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SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM MARKET IN BOLIVIA

**AN ANALYSIS OF CONCRETE OPPORTUNITIES FOR
RURAL SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS. THE CASES OF
YUNCHARÁ AND PAZÑA.**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIPE	Asociación de Instituciones de Promoción y Educación
AMDEOR	Asociación de Municipios de Oruro
AMT	Asociación de Municipios de Tarija
ANPE	Apoyo Nacional a la Producción
ASAGALDE	Asociación de Ganaderos del Altiplano al Desarrollo
Bs	Bolivianos
CI	Cultural Identity
CT-CONAN	National Council of Food and Nutrition Technical Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DBC	Modelo de Documento Base de Contratación de Servicios generales
DTR-IC	Desarrollo Territorial Rural con Identidad Cultural
FAM	Municipalities Associations Federation
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Bolivia
LPP	Law of Popular Participation
MIGA	Movimiento de Integración Gastronómica Boliviano
NIE	New Institutional Economics
NSABS	New Norms for Basic Goods and Services Administration
PDE	Programa de Desayuno Escolar
PMA	Programa Mundial de Alimentos
PNACE	Programa Nacional de Alimentación Complementaria Escolar
PAESMA	Programa de Alimentación Escolar y Medio Ambiente
RIMISP	Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural
SABS	Norms for Basic Goods and Services Administration
SICOES	Sistema de Contrataciones Estatales
SBPs	School Breakfast Programs
SNPs	School Nutrition Programs
SENASAG	Servicio Nacional de Sanidad Agropecuaria e Inocuidad Alimentaria
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFP	World Food Program

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to understand the potentialities and the difficulties of small scale producers' inclusion in Bolivian agri-food public purchase market and in particular in school breakfast programs (SBPs) market. This work analyzes the involved institutions and organizations, the common understanding of the existing regulation and how the latter is put into practice from the involved entities, how the involved entities perceive SBPs regulation, what are the main obstacles which hinder local small scale producers' inclusion in this market and successful cases of small scale producers' inclusion in the market. The attention is drawn to the rural municipalities.

The research design which has been chosen for this paper realization is the case study. As a matter of fact, the paper analyzes the case of local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market in two rural Bolivian municipalities: Pazña and Yunchará. The paper provides an answer to the main research question through the analysis of empirical data collected alongside the research process, through the conduction of interviews.

The research is based on an interpretative approach of local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña; the aim is to understand the functioning and articulation of the involved organizations and of the institutional framework which characterize SBPs implementation and local producers' inclusion. Furthermore, the paper aims at understanding the potential impact that local small scale producers' inclusion in the market could cause on Rural Territorial Development of the considered territories. Another element - which plays an important role throughout the analysis - is the valorization of territorial cultural identity through local products distribution during school breakfasts.

The analysis is guided by some aspects of two theoretical approaches which help to understand SBPs functioning and dynamics. The New Institutional Economics approach is implemented especially for the purpose of analyzing the role of formal and informal institutions, the work of local organizations and the interaction among them. Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity approach is applied in order to give relevance to the impact that local producers' inclusion in SBPs market

can have on rural territorial development. The approach also helps to understand whether or not the current institutional framework is suitable to rural territorial development boosting and enhancement.

The paper's empirical findings suggest that, within SBPs institutional framework in Pazña and Yunchará, informal institutions play a fundamental role in the process of facilitating local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market. Particularly, it is relevant the interaction among local organizations and informal institutions. As regards the formal institutional framework, it has been observed that it is not completely suitable to favor rural producers' access to this market, especially in rural areas. Finally, it is observable that local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs programs in Yunchará and Pazña have a strong potential to boost and foster rural territorial development. However, for this purpose, it is essential to count with a strong and efficient institutional architecture which combines both formal and informal institutions.

1 INTRODUCTION

“EVERY SINGLE PERSON IN THE WORLD, EVERY CULTURE, EVERY LANGUAGE, EVERY COUNTRY KNOWS IT, YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT. FOOD DOES MATTER”

David Wolfe

During my second year as a master student¹ in Aalborg University, I worked as an intern in Bolivia with the Latin American Center for Rural Development (RIMISP). RIMISP is a non-profit organization which works in the Latin American region and whose objective is to support processes of institutional change, productive transformation, and local social groups capacities strengthening².

Particularly, I worked for one of the programs RIMISP is implementing in Latin America: Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity (RTD-CI). The program long-term goal is to drive forward a scaling up process of Rural Territorial Development in order to foster inclusive and sustainable territorial dynamics and to contribute to the empowerment of rural Latin American population and the improvement of rural population life quality.

These objectives are pursued through, among others: i) applied research; ii) research/action; iii) trainment of local public and private actors for the purpose of preparing them to have an influence on their institutional and territorial fields in order to bring about changes in the direction of poverty, inequity and injustice reduction; iv) systematization and elaboration of knowledge gathered through applied research, field work (etc.) for the purpose of contributing to the elaboration of a conceptual and methodological model which can be considered and applied in different Latin American territories; v) stimulating the public-private dialogue in order to create a connection between the market and public policies with the aim of valorizing agri-food heritage³.

¹ Master in Development and International Relations – Latin American Studies.

² For more information: (www.rimisp.org).

³ These and more objectives can be consulted at: (<http://rimisp.org/proyecto/desarrollo-territorial-rural-con-identidad-cultural>).

DTRI-IC is supporting, together with other 17 public and private institutions, the strengthening of the Bolivian Gastronomic Integration Movement (MIGA - Movimiento de Integración Gastronómica Boliviano) which was created thanks to the initiative of the Danish Embassy in Bolivia and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). DTRI-IC/RIMISP is working for MIGA strengthening, starting from the country's regions in order to promote its diffusion and the mobilization of the actors belonging to the productive and gastronomic area both private and public. One of the main aims is to create an articulation between the productive and gastronomic sector for preserving and upgrading local products and culinary heritage.

Particularly, starting from September 2013, in the context of MIGA, we worked in 6 Bolivian departments implementing an innovative methodology for the purposes of spreading the importance of an articulation of the gastronomic chain actors and creating forums for coordination and dialogue among public and private entities working in the production and gastronomic field.

The methodology consists of organizing tours “on the field” to analyze the local productive situation of the region and to get to know successful and unsuccessful experiences whose aim is to preserve and promote natural and cultural assets related to production and gastronomy. The participants are actors of the department whose job is related to the productive or gastronomic field: chefs, producers, local government technicians working in the productive development area, mayors, universities, research centers and so on. At the end of the event, the participants are required to participate in a conference where all the actors discuss and identify the problems and the potentialities of the territory for the purpose of proposing possible solutions and individuating potential responsible people who could contribute in the process of improving the articulation among the different gastronomic/productive chain actors.

Throughout this process, I had the opportunity to come into direct contact with a high number of territorial experiences related to the production and the gastronomy. Moreover, I could directly observe the difficulties that local small scale producers face in articulating with the other actors of the gastronomic chain and in accessing various kind of agri-food markets. In this context, a kind of market which caught my attention is represented by the School Nutrition Program (SNP) market and in particular by the School Breakfast Program (SBP) market implemented in several

Bolivian municipalities and through which local governments offer school breakfast to their educational units.

In the last few years, in Bolivia, there have been important changes in the law related to the public purchase of agricultural products. Particularly, it has been given more importance to local small scale producers' inclusion in this market. As a matter of fact, the importance and the potential of food public purchase in stimulating and incentivizing the production, sale of local products and the opening of new markets to local producers is high. The purpose is to create a positive impact on the local agricultural development.

In this respect, the attention of this paper will be focused on one type of food public purchase: the expenditure directed to SNPs and in particular to SBPs which consist of breakfast provision to the pupils of every educational unit in the municipality. SBP is an instrument of public policy which is still in its first phases, especially in Bolivia, and that still has to overcome several issues which are mainly related to the regulation and the existing common knowledge of the related laws.

According to the Municipalities Associations Federation (FAM⁴ 2008), the SBPs have been introduced with the purpose to improve school children's nutrition; in a second moment, its potentialities as an instrument to strengthen the rural agricultural development through the direct acquisitions of food and agricultural products from local small scale producers, have been perceived. As a matter of fact, it has been understood that through the exploitation of this potential it was possible to guarantee i) a local and healthy nutrition to school children; ii) the enhancement of native crops with local and cultural identity; iii) the enhancement of a healthy nutrition; iv) the food and agri-products local market expansion.

This paper aims at investigating the institutional dynamics which characterize local small scale producers' access to SBP market mainly focusing on the analysis of two rural municipalities: Pazña and Yunchará. Furthermore, the role of local producers' inclusion in SBP in Yunchará and Pazña will be examined also for the purpose of understanding: i) how it could enhance rural territorial development; ii) how it could contribute to the diffusion and preservation of territorial cultural identity especially

⁴ Federación de Asociaciones Municipales

related to traditional food and products. The final goal is to examine SBPs potentialities as an instrument to boost local small scale producers' sales, to preserve and value traditional food and products and to transmit them to future generations.

1.1 THESIS STRUCTURE

The present paper is structured in six chapters. The first one introduces the research topic and its relevance while the second is dedicated to the problem formulation. In the third chapter, the methodological considerations of the present work are outlined. It presents the thesis structure through a clarifying scheme, the aim of the paper, the epistemological considerations, the research strategy and design, the research method and the kind of data collected throughout the fieldwork. It concludes with the explanation of the study limitations and its level of generalization.

The fourth chapter presents the theoretical framework. Throughout the study, two different approaches will be implemented: the New Institutional Economics approach (NIE) and the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity approach (RTD-CI). In the last part of the chapter, a conceptual framework is provided in which the use of some of the most important concepts introduced by the two approaches is clarified.

The fifth chapter provides the reader with some useful background information which: i) provides a brief description of the country profile; ii) presents the situation of food public purchasing process in Bolivia; iii) describes the evolution of SNPs legal framework; iv) provides information about the current legal framework related to SNPs implementation; v) describes the main characteristics of the analyzed case studies.

The sixth chapter presents the analysis. The first two sections are more descriptive in order to provide the reader with a complete overview of SBPs implementation in the two case studies and of local small scale producers inclusion in SBP market. As a matter of fact in the first one, data about local small scale producers' inclusion level in SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña are presented; the aim is to show its evolution over time. In the second section, the difficulties local small scale producers face in their process of adapting to the formal environment characteristic of SBPs markets are outlined.

In the third section, the strategies applied by both local governments and local producers in order to facilitate local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market are examined. In the fourth section, an analysis of the role covered by formal and informal institutions in SBPs implementation in Yunchará and Pazña is presented. In the fifth section, SBPs impact on Pazña and Yunchará Rural Territorial Development and on Cultural Identity will be explored. In the last section, the possibility of an institutional change will be prospected. Finally, the last chapter will present the conclusion of the study. In the chapter dedicated to the annexes, it will be possible to find the transcription of the semi-structured interviews realized during my fieldwork.

2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

The paper attempts to examine the dynamics of SBPs implementation in Bolivia focusing on local small scale producers' inclusion in this market. In this context, the question which will guide this research is hereby presented:

WHICH ROLE DO FORMAL AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS PLAY IN LOCAL SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS' ENTRY ON SBPS MARKET IN BOLIVIAN RURAL MUNICIPALITIES AND WHICH IMPACT DOES THEIR ENTRY CAUSE IN THE RURAL TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSIDERED TERRITORIES?

In order to answer the problem formulation, the following sub-research questions related to the chosen case studies are to be clarified; considering the case of the municipalities analyzed along this research, Pazña and Yunchará:

1. To which degree are local small scale producers included in SBPs?
2. What are the main aspects which influence local small scale producers' adaptation to the formal institutional framework regulating SBPs market?
3. Which are the strategies applied in order to include small scale producers into the SBPs by buying their local products?
4. Can SBPs institutional framework related to local small scale producers' entry on the market favor rural territorial development and cultural identity enhancement in Yunchará and Pazña?

Alongside the study, the collected information will be examined and connected with the problem formulation and the sub-research questions through the application of the chosen theoretical framework.

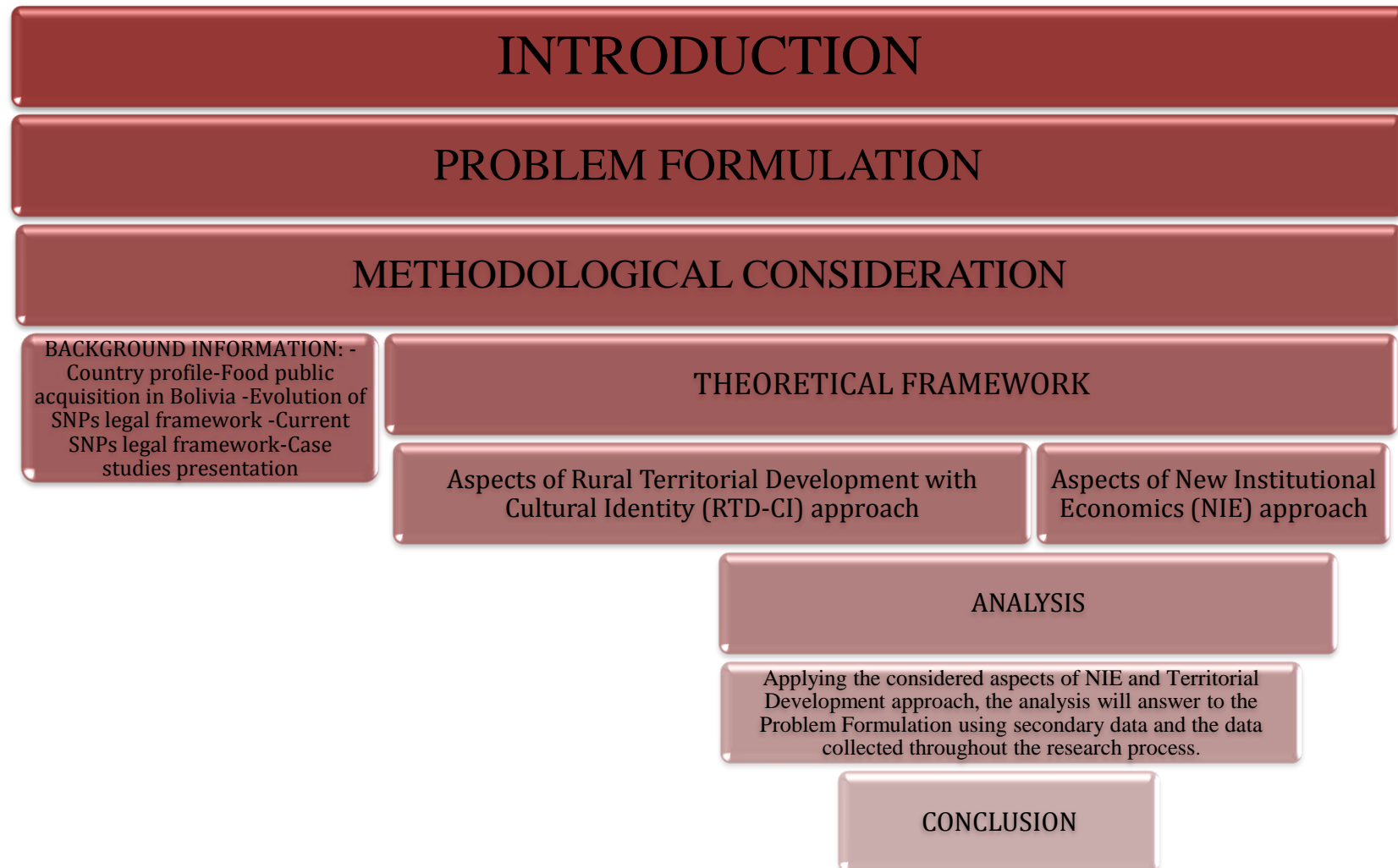
3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The following chapter will clarify the methodological instruments used in the writing process in order to provide an answer to the main research question. Firstly, the project outline through a clarifying scheme and the aim of the research will be explained; afterwards, the epistemological considerations, the research strategy and design, the research method, the data collection process, the limitations of the study and its level of generalization will be presented.

3.1 THESIS OUTLINE

The purpose of the study is to understand, using the case of two rural municipalities, whether and how rural local governments could manage to offer school breakfast to students of their educational units creating successful relations with the local producers and succeeding in having a positive impact on the rural territorial development, on local products and food traditions diffusion.

Throughout the research, SBPs implementation in rural municipalities will be analyzed with a special look to two specific territories. Afterwards, in the part dedicated to the analysis, the chosen case studies will be presented and analyzed. Through the analysis of the collected data guided by the chosen theories, the problem formulation will be answered. Hereby, it is possible to observe a clarifying scheme of the project structure:



3.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Bryman (2012: 27), “an epistemological issue concerns what is (or should be) regarded as knowledge in a discipline”. From an epistemological perspective, it is possible to pose these questions: “what is the relationship between the knower and what is known? How do we know what we know?” (Tuli 2010: 99).

In the following study, the research procedure logic leans towards an interpretivist perspective which, according to several experts, perceives the world as “constructed, interpreted, and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems” (Maxwell 2006; Bogdan & Biklen 1996; Guba and Lincoln 1985; Merriam 1988 in Tuli 2010: 100). As a matter of fact, throughout the research process, a great amount of knowledge was acquired through a direct contact with the studied reality and with the involved actors. Furthermore, the analysis of the interaction among the involved organizations and among the institutional structure characterizing the studied reality are fundamental to provide an answer to the problem formulation.

According to Bryman (2012), an interpretative approach implies three interpretation levels: first of all, the researcher provides an interpretation of further interpretations and this underlines the presence of a double interpretation. At the third level, the researcher examines the interpretations according to theories, concepts and secondary literature. In the following study, at the first two levels it is possible to position the interpretation of the analyzed realities through the examination of the information gathered through fieldwork. At the third level, it is possible to identify the analysis of the first two interpretation levels through the application of two theoretical approaches: NIE and RTD-CI.

3.3 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN

According to Bryman (2012: 35), a research strategy is “a general orientation to the conduct of social research”. The first step consists of choosing whether to use a quantitative or qualitative research strategy. This study will mainly use qualitative data collected through the review of secondary sources and semi-structured interviews; nevertheless, an analysis of quantitative data is also present in order to

show i) the changes in local small scale producers' inclusion level in SBPs market in Pazña and Yunchará; ii) the evolution of Pazña and Yunchará local governments investments in SNPs and specifically in SBPs; iii) the changes in Pazña and Yunchará local small scale producers' income after their entry on SBPs market.

Furthermore, the approach employed will be mostly deductive. In a deductive approach, the writer "on the basis of what is known about in a particular domain and of theoretical considerations in relation to that domain, deduces a hypothesis that must then be subjected to empirical scrutiny" (Bryman 2012: 24). In the present study, a theoretical framework will guide the answers to the problem formulation and sub-research questions. I will employ some aspects of NIE approach and of the RTD-CI approach in order to analyze: i) SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña; ii) the role in this type of market and the importance of the involved institutions and organizations; iii) the access of local small scale producers to it; iv) the potential impact that local small scale producers' access to this market may have on RTD.

The case study is the research design that has been chosen in order to develop the following research. Using this type of research design, it is possible to provide a detailed analysis of one or more cases which can be represented by a community, a school, a family, an organization and so on (Bryman 2012). According to Yin (2003: 13), the case study is "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident"; it can be used in different contexts "contributing to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena" (Yin 2003: 1).

