment has been only partial.

In the area of cultural valuation and self-esteem, however, the weaving workshops and ASUR have had a positive impact on the empowerment of the Jalq'a, especially Jalq'a women. Women take their textiles to Sucre in person, where they can view the shop and adjacent museum dedicated to their weaving. While there, they see the people -- Bolivians and foreigners -- who have come to see the museum and to buy textiles in the shop. The weavers see that their work has a value that reaches beyond their community, into the wider society -- a society where they, as indigenous women, have often suffered from a lack of position or respect. ASUR's headquarters is located far from the campesino market, in an area of the city where campesino women do not usually venture; to enter the *center* of the city, territory of the dominant culture, and find that one's work is admired and respected there, is likely to increase women's confidence as well as their ability to manoeuvre in the urban Sucre environment. It is even possible that weavers may be choosing to invest their money in Sucre land because of the closer contact with the city they now have through their visits to the ASUR offices and shop.

Within the communities, some empowerment seems to be going on as well. In Maragua, weavers are conscious of, and proud of, their skill. They are also conscious of having a successful

project, in the sense that the men of the community have seen the workshop's results and have asked ASUR for "a project for us men." Though women are not newly gaining access to cash (they are the traditional marketers in their society), they *are* aware that they are making substantial contributions to the household economy in their own right, and this increases the perceived value of their stay-at-home work.

Empowerment may also be taking place through a reinforcement of group identity. Both men and women, whether or not they wear traditional jalq'a dress, are constantly surrounded by the reminders of their unique traditional art style, as women sit in courtyards or workrooms recapturing, refining, and expanding upon their range of *khuru* designs. Whatever other meanings these khurus may convey, they are a link with the past and a symbol of Jalq'a identity -- and they are practically omnipresent in Maragua. One hopes that this reinforcement of group identity, coupled with the knowledge of the value which outsiders place upon their creations, will be a positive force for community and regional empowerment.

Finally, for a few of the workshop directors, empowerment is taking place through travel -- a sort of experiential empowerment. Quechua-speaking campesinos in the valleys of Bolivia tend to have very little travel experience. A few of the women I knew in Maragua had been to the cities of Sta. Cruz or La Paz; many had travelled no farther than Sucre. Men were more likely to have travelled, but still not extensively. Yet through the workshops and a cultural exchange organized by ASUR, several workshop directors have been able to visit Washington, D.C. to participate in International Folklife Festivals.[23] The opportunity to experience international travel, and to do so as respected delegates of one's ethnic group, has therefore been one of the ways the weaving project has positively influenced individual, and perhaps eventually group, empowerment.

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[23] Travel was funded by a grant from the Inter-American Foundation.

Expanding Options: The Conclusion

Having examined the organizational structure of the local weaving workshops and considered the characteristics, achievements, and shortcomings of the Maragua workshop, what can we conclude about the effectiveness of weaving workshops as local organizations? What predictions can we make, not only about the workshops' performance in the present, but also about their potential to survive into the future?

We have seen that the Maragua weavers' workshop is an equitable organization, with widespread community participation. Skill levels are the only factor differentiating individuals' access to benefits. We have also seen that the workshop, along with ASUR, has promoted increased empowerment for Jalq'a campesinos. This includes technical (administrative) empowerment; increased self-esteem and a strengthened cultural or group identity; a broadening of women's familiarity with the city (which may expand their ability to act in this context); and, for a few, empowerment through the opportunity for international travel. Along the way we have heard some of the women's own evaluations of why they weave for the workshop -- the money and the enjoyment of and desire to improve their weaving are important factors -- and we have considered some of the primary incentives and disincentives for weaving.

As money is a primary factor in why women weave, and one of the textile project's goals is to increase the standard of living for the Jalq'a, we have considered the economic effects of the workshop. We have reviewed a few efficiency increases resulting from organization, such as the advantage of bulk-buying wool, and the more efficient use of weavers' time associated with the move away from street selling. We have seen examples of income substitution by workshop weaving (possibly increasing food consumption); this substitution can be considered a movement toward a lower-risk situation[1], as workshop weaving pays upon delivery while crop sales rely closely on the weather's cooperation and street-selling of weavings relies on the presence of a buyer at the right moment. Finally, we have seen that workshop members may be increasing their wealth as a result of weaving sales, through the buying of property in Sucre.

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[1] Workshop weaving is not, however, riskless; it depends heavily upon tourist markets, and thus would suffer heavily from any event that would keep tourists home.

The achievements we have seen tend to be partial or potential; we do not see workshop weavers becoming much wealthier in landholdings or animals, opening bank accounts, or abandoning other subsistence activities. Obvious differentiation between workshop weavers and their non-workshop neighbours is missing, and might lead one to conclude that the workshop, in nearly a decade, has had relatively little impact when compared with the amount of work invested by the women and the large external contributions the workshops have received. Yet, while recognizing that costs of the organization have been high and its results not as obviously successful as one might hope, I would argue that the weavers' workshop has accomplished one very important goal of development: the expansion of options.