Among the different existing types of case studies, the research design employed in the present work matches in part with the exemplifying case study and partly with the interpretative case study. The purpose of the former is to "capture the circumstances of a commonplace situation (..) and it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member." (Yin 2009 in Bryman 2012: 70). Throughout this research, the case of SBPs implementation in two different municipalities will be analyzed as an example of a broader category represented by rural municipalities. Nevertheless, as it will be explained in the next sections, this work does not intend to generalize the case studies situation to the entire category they belong to. On the other hand, a case study can be classified as interpretative when the author's involvement in the analyzed reality is

direct (Andrade 2009). In the research process which brought to this paper realization, I spent a valuable amount of time on the analyzed territory having the possibility to talk directly to the involved actors, organizations and so on.

According to Shell (1992), case studies research can work on a single case or focus on two or more cases. Multiple cases “may be used to achieve replication of a single type of incident in different settings or to compare and contrast different cases”. In this research, two case studies will be the subject of the analysis and they are represented by two rural municipalities in Bolivia: Yunchará and Pazña; located in two different department: Tarija and Oruro.

The reasons why these two territories were chosen are several. Firstly, as previously mentioned, as part of my internship in Bolivia I traveled in different regions of the country having the possibility to choose among different suitable cases. Both the territories are situated in rural areas and share the same ecological floor: the high Andean plateau; thus, they share the same geographical characteristics. They both have less than 6000 inhabitants and their level of poverty and malnutrition are high. Nevertheless, their local governments invest a consistent part of financial resources in SBPs implementation. They can be considered as two cases of rural municipalities whose local governments manage to provide breakfast to the educational units purchasing products from local small scale producers thus offering breakfasts which consist preeminently of local products.

According to Elías et al. (2014), it exists a positive relation between the budget dedicated to school meals and the size of the territory; the rural municipalities – which usually cope with serious issues of malnutrition – face relevant financial problems for a lack of budget. As a matter of fact, the majority of them present serious difficulties in offering school meals. Furthermore, in the rural areas, establishing relationships among local governments and local producers is very difficult because of obstacles related to the lack of mutual trust, organizational problems, inadequate knowledge of the law related to the food public purchasing process, difficulties in complying with all the requirements in order to access the market and so on.

This research, tries to consider the difficulties related to the public purchasing process of local products directly from local producers in order to provide breakfast to the educational units and to investigate how rural local governments could overcome

this obstacles related to the regulation, to cultural factors, territorial and ecological features and so on. For these reasons, two cases of rural local governments which manage to provide school breakfast to the educational units have been chosen as case studies to underline the difficulties they faced, they are currently facing and the way they found to overcome them.

3.4 RESEARCH METHOD AND DATA COLLECTION

In a research, it is possible to employ two different types of analysis: a primary or a secondary analysis. A primary analysis consists of the direct collection of data whereas in a secondary analysis, previously collected data are used by the researchers or institutions (Bryman 2012). The qualitative data used in the present study have been collected through i) focus groups and groups interviews, realized as part of my field work for RIMISP ii) semi-structured interviews, conducted as part of my field research for my master thesis; iii) secondary sources. Nevertheless, primary data prevalence will be observed throughout the analysis, given the mostly interpretative nature of the study.

3.4.1 PRIMARY DATA

As part of my internship with RIMISP, I had the possibility to travel around Bolivia discovering the actual reality regarding territorial and rural development with cultural identity. During these months, I could get to know different realities gathering preliminary information regarding areas of territorial and rural development which guided me in the process of choice of the research topic and the case studies.

This preliminary information derives from focus groups with key informants and entities conducted as part of the job in the organization on a wide range of topics. This initial process allowed the author of the present paper to gain a more global view of the different Bolivian realities and to choose both the most suitable topic and case studies.

Once the topic had been chosen, the two case studies have been selected and the trip to the chosen territories was planned in order to interview the key informants through the use of semi-structured interviews. This paper considers as key informants the subjects directly or indirectly involved in the SNPs market and especially in the

SBPs market in the considered territories. Initially, they have been selected following the logic of the “snowball effect”: by interviewing key informants and asking them suggestions about who could better provide information and different points of view about the topic so that the basket of interviewed people could be as wide and reliable as possible.

During the fieldwork, semi-structured interviews were conducted. In other words, during the interviews, a guide of questions which allowed the interviewer to vary their sequence was followed, in order to adapt them to the answer of the interviewee leaving him/her talking freely about the topic and adding questions according to the direction of the conversation. The interviews duration and depth, varied according to the interviewees, their time availability, their level of knowledge and involvement in the area of interest. The semi-structured interviews have been conducted to different key informants among which are included⁵:

1. Local small scale producers belonging to associations including presidents of producers’ associations.
2. Local small scale producers: school breakfast providers or aspirant school breakfast providers.
3. Local governments: mayors of the local governments chosen as case study; public officers; specialized technicians such as nutritionist or agricultural technicians working for the local government.
4. Professors and cook.
5. Middlemen: middlemen who provide products for school breakfast programs purchasing them from local producers.

Additional primary information has been gathered during the fieldwork realized as part of the internship. Particularly, during this process, the opinion of SENASAG and FAM technicians, Yunchará mayor, more producers, further local governments technicians, school children and professors were collected

⁵ It is possible to read the semi-structured interviews transcription in the section dedicated to the annexes. Nevertheless, the information gathered throughout the fieldwork realized as part of my job with RIMISP is not included.

Part of the quantitative data employed throughout the study have been collected during the interviews to public entities, local government technicians, mayors and to local small scale producers' associations.

3.4.2 SECONDARY DATA

The selection of literature in order to conduct the secondary analysis was realized through personal research and by the analysis of previous studies on the topic, following the advices of members of the organization I worked for and contacting the local organizations which previously worked and studied the topic. Some of these studies are based on primary data directly collected from the authors who in some cases I had the chance to interact with⁶.

Furthermore, I consulted researches realized by international bodies such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), national bodies such as the FAM, national organization and central government bodies such as SENASAG and CT-CONAN. Part of the quantitative data derive from researches realized by national research centers, national statistics and organization like the Food and Agricultural Organization.

As regards the literature employed for the theoretical framework, I consulted the literature elaborated by some of the most important theorists and researchers in the fields of NIE theory and RTD-CI approach: i) in the case of NIE: Brousseau Eric, Coase Ronald, Davis Lance E., North Douglass, Nye John, Klein Peter G., Lazzarini Sergio, Poppo Laura, Roland Gérard, Shirley Mary M., Williamson Oliver E., Zenger Todd R.; ii) in the case of RTD-CI: Berdegué, Ranaboldo Claudia, Schejtman Alexander.

⁶ As it is the case of: i) Bishelly Elías, co-author of the book: "Las compras agroalimentarias del estado: ¿Una oportunidad para los pequeños productores?"; ii) Geovana Mercado, co-author of the book: "Las compras agroalimentarias del estado: ¿Una oportunidad para los pequeños productores?"; co-author of the paper: "Soberanía en el plato público? El desayuno escolar y la inclusión de los cultivos andinos"; co-author of the paper "¿Con la vara que midas serás medido? Sistemas agroalimentarios locales y concepciones de inocuidad alimentaria. iii) Javier Thellaeche Ortiz, co-author of the paper: "¿Con la vara que midas serás medido? Sistemas agroalimentarios locales y concepciones de inocuidad alimentaria";

3.5 LIMITATIONS

The limitations faced throughout the execution of this work will be presented without following an order of importance. One of them is represented by the limited availability of time and allowed length of the paper. For this reason, the study focused its attention just on SBPs without considering the totality of the SNPs which can include as well the lunch and the morning and afternoon snacks. SBPs analysis focused on its importance as an instrument to strengthen local production particularly in relation to small scale producers and their possibility to access the school breakfast market.

For this reason, just two examples of rural municipalities in which SBPs are implemented have been chosen. Another way of conducting the analysis could have been, for instance, to add a case of rural municipality in which the local government tried to include local products in the breakfast provision but did not succeed in the intent. Furthermore, in this work just some aspects of the two chosen theoretical approaches are applied, without considering the whole literature related to them, mainly focusing on the works elaborated by their main theorists and being aware of the multidisciplinary and complexity which characterize them.

During the fieldwork, I had to adapt to the time availability of local people who often canceled pre-scheduled interviews asking to reschedule meetings. This hindered the execution of the fieldwork since the period of stay in the chosen territories had to be enlarged and adapted to the interviewees' necessities.

Another limitation refers to the availability of information. Data related to the financial budget destined to food public purchase or local government' s detailed expenditures were difficult to access since in some cases this data are registered manually and public officers or specialized technicians are not willing to share them. Furthermore, in order to dispose of updated data about detailed expenditure of every local government it is necessary to request them to the central government a year before.

3.6 LEVEL OF GENERALIZATION

By generalizability it is meant “the degree to which the findings can be generalized from the study sample to the entire population” (Polit&Hungler 1991 in Myers 2000:2). According to Bryman (2012), a common criticism to the case study as research design is that results deriving from the analysis cannot be generalized.

By employing the case study as research design, the following work does not intend to apply the results deriving from the analysis of the single cases to the entire basket of similar cases. The focus will be drawn to two cases of rural municipalities in order to analyze from a micro perspective the reality of SNPs.

The results deriving from the analysis of the chosen case studies are not likely to represent the complex of relationships between Bolivian rural local governments and local small scale producers within the context of food public purchasing process. Nevertheless, being aware of the existing differences between Bolivian rural municipalities – which could be related to different ecological floors, political situations, size, etc. – the study aims at analyzing two cases of rural municipalities in which local organizations - in the sense meant by NIE theorists – managed to create functional relationships among them in order to include local products in SBPs.

4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework that will guide the development of this research and the answer to the problem formulation is composed by aspects of the New Institutional Economics (NIE) approach and the Rural Territorial Development (RTD) approach. Through these approaches, it is possible to analyze and relate the main aspects which characterize this work: the role of formal and informal institutions in SNPs market and the impact of local small scale producers' access to the market on rural territorial development.

4.1 THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS

In the present research, the market plays a central role. Nevertheless, this work does not intend to analyze the market focusing on its economical transactions, in fact it will also consider the social aspects and the interactions which characterize SBPs, their institutional framework and the role of the involved institutions, organizations and individuals in the sense meant by NIE theorists. NIE approach will guide the research under this point of view, helping to understand and individuate the role of formal and informal institutions and organizations in this market. Thus, I will employ this theory focusing on the role of formal and informal institutions and organizations, stressing the relevance of the informal ones in market interactions related to SBPs.

NIE is “an interdisciplinary enterprise combining economics, law, organization theory, political science, sociology and anthropology to understand the institutions of social, political and commercial life” (Klein 1999: 456). The term NIE has been introduced by Williamson (1975) and its origins are recognized to be found in Coase's analysis of the firm written in 1937. On the other hand, Douglass North mainly contributed to the New Institutional approach to development and economic history (Nye 2008) beginning to work and explore the topic in the 1960s.

North, provided another view of economic development focusing not only on the role of technology transfer and capital accumulation but on the relevance and importance of institutions. He argued that it was not possible to see technology as the reason of growth or of the Industrial Revolution but it was the Western institutions of capitalism and their growth-enhancing aspects which mainly contributed to economic

success being aware of the short-term influence of technical transfer or capital accumulation on variations in economy (Nye 2008). According to North (1973&1990 in Klein 1999: 461), “development is seen as a response to the evolution of institutions that support social and commercial relationships”; furthermore “contrasting the institutional framework in countries such as the United States, England, France, Germany and Japan with Third countries makes clear that this institutional framework is the critical key to the relative success of economies” (North 1990: 69). As a matter of fact, NIE main argument is that “institutions matter and are susceptible to analysis” (Matthews 1986; Williamson 1996 in Zenger et al. 2001: 2) thus, the most important agents in the economy are institutions which support and influence economic activity.

Firstly, it is essential to define what NIE theorists mean by institutions and how they perceive the difference between institutions and organizations. Throughout this research, the generally recognized definition of institutions and organizations elaborated by Douglass North will be employed. According to North (1991: 97), “institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction” hence “they reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life” and by defining and limiting the range of choices individuals dispose of (North 1990: 3). On the other hand, organizations are considered to be the players whose actions are guided by the institutional framework. Organizations are a group of people who work together in order to reach a common goal, sharing a common interest. Political bodies, economic bodies, social bodies, churches, schools, unions, government agencies and educational bodies are considered to be organizations. Thus, organizations are “groups of individuals bound by some common purpose to achieve objectives” (North 1990: 5). Institutional framework is represented by formal and informal institutions and their enforcement effectiveness; it influences the existence and evolution of organizations who in turn influence institutions’ growth and changes.

Secondly, it is useful to distinguish between institutional environment and institutional arrangements. According to Davis and North (1971) the institutional environment is represented by the formal and informal background constraints which guide humans’ behavior. On the other hand, institutional arrangements are guidelines which are specifically designed in order to mediate single economic relationships. Institutional environment, constitutes the place where human interactions take place

and in which organizations interact according to formal and informal institutions and constraints.

Institutions include both what individuals are not allowed to do and which are the circumstances and the limits humans have to respect to actuate under the institutional framework. Both formal and informal institutions form part of the institutional framework, in fact institutions “consist of formal written rules as well as typically unwritten codes of conduct that underlie and supplement formal rules” (North 1990:4). Formal institutions comprehend “political and judicial rules, economic rules and contracts. The hierarchy of such rules, from constitutions, to statute and common laws to specific bylaws and finally to individual contracts defines constraints from general rules to particular specifications” (North 1990: 47).

On the other hand, informal institutions are defined as “rules based on implicit understandings being in most part socially derived and therefore not accessible through written documents or necessarily sanctioned through formal position” (Zenger et al. 2001: 2). According to North (1990) they derive from socially transmitted information and they form part of the heritage commonly known as culture.

The importance of informal institutions in guiding organizations in the society is recognized by many NIE scholars. Informal institutions and informal constraints strongly influence the actions of individuals and their interaction even in the formal environment especially when the level of mutual trust is high. In fact, social norms can have more importance than formal constraints when dealing with people who share close social ties among them (Ellickson 1991 in Klein 1999). North (1990), claims that informal constraints keep playing a pervasive role in modern economies.

Granovetter (1985) affirms that informal institutions - especially trust and norms – play a fundamental role in regulating social networks and exchanges whereas formal institutions’ ability is not highly developed. As a matter of fact: “businessmen often prefer to rely on a man’s word in a brief letter, handshake or common honesty and decency even when the transaction involves exposure to serious risks” (Macaulay 1963 in Zenger et al. 2001: 6). In fact, through an informal agreement based on mutual trust and respect it is easier to change conditions without needing to renegotiate formal contracts and agreements. Lincoln (1982 in Zanger et al. 2001: 7),

claims that “informal networks are indispensable to organizational functioning, and managers must learn to manipulate them for organizational ends”.

According to North (1990: 36), “formal rules, in even the most developed economy, make up a small part (although very important) of the sum of constraints that shape choices” and “the governing structure is overwhelmingly defined by codes of conduct, norms of behavior and conventions”. Thus, informal constraints and conventions are essential and very present in our everyday life. On the other hand, formal rules can “complement and increase the effectiveness of informal constraints. They also may be enacted to modify, revise, or replace informal constraints” (North 1990: 46).

Therefore, the intertwining among informal and formal institutions is essential within an economy. According to Zenger et al. (2001), NIE analysis on institutions mainly focused on formal and informal institutions independently without deeply analyzing their interaction. Their interaction is important especially when talking about institutional change. According to North (1990: 83), change “consists of marginal adjustments to the complex of rules, norms, and enforcement that constitute the institutional framework”. On the other hand, an economy reaches stability with the persistence of a “complex set of constraints that include formal rules nested in a hierarchy and informal constraints” (North 1990: 83). It is possible to reach stability when a consistent number of specific constraints influence a particular choice. In order to bring about a change in the institutional framework to reach stability, a large number of mutations in both legal and informal constraints need to take place.

Therefore, the interaction among formal and informal constraints and their evolutions is essential to contribute to the institutional framework change. Thus, it is important that both sets of constraints transform in order to bring about a real change. It is not sufficient the sole change of formal constraints. As a matter of fact, as Scott (1981: 82) states “formal institutions define the normative system designed by the management whereas informal institutions define the actual behavior of players”.

Nevertheless, institutional change is a very slow process which is not easy to carry out. Formal rules can easily be changed through judicial or political decisions whereas informal rules are much more deep-rooted and hard to change (North 1990). North (1990) claims that a large number of institutional changes take place at the margin.

Formal and informal constraints can be subjected to small changes which, over time, can contribute to changes in the institutional framework although the process remains slow.

According to Zenger et al. (2001), changes in formal institutions do cause changes in informal institutions but the response is not immediate, this phenomenon is known as *inertia*. *Inertia* causes that “webs of interdependent relationships, political coalitions, patterns of communication, established routines impede organizational change” (Hannan & Freeman 1984; March & Simon 1958; Nelson & Winter 1982; Tushman & Romanelli 1985 in Zenger et al. 2001: 10). North (1990) defines inertia as path dependence. He states that although changes can happen at the margins, the institutional framework is generally characterized by stability which is the product of path dependency (Shirley 2005). Path dependency mainly characterizes informal institutions (North 1990), in fact “changes in beliefs and norms usually require a period of gradual learning” (Shirley 2005: 29) which cannot be immediate. Therefore, it is possible to state that formal and informal institutions speed of change is different since informal institutions mutation is slower due to path dependence or *inertia*. Concluding, in the analysis of an institutional environment it is essential to take into consideration and to investigate on the interaction among formal and informal institutions although NIE literature does not deeply analyze their intertwining.

Throughout the analysis, the most important aspects of NIE especially related to the role of formal and informal institutions, organizations and their interaction will be analyzed and connected to the collected empirical data in order to provide an answer to the research questions. Furthermore, another approach – Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity - will be applied for the purpose of deepening the analysis considering not only the role of formal and informal institutions in the small scale producers inclusion in SBPs but also their importance in spreading and investing on cultural and territorial identity in order to enhance rural territorial development.

4.2 THE RURAL TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT WITH CULTURAL IDENTITY APPROACH (RTD-CI)

The RTD-CI approach will be implemented in this research in order to enrich NIE approach. The two approaches can be related since I will implement NIE theory focusing on the importance given to formal and informal institutions in small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market; on the other hand, RTD-CI gives relevance to institutions and local governments but focusing on their role in Rural Territorial Development. As a matter of fact, one important aspect I will analyze throughout the analysis is the possible impact of local small scale producers' entry into school breakfast public market on the RTD of the two rural territories I will analyze. Thus, I will consider some aspects of this approach relating them to the chosen case studies.

RTD is a relatively recent concept which has been defined as a “productive and institutional transformation process of a determined rural space whose purpose is to reduce rural poverty” (Schejtman & Berdegúe 2004: 30). Considering this definition, it is possible to stress that RTD leans on two closely related pillars: the productive transformation and the institutional development. The former aims at linking the economy of a territory with dynamic markets which implies changes in employment and production patterns. The latter has the purpose of encouraging cooperation processes between local actors both among themselves and with external actors aiming at modifying formal and informal rules which reproduce marginalization in the productive transformation processes (Schejtman & Berdegúe 2004).

One of RTD aspects, which is not widely known and studied, is Cultural Identity (CI) and its valorization in rural areas. The concept embodies a variety of dimensions: i) a sense of belonging to a social group with shared cultural characteristics, language, values and beliefs; ii) its origins are intricately linked to a territory; iii) it is not a fixed and rigid concept, it can be recreated individually and collectively being fueled by external influence (Ranaboldo & Schejtman 2009). Furthermore, “CI does not exist without memory and without the ability to recognize the past being able to build the future” (Molano 2007 in Ranaboldo & Schejtman 2009: 377).

Thus, CI is an important element which should be taken into consideration in the following research since valuing cultural and natural assets of a territory is relevant in order to maintain its cultural features and its traditions by preserving and developing

them and by transmitting them to future generations. This research will also examine the possibility of an institutional transformation processes in the two chosen territories, giving importance to the valuation of a territory natural and cultural assets for the purpose of including local small scale producers in the school breakfast public market.

RTD-CI approach tries to provide an answer to a central question: how is it possible to link territory and identity to the fight against poverty, social exclusion and inequality?. It mainly focuses on rural territories defining them as poor areas populated with people whose characteristics, culture, traditions are different from those belonging to the hegemonic culture of their own country. Hence, it stresses the possibility for the so-called subordinate cultures to dispose of their natural or cultural resources (material or immaterial) in order to increase their income by implementing different strategies through the utilization of cultural expressions such us typical dances, handicraft, typical food and so on (Urrutia 2009 in Ranaboldo&Schejtman).

RTD-CI is based on the idea that the involved actors should share a common view which, leaning on identity and cultural elements, can transform weaknesses into strengths. It is necessary to dispose of: i) the involvement of local governments and active local organizations; ii) adequate financial resources; iii) partnerships between key actors; iv) favorable public policies; v) interested local schools (Urrutia 2009 in Ranaboldo&Schejtman). In fact, in the researches conducted by RTD-CI experts, it has been remarked the growing importance of local governments in territorial management. As a matter of fact, local governments are potential key actors in RTD, on the other hand, local organizations and committed local actors are fundamental in order to enhance and put into practice RTD-CI proposals (Ranaboldo & Schejtman 2009).

Thus, RTD-CI, as well as NIE, gives importance to the role of the involved institutions and organizations in the development of an economy, focusing also on the relevance of the territory, particularly stressing the role of cultural, natural and traditional assets. As a matter of fact, according to RTD-CI approach, “relationships among social actors, local institutions and resources determine territorial development dynamics and their effect on economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability in a territory” (Berdegúe et al. 2012: 25).

4.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As previously explained, in this work two approaches will be applied in order to answer the problem formulation: the RTD approach and the NIE approach. In order to analyze the SBPs implementation in Yunchará and Pazña and the local small scale producers entry in this market, it is necessary to clarify some concepts of the two approaches previously introduced.

It is important to underline that also in RTD-CI approach institutions do play a major role. As a matter of fact, a territory has to count with a complex institutional architecture in order to boost and to achieve RTD; according to Schejtman and Berdegúe (2004: 43), institutional architecture is “the regulatory structure that is formed by organizations and institutions and RTD calls for a complex institutional architecture”.

Firstly, it is essential to define what this paper will consider as institutions in the following work. Both NIE theorists and RTD experts define institutions as the formal and informal constraints which govern human interactions. Hence, institutions are the formal and informal laws which structure a society. On the other hand, organizations are considered to be the players whose actions are guided by institutions themselves; furthermore, as explained by North (2002), also organizations are characterized by the presence of internal players and rules within them.

The following work will consider as institutions, informal and formal rules which regulate SBPs implementation in Bolivian rural areas and in particular in Yunchará and Pazña; the role played by both formal and informal rules in allowing local small scale producers entry in Yunchará and Pazña SBP market will be taken in consideration. To this end, information about the current national formal regulation and about the formal rules implemented in the two analyzed local governments⁷ will be provided; furthermore it will be analyzed the way the formal rules are implemented in Pazña and Yunchará and the role that informal institutions play in the process of favoring local small scale producers' entry in the analyzed market.

⁷ As it will be explained, in 1994 the Administrative Decentralization Law, known as Law of Popular Participation (LPP) was approved. This law created a decentralized system which attributes a large autonomy to local governments by transferring the 20% of national budget to them.

Additionally, it will be analyzed the role of the organizations and of the involved actors who work within them in the process. An attentive eye will be kept on the role of local governments, local government technicians and on the existing relationship among them and local producers or local producers' associations in Pazña and Yunchará. I will examine the way they interact, which rules they follow in SBP implementation and how formal and informal institutions influence their way of operating.

The section 4.1 presented the difference between institutional environment and institutional arrangements as defined by North and Davis (1971); in this work, the institutional environment is represented by the formal and informal institutions which regulate local small scale producers' entry in SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña. On the other hand, given the definition of institutional arrangements as rules, agreements or guidelines which are specifically designed in order to mediate single economic relationships, I will consider the SBP as an institutional arrangement. As a matter of fact, as stated by Mercado et al. (2013: 5), institutional arrangements imply agreements whose aim is "to exchange goods and services and to enforce those agreements"; SBP can be considered one of these arrangements since it implies a variety of formal and informal rules whose purpose is to offer school breakfast to the educational units allowing local small scale producers' entry in this market.

Other important aspects analyzed alongside this work are represented by i) territory; ii) cultural identity; iii) cultural identity valorization. As regards the first concept, it is possible to find a high number of definitions; in this research, the territory is considered as defined by Schejtman & Berdegue (2004: 32):

"In a rural development process context, the territory is the space considered as necessary in order to contain and define the relationships established among its agents within its borders and among them and the "outside world" on the basis of the development projects or goals they propose to undertake".

In this research the case of two municipalities - Yunchará and Pazña – will be analyzed and the concept of territory will be marginally treated throughout the analysis of the importance attributed to CI preservation within SBP implementation in Yunchará and Pazña.

As regards CI, it is particularly important to consider its relevance and the territorial traditions' in rural areas. Various elements contribute to create a CI and one

of them is represented by territory's typical food and typical products. Through this research, the possibility of preserving and transmitting gastronomic traditions of a territory aiming at offering local, fresh, genuine and healthy products to scholars on the one hand and on the other hand at enhancing and boosting territorial development and local small scale producers' sales will be analyzed.

Thirdly, regarding CI valorization it is important to affirm that all the efforts made in order to achieve it, have been defined as "culture economy" (Ray 1998); these actions:

"consider a particular locality's cultural features to be a key element in improving rural living standards. Those attributes — or markers — include traditional foods, regional languages, crafts, folklore, visual and performance arts, literary references, historic or prehistoric sites, landscape and associated flora and fauna, and so on" (Ray 1998 in Ranaboldo & Schejtman 2009).

Sticking to this definition, this work will consider the importance of valuing local food traditions and native products in order to bring forward improvements in the living conditions of the community by boosting local sales and at the same time by spreading local food traditions to the next generations in order to preserve them.

5 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

5.1 COUNTRY PROFILE

Bolivia⁸ is a South American country with an extension of 1,098,581 Km²⁹. It shares its borders with Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Argentina and it is landlocked. Although it is located in the inter-tropical region, the presence of the Cordillera of the Andes in the central and occidental regions, causes variations in the biophysical features of the country as regards landscape, climate, soil and vegetation (FAO 2013). For this reason, in Bolivia it is possible to distinguish three



different ecological floors: Altiplano, Valleys and Plains which form different ecosystems.

Bolivia, with a total population of 10,461,053¹⁰ whose 67,2%¹¹ lives in urban areas, is a country with a high level of ethnical, cultural and linguistic diversity. It is possible to distinguish more than 30 different ethnic groups with different traditions, language and culture (UNESCO 2000 & FAO 2013). The most spoken language is Castellano (Spanish) but it is frequent the presence – in rural areas - of monolingual indigenous communities who just understand and speak their own language; Quechua and Aymara are the two other important languages spoken in the country.

According to data provided from the World Bank (2014)¹², in the last ten years, Bolivia experienced an important economic growth of 4,8% which contributed to poverty and inequality reduction and the Gini coefficient receded from 0,60 to 0,46.

8 Picture source: www.bolivia-internet.com

9 Data source: UNESCO: http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/bolivia/rapport_1.html

10 Data of July 2013; data source: INDEXMUNDI: <http://www.indexmundi.com/bolivia/population.html>

11 Ibid.

12 For further information see: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/bolivia/overview>

Nevertheless, 45% of the population is still living in condition of moderate poverty. According to the most updated data provided by INE¹³ (2011) 4.806.043 of inhabitants are living in conditions of poverty whereas 2.231.390 of inhabitants are living in conditions of extreme poverty and the 65% of them is represented by people living in rural areas. In the rural area the Gini index is equal to 0.54 while in the urban area equals to 0.41 and agriculture represents 13% of national GDP.

5.2 FOOD PUBLIC ACQUISITIONS IN BOLIVIA

Food public purchasing process occupies an important role in Bolivian market and it is in constant growth. In 2011, 1409 millions Bs¹⁴ have been directed to public purchase of agri-food, which overcomes by 20% the expenditure of 2010 and by 87% the one of 2007 (Elías et al. 2014).

For local governments, SBPs represent the main public expenditure among the complex of agri-food public acquisitions. As a matter of fact, according to data provided by the Ministry of Finance (2012), local governments expenditures on agri-food increased from 265 million Bs to 634 million Bs between 2004 and 2011 and the 75% of local governmental budget designed for food acquisitions was spent on SBPs; this underlines the importance attributed to SBP by local governments. Between 2005 and 2011 the number of local governments which offer SBP increased; currently just 13% of local governments do not provide school breakfast to their educational units (Elías et al. 2014).

According to the Ministry of Education (2013), Bolivian municipalities have been divided into 4 categories each of which uses a different acquisition modality of food and products for SNP:

1. Category “D”: it includes municipalities with more than 50.000 inhabitants. In most cases, the local governments buy products for SNP through public tendering from medium and large businesses.
2. Category “C”: it includes municipalities with a population from 15.000 up to 50.000 inhabitants. In most cases, local governments buy products for SNP from

¹³ For more information see: <http://www.ine.gob.bo/indice/EstadisticaSocial.aspx?codigo=30601>

¹⁴ 1\$=6,910 Bs

large, medium and small enterprises and from small scale producers through ANPE or with minor recruitment.

3. Category “B”: it includes municipalities with a population from 5.000 up to 15.000 inhabitants which do not represent an attractive market for large and medium enterprises. As a matter of fact, they generally buy supplies for SNP directly from local producers’ associations or individuals and in most cases they purchase through the ANPE modality or with minor recruitment.

4. Category “A”: it includes very small municipalities (less than 5000 inhabitants) which purchase SNP supplies through ANPE modality and minor recruitment.

FIGURE1: BOLIVIAN MUNICIPALITIES BUDGET DESTINED TO SNP IMPLEMENTATION.

Categories of municipalities		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
A (84municipalities)	Million Bs	9.91	13.56	20.76	13.52	15.43
	% of coverage	82%	89%	86%	89%	86%
B (137municipalities)	Million Bs	26.30	55.04	52.52	42.19	50.05
	% of coverage	80%	82%	82%	82%	90%
C (89municipalities)	Million Bs	50.41	78.09	91.13	90.84	103.68
	% of coverage	88%	83%	87%	89%	91%
D (17municipalities)	Million Bs	124.56	113.53	207.76	245.81	310.66
	% of coverage	76%	76%	88%	94%	94%

Source: Own illustration based on data from Ministry of Economy and Finance and from Elfas et al. (2014).

According to FAO et al. (2013) it is possible to observe a positive relationship between the municipal size and school nutrition programs budget. In 2011 municipalities belonging to the category “D” spent 310 million Bs for school nutrition programs; the category “C” spent 103 million Bs; the category “B” 50 million Bs and the “A” 15 million Bs.

5.3 SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAMS LEGAL FRAMEWORK

5.3.1 EVOLUTION OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK RELATED TO SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAMS

In Bolivia, food public purchasing process is regulated by a set of national and international laws which have been developed for the purpose of maintaining the whole recruitment process as competitive and open as possible and ensuring food security (Mercado 2014). SNPs have been implemented in Bolivia for the first time in 1951 when, by Decree-Law 2896, they have been introduced in schools sponsored by mining or industrial companies.

In 1953, the following programs have been extended to schools in urban areas through a convention between the Ministry of Education and the Alliance for Progress; in 1968, they have been implemented in rural areas thanks to cooperation agencies and organizations support. Food supplies were provided through donations with a weak participation from the State (Villegas 2013). Since 1985, Bolivia passed through a high number of reforms which, in the first years, were in line with Washington Consensus' purposes which aimed at reducing state participation in the economy, promoting public finance improvement, supporting private initiatives and enhancing productivity and competitiveness (Crespo 2000 in Mercado 2013).

Until the 90s, Bolivia was a strongly centralized country, State's presence in rural areas was very limited, municipal governments just existed in intermediate cities and public resources were not extended to rural areas. This scenario radically changed in 1994 when the Administrative Decentralization Law, known as Law of Popular Participation (LPP) was approved. With this law, the 20% of national budget was transferred to local governments and with it the responsibility to deliver public services such as school building, health centers, sport facilities and so on. Furthermore, with the LPP, the national territory was divided into 314 municipalities; autonomous municipal governments were created and provided with competence and resources (FAO et al. 2013).

In 1995, the SABS¹⁵ were approved. According to SABS, public purchasing process had to be executed through compulsory public tendering. Contractors must comply with the obligation of providing a wide range of documents including the registration in Bolivian Chamber of Commerce which could only take into consideration commercial enterprises and individuals. Therefore, small scale producers' associations and cooperatives were not included; thus, local governments were obliged to import or to purchase just from registered enterprises (Ton & Mendoza in Prudencio & Elías 2014).

In 1999, the Law of Municipalities was approved. Its purpose was to transfer to municipal governments the complete competence in SNPs implementation. Local governments assumed this responsibility gradually, according to their financial possibilities and to the priority assigned to school nutrition in their Annual Operation Programs. In 2000 Health and Nutrition Law was approved (Biministerial resolution 002/00, Ministries of Health and Education). It defined: i) the national school nutrition policy; ii) nutritional, educational and health objectives; iii) a sample of basic nutrition for school nutrition programs.

In may 2003, the new elected government guided by Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada approved the Decree-Law 27040 which established that contractors hiring for purchases of goods and general services should be made through a public call to which international and national potential contractors could participate. The Decree-Law was hardly criticized since it did not legally recognized and privileged small scale producers in public purchasing processes as it was established during the Second National Dialogue (Mercado 2014).

In 2006, the president Evo Morales approved the Decree-Law 28822 which introduced the Interinstitutional Public-Private Council of "Compro Boliviano" known as COMPROBOL. The council's objectives were to visualize, strengthen and prioritize small scale producers' organization's participation in public purchase processes. The council exercised its powers until 2007 when a great part of its objectives was considered as concluded (Mercado 2014).

¹⁵ Normas Básicas para la Administración de Bienes y Servicios – Norms for Basic Goods and Services Administration

In July 2007, the government approved the Decree-Law 29190 with which the New SABS (NSABS) was created. The NSABS established a system which speeded up the recruitment process for state organizations and rural local governments establishing new recruitment modalities:

1. ANPE (Apoyo Nacional a la Producción y el Empleo – National Support to Production and Employment): It allows direct recruitment for expenditures of up to Bs5000 purchases per batch or from 5000 up to 200.000 Bs per item.
2. Public tendering: For expenditure of 500.000 up to 40 million Bs or for expenditure from 40 million Bs in international public tendering.

Furthermore, article n. 63 of NSABS established that local production had to be emphasized particularly in school breakfast provision and generally in school nutrition forbidding genetically modified organisms (GMO) purchase. Local governments with a high level of poverty had to purchase products for SNP through the ANPE modality. (Mercado 2013).

In the same year, Hydrocarbon Law was promulgated. It strengthened SNP in Bolivia establishing the allocation of financial resources received with direct hydrocarbon taxes to education, health, infrastructure, productive development and everything that could contribute to the generation of local work sources (Art. 57 Ley 3058/2005). Direct hydrocarbon taxes were and are an important funding source for SNP. It has been proved that they are predominant in financing public purchasing processes especially as regards school breakfast programs (Prudencio & Elías 2014). Furthermore, the Decree-Law 28421 about direct hydrocarbon taxes distribution, establishes municipal competence in promoting access to school through school breakfast provision. Another step put forward in 2007 through the National Council of Food and Nutrition Technical Committee (CT-CONAN) was the establishment of school nutrition board whose purpose was to create a multisectorial team in education, health, production and local development (FAO 2013). In the next section, the current legal framework which regulates SNPs will be presented.

5.3.2 CURRENT NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK RELATED TO SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAMS

As previously explained, in Bolivia, public purchasing process is decentralized. This modality is applied also to the purchase of food and products for the SNPs which are decentralized to the local government level which implies that it does not exist a general formal regulation which establishes standards, patterns and formal rules that local governments must follow in order to implement SNPs. The Law 0031 – Law of the Autonomies and Decentralization – establishes that local governments are the territorial entities with the most important role in implementing SNPs in their territory; according to the law each local government has the responsibility to define the budget addressed to SNPs implementation in its territory depending on several factors such as available resources, food availability, ecological floor, geographical position and so on.

In June 2009 the Decree-Law 0181 - known as NB-SABS 0181 – was approved. It abolished the previous provisions on public recruitment establishing, among other things, different food procurement modalities local government can adopt in order to implement SNP (FAO et al. 2013):

1. Public calls for tenders: local governments purchase SNP supplies through public calls if their values exceeds 1 million Bs. This modality is the most applied (76,5% of cases) (Elías et al. 2014).
2. Apoyo Nacional a la Producción y Empleo (ANPE): local government adopt this modality for purchases from 20.000 Bs up to 1 million Bs. Purchases made through this modality represents the 23%.
3. Exceptional recruitment: Local governments apply this kind of modality to the purchase of specific products from unique suppliers.
4. Emergency recruitment: This modality is applied just in the event of natural disasters.
5. Direct recruitment: It is adopted both for goods and services acquisition and for other kind of products such as gasoline, public services, diesel and so on.

6. Minor recruitment: it is a very flexible acquisition modality which can also be adopted through conventions among local governments and cooperation organizations which co-fund SNP or donate food.

Moreover, the decree establishes that local governments with a high level of poverty must not apply the first modality (public call for tenders) and they can recruit directly goods and services if: i) goods and services are produced locally; ii) potential providers run their small scale business in the municipality; iii) potential providers do comply with the requirements established by their local government. The difficulty lies in the absence of a nationally recognition for the establishment of a municipality level of poverty. Nevertheless, it does not exist a law which establishes the obligatoriness of SNPs implementation (Elías 2014). This explains the reason why not every local government implements SNPs in their municipalities and why the implementation modalities strongly vary depending on the local governments policy.

To summarize, local governments represent the main institutional actor for SNPs implementation being the only referent for NGO, international cooperation organizations which intend to establish conventions among the different inherent actors in order to contribute in SNPs execution. Therefore, i) SNPs are of exclusive competence of local governments; ii) it does not exist a SNP implemented to a national level; iii) each local government establishes its own conditions depending on, among other things, its geographical position and its financial resources; iv) financial resources can derive from different sources such as IDH, donations, local governments financial resources, international cooperation and so on.

5.4 CASE STUDIES PRESENTATION

In this research, the case studies are represented by two Bolivian municipalities both located in the rural area sharing the same ecological floor: the altiplano. In this section their main characteristics will be presented. Firstly, some general information about the two territories will be provided. Secondly, a quick description of how SBPs implementation is organized in Pazña and Yunchará will be presented, mainly to better understand why and how they manage to implement SBPs in their municipality.

5.4.1 PAZÑA

Geographical position: Pazña is located in the Oruro region in Poopo province. It is represented by five cantons: Pazña, Totoral, Avicaya, Urmiri and Peñas which is constituted by 6 districts: Calapaya, Vuelta Blanca, Quewallani, Marcavi, Apanaque and Jachuyo.

Number of inhabitants: 5200.

Altitude: 3706m above the sea level.

Educational Units and students number: 15 educational units with a total of 1428 students.