"Expansion of options" is about choice -- having more choices about what to do, where to live, and who to be, or become. It may lead to empowerment, or it may grow out of a situation where people are already empowered and seeking to expand their options. In either case, I would argue that it is a vital component of development, and can be useful to us in evaluating an organization's effectiveness. The Jalq'a who comprise the weavers' workshops do not usually have many choices in modern Bolivian society. They may stay in their communities and farm, or they may travel to the city, where the men will likely work in construction or transport and the women in domestic service or market-selling. Education and travel opportunities are extremely limited. To own a large business or enter a profession is practically unheard of, as is to study at a university.

Into this situation, ASUR and the local weaving workshops have introduced a context in which women may define themselves as weavers, artists, and weaving teachers. In addition, both women and men can become director-administrators in workshops and inter-workshop organizations. Meanwhile, households are able to generate enough surplus to consider the possibility of a city education for their children. Such workshop-related options do not require that men and women give up their identity as Jalq'a in order to "develop" -- rather, the new options are expanding *within* the context of the Jalq'a culture, growing out of and validating it. This is what Cereceda and Martinez refer to when they describe the textile project as "ethno-development" (*etnodesarrollo*).

The workshop has, therefore, been successful in increasing the options available to Jalq'a households. Free entrance and exit, as Cereceda suggests (see above), is a positive characteristic in this case, because it means that workshop weaving can be treated as one more option is a series of options (farming, *arrendero* share-cropping, seasonal wage labour, out-migration, etc.). The workshop is there when the individual needs it. The benefits it offers are associated with costs, but outweigh the costs often enough that a sizeable percentage of the Maragua community participates. From this, we can conclude that the weavers workshop is a successful development project.

Yet it has had the opportunity to become successful only because of large initial infusions of capital and the continued support of its umbrella organization ASUR. What is the likelihood that the organization will continue to exist ten years from now? ASUR still obtains some funding[2], and through this it is able to maintain the personnel and higher-level structures which keep the local workshops functioning smoothly, keep open lines of communication among the workshops, and manage the marketing and raw-materials aspects of the organization. Yet ASUR hopes to phase itself out, passing on progressively greater amounts of responsibility to the Jalq'a themselves. Will this work?

Having seen other artisan organizations self-managed by campesinos (*Q'antati* in La Paz is one example), I do not doubt that campesino self- management could work, but in this case I doubt seriously that it will happen. The textile project is too big, and too obviously successful. Gross textile sales in 1992 reached over $76,000 U.S[3] and sales are brisk – the shop in 1994 had no leftover Jalq'a inventory from the year before, all was being sold nearly as fast as it was being produced. An economic analysis of the Jalq'a textile program commissioned by ASUR (Morales 1993) estimates that the project has a useful span of 22 years, by which it will have generated total profits of 3.94 million dollars U.S.[4] This figure is, however, based on very optimistic estimates of project growth and the market's ability to absorb annual gross sales of $306,000 U.S. without becoming saturated. Nevertheless, ASUR, though sincere in its desire to pass project control to the campesinos, is understandably reluctant to endanger such potential benefits by handing over the

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2 In 1992, ASUR was still receiving grants to help with the purchase of raw materials and infrastructure construction in the communities, and to help the formation of the inter-workshop federation; also, grants continue to pay the salaries of most ASUR staff. Morales, p.19.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp. 19-21, pp. 29-30. Morales calculates that 480 active weavers in 1992 will expand to 1000 by 1997. He also estimates a 17.6% rate of return on total investment, with around 60% of net profits to directly benefit the households of the weavers.

reins too soon to inexperienced administrators. If the speed of training to this point is any indicator, I suspect that the twenty-two-year project lifespan will be over before ASUR judges the campesinos ready (or they judge themselves ready) to take over.

Thus, campesino participation and co-administration will probably increase over the next ten years, but it seems likely that ASUR will remain a strong presence. The project itself will probably survive and even prosper, depending on actual the rate of growth of workshops and markets. At current production and sales levels, the textile project approaches self-sufficiency in covering its basic expenses, but not in administrative and organizational costs such as ASUR staff salaries, office expenses, and shop and museum overhead. Unless growth is strong, the textile project will likely continue to rely partially on grants; Morales' estimate of project self-sufficiency by 1996 assumes complete campesino self-management -- unlikely to happen. Even if ASUR's plans to export textiles succeed in expanding markets significantly, organizing new workshops to fill these orders would require a significant investment of time and energy from ASUR -- and more money to fund the personnel who would carry this out.

Though not an unqualified success, ASUR has used its funding and its expertise to expand options for weavers. Unlike a direct grant of money to individuals, the textile project creates options within the context of Jalq'a culture. Whereas a direct grant of money would allow a woman to buy land in Sucre and send her children to school, it may well take a project like this one to bring her into contact with people who value her work and make her feel that she does not have to abandon her ethnic identity to become successful in the world outside her home community. The textile project's most valuable accomplishments may well lie in the area of empowerment, rather than pure economic gain for poor households. Yet hopefully, the project will also aid in the long-term survival and expansion of household economies through diversifying production options (thus lowering risk) and increasing investment in the education and empowerment of households' human capital.

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