Offered products: the currently offered products which are bought locally from local small scale producers are: milk and milk derivatives such as: yogurt, flan, milk with chocolate, milk and oats; api and tojorí¹⁶; products made with quinua and wheat.

Pazña local government started to implement SBP in 2005 offering it solely to one educational unit. The process has been gradual, at the beginning the SBP was only implemented in the nearest educational units and it was offered just to children from 6 up to 11 years old; currently, school breakfast is offered to every unit and to every student. Since 2005, a high level of importance has been attributed to local products and currently, 80% of delivered products is local; the other 20% is national but it is bought from other towns (Interview to Pazña Official Mayor¹⁷).

¹⁶ Api and tojorí are two traditional Bolivian drinks made out of mais

¹⁷ The Official Mayor is the head of the Oficialía Mayor.

Among the different possible food procurement modalities local governments can choose among, Pazña adopted the ANPE modality. As well as all the local governments who adopt ANPE, Pazña elaborated its own regulation called: *Modelo de Documento Base de Contratación de Servicios generales* (DBC) which regulates every aspect of the SBP implementation in the municipality. According to the DBC (2014), during the selection process, proposers wishing to deliver school breakfast to educational units must be:

- National enterprises legally established in Bolivia
- Associations of enterprises legally established in Bolivia
- Micro and small businesses
- Cooperatives
- Small scale producers

According to Pazña Oficial Mayor, the local government always privileged small scale producers' products. Among the selection criteria there are: the local origin of the offered products, their quality and their cost of production. Generally, the price the local government pays for portion is 2,30 Bs. As mentioned in the previous section, since 2010, proponents who apply for school breakfast distribution are no longer part of producers' associations. Providers work individually with a low number of helpers and they take care of the provision and purchase of the necessary products and of their elaboration, transformation and delivery. Currently, three providers are working in order to provide breakfast to the 15 educational units. Each of them takes care of 5 units and every day has to deliver punctually the agreed portions. The three providers deliver the same kind of products to every educational unit. Each of them produce the products locally or buys them directly from local producers' associations.

5.4.2 YUNCHARÁ

Geographical position: Yunchará is one of the 11 local governments situated in the region of Tarija, in the southern part of Bolivia.

Number of inhabitants: 5.036

Altitude: 3.594m. above the sea level.

Educational Units: 39

Offered products: the products which local government directly buys from local small scale producers to distribute them during school breakfast are: quinoa, api and tojorí, green beans and llama meat.

Yunchará local government started to implement SBP in its territory in 2010 with the election of a new mayor. In 2010, according to the Ministry of Health, Yunchará was considered the poorest rural town in Bolivia with the highest under nutrition level. Because of this, the mayor started to address a high percentage of local government resources in improving children nutrition. She destined resources to the execution of a high number of programs related to nutrition and among these she implemented the SBP, involving since the beginning the town communities and the local producers.

From 2011 until the end of 2012, Yunchará could count on the financial support of WFP through PAESMA (Programa de Alimentación Escolar y Medio Ambiente); PAESMA's aim was to train local small scale producers in order to properly prepare them to access SBP market. In 2012, Yunchará local government increased the financial resources addressed to SBP starting working with all the local producers who belonged to an association. Initially, just the 20% of offered products had local origins because few local producers were willing to enter the public market for a lack of trust in the local government. This attitude changed when the local government hired three specialized technicians whose task was to train local producers in order to enable them to enter SBP market. The training consisted of: i) increasing their productive capacities; ii) differentiate their production; iii) learning to work in an association understanding the benefits that could come from it; iv) working in proper hygienic conditions.

Among the different possible food procurement modalities local governments can choose among, Yunchará adopted the direct recruitment for the purchase of local products¹⁸. That means that local government technicians in charge of SBP implementation directly recruit local producers who have been previously trained by them.

¹⁸ The percentage of products which is not purchased from local small scale producers is acquired through the public call for tenders modality.

6 ANALYSIS

In order to provide an answer to the problem formulation applying the two chosen approaches - the New Institutional Economics and the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural identity - the analysis is organized in the following way: firstly, through the analysis of collected quantitative data, small scale producers' inclusion level and evolution in Pazña and Yunchará SBPs market will be presented in order to underline the increasing importance small scale producers are acquiring in this market. Secondly, the main obstacles which hinder local small scale producers' access to SBPs market examining the cases of Yunchará and Pazña will be analyzed. Thirdly, the applied strategies for managing to purchase local products in Pazña and Yunchará will be presented and examined. Based on the foregoing, in the fourth section, analyzing the situation in Pazña and Yunchará informal institutions and organizations' role in facilitating local small scale producers' access and permanency in the public market will be examined. In the fifth section the importance attributed to Cultural Identity will be analyzed with the guide of RTD-CI approach. The sixth and last section will analyze the possibility of an institutional change in the case studies' institutional framework looking at it from both NIE and RTD-CI perspective.

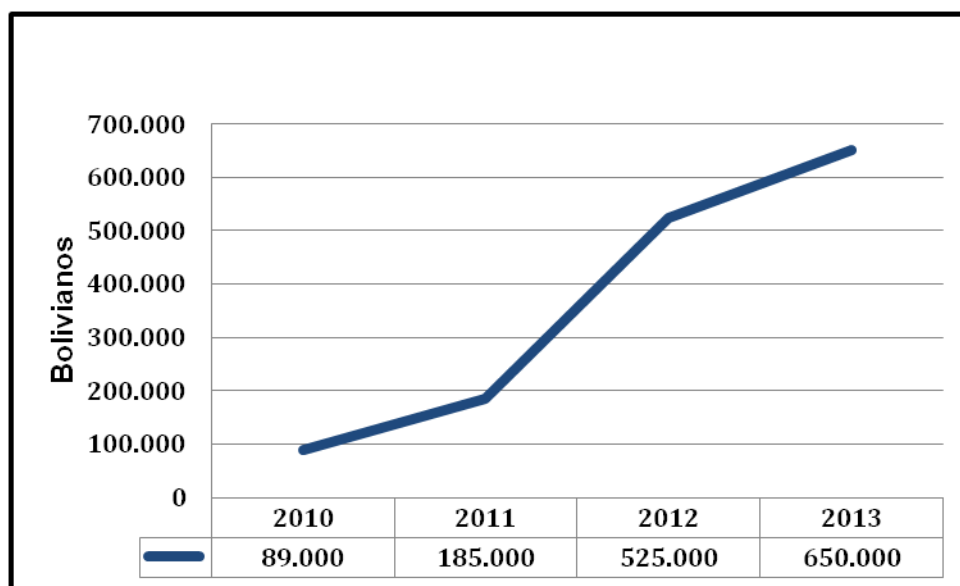
6.1 LOCAL SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS' INCLUSION LEVEL IN SBPS MARKET IN YUNCHARÁ AND PAZÑA: HOW THIS CHANGED IN TIME.

In this section I will show the amount of resources addressed to SBPs by Pazña and Yunchará local governments, showing their evolution over time. Furthermore, it will be shown how the level of small scale producers' inclusion in the market changed since the first implementation year. This section will be more descriptive than analytic since its purpose is to illustrate how, in the two considered territories, the importance attributed to SBP implementation and to local products inclusion varied over time analyzing whether or not local governments resources dedicated to SBP implementation and the inclusion level of local providers increased or decreased over time and why.

6.1.1 YUNCHARÁ

Yunchará is nationally recognized for valuing and strengthening local production including local products in SNPs especially since 2010 when the new mayor was elected. The amount of local government financial resources addressed to SBP implementation changed over time as shown by the following chart:

FIGURE2: YUNCHARÁ INVESTMENTS EVOLUTION IN SBP IN BOLIVIANOS



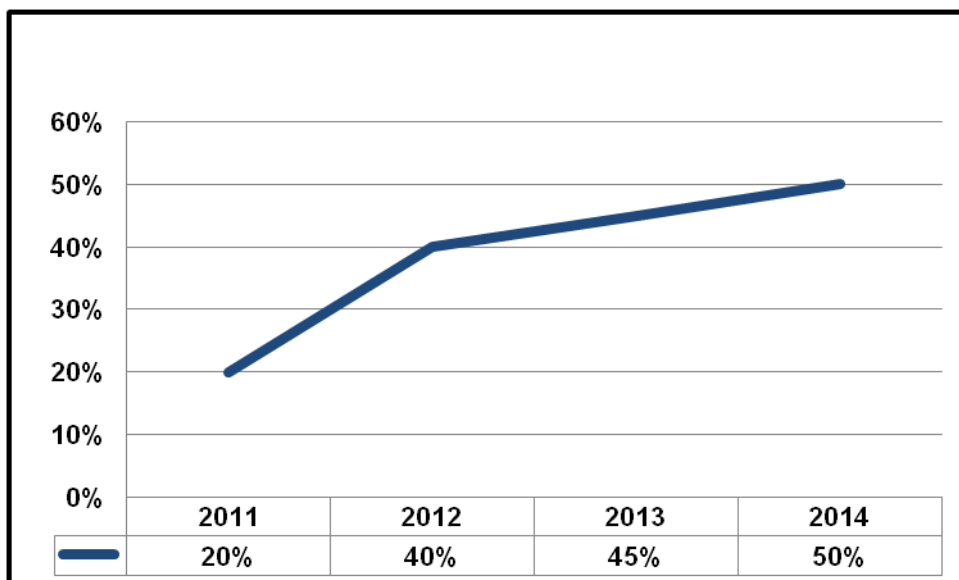
Source: personal elaboration based on data collected through interviews to Yunchará local government officials.

As it is shown by the graph, Yunchará local government investments in SBPs increased throughout the years; particularly, it is possible to appreciate a consistent growth from 2011 to 2012. This sudden process of growing is due to the fact that until the end of 2011, Yunchará could count on PAESMA support who delivered material inputs to the government who could invest less money in the program implementation. Starting from 2012, the invested financial resources have been exclusively governmental: 10% of the local government financial resources are invested in SNPs while, 70% of the budget addressed to the education department is employed for SNPs implementation. Therefore, it is possible to denote a high level of financial commitment from the local government which is increasing overtime and which - according to a Yunchará municipal technician who works in the education department – the local government is willing to keep increasing in the next years.

As examined before, Yunchará local government is committed in involving local small scale producers in SBP since the beginning of its implementation and although

there are important difficulties it managed to increase local products inclusion in school breakfasts significantly:

FIGURE3: PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL PRODUCTS OFFERED DURING SCHOOL BREAKFASTS IN YUNCHAR



Source: personal elaboration based on data collected through interviews to Yunchará local government officials.

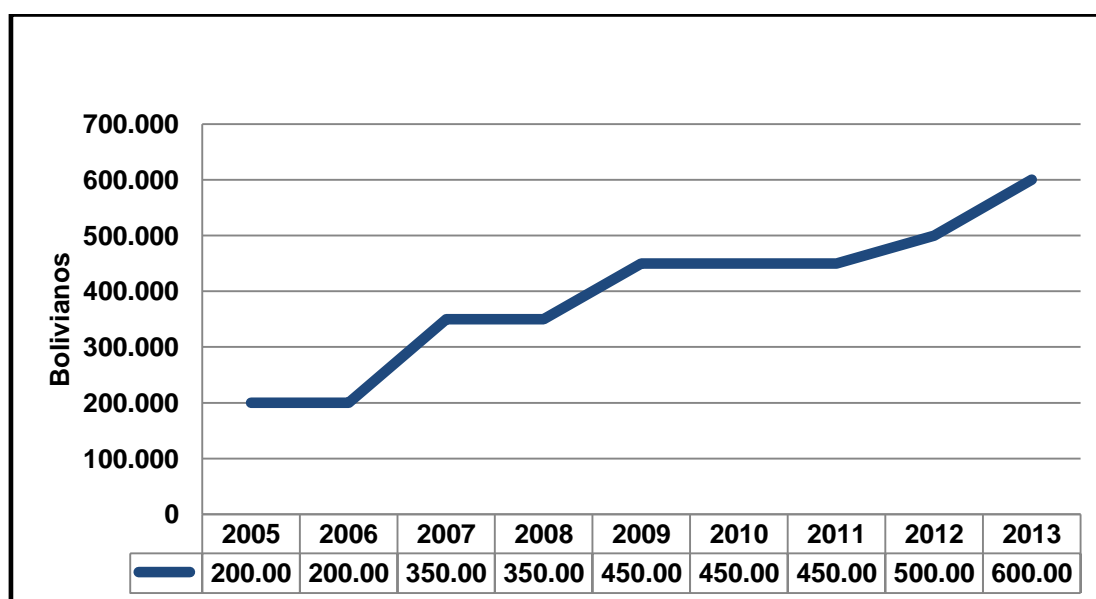
Observing the graph it can be noticed that the percentage of local products offered during school breakfast cannot be considered significantly high; nevertheless it can be appreciated a constant growth since 2011 which means that local small scale producers' inclusion process is long and difficult but with good future perspectives.

6.1.2 PAZÑA

Pazña local government started to implement SBPs earlier than Yunchará since “although there have been frequent changes in the political administration, the importance given to SBP implementation and to local producers inclusion in the public purchasing process has always been high” (Local government technician). As a matter of fact, since 2010 until 2014 Pazña municipality experienced the election of 4 different mayors with different political orientations; however, there has been a considerable continuity in the importance given to small scale producers inclusion in SBPs and in SBP implementation itself.

In the following chart it is shown the change in the level of financial resources addressed to SBP implementation since 2005 until 2014:

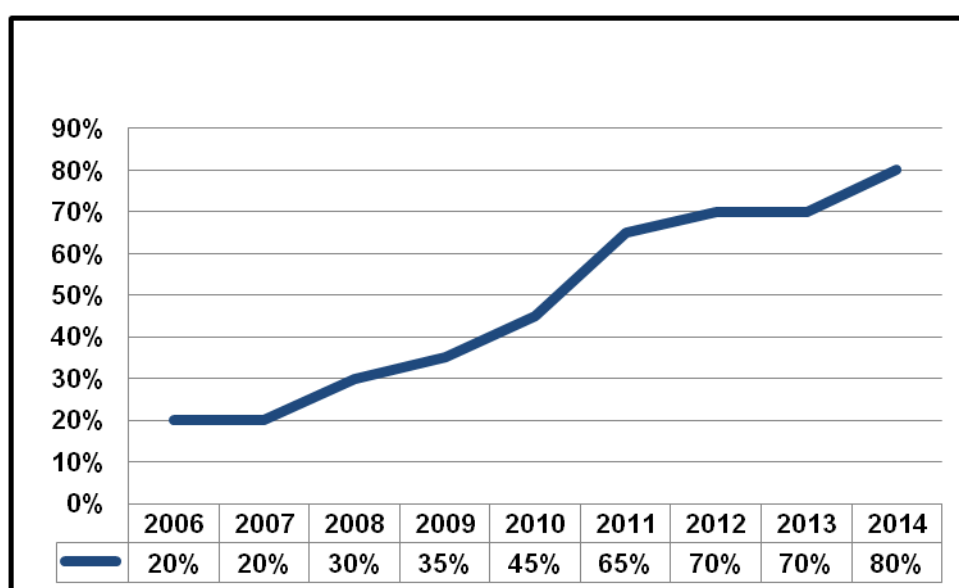
FIGURA 4 PAZÑA INVESTMENTS EVOLUTION IN SBP IN BOLIVIANOS



Source: personal elaboration based on data collected through interviews to Pazña local government officials.

As it can be noted since 2005 there has been a constant growth in the financial resources addressed to SBP implementation. According to Pazña Oficial Mayor, the local government put a consistent effort in managing to offer school breakfast every year and to every educational unit and they are very proud of the obtained results even if their goal is to increase the financial resources addressed to SBP implementation of by 2015. In the next chart it is shown the evolution of the percentage of local products purchased by the local government for SBP implementation.

FIGURE5: PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL PRODUCTS OFFERED DURING SCHOOL BREAKFASTS IN PAZÑA



Source: personal elaboration based on data collected through interviews to Yunchará local government officials.

It is possible to notice a constant growth in the local products employed in SBPs which increased from 20% in 2006 to 80% in 2014. Local government goal is to provide a breakfast whose products are completely local.

To conclude, it is possible to state that both in Yunchará and Pazña the amount of local financial resources addressed to SBP implementation and the small scale producers' inclusion level in this market, significantly increased over the years. In the next sections, on the basis of the realized interviews and considering the point of view of the two implemented approaches, it will be analyzed how Pazña and Yunchará local governments are managing to include local small scale producers in SBPs market.

6.2 LOCAL SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS' ADAPTATION TO A FORMAL ENVIRONMENT

School Breakfast Programs (SBPs) are nationally regulated by formal institutions. As previously mentioned, it does not exist a national law which homogeneously regulates SNPs implementation; nevertheless, it does exist a general institutional framework which: i) attributes to local governments a large level of autonomy in their implementation; ii) establishes the main general formal rules which regulate SNPs and specifically SBPs.

The current institutional framework related to SBPs includes a large variety of formal rules whose aim is to facilitate small scale producers' inclusion in public purchasing process in SBPs context. Nevertheless, the formal institutional framework did not bring relevant improvements to local small scale producers' entry in SBPs market (Mercado et al. 2013).

In this section, on the basis of NIE approach, I will analyze the main obstacles which hinder local products public acquisition by local governments in Pazña and Yunchará both from local small scale producers and local governments' perspective, keeping a special eye on the difficulties faced by local small scale producers in adapting to a formal environment. In the next section, I will examine how the following problems are being faced in the two case studies explaining how formal organizations interact in order to adapt the formal environment to local producers' participation in SBP market.

As exposed in the section dedicated to the theoretical framework, according to NIE “institutions and organizations matter and are susceptible to analysis”. The main difficulties local small scale producers face in selling their local products to local governments are:

- The rigidity of formal technical requirements for public purchasing process

In this research, formal institutions are represented by the complex of formal norms which regulate SBP implementation. It has been explained that it does not exist a unique and homogeneous national law which regulates SBP implementation and particularly the role of local governments in local small scale producers’ inclusion in the market. It is possible to identify a complex of formal rules which provides a general regulation but which leaves to local governments an important degree of autonomy.

The existence of rigid administrative requirements for the access to SBPs market is one of the main difficulties which hinder small scale producers’ access to it. The requirement which creates the highest number of problems and difficulties is the Health Registration which is issued from the National Agricultural Health and Food Safety Service (SENASAG) or from the Ministry of Health and Sports; its task is to guarantee food safety and quality. In order to receive this certificate, it is compulsory to comply with a high number of requirements which small scale producers have difficulties to respect.

According to the opinion of a large number of producers from Pazña who sell their products to their local government, it is almost impossible to comply with all the requirements established by SENASAG

“since it is a registration whose requirements are not spread adequately and its issuance depends, in most cases, from the will and preparation level of the SENASAG official”. According to another producer, “the requirements to obtain the registration are not adapted to a rural reality, as a matter of fact they are the same as the ones applied in the urban area, in developed municipalities with millions of inhabitants; Furthermore in some cases, providers have to wait a year before the certificate emission”.

The same kind of problem affects Yunchará where both the local government technicians and the producers firmly believe that the Health Registration requirements are not suitable to the small scale producers’ reality. An interviewed local government

official, stated that it is essential to spread information and knowledge about what the exact requirements are and to train local small scale producers in order to comply with them. Small scale producers do not dispose of high level equipment and they are not familiar with the most advanced productive techniques. For this reason it is important for them to receive adequate training so that they can access more markets contributing to the territorial development.

According to the opinion of both local small scale producers and local governments officials in Pazña and Yunchará, SENASAG requirements are not suitable to a rural reality and in order to aim at their achievement by local small scale producers it is essential to provide them with adequate knowledge and training. On the other hand, a SENASAG technician firmly stated that the health registration is attributed to the already transformed products and that local providers are obliged to dispose of the following registration if they wish to provide their products to SBP in their municipalities. He added that the requirements are strict and sometimes difficult to accomplish especially for rural providers but SENASAG has to ensure the safety of the products offered to the educational units.

As it is possible to deduce from the interviews to local small scale producers in Yunchará and Pazña, the formal institution which influences the most small scale producers' inclusion in school breakfast market is the Health Registration issued by SENASAG which imposes a series of strict requirements that have to be respected for managing small scale producers' entry in SBP market.

Therefore, it is possible to state that there is a formal institutional framework which generally regulates SBPs implementation; according to NIE, "institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction" and they "reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life" (North 1990: 3); in the above presented case, it is possible to identify a formal institutional constraint which does not adapt to the high variety of Bolivian territorial realities. In the next sections it will be possible to observe how and according to which institutions – formal and informal - the organizations and their involved actors actually interact in order to provide local products to the educational units.

- Difficulties in fulfilling the contract

Generally, small scale producers are used to selling their products in informal markets (markets in the town square, door-to-door); their participation to the public market and specifically to SBPs market is not common and it does not meet their way of working and organizing their own activities. Thus, small scale producers who manage to access SBPs market do find difficulties in fulfilling the contract.

Firstly, they are not used to having to comply with a specific contract with specific terms. As a matter of fact, as both Pazña and Yunchará producers stated, the most difficult aspect to respect is the required punctuality in delivering their products to each educational unit. In both municipalities they do have to take care of the delivering process providing to each educational unit with both the solid and liquid ration which have to get to destination in perfect conditions; *“the products have to be delivered with punctuality and still hot, and delays are not tolerated”* (FAM official). In Pazña, a local government technician stated that producers usually receive a high number of complaints from professors and parents for delivering the products with delays and another one added that. In this regards, a producer from Pazña claimed:

“if the schools demand products in good conditions and still hot (in the case of the milk) it is normal to register delays, especially because usually providers work with a maximum of two or three helpers without disposing of adequate means of transport. It happens that we are obliged to deliver products with motorcycles having to handle long distances and sometimes dogs follow us causing accidents”.

Providers from Yunchará face the same kind of problem. Punctuality and precision constitute a serious issue, firstly because of the transport and secondly because producers strongly depend on weather conditions and sometimes it can happen that producers do not manage to deliver the agreed quantity of products for reasons which do not depend on their own will or organizational skills:

“Hailstorms destroy the harvests and it is not possible to count on the established quantity of products; the area where we produce quinoa is object of frequent climate changes, thus it is very difficult to provide a huge quantity of this cereal. Sometimes we are obliged to change products or to deliver less than what expected”.

To conclude, it is possible to observe the presence of significant difficulties and obstacles which hinder the fulfillment of the contract by local small scale producers;

these obstacle cannot be overcome easily by small scale producers themselves because in the majority of cases they do not depend directly on their will or ability but on their situation of rural producers who live in rural areas with lack of adequate means of transport and proper technology which could overcome problems related to climate change or shortage of products.

In this regard, it is possible to state that the existing formal arrangements which regulate the relationship among rural small scale producers and the local governments are not completely suitable to a rural reality where the transport can be hindered by the lack of a sufficient number of means of transport, by weather conditions or, as in the case of Pazña providers, by dogs.

- Lack of knowledge of the current framework

According to information gathered throughout the research process, it has been observed that small scale producers are not used to working in associations for a long period of time. They usually create associations for short-term purposes but it is common for them to work individually, according to their time availability also considering the familiar situations. In the context of SBPs markets, local producers are often obliged to work together, creating an association since individually they would not be able to produce the required quantity of products. Thus, in some cases they create associations ad hoc in order to access this market. This creates difficulties among them since it is not easy to change method of working, following the rules imposed by the association in order to manage to work properly with the public market. This specific kind of problem is frequent in Yunchará, as explained by a local producer and confirmed by a local government technician, since the school breakfast providers are all members of producers' associations:

“Sometimes it happens that some association member does not completely agree in directing his/her whole production to the local government. In fact, the price of the public market is stable while the price of the same products in the other markets change being sometimes higher. Last year, three members hide a certain quantity of green beans since the market price increased and they wished to take advantage of that” (Producer from Yunchará).

A similar situation happened within an association of breeders of llamas and alpacas who used to provide llamas meat¹⁹ for the SBP. Some of the llamas breeders did not agree to deliver the agreed quantity of meat since they disposed of few llamas and they wanted to sell part of the meat to other markets. Therefore, the educational units did not receive the right quantity of meat and this event created serious problems within the association and among the association and the local government.

According to a group of interviewed producers, the problem is that not all of them understand the advantages of distributing their products to a sure market like the one constituted by the SBPs since they are used to facing market instability taking advantages from it. This kind of behavior threatens the association stability creating internal conflicts and damaging its efficiency.

In Pazña this kind of problem no longer exists since providers are not organized in associations. They are single individuals who just prepare breakfast for the educational units by gathering all the necessary products from local producers. Thus, there exists an intermediate role represented by the provider who is not necessarily the direct producer of all the delivered products but who collects them from different local producers and associations. This additional step has been introduced in order to avoid associational problems which represented an issue also in Pazña.

The president of ASAGALDE (milk association) stated that:

“before, each association had to take care of providing all the products for the breakfast, both the solid and the liquid portion. In the association this created organizational problems because they had to take care both of the production and of the elaboration and transformation of each product; producers where used to fighting because none of them had time for completing all these tasks”.

These kind of organizational issues deriving from problems and conflicts within the producers' associations slow down and hinder the transformation and delivering process causing delays and creating discomfort for both the producers and the educational units who sometimes find themselves with less breakfast portions. Considering the information gathered through the interviewing process and on the basis of NIE approach, it can be stated that these problems are attributable to a lack of

¹⁹ The llama meat is transformed into a typical Bolivian meal which is consumed over breakfast. It is composed by dried llama meat, an egg and cheese.

formal institutions which firmly regulate rural associations, hence to a poor presence of governmental organizations in rural areas; furthermore, these problems can be connected with a major issue which is the lack of coordination and communication among local government organizations and national ones. This kind of problem can be connected to the difficulty for local small scale producers to adapt, not only to a formal institutional environment, but also to formal institutional arrangements as it is possible to consider producers' associations or contracts.

From local governments' perspective, among the main factors standing in the way of buying agri-food products directly from local small scale producers, the most significant are highlighted below:

- Regulatory vacuums:

As it has been explained before, SBPs implementation is not compulsory. Thus, there is not the presence of formal rules according to which local governments do have to implement SBP in their territory buying a determined percentage of products from local small scale producers. According to FAM (2008), it is possible to notice regulatory gaps which limit local governments' policy space to enhance local economic development. These vacuums cause uncertainty in SBP implementation in rural areas and they are the example of the lack of an adequate institutional framework which not only regulates SNPs implementation in urban areas but which branches out to cover the most rural territories.

- Lack of knowledge of the current legal framework:

In most cases local small scale producers do not receive adequate information about local government's activities and about their possibilities of accessing the public market. On the other hand, local governments are not informed about producers' associations work and improvements. This denotes a lack of articulation and communication among the involved actors. Furthermore, local producers do not dispose of a complete knowledge regarding the formal institutional framework which regulates SBPs market.

In local governments there is a general lack of knowledge of formal rules which regulate School Nutrition Programs (SNPs) and the transfers of public fund to private business which intend to promote small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs. Partly,

this kind of problem derives from the fact that the current legal framework is not adequately spread to municipal technicians and authorities who, in the majority of cases, do not gather information on their own account (Mercado et al. 2013 & FAM 2008 & Interview to a FAM member).

Yunchará local government technician, who is responsible for the SBP in his municipality stated that: “the knowledge of the normative framework which regulates SNPs is not widely spread, not even among the local governments technicians who are directly in charge of the SNPs implementation”. A group of Yunchará technicians who work in the Education Department confirmed this statement adding that they would like to participate to a seminar or convention where the central government trains them and informs them about the formal norms which regulate this market:

“There is not a general program of diffusion and explication of formal SNPs regulation; in 2012 a meeting about SNP has been held but there was not clarity or precision among the normative framework and about the exact role and obligations of local governments in SNPs implementation; this probably happens since SNPs implementation is not compulsory”.

The same kind of observations have been made by Pazña technicians:

“Each of us has a different kind of knowledge about the normative framework, it is not homogenized; this mainly depends on an inadequate norms diffusion. In some cases, if the single technicians do not gather individually the necessary information, they would not even know about the privileges we should attribute to local small scale producers according to the normative framework; some technicians are afraid of being accused of corruption if they facilitate small scale producers”.

According to North (1990: 8), within an institutional arrangement the involved players receive non complete information and they often “process the information that they do receive through mental constructs that can result in persistently inefficient paths”. As it can be noticed, in SBPs implementation the circulating information is often inadequate and non complete and, as explained by North this can cause misleading behaviors.

The inadequate knowledge of the institutional framework surely constitutes a relevant obstacle for the correct implementation of the programs, especially because, as mentioned by a Pazña local government technician, norms which do aim to facilitate local small scale producers access to SNPs market are not properly known; thus misunderstanding and misleading behaviors are common.

- Breach of contracts:

In most cases, local governments present delays in concluding the contract since the payment is not dealt with speedily (FAM 2008). As a matter of fact, as both Pazña and Yunchará local government technicians stated, if the local government does not hand in the Annual Operating Plan to the Ministry of Economics and Finance on time – very common circumstance – the Ministry proceeds to the “freezing of accounts” which impede the regular payment to small scale producers. In this case, it can take up to 3 months before the payment is released which causes terrible discomfort among producers. This basically happens for bureaucratic difficulties or for the lack of the mayor’s signature or the Mayor Officer.

Analyzing the obstacles it is possible to notice that the most substantial ones deal with local small scale producers’ difficulty of adapting to a formal environment also because the formal environment itself is not thoroughly suitable to rural small scale producers’ reality. Another important obstacle lies in the lack of a proper information diffusion which creates misunderstandings and wrong behaviors.

6.3 APPLIED STRATEGIES FOR LOCAL SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS’ INCLUSION IN SBPS MARKET IN PAZÑA AND YUNCHARÁ

In the previous section, the main difficulties which hinder small scale producers’ relation with local governments in SBPs context have been exposed and it has been observed that the majority of them is related to difficulties in adapting to a formal institutional and organizational context. Nevertheless, in the two municipalities considered as case studies, local governments together with small scale producers attempted to solve some of the presented issues in order to facilitate, ensure and enable not only small scale producers’ access to SBPs market but also their permanence in it. In this section, the way local governments and local small scale producers manage to interact and to succeed in overcoming some of the above mentioned obstacles will be examined.

In Pazña, one of the providers dispose of the Health Registration issued by SENASAG. Thus, the natural question would be: “how can Pazña local government

buy products for SBPs implementation directly from local providers if they do not dispose of this certificate?”. Pazña local government invested part of its resources to hire a specialized technician (a nutritionist or an agronomist) whose job is to monitor providers’ work; monitoring is constant. According to the nutritionist who performed this task in 2012 and 2013, the specialized technician has to take care of the monitoring and quality certification of the delivered products. As part of the contract, she/he is obliged to visit each provider at least once per week regularly plus a non-scheduled surprise visit; she/he has to control them and train them in case the way of working or the hygienic conditions were not considered suitable according to the DBC; she/he has to maintain a constant relation with the providers being present during the moment of breakfast distribution in the educational units; before distributing breakfast to the children she/he has to taste it in order to effectuate a last quality control. Hence, SBP supervisor is responsible for the day-to-day supervision, monitoring the workers’ hygiene conditions and those of the work environment making sure they respect the DBC specifications. Every month, the supervisor elaborates a detailed report specifying every aspect of her job, the quality of the providers’ work reporting any misbehavior. Furthermore, in the case of milk and its derivatives - which are the most delicate products which can be object of decomposition – the local government periodically sends a sample to an analysis laboratory in order to be sure of its quality and authenticity.

Some local government technicians working in the education department directly involved with the SBP implementation in Pazña stated that between the providers and the local government technicians exist a strong mutual trust relationship. One of them stated:

“We personally know local providers, we come from the same town and we are sure they would never deliver poor quality products to Pazña children. Every provider has sons, daughters or grandsons who attend school and who have breakfast every day eating what they prepare. They would never damage their health. For us, this is an important guarantee”.

Another one added:

“If the providers delivered poor quality products damaging children health, the whole town would exclude them from the community activities, they would not be considered trustworthy anymore and this constitutes a strong deterrent for them; being excluded and refused by their own community represents the most serious sanction.”

He also stated that:

“A trustworthy and fair relationship between providers and the local government is of crucial importance. If this confidentiality is violated, school breakfast provision from local producers would not be possible anymore”.

In Yunchará as same as in Pazña, none of the local producers who deliver SBP dispose of the Health Registration as the local government technician who works in the education department and who personally takes care of local small scale producers' recruitment stated:

“For our local producers it is impossible to meet the appropriate quality requirements in order to receive the Health Registration issued by SENASAG. For this reason, it is the local government, through its technicians, who accomplish this task. The technician trains them to work in hygienic and clean conditions, they even help them by working together in the first phases since every technician is an agronomist. We strongly believe that if we wish to offer our children high quality local products we need to train local producers. The first step is to provide support to our small scale producers; this is what the present administration strongly believes in. Formal norms and requirements are not detrimental to us since we do have alternatives. Our long-term goal is to get this registration but for the moment we consider it as a long and difficult process especially because for rural producers is very hard and complicated”.

He also added that the local government strongly trusts Yunchará local producers and knows that the quality and authenticity of their products are high:

“We believe that the small scale producers who accessed SBP market are completely trustworthy. Yunchará is a very small rural town, we all know each other and we consider ourselves as a big family. Local producers' sons and daughters attend school here and they eat what their parents deliver. None of them would ever deliver food which is not healthy or well produced and preserved. Furthermore, among the producers, none was born outside Yunchará, they all know each other and they all care about their reputation as producers and as persons. No one could ever cause harm to anyone. In my opinion this is the best guarantee, a guarantee which does not have legal relevance but which is based on confidence and trust”.

Therefore, in order to solve the “health registration” issue, local government commits itself in hiring agronomist who personally assist and train local producers. As in Pazña case, it is possible to denote an important commitment from the local government to facilitate local producers access to the public market.

Examining the above described examples by looking at them from NIE perspective, it is possible to observe that neither in Pazña nor in Yunchará local small scale producers who provide school breakfast to their educational units dispose of the formal requirement represented by the Health Registration. According to NIE approach, in an institutional environment, it is possible to notice a discrepancy between “the formal legal rules which govern a nation’s institutional environment and de facto mix of formal enforcement and informal norms which often determine how any given set of laws will function in practice” (Nye 2008: 75). This divergence is highly present both in Yunchará and Pazña where, in a high number of cases, national formal rules are not implemented by local governments who, instead, adapted the formal constraints to the rural reality by taking advantage of the autonomy attributed to them by the national formal institutions.

Furthermore, according to Scott (1981: 82) “formal institutions define the normative system designed by the management whereas informal institutions define the actual behavior of players”. On the basis of the interviews, I can conclude that in Yunchará and Pazña, “mutual trust” and “community reputation” are two of the most important informal institutions which regulate SBP implementation. As a matter of fact on the one hand, they encourage local small scale producers to behave respecting the terms of the contract and to deliver the agreed amount of food to the educational units; on the other hand, they make local government adapt the formal environment to the rural reality in order to facilitate local small scale producers’ entry in SBP market.

According to NIE, informal institutions - especially trust and norms – play a relevant role in regulating social networks and exchanges whereas formal institutions’ ability is not highly developed (Granovetter 1985). As a matter of fact, in Yunchará and Pazña, the mutual trust relationship is very important also in order to overcome obstacles related to lack of products, organizational problems and so on. A provider from Pazña stated that:

“SBP supervisor represents a point of reference for me and my team. Last year she was capable to predict some possible issues which could hinder our work and the punctual deliver to the educational units and she helped us to prevent them. If we have a problem, we know we can talk about it with local government technicians and find a solution together”.

For example, in 2012 local providers found it difficult to respect the agreed menu and to deliver breakfast punctually since everyday they had to bake a high number of cakes and prepare yogurt. This was taking too much time and they were obliged to work until late in the night and to wake up very early to effectuate the delivery. Sometimes, it was impossible to complete everything on time. The SBP supervisor, a nutritionist, realized it and in 2013 she changed the menu together with other local government technicians. She tried to vary the menu both for the children who asked for more variety and for the providers. She inserted fruits that had to be served with yogurt for 2 days per week. In this way:

“producers did not have to bake cakes for two days and they could save time. This was really appreciated both from the providers and from the children who really liked the addition of fruit in the menu” (Pazña SBP supervisor 2012-2013).

To conclude, it can be stated that what allows Pazña local government to purchase products from small scale producers is mainly the investment in human resources, one or more technicians who personally monitor school breakfast preparation and distribution and who facilitate local small scale producers access and adaptation to a formal environment they are not used to operate in.

As regards Yunchará, based on the collected information, it is possible to state that the problem related to the punctuality of the delivery in most cases is overcome by the mutual trust relationship existing among local producers and the local government which is considered essential as a local provider stated:

“If we have difficulties in transporting the products, we know that the local government provide us with a mean of transport since they are perfectly aware of our conditions”. Another one added: “last year it happened that we did not have enough quinoa for all the students. We talked with a technician about it and he helped us by looking for other producers in the closest town who could sell it to use; in this way we have been able to deliver the agreed quantity of the product on time”.

As a conclusion to this, it can be said that important issues mainly related to the difficulties in complying with the health registration requirements, the problems in

fulfilling the contracts especially related with associative issues and punctuality have been faced by both Pazña and Yunchará in different ways – due to the fact that the realities are different between them – but the common element is that the both local governments directly committed in including their local producers in SBP market. Both in Yunchará and Pazña, a relation of mutual trust and confidence among local providers and local governments – in the sense meant by NIE theorists - is essential in order to allow their entrance in the agric-food public purchase market. Both Pazña and Yunchará technicians who directly work with local producers strongly believe in mutual confidentiality as an essential guarantee. As NIE theorists state, social norms can have more importance than formal constraints when dealing with people who share close social ties among them (Ellickson 1991 in Klein 1999). In fact, for Pazña and Yunchará local producers their good reputation as hard workers and as good persons in the community is of high value and the risk of losing it constitutes the strongest deterrent for them; thus it is important to reiterate a NIE concept according to which “informal networks are indispensable to organizational functioning, and managers must learn to manipulate them for organizational ends” (Lincoln 1982 in Zanger et al. 2001: 7).

These goals were not reached without difficulties. Pazña and Yunchará are overcoming the issues and problems related to small scale producers inclusion in SBP mainly by directly committing in creating an institutional environment suitable to their reality. In this sense, informal institutions and organizations play a fundamental role. In the next section I will examine how formal and informal institutions act and interact in SBP market in Pazña and Yunchará.

6.4 AN ANALYSIS OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS IN YUNCHARÁ AND PAZÑA SBPS IMPLEMENTATION

On the basis of what has been previously analyzed, the purpose of this section is to examine the relevance of formal and informal institutions in SBPs implementation in Pazña and Yunchará. In particular, their role in the public purchasing process of local products from small scale producers by local governments will be analyzed.

Both NIE theorists and RTD-CI experts consider institutions as represented by formal and informal constraints and as essential to “reduce uncertainty in the world since they are the incentive systems that structure human interaction” (North 2003: 1). Both formal and informal institutions are essential within institutional environments and institutional arrangements. Nevertheless, their interaction is considered fundamental in order to reach stability; in North’s words, the “complex set of constraints that include formal rules nested in a hierarchy and informal constraints” is needed in an economy in order to reach stability (North 1990: 83). Thus, the interaction among formal and informal institutions is essential in an economy (North 1990; North 1991; Zenger et al. 2001; Schejtman & Berdegúé 2004).

In the present work, the analysis refers to a precise institutional arrangement constituted by SBP implementation in two rural territories. According to the realized interviews and to the analysis of the case studies it is possible to observe, in the case of SBP implementation in Yunchará and Pazña, the lack of rigid formal constraints application. As a matter of fact, it has been recognized the prevalence of informal constraints in the relationships among local governments and local small scale producers in the food public purchasing process.

In this regard, on the basis of the previously presented interviews, it is possible to state that the main elements which cause the prevalence of informal rules in this context are: i) the lack of a national law which regulates SBPs implementation in Bolivian municipalities; ii) the scarcity of spread information about the existing regulation; iii) the rigidity of the existing regulation in relation to food public purchase from local small scale producers in the context of SNPs; iv) the unsuitability of the existing regulation to a rural context.

These elements, together with local governments technicians’ will to foster and enhance local products sales and consumption, encourage the involved actors to opt for preferring informal constraints application rather than sticking to an imprecise and ambiguous formal regulation. As a matter of fact, the interviewed local government technician in Yunchará stated that:

“since it does not exist a national law regulating SNPs or a clear and universal regulation which assigns precise functions to the involved organizations, we create our own modus operandi since we are perfectly aware of the characteristics of our people”.

The same was claimed by Pazña SBP supervisor who affirmed that the constant relationship among school breakfast providers and the local government is what make it possible to offer to school children local products. Therefore, it is possible to observe that in the two analyzed cases, formal rules do exist but are not thoroughly applied mainly because formal institutional framework does not respond to the necessities and characteristics of rural areas and it is not properly diffused. In fact, in Yunchará and Pazña the role covered by informal institutions is to “modify, supplement and extend formal rules” (North 1990: 87); hence, examining Yunchará and Pazña cases it is possible to confirm what claimed by some NIE theorists that “formal institutions define the normative system designed by the management whereas informal institutions define the actual behavior of players” (Scott 1981:82).

On the other hand, it is possible to observe the absence of a significant intertwining among informal and formal institutions. As examined in the previous sections, it is the direct involvement of local governments technicians in SBP implementation and the informal adaptation of formal rules to rural realities that made possible local small scale producers involvement in SBPs market. Therefore, it is more the intertwining among formal organizations (local government) and informal institutions which enables this process; as stated by North (North in Schejtman & Berdegúé 2008): “continuous interaction between institutions and organizations in the economic setting of scarcity and hence competition is the key to institutional change”.

According to Schejtman & Berdegúé (2004: 43), for a territory to achieve RTD it is necessary a “complex institutional architecture which is understood to be the regulatory structure that is formed by organizations and institutions”. Furthermore, according to RTD-CI, an institutional framework is considered as functional for the enhancement of RTD if the involved organizations, which in this case are the national government and the local governments, “generate incentives that can help to build up the capacities of rural household and communities to increase the quality and the quantity of their assets in order to improve their living standards” (Schejtman & Berdegúé 2004: 36).

As exposed in the section 6.4, in the analyzed cases, it is possible to notice an important commitment by the local governments technicians to involve small scale producers in SBP market and their engagement together with local small scale producers will to learn, to enhance their sales and to spread their traditional products

starting from the youngest generations. Therefore, it is possible to state that it is the interaction among informal institutions and formal organizations which characterize the process of local small scale producers entry in agri-food public expenditure market therefore it is possible to observe the need of a formal institutional framework which has to be more structured, widely spread and adaptable to a rural context.

In the next section, I will analyze the possibility of an institutional change in SBP implementation landscape especially related to the institutional possibility for local small scale producers to access SBP market in rural municipalities; the possibility will be analyzed both from NIE and RTD-CI perspective.

6.5 SBP IMPACT ON PAZÑA AND YUNCHARÁ RURAL TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ON TERRITORIAL CULTURAL IDENTITY

In this section, some aspects of RTD-CI approach will be taken in consideration in order to relate them to Pazña and Yunchará realities. The aim is to analyze whether or not SBP implementation in the two rural municipalities can be considered as a mean which is likely to enhance Rural Territorial Development of the territories preserving and assessing some aspects of their Cultural Identity which, in this case, is expressed through local products and food preservation and diffusion.

First of all, it will be examined whether or not Yunchará and Pazña can be considered as two territories in which SBPs are contributing to RTD; secondly, it will be analyzed whether or not SBPs are contributing to promote some aspects of the two territories cultural identity by valorizing and preserving local products through their distribution among younger generations. In order to reach this aim, the analysis will also focus on the suitability of the involved institutions for fostering RTD-CI through local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market.

As explained in the theoretical framework, RTD has been defined as a “productive and institutional transformation process of a determined rural space whose purpose is to reduce rural poverty” (Schejtman & Berdegúé 2004: 30). In order to understand if SBP implementation in Yunchará and Pazña can be considered as a mean to foster RTD, it is important to examine whether or not the productive transformation and the institutional development processes are taking place.

Firstly, on the basis of the data collected alongside the field research process, it will be analyzed if productive transformation process is taking place in Pazña and Yunchará; secondly, it will be examined to which level institutional development is affecting the territories reality. Productive transformation process links the economy of a territory with dynamic markets which implies changes in employment and production pattern (Schejtman & Berdegúé 2004).

In Pazña - from the interviews done to three SBP providers and to the nutritionist who took care of supervising school breakfast provision in 2012 and 2013 – it turned out that since local small scale producers' involvement in SBP market, the

employment and the general productive capacity of local producers improved. This happened especially from 2010 when the local government decided not to purchase local products directly from producers' associations anymore; it started to recruit directly individuals who had to take care of the whole breakfast preparation. In this way, school breakfast providers had to buy some products - the ones they did not produce - from Pazña producers. As previously stated, this solution avoided associative problems since the producers' association did not need to take care of the whole process (production, transformation, preparation and delivery) but could still provide – even if indirectly - their products to the public market selling them directly to school breakfast providers.

For this reason, Pazña local producers' associations experienced a growth in the demand of their products which led to a growth in the number of needed employees. According to ASAGALDE president, since 2010 the association felt the need to hire more employers to properly respond to their products demand growth; he stated that currently, the association employers' number is 25% higher than in 2010 and that since he is in charge he never experienced such growth. On the other hand, thanks to the training received by Pazña producers both from the local government and from international cooperation agencies for facilitating their entry in SBP market, their productive capacity increased thanks to the use of more advanced technology and to a better specialization. As a matter of fact they received as donations equipment to improve their work conditions and their hygiene and they had the possibility to attend courses for learning how to handle the bureaucracy. In this respect, a provider stated:

“For us, it was not easy to comply with all the requests from the local government; it was very useful to receive training both from AIPE²⁰ and from the local government. We have been taught to work according to the local government requirements, to respect the basic hygienic rules and to cope with bureaucratic requirements”.

As regards Yunchará, on the basis of the information collected through the interviews to local producers, it is possible to state that their entry in SBP market, a dynamic and safe market, forced them to enhance their productive capacity and ability. For example, they began a process of learning how to work in an association thanks to the direct support received from local government technicians and

²⁰ A bolivian association: Asociación de Instituciones de promoción y educación.

PAESMA. They learnt to understand that working in associations increases their productive capacity allowing them to sell their products in more than one market. In four years they saw continuous improvements in their working skills, notwithstanding the difficulties they faced and keep coping with.

From the interviews done to two associations which are selling their products to SBP market, it has been detected that both of them increased the number of their employers throughout the years. The first one - which produces green beans and transforms them in green beans milk - stated that at the beginning, the associations' members were 5 whereas they are currently working in 15 people and they are thinking of including more in the next years; the second one – which produces green beans and sells green beans biscuits and cakes – was constituted in 2012 just for the purpose of accessing SBP market. It is formed by 18 women who saw the necessity to create an association in order to work together for the same purpose: to boost their sales. One of them stated that before the association was created, they were producing a small quantity of green beans without even managing to sell them; they saw in SBP a secure market and they received local government financial and material help to form the association. Since 2012, their sales significantly increased (5%) and now they are planning to keep providing their products to SBP but, at the same time, to sell their products to other markets, for example in the town of Tarija.

Finally, it is possible to state that, according to the collected data, both Pazña and Yunchará are experiencing changes in employment and production patterns. As a matter of fact both of them managed to improve their productive skills and productive capacity thanks to external support and to a strong will. On the other hand, in both territories, according to both the local government and the producers' associations it is possible to notice a relevant growth in the employment rate in the productive field. Therefore, the important linkage between Pazña and Yunchará productive realities and a new dynamic market represented by SBP is bringing relevant changes both in the employment and in the productive capacity of local producers.

As regards institutional development process, its function is to encourage cooperation processes between local actors both among themselves and with external actors aiming at modifying formal and informal rules which reproduce marginalization in the productive transformation processes (Schejtman & Berdegué 2004). From the analysis conducted in the previous sections, it is possible to observe

an important commitment both from Pazña and Yunchará local governments to re-adapt the existing formal institutional framework in order to facilitate small scale producers' entry in SBP market. In Pazña, the local government adopted ANPE as recruitment modality elaborating its own DBC whose main purpose is to “*encourage local providers entry in SBP market*” (Pazña Official Mayor); the Official Mayor added that they keep refusing proposals from the large national enterprise “PIL” which produces and sells milk to a national and international level and whose aim is to be recruited for milk distribution to the educational units:

“The price they offer is very competitive. They sell their milk in little bags which are easy to transport and they dispose of the Health Registration. It would be easier to buy milk directly from them; the reason why we never accepted is that Pazña is an area where the number of local milk producers is very high and our main goal is to boost local production. Furthermore, our milk is naturally produced and healthier. For this reason we added in our DBC - among the requirements for milk distribution to the educational units - that milk has to be served hot. PIL does not distribute hot milk, this is a requirement that just local providers could respect”.

The current formal institutions cannot be considered thoroughly suitable for a rural reality. As it has been explained in the first section it exists a formal framework whose aim is to privilege local small scale producers' entry in SBP market; nevertheless these formal norms are not adequately known by national organizations especially because they are not gathered in an official law specifically designed for SNPs implementation. Local governments dispose of a large autonomy as regards SNPs and their involvement changes according to their territorial reality.

In Pazña, local government intent is to invest part of its resources in facilitating local small scale producers' entry in SBP market; for this reason they count on a specialized local government technician who is specifically hired to create a cooperation relationship among local providers and local government. His/her role is to facilitate more and more their cooperation by creating a mutual trust relationship and by adapting the formal requirements to their reality. Furthermore, both the local government, national and local cooperation agencies do put efforts in improving technical and cooperation skills also among the producers themselves.

In Yunchará it is also observable a strong intent to enhance cooperation processes among local actors for the purpose of succeeding in improving a dynamic market by offering to local educational units a breakfast composed by local products in its

totality. Yunchará finds itself on the way to reach this goal although the path keeps being long and difficult. Also in this case it is possible to notice, on the one hand an intent to adapt to the formal institutional framework established by national organizations and on the other hand the effort to modify it formally and informally adapting it to their rural territorial reality in order to include – even if not completely – local producers in the public purchasing process.

As same as in Pazña, also in Yunchará, local government technicians play a fundamental role in creating and encouraging a fruitful relationship among the local government and the producers by establishing a constant contact and consequently a mutual trust relationship. As a matter of fact, the majority of Yunchará producers' associations has been created ad hoc, on local government's suggestion, in order to facilitate local producers' inclusion process. Furthermore, in many cases the technicians have been directly involved in the associations reality by working with the producers in order to teach them how to respect hygienic conditions, how to bag the products and so on.

To conclude, it is possible to state that both Pazña and Yunchará local organizations are striving to enhance cooperation processes among the involved actors through financial, material and personal support for the purpose of boosting local production and employment and of enlarging the possible markets for local producers.

As mentioned before, another important aspect of RTD-CI approach is Cultural Identity. Several factors contribute to create a territory cultural identity: native production and typical food is one of them; according to RTD-CI approach, valuing cultural and natural assets of a territory is relevant in order to maintain its cultural features and its traditions by preserving and developing them and by transmitting them to future generations.

As it has been shown in the section 6.1, both Yunchará and Pazña local governments aim at increasing more and more the percentage of local products in school breakfast provision. Their aim is to preserve native products trying to transmit to younger generations the importance of valorizing and knowing native production and local food traditions. According to municipal technicians – both from Yunchará and Pazña – it is not easy for the students to appreciate local products since they are

used to consume junk food. Nevertheless, in both the municipalities, it was possible to observe a rapid change in students' consumption patterns.

According to a professor from Yunchará, when school breakfast was first introduced, products as quinoa and oats were completely refused by the majority of students even if they were very hungry²¹; the school cook stated that:

“a lot of students did not want to eat quinoa since they were convinced that it caused them headache; they preferred eating pasta or rice. They did not like milk made from green beans although is a very traditional and local product”.

The professor added that, in two years the situation has already changed, the number of students who entirely reject school breakfast significantly reduced. This happened also because parents started - on school professors' suggestion - to transmit them the value of local products:

“some parents told me that they even started to show their sons the productive process of some of the territorial traditional products since they realized how important is to transmit such values”.

The behavior changed throughout the years and now a high number of students appreciate the provision of local breakfast as one of them claimed:

“it is important to know our own culture and traditions. A lot of us have parents who are producers and we appreciate what the school is doing for them and for us. It is better to eat healthy and fresh food”.

On the other hand, Pazña nutritionist affirmed that it was not easy to make students appreciate local products, they prefer to eat unhealthy and tasty food and they are conditioned by what the majority does.

“It took time for our students to get used to eating healthy and local food; at the beginning some girls were not even drinking milk since they were obsessed with their diet”.

Nevertheless, also in Pazña students' behavior significantly change, especially among the younger ones:

²¹ For the majority of them school breakfast represents the only complete meal of their day.

“it was easier to transmit the importance of eating local products to younger students since they are more open and they listen more carefully what professors try to teach them. Plus, they learn since the beginning the importance of a healthy nutrition. On the contrary, students from 12 to 15/16 years old are more difficult to persuade”. In this regard, a school professor added that “it is not easy to transmit to teenagers the importance of a healthy and balanced nutrition: either they don’t eat at all because they are afraid to put on weight, or they prefer junk food and unhealthy snacks”. Another professor also added that “one of the problems is that just out of the school there is a kiosk which sell every kind of snack and students prefer to buy something for breakfast there since the prices are very affordable”.

Regarding this, the nutritionist stated that Pazña local government together with ASAGALDE and other local producers are trying to implement an initiative which consists of convincing the lady who works at the kiosk to sell just fruit one day per week.

It can be stated that both in Pazña and in Yunchará is taking place a process of transmission of the value and the importance of local products and traditional food. Local producers are increasing their sales and young students are learning to appreciate the value of their territory and traditions. Nevertheless, it is a long and hard process which does not depend solely on local government, schools and local small scale producers’ will and action; as a matter of fact, familiar dynamics are essential in order to preserve and value CI of local food and products.

As exposed in the chapter dedicated to the theoretical framework, CI is a concept characterized by different dimensions: i) a sense of belonging to a social group with shared cultural characteristics, language, values and beliefs; ii) its origins are intricately linked to a territory; iii) it is not a fixed and rigid concept, it can be recreated individually and collectively being fueled by external influence. In Pazña and Yunchará cases, on the basis of the collected data, it is possible to identify the will of local producers, school professors and local government technicians to transmit and influence CI importance to students by: i) making them feel part of a defined social group with unique gastronomic and productive traditions; ii) transmit the important bond existing between the products offered during school breakfast and their own territory.

To conclude, it is possible to state that both in Yunchará and in Pazña it is possible to notice the presence of some of RTD-CI elements: i) the involvement of local governments and active local organizations; ii) partnerships between key actors; iv)

favorable public policies; v) interested local schools. Nevertheless the institutional architecture which characterize SBPs is still too weak for a complete fostering and boosting of RTD. Furthermore, just considering the collected data, it is not possible to affirm that CI is being successfully transmitted and valued through SBPs implementation. Nevertheless, it is certainly possible to state that a process of CI valorization is taking place through SBPs implementation.

6.6 THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In this section, I will analyze an important element which is of fundamental relevance both for NIE and RTD-CI approach: *institutional change*; the main aim is to examine whether or not institutional change - as meant by NIE and considered by RTD-CI - is necessary in the two analyzed realities and how it could happen.

According to North (1990: 83), change is mainly characterized by “marginal adjustments to the complex of rules, norms, and enforcement that constitute the institutional framework”. Therefore, in order to reach institutional change it is necessary to achieve the shift of both formal and informal institutions and with it the transformation of their enforcement features. North (1990) claims that a large number of institutional changes take place at the margin. Formal and informal rules can be subject to minimal changes which, over time, can bring forward to a transformation of the entire institutional framework; nevertheless, the process of institutional change is slow.

According to North (1990: 73), if organizations and their “actors” engage actively in order to reach an objective, they can be considered as the “agents of institutional change” shaping its direction. As previously presented, in the cases of Yunchará and Pazña formal institutional framework is not highly developed - or rather, it is not properly applied - as it has been stated by local government technicians, local producers and local government authorities. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe a relevant commitment from local organizations and a strong interaction among them - in this case local governments and producers’ associations - and informal institutions.

In the presented cases, informal institutions are represented by various elements: first of all, by mutual trust among local governments and local producers; secondly, by what it is possible to consider “*peer control*”, in other words by the sense of

belonging to a community and the necessity to behave accordingly to the community principles and ideals.

In fact, according to North (2002), informal norms can be considered as norms of behavior whose enforcement features are different than the ones of formal rules. As a matter of fact, “formal rules are enforced by courts and things like that. Informal norms are enforced usually by your peers or others who will impose costs on you if you do not live up to them” (North 2002: 19). Although in the case of formal institutions breach, an individual has to face the imposition of formal sanctions, within an institutional arrangement where informal institutions play a major role, an individual has to cope with informal sanction which in this case are represented mainly by social exclusion and loss of reputation. As stated by a local government technician in Pazña,

“facing social exclusion in this community is the most serious and harsh sanction an individual could possibly face”.

Therefore, in the presented cases it is possible to appreciate a high level of interaction among organizations and informal institutions whereas formal institutions do require a transformation. As a matter of fact, it is possible to distinguish between personalized exchange and impersonal arrangements (Nye 2008); Pazña and Yunchará local governments commercial relationship with local small scale producers can be considered on the one side as part of impersonal arrangements since there are general rules which regulate their exchanges; however, on the other side it can be looked at as a personalized exchange since informal institutions play a fundamental role. According to NIE theorist Nye (2008), personalized exchange will always be essential in any institutional arrangement but counting on the existence of a consolidated formal institutional framework would lead to a more efficient system.

On the basis of what observed and noticed, it is important to underline the fact that in Yunchará and Pazña local governments manage to purchase local products since it exists a set of informal rules which make the process possible. Nevertheless, it is undeniable the necessity of a more solid formal institutional framework which has to be suitable to rural realities.

Nevertheless, institutional change is a very slow process which is not easy to carry out. NIE experts argue that formal rules are easier to change than informal ones;

according to North (1990) it is possible to change formal rules with political or judicial decisions, on the other hand informal rules are more difficult to transform since they have much deeper roots. In this respect, Roland (2004) distinguishes institutions into two categories: slow-moving and fast-moving. In SBP case it is needed the change of fast-moving institutions which, on the other side, do need to be changed through the interactions among formal and informal organizations and institutions. In conclusion, it is possible to state that an institutional change is needed in order to facilitate the process of rural small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs in rural areas and to foster a process of RTD according to the concept that "the regulatory structure that is formed by organizations and institutions and RTD calls for a complex institutional architecture" (Schejtman & Berdegúe 2004: 43).

7 CONCLUSIONS

In this section, the conclusions to my study will be presented. Firstly, the empirical findings will be exposed in order to provide an answer to the sub-research questions and ultimately to the problem formulation. Secondly, the possibilities of future research keeping the present work as starting point will be prospected.

The present study aimed at analyzing local small scale producers' actual possibilities of accessing agri-food public purchasing market and in particular, SBP market in Bolivia by examining the institutional framework dynamics which characterize this type of market in the chosen case studies: Pazña and Yunchará. The study also sought to examine the possible impact that local small scale producers' entry in SBP market could generate on the municipalities RTD and CI valorization. The paper sought to answer the following problem formulation:

Which role do formal and informal institutions play in local small scale producers' entry on SBPs market in Bolivian rural municipalities and which impact does their entry cause in the Rural Territorial Development of the considered territories?

Furthermore, the paper aimed at providing an answer to the four sub-research questions: in Pazña and Yunchará, i) to which degree are small scale producers included in school breakfast programs? ii) what are the main aspects which influence local small scale producers' adaptation to the formal institutional framework regulating SBPs market? iii) which are the strategies applied in order to include the small scale producers into the school nutrition programs by buying their products? iv) can SBPs institutional framework related to local small scale producers' entry in the market favor rural territorial development and cultural identity enhancement in Yunchará and Pazña?

According to the presented data, it is possible to state that local small scale producers' inclusion level in Pazña and Yunchará increased throughout the years. In the present work, I measured the inclusion level by considering the percentage of local products - offered as breakfast to local educational units – which are directly bought from local small scale producers. On the basis of the analyzed data, both in Yunchará and Pazña, it is possible to observe a general increase in the local products

offered to school children during breakfast distribution. Furthermore, both local governments expressed their will to increment the percentage in the next years.

Alongside the research, several difficulties which hinder local small scale producers' access to SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña have been identified, among which: i) difficulties in fulfilling the contracts; ii) lack of adequate associative abilities; iii) lack of proper knowledge of the current legal framework; iv) presence of regulatory vacuums. It could be stated that the above presented obstacles can be related to the general difficulty for local small scale producers to meet the formal requirements and to respect the current formal institutional framework which regulates SBPs market.

Throughout the analysis of the actions implemented by Yunchará and Pazña local governments - for the purpose of overcoming the obstacles which hinder local products sale for school breakfast provision - it has been observed that mutual trust and peer control are the two fundamental elements which allow local small scale producers to bring forward a profitable exchange relationship with local governments. From interviews to both Pazña and Yunchará school breakfast providers and local government technicians, it emerged that in the two municipalities everyone knows everybody; local providers care about the health of school children and they would never cause them any harm. Furthermore, social reputation is a strong constraint which force local providers to work properly.

As regards RTD-CI, according to the analyzed data, it can be stated that it is possible to observe an intense intent from Pazña and Yunchará local governments to foster processes of cooperation among the involved actors. Nevertheless, considering RTD-CI approach, it is not possible to state that SBP market are characterized by a solid and strong institutional architecture. As a matter of fact, it has been noticed the prevalence of informal institutions in the process of SBPs regulation in the two municipalities.

To conclude, based on the evidence it is possible to affirm that as NIE theorists strongly believe, institutions and organizations are important agents which influence and support economic activity. In fact, both institutions and organizations strongly influence SBPs market dynamics in Pazña and Yunchará. Nevertheless, the formal institutional framework - which is currently regulating SBPs in Bolivia - is not well

developed since it does not exist a national law which formally regulates SNPs implementation and it cannot be considered as suitable to a rural reality in which local small scale producers aim at accessing this kind of market.

The reasons which can explain what has been just examined are several. Firstly, the formal requirements are too rigid and often impossible to meet for those living in rural areas with a low level of available technology. Secondly, the information related to the formal institutional framework is not adequately spread and it is possible to identify a serious lack of coordination and communication among the national government and the rural local governments. Therefore, it is possible to confirm NIE statement according to which “formal institutions define the normative system designed by the management whereas informal institutions define the actual behavior of players” (Scott 1981: 82). On this basis, it can be observed the strong need of formal institutions which de facto allow rural producers to operate in SBP market and which can be considered as suitable and adaptable to a rural reality.

As regards RTD, on the one side - according to the collected information - it has been observed that SBPs contributed to foster the productive capacity of local small scale producers both in Pazña and Yunchará. It has been noticed that, since their inclusion in SBP market, both Pazña and Yunchará small scale producers experienced a growth in products demand, an increase in the employment opportunities for local producers and an increase in local producers' income. Furthermore, due to the training process promoted by the local government and cooperation agencies, local small scale producers productive capacity was boosted and they could afford more technological and advanced equipment thanks both to donations and training. On the other side, also from RTD-CI perspective, it is possible to underline the necessity of the development of a more suitable and solid institutional architecture in order to allow SBPs to actually cause an important impact on the RTD of the municipalities.

As explained, the aim of the study was to analyze institutional dynamics characterizing local small scale producers' entry in SBPs market in Yunchará and Pazña and to examine the possible enhancement this could bring to RTD. In order to reach this aim, two different realities have been analyzed. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify possible future research topics which could enhance and enrich the current empirical findings and the conclusions of the present study.

Firstly, local small scale producers' inclusion in SBPs market could be analyzed considering more case studies belonging to different ecological floors in Bolivia. In this regard, it would be relevant to include the case of municipalities in which local governments attempted to facilitate local producers' inclusion in the market without succeeding in the aim. Secondly, the analysis could focus on the comparison among local small scale producers' level of inclusion in rural municipalities and in urban areas. In this way, it could be deeply examined whether or not the current institutional framework is suitable to local small scale producers' inclusion in urban areas. Thirdly, it would be interesting to conduct a study which examines national public and political organizations which influence SBPs implementation and local small scale producers' inclusion, analyzing their potential role in facilitating their access. Furthermore, a study could be elaborated about local small scale producers' inclusion process in the complexity of SNPs in Bolivian municipalities; thus, considering also school lunch and morning or afternoon snacks distribution. Finally, local small scale producers' inclusion level in Bolivian SBPs or SNPs market could be compared with the situation in other Latin American countries leaving more space to the importance of CI valorization.

All this considered, the present paper also wishes to underline the importance of local small scale producers' inclusion in any kind of agri-food market, despite the difficulties the process may imply. It is undeniable the positive effect that such inclusion could create on the local economy and on local development especially since it may strongly contribute to the increase in local productive capacity and technology. Furthermore, consuming local products would help to boost - among other things - the preservation and transmission of a valuable aspect of territorial identity and culture.

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9 ANNEXES

9.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TRAScription

In this section, the semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the field work in Pazña and Yunchará will be transcribed. The semi-structured interviews have been recorded and the trascription is literal; it will be realized in the language in which the interviews have been realized: spanish.

9.1.1 PAZÑA

INTERVIEW TO PAZÑA LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFICIAL MAYOR:

¿Cuándo se empezó a proveer el desayuno escolar a las unidades educativas en Pazña? ¿Los productos ofrecidos han siempre sido de origen local?

En Pazña se empezó a proveer desayuno escolar en el 2005. El proceso ha sido gradual, se empezó entregando a una sola unidad educativa y ahora se entrega a todas las unidades educativas y a todos los estudiantes. Parte de los productos ofrecidos ha siempre sido de origen local.

¿Qué tipo de productos ofrecen a las unidades educativas?

Los productos de origen local que al momento se ofrecen son: la leche y derivados como yogurt, flan, chocolate con leche, avena con leche, api y tojorí, productos solidos a base de quinua y trigo.

¿Quién, en el municipio, se encarga de los Programas de Alimentación Escolar (PAE)?

En el municipio, hay una encargada que se ocupa de la supervisión de higiene, calidad de productos: la supervisora del desayuno escolar, que puede ser una enfermera o una nutricionista encargadas por el municipio.

¿El nivel de desnutrición infantil ha cambiado desde cuando ofrecen Desayuno Escolar? ¿Cómo reaccionan los estudiantes cuando se les ofrecen productos locales?

Según el censo de salud hay mejoras en la nutrición de los niños gracias a la entrega de productos locales y saludables durante el desayuno escolar porque se integraron elementos nutritivos. Además el nivel de atención durante las clases y los resultados han mejorado mucho. Ha subido el porcentaje de estudiantes que ingresan exitosamente a la universidad.

Al comienzo los niños no estaban acostumbrados al tipo de alimentación que se les ofrecía, preferían comida menos saludable pero que según ellos era más gustosa. Ahora los estudiantes están acostumbrados desde pequeños a comer de forma saludable en la escuela y les gusta.

¿Qué nivel de conocimiento tienen acerca de la normativa relativa a los PAE?

El nivel de conocimiento normativo no es elevado tampoco por parte de los técnicos del municipio.

¿Han introducidos nuevas normas municipales de acuerdo al sistema de descentralización?

El municipio no elaboró una normativa específica relacionada al desayuno escolar pero se está pensando elaborarla para fortalecer y perfeccionar el proceso.

¿Que porcentaje del presupuesto municipal para las compras públicas agroalimentarias se destina al DE ? Reciben apoyo financiero ? Por parte de quién?

En el último año de gestión, el presupuesto para el PDE fue de 600.000. El presupuesto ha ido aumentando durante los años:

- 2005: 200.000bs
- 2006: 200.000bs
- 2007: 350.000bs
- 2008: 350.000bs
- 2009: 450.000bs
- 2010: 450.000bs

- 2011: 450.000bs
- 2012: 500.000bs
- 2013: 600.000bs

¿Cuáles son las modalidades de contratación de los proveedores locales?

El proceso de contratación de los proveedores es el ANPE. Se hace una convocatoria mediante SICOES y los proveedores se presentan, presentan su oferta y se eligen a los que hacen la mejor oferta.

¿Qué rol tienen las juntas escolares en el proceso de implementación del DE? Los padres de familia? ¿Los profesores?

Las juntas escolares: no tienen un rol fundamental. Antes elaboraban el desayuno escolar y aportaban con productos ahora que la práctica está más consolidada no cooperan.

¿Quién está encargado de la entrega de los productos a las unidades educativas?

Los mismos proveedores se ocupan de la preparación del desayuno y de su entrega.

¿Cuáles son las modalidades de pago?

Los proveedores del desayuno escolares tienen NIT y están con la matricula de comercio. Emiten facturas, si no facturan venden los productos con un porcentaje de descuento y se compra con recibo.

¿Los proveedores que se encargan de la provisión del desayuno escolar, cuentan con el registro SENASAG?

Los proveedores locales no tienen Registro SENASAG pero el municipio se ocupa, a través de su propio personal, de certificar la calidad de los productos ofrecidos haciendo seguimiento constante, analizando los productos y enviandolos a laboratorios específicos por lo menos una vez por año. Es el municipio mismo que se ocupa de certificar la calidad de los productos porque el certificado no se otorga facilmente pero se están buscando formas para poder lograr el registro sanitario.

¿Quién se encarga, en el municipio, de la evaluación de la calidad de los productos entregados, de la entrega y de la cantidad?

El supervisor o la supervisora de desayuno escolar. El año pasado era una nutricionista este año ya no es la misma pero es siempre una nutricionista.

¿Cuáles son los principales beneficios y problemas de comprar desde proveedores locales?

Hay muchas dificultades relacionadas a la compra de productos locales directamente desde los pequeños productores locales. En primer lugar hace falta un compromiso por parte del mismo municipio.

¿Que perspectivas futuras ven? ¿Merece la pena distribuir el desayuno escolar comprando los productos directamente desde los productores locales?

En el futuro queremos incentivar los productores a mejorar las plantas procesadoras, efectuar trueque con los otros municipios que compren desde productores locales y sacar algunas normas.

El municipio de Pazña ofrece desayuno escolar con productos locales desde hace muchos años y es una práctica consolidada de la cual el municipio está orgulloso así que estoy convencido de que se continuará en la misma línea, también porque la inversión económica del municipio en el desayuno escolar es alta y se queda en el municipio mismo.

*INTERVIEW TO A PAZÑA LOCAL GOVERNMENT TECHNICIAN WHICH
WORKS IN THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT:*

¿Cuáles son los principales beneficios y problemas de comprar desde proveedores locales?

El apoyo a la producción local dentro del ámbito del municipio tiene la ventaja de hacer que los recursos se mantengan al interior del municipio mismo para que puedan generar también fuentes de trabajo.

Puedo hacerle el ejemplo de la asociación de lecheros que proveyó el desayuno escolar al municipio durante 2 años: ASAGALDE mediante Rolando Heredia que sigue siendo el presidente de la asociación. Los resultados no fueron muy positivos por varias razones: entre los asociados no existe gente capacitada a elaborar productos

con harina para la porción sólida. Han habido muchas quejas por parte de los padres de familia. Eso pasó porque quien se adjudica la provisión del desayuno escolar se tiene que encargar tanto de la parte líquida como de la parte sólida. Esto es solo un ejemplo, hay muchos más. Para solucionar este problema, en Pazña se centralizó la entrega del desayuno escolar. En el municipio de Pazña ahora hay 3 proveedores que se encargan de proveer desayuno escolar a todas las unidades educativas. Los proveedores son individuales, no están asociados porque hay una fuerte debilidad asociativa, las asociaciones en la mayoría de los casos tienen dificultades en funcionar por problemas internos. El precio que el municipio paga por niño puede variar desde los 2,30 Bs por niño hasta los 2,40 Bs por niño. Este año es de 2,30 Bs. El precio varía cada año porque depende del precio que ofrecen los proveedores, obviamente el municipio elige a los proveedores que ofrecen el mejor precio. Esto hace que se entre en competencia entre proveedores.

AIPE ayudó mucho a los proveedores. Capacitó a las personas para que vean como es la manera de emprender una empresa, como se hace para cumplir los requisitos para poder entregar el DE. AIPE intervino y capacitó a las personas interesadas. Les enseñó como rellenar los formularios, como hacer una propuesta, capacitación en el tema de transformación de la leche: como elaborar la leche, como hacer el proceso de pasteurización. AIPE misma, que es una ONG, tomó la iniciativa. Ahí es donde empieza a haber un cambio.

Otro problema que dificulta la relación entre municipio y proveedores es el congelamiento de cuentas del gobierno municipal por no haber hecho la declaración ante el ministerio de economía y finanzas a tiempo. Eso causa una tardanza en los pagos por parte del gobierno municipal. El GAM de Pazña siempre sufre de estos tipos de problemas y los proveedores se quedan por 2 o 3 meses sin pago. El GAM se atrasa por problemas burocráticos, por falta de puntualidad en las declaraciones o entregas de informes, inestabilidad de un funcionario porque el cheque se paga con la firma del alcalde y la del oficial mayor administrativo. Si cambia el oficial mayor dejando el cheque sin firma se tiene que hacer un trámite con el banco y eso atrasa el pago. Todo esto crea varios problemas porque los proveedores viven con este pago pero el GAM tiene que respetar la burocracia. Por otro lado los proveedores se ven obligados a no interrumpir su trabajo porque no se puede interrumpir el desayuno

escolar. De todas formas, los proveedores ven en el GAM un mercado seguro y estable. De hecho los ingresos de los proveedores que entregan DE aumentaron del 10%.

Hay también muchas quejas por el atraso en la entrega pero si se quiere un producto de calidad y caliente a veces pueden verificarse retrasos. Las quejas en la mayoría de los casos vienen de los profesores y de los padres de familia. A veces también los estudiantes se quejan pero es raro que lo hagan porqué a veces prefieren no decir nada. Hace un año se llevó la leche a hacer un análisis de calidad y resultó que la leche de Pazña es una leche de buena calidad y siendo una leche de altiplano es espesa y densa, está dentro de los parámetros de requerimientos de nutrientes y grasas. A veces pasó que se presentó una grande empresa queriendo proveer productos al municipio y ofreciendo precios más bajos y competitivos pero la norma municipal claramente requiere proveedores que ofrezcan productos locales así que las empresas no pueden adjudicarse la provisión del DE porqué no cumplen con este requisito. Otra dificultad para los proveedores es que el GAM solo los contrata por un año así que al final del contrato ellos no saben si seguirán siendo contratados.

¿Los cambios en las gestiones administrativas condicionan la implementación del DE en el municipio ?

No, el alcalde de Pazña era uno de los 8 mejores alcaldes de Bolivia por el tema de gobernabilidad, utilización de los recursos. Empezó el proyecto “cursos de panificación y elaboración de masitas” en el municipio de Pazña. El cambio del alcalde, el cambio de gestión nunca influyó sobre la práctica de desayuno escolar, eso porque es una práctica exitosa y consolidada. Desde 2010 hasta el 2014 han cambiado 4 alcaldes por varios factores pero nunca se cambió la política de desayuno escolar. Hay continuidad en este sentido.

¿Cómo hacen los proveedores para entregar todos los desayunos a las unidades educativas?

El transporte de los productos es un tema. El mismo proveedor, con sus ayudantes se encarga del transporte a las unidades educativas. El producto tiene que llegar caliente y con puntualidad. Además hay que tener cuidado porqué por ejemplo la leche es un producto bastante delicado que se puede descomponer.

¿Los proveedores no cuentan con el registro SENASAG. Cómo es posible?

El SENASAG es un registro que no se consigue con facilidad, en vez de ir a favor del municipio puede ir en contra del municipio mismo porque dada la dificultad de lograr el registro, el municipio se ve obligado a requerir servicios de grandes empresas que no son locales. La información es poco clara. De acuerdo al SABS los proveedores no están obligados a contar con SENASAG. No está estipulado que debe existir algún control de SENASAG. En el SABS están todas las especificaciones de como debe ser el desayuno, de cada producto se enumeran los valores nutricionales etc. se habla de las características de los ambientes de producción y elaboración de los productos.

Yo creo que no haga falta contar con SENASAG, lo que importa es que los proveedores sean controlados periódicamente por una persona competente contratada por el municipio. Hay un supervisor por eso. Además se sabe que los proveedores son del mismo municipio y entonces nunca proveerían un producto de mala calidad porque muchos de ellos tienen hijos o nietos en los colegios y no le harían daño. El municipio sabe eso y confía en los productores. Si los proveedores fallan o entregan un producto malo tienen que enfrentar a todos los padres de familia y a la comunidad entera. La relación de confianza entre los proveedores y el gobierno municipal es de fundamental importancia. Si se rompiera esta confianza entre GAM y proveedor no se podría continuar a proveer desayuno escolar con productos locales.

¿Cuál es la tarea del supervisor de DE?

Su tarea es de controlar el higiene de los alimentos, la limpieza, si se están distribuyendo las raciones de la forma acordada con el municipio al momento de la contratación y de acuerdo al DBC. Es una supervisión directa. El supervisor se encarga de controlar donde se producen/elaboran los alimentos, el tema de calidad (aunque sea un tema delicado porque por ejemplo el hecho de que la leche tenga otro sabor no significa que esté descompuesta, porque hay que controlar el nivel de acidez). El tema de la calidad es muy delicado porque en muchos casos cuando los niños se sienten mal de estomago se le atribuye la responsabilidad a los productos ofrecidos durante el desayuno escolar. Pero no siempre es así porque habría que analizar los hábitos alimentarios de los niños también afuera del colegio.

¿Los patrones de consumo de los niños cambiaron a lo largo de los años?

Es muy difícil contentar las preferencias de todos los niños (grado de dulzura, facilidad de digerir). Es difícil acostumbrar a los niños a una alimentación sana y completa. En muchos casos los estudiantes prefieren comprar su desayuno o merienda al kioskito de la escuela donde venden de todo. Desde cuando se empezó a proveer el desayuno escolar en los colegios, los niños aprendieron a comer más sano y durante los horarios preestablecidos. Lo que más consumen con gusto es la ración solida, no les gusta mucho la leche o el yogur, no son muy lecheros. Habría que hacer un curso para los chicos al fin de enseñarles el valor nutricional que tiene la leche y la importancia para su salud de una alimentación sana y completa. Habría que incluir también a los padres de familia para que cambien los hábitos a partir de los hogares, de las familias, para que los niños se acostumbren desde pequeños a consumir todos los alimentos necesarios para su salud. En muchos casos los niños siguen los hábitos de los padres porque a veces no consumen la leche de los productores locales sino la leche en bolsitas. Eso es raro porque la mayoría de los niños son hijos de productores. Todo eso depende de la educación y del entorno, de los prejuicios, de los amigos.

¿De dónde adquieren los productos los proveedores locales?

Los proveedores producen parte de los insumos y compran los otros productos directamente de los productores locales de Pazña para luego procesarlos.

*INTERVIEW TO PAZÑA SBP SUPERVISOR:***¿Como funciona el desayuno escolar en Pazña?:**

Se contratan a varios proveedores cada uno de los cuales se ocupa de proveer todas las raciones del desayuno escolar a algunas unidades educativas del municipio. Antes de la contratación, los proveedores se presentan con su propuesta, eligen a los items (los colegios) que mas les conviene y que mas queden cerca. La producción y elaboración son locales y cada proveedor tiene que asegurarse de cumplir con los requisitos de calidad y higiene de los procesos.

¿Cuál es su tarea?

El supervisor del desayuno escolar se encarga de supervisar cada día el trabajo de los proveedores. Cada mañana y a veces por la noche. Controla la higiene personal, si el uniforme es adecuado, si tiene guantes, mandil, pantalones adecuados. Hay

proveedores que usan botas. Controlan que el ambiente sea adecuado; uno de los requisitos es que tiene que ser de cemento. La leche es el producto más utilizado. Los proveedores van a recolectar leche de los productores de la zona. Yo evalúo de donde se compra la leche, si la leche es elaborada y almacenada en la forma correcta, controlan que durante la elaboración no pierda sus nutrientes.

¿Quién establece el menú del DE y cómo es?

El menú lo establezco yo con otros técnicos del municipio. Es variado. El año pasado también decidimos incluir a las frutas para proveer una alimentación lo más completa posible. Antes el menú se caracterizaba por una presencia importante de la leche. El año pasado vimos que los niños se cansaban porque el desayuno no era muy variado. Entonces decidimos cambiar los menús introduciendo nuevos productos y variando cada día, dando yogur, leche caliente y ya no más fría. Los niños se empalagaban. Introdujimos yogur frutado, que fue muy bien tolerado. Yo me encargo de establecer los menus y de controlar la manipulación de los alimentos, que el transporte sea correcto.

¿Como recepcionaron al cambio de los menus y de los patrones de consumo?

A los niños les gusta la leche pero a veces prefieren variar porque se cansan. Entonces se introdujo el api que es muy nutritivo con buñuelo. Luego se introdujo la ensalada de fruta con queque y yogur con plátano y yogur frutado. Se intenta hacer un menú lo más variado posible para que los niños no se empalaguen y cansen de lo que comen en la escuela y para evitar que prefieran ir a comprar productos pocos saludables en los kioscos. Las porciones no son muy abundantes y hay que asegurarse que todos tengan la misma cantidad. Así que se pesa y se mide todo. Los estudiantes se cansan fácilmente. Y además a veces las chicas más grande rechazan la leche porque tienen miedo de engordar.

¿Los proveedores tienen dificultades en elaborar los productos y en cumplir con entregar productos que cada día son distintos?

Si, a veces tienen dificultades. Pero por ejemplo cuando se introdujo la fruta han tenido descanso porque ya no tenían que elaborar masitas cada día y por eso han estado satisfechos. A veces el transporte complica las cosas. Porque la leche tiene que llegar caliente a destinación y durante el transporte la ponen en un recipiente cerrado

y a veces fermenta y hay que postergar el desayuno escolar. A veces los proveedores no tienen un medio de transporte adecuado y se ven obligados a usar motos. Si la moto tiene problemas, si la comida se cae, si los perros compromiten el transporte, todo eso constituye un problema. Pero tienen un buen ingreso económico y estable. Es un mercado que conviene.

¿Los padres de familia tienen algún rol en la distribución del DE?

Los padres de familia ya no tienen roles en el desayuno escolar. Ahora están bastante satisfechos, las únicas quejas a veces se refieren a la puntualidad

9.1.2 YUNCHARÁ

INTERVIEW TO A YUNCHARA LOCAL GOVERNMENT TECHNICIAN WHICH WORKS IN THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT²²:

¿Me puede hablar de la implementación del desayuno escolar en Yunchará?

En Yunchará se empezó a trabajar de manera más fuerte con el desayuno escolar a partir del 2012. La alcaldesa empezó su gestión a mediados de 2010. Ella quiso involucrar las comunidades en la Alimentación Complementaria Escolar. En 2011 tenían convenios con PAESMA de PMA donde PAESMA era contratada para conseguir los productos locales. El manejo lo hacían ellos. En 2012 se quiso aumentar el presupuesto destinado al DE y a otros programas vinculados al desayuno escolar. Como por ejemplo el programa desnutrición cero. Yunchará concursó para ganar un paquete de invernaderos para las unidades educativas y ganó. Ahora el 70% de las unidades educativas tienen invernaderos. En el 2012 se quiso trabajar más con todas las asociaciones del municipio pero hubieron problemas con una asociación de ganaderos. Ellos tenían que proveer carne fresca y charque de llama pero su capacidad para hacer la segunda entrega no existió. Los socios no querían dar las llamas para el desayuno escolar porque tenían muy pocas, entonces las unidades educativas se quedaron sin carne. Los padres de familia aportan carne, leche, productos varios para complementar con los productos ya provistos por el municipio. Es un acuerdo verbal que se hace entre la unidad educativa y la comunidad. A causa

²² The interviewee decided to talk freely after my first general question about SBPs implementation in Yunchará.

de este problema, la relación entre PAESMA y el municipio se arruinó. Porque había un convenio firmado con PAESMA que terminó al final de 2012.

¿Qué porcentaje del presupuesto municipal para las compras agroalimentaria se destina al DE?

- 2010: 89.000bs recursos municipales (PAESMA contribuía con aportes materiales).
- 2011: 185.000bs recursos municipales (PAESMA contribuía con aportes materiales). El 20% de productos ofrecidos son locales.
- 2012: 525.000bs recursos municipales (PAESMA contribuía con aportes materiales). El 40% de productos ofrecidos son locales.
- 2013: 650.000bs recursos municipales sin apoyo de PAESMA. 45% de productos locales. El 45% de productos ofrecidos son locales.
- 2014: el 50% de productos ofrecidos son locales.

Del presupuesto municipal destinado a los servicios de educación, el 70% es destinado al desayuno escolar.

¿Las asociaciones recibieron apoyo técnico por parte del municipio?

Las asociaciones que trabajan con el municipio han sido apoyadas por el municipio mismo en su formación colaborando con apoyo técnico y material con el objetivo que puedan proveer al municipio.

En Tojo está la asociación del Valle que provee Api y Tojorí; en la zona media hay una asociación de mujeres que se creó en 2013 y proveen galletas de habas. El problema es que las asociaciones venden solamente cuando el municipio necesitan los productos. Algunos hicieron iniciativas para vender al mercado. El problema es que los socios a veces no están de acuerdo en vender los productos al municipio porque el precio es standard y no varía al variar el precio del mercado. A veces ocultan los productos y prefieren venderlos en el mercado donde el precio es más alto.

Todas las comunidades donde hay unidades educativas crían llamas así que se dieron cuenta que era mejor comprar la carne de llama directamente desde los productores individuales. Las compras se efectúan por las juntas escolares formadas por padres de familia. Los profesores supervisan. Ahora todas las unidades educativas compran autónomamente la carne con apoyo del municipio. Es un buen método pero

el problema es que el municipio no da seguimiento a la compra de los productos porque esta se maneja en la comunidad misma.

La dificultad es que algunas juntas escolares tienen proveedores pero no tienen variedad.

Los pagos se efectúan a través de un recibo sin facturas y se hace la retención de los impuestos.

En la alcaldía no cuentan con una nutricionista y eso es un problema porque son los técnicos mismos que se ocupan de coordinar el desayuno escolar, decidiendo los menús en base a los años precedentes. En el 2013 un técnico del municipio se hizo cargo basandose en años anteriores.

La compra de los productos en el municipio de Yunchará se efectúa con la modalidad de contratación directa. Se puede evidenciar una falta de conocimiento de las normas porque no se sabía que había la posibilidad de contratar directamente a los pequeños productores. Facilita mucho. En muchos casos no se conocen estas posibilidades. Los productos que no se compran en el municipio se licitan.

¿Cuál es el nivel de conocimiento de las normas en Yunchará?

El conocimiento de las normas relacionadas al desayuno escolar no es bueno, tampoco entre los técnicos del municipio o el municipio mismo. No hay un programa de difusión de las normas. Por ejemplo en 2012 hubo el primer encuentro de la alimentación complementaria escolar a nivel nacional en La Paz y Yunchará fue a contar su experiencia. EN 2013 se llevó a cabo el segundo. El GAM de Yunchará todavía no formuló ningún tipo de reglamento pero lo tiene planeado bajo la carta orgánica que pero no puede salirse de las leyes estatales.

A nivel nacional, la ley de la alimentación complementaria escolar todavía no ha sido aprobada. No se tiene una reglamentación universal para saber como actuar, para que cada uno tenga sus funciones claras y específicas. El GAM de Yunchará está intentando normalizar todo pero tienen problemas en este sentido por una falta de una guía normativa.

¿Los productores del municipio cuentan con el registro SENASAG?

En Yunchará, ninguno de los productores que proveen desayuno escolar tiene SENASAG. Pero el GAM está seguro de que los productos locales son válidos, con garantía. El municipio es el gestor, en algunos casos son los mismos técnicos del municipio que ayudan a los pequeños productores a embolsar. Básicamente es el municipio que capacita a los productores para que puedan cumplir con las normas higiénicas. La lógica es que si se quiere comprar directamente desde los productores locales hace falta apoyarlos y certificarlos. Es eso que se hizo al comienzo de la presente gestión. El primer paso es apoyar a los productores locales.

El municipio, a través de sus técnicos apoya a los productores enseñándoles como trabajar de forma higiénica y limpia, como embolsar etc. La mayoría de los técnicos que se ocupan de eso son agrónomos. Al comienzo del proceso fue el municipio que certificaba la calidad de los productos.

No hay una norma que reglamente el proceso. Se siente la necesidad de que los ministerios vayan a visitar al municipio porque controlan si se están respetando las normas y ayuda a difundir su conocimiento.

Aunque los productores no tengan SENASAG, el municipio confía en el hecho de que los productos sean de calidad y que los productores sigan las normas higiénicas porque la mayoría de los productores que proveen productos para el desayuno escolar son los mismos padres de los niños y nunca darían a sus propios hijos productos no saludables. Quién mejor de un padre para garantizar la calidad del producto que va a dar a su hijo?; No se puede cuestionar. No le van a dar un producto de calidad pobre al hijo. Además, entre los proveedores locales no hay nadie externo a la comunidad, todos se conocen, todos son entre nosotros y confiamos. No es una garantía que tiene normativa pero es válida porque se basa en la confianza. Garantía es la palabra. Las normas y los requisitos para obtener el registro sanitario no nos perjudican porque tenemos alternativas. Los productores querían lograr el registro sanitario pero es un proceso largo en el cual se están encaminando. Para los productores mismos es complicado por eso hay alternativas. En las grandes ciudades es más fácil, en las áreas rurales es muy difícil.

Pienso que la fuerte relación de confianza entre los técnicos del GAM y los productores sea lo mejor. El municipio es pequeño, menos de 6000 habitantes, todos nos conocemos, somos una familia. Hay un vínculo y una coordinación muy grandes.

¿Cuales son los principales problemas de comprar productos para el DE desde los productores locales?

Hay muchas dificultades. La primera es el requisito sanitario que complica al municipio la distribución de productos locales durante el desayuno escolar. Por eso hay la necesidad de adaptar las normas a la realidad de los municipios rurales. La puntualidad en la entrega de los productos es otra dificultad y el hecho que los productores dependen mucho del clima, de los agentes atmosféricos y puede ser que a veces no logren entregar la cantidad establecida por causas que no dependen de ellos directamente. Si graniza ya no hay habas!. La quinua por ejemplo no se logra entregar a todas la unidades educativas porque en la zona donde se produce, el cambio climático es muy fuerte. Los productores sufren porque a veces pierden toda la cosecha como pasó este año. El municipio logró entregar el 50% de la quinua que tenían que entregar. La ventaja es que las unidades educativas tienen productos almacenados de reserva porque los productos secos se entregan en porcentajes y los productores pueden recuperar porque la entrega no es cotidiana. El tema del transporte es otra dificultad. A veces el municipio está obligado a hacerse cargo de la entrega. Si los productores no pueden entregar, el municipio sabe entender porque conoce la realidad del campo, y se ocupa el mismo de la entrega de los productos, justo por el tema de confianza entre técnicos y productores.

Además, cuando el municipio capacita a los productores o distribuye maquinarios, en caso de dificultad los productores siempre exigen el apoyo del municipio para solucionar todos los problemas, también del maquinario mismo. Los productores tienen problemas en trabajar en asociaciones, el concepto de comprar y repartir. Por eso hay muchas organizaciones que ayudan y apoyan en eso.

¿Cuáles son las ventajas de la compra de productos agroalimentarios para el DE directamente de los productores locales?

Primero de todo, se impulsa la economía del municipio y la plata del municipio se queda en el municipio, esa es la ventaja más grande.

¿Quién se ocupa de la entrega?

Los productores mismos se ocupan de la entrega de los productos. Algunos productos se entregan en dos veces, algunos diariamente (v.g. la carne, alimentos frescos). Depende mucho de la cantidad de estudiantes en cada unidad educativa, algunas UE tienen 5 estudiantes y entonces se entregan los insumos semanalmente. Los alimentos frescos se almacenan en las unidades educativas. De las 39 unidades educativas, 22 cuentan con un freezer para conservar los alimentos que compran pero también los que cosechan en el invernadero. Eso es importante porque a causa de la calor, muchos productos se echan a perder.

Yunchará es uno de los municipios con el nivel más alto de desnutrición en toda Bolivia. En los últimos años la situación mejoró mucho. Tenían un nivel de desnutrición infantil del 15%. En el 2013 el nivel se redujo del 20%.

Se está trabajando pero a grandes pasos y se está entrando con muchísimos recursos. Son los técnicos del municipio que se ocupan de la elección de los proveedores del desayuno escolar y que se ponen de acuerdo en las modalidades.

¿Qué perspectivas futuras tienen?

Una idea futura es intercambiar productos con municipios de pisos ecológicos distintos, hacer trueque. Para alcanzar ese objetivo es fundamental tener la capacidad productiva necesaria para poder cumplir con las necesidades de los otros municipios. A eso estamos apuntando. Varias instituciones quieren consumir carne de llama pero no estamos nosotros con la capacidad de poder distribuir. Hay que trabajar en eso. Hay que hacer un fuerte trabajo con los productores. Primeramente hay que lograr que los productores trabajen bien con el mismo municipio, hay que cambiar la mentalidad de los productores para que se adapten a la mentalidad asociativa y abandonen la individual. Tienen que entender cuales son las ventajas. Todavía falta eso. Hay que cambiar la mentalidad de los productores. No obstante las dificultades conviene continuar a trabajar en este sentido. Nos espera un largo camino pero merece la pena y estamos motivados. La idea del municipio es la de empujar a los productores locales para que luego puedan trabajar de forma mejor autónomamente.

*INTERVIEW TO A PRODUCER MEMBER OF AN ASSOCIATION:
ASOCIACIÓN PRODUCTIVA FEMENINA VIRGEN DEL CARMINE DE
YUNCHARÁ:*

¿Cuándo se formó la asociación? ¿Cuántos miembros hay en la asociación?

La asociación es nueva, trabajamos desde hace 2 años. En la asociación hay 18 miembros, somos todas mujeres.

¿Qué tipo de productos producen?

Nos ocupamos de producir productos de repostería. Para el desayuno escolar producimos galletas de haba. La haba es de la zona.

¿Cuál es su figura legal?

Tenemos personalidad jurídica como asociación. El municipio nos ayudó a sacarla. Quieren que los productos se queden aquí.

¿Desde cuando entregan desayuno escolar?

La asociación fue creada para proveer galletas de habas a las unidades educativas durante el desayuno escolar. El proceso de contratación empezó hace 2 años. El municipio nos ha contratado a través de la contratación directa. Hemos empezado a proveer el desayuno en el año escolar del 2013.

¿Quiénes son los principales responsables de la producción/entrega de los productos destinados al DE? ¿Entre los socios, quién se ocupa del DE ? ¿Cuáles son las respectivas tareas?

Todas las socias se ocupan de los productos destinados al desayuno escolar, todas nos ayudamos pero en particular 7 señoras se dedican a eso.

¿El número de socios aumentó desde que empezaron a entregar los insumos al municipio?

Si, tuvimos la necesidad de contratar a nuevas personas porque el trabajo es mucho.

¿Han recibido apoyo, capacitación o donaciones? ¿Por parte de quien y en qué términos?

Hemos recibido apoyo técnico y económico por parte del municipio, en la preparación y elaboración. Recibimos apoyo económico por parte del municipio a

través de un programa: Paizmatupiza. Recibimos también hornos. Por parte de la gobernación recibimos capacitación

¿Cuentan con el registro SENASAG? ¿El municipio ha apoyado en el conseguimiento de las certificación de calidad? Cómo?

No tenemos registro SENASAG. Queremos conseguirlo pero por el momento es imposible para nosotros. Además nuestros productos son secos, no se descomponen. Producimos de manera limpia, respetando las normas de higiene. Utilizamos gorros, mandiles y guantes. Cocinamos con cuidado en un ambiente muy muy limpio.

¿Ha habido un funcionario/técnico del municipio particularmente presente a lo largo del proceso?

El encargado de educación y salud del municipio se relaciona directamente con nosotros, si tenemos un problema podemos hablar directamente con él, es muy disponible.

¿Cuál es su nivel de conocimiento de la normativa relativa al DE y de las ventajas normativas para los pequeños productores locales?

Conocemos poco, casi nada. No sé.

¿Cuáles son los principales beneficios y problemas de vender al desayuno escolar?

El mercado del desayuno escolar es un mercado seguro, estamos seguras de que alguien nos va a comprar los productos. Asegura trabajo a las señoras que en muchos casos se ven obligadas a emigrar. En los ingresos hubo un cambio del 5% más o menos.

Una de las dificultades más grandes es la falta de tiempo pero tratamos de cumplir. Para nosotras es conveniente pero a veces es difícil trabajar y cuidar a los hijos y al hogar.

¿Los niños comen con gusto los productos locales?

La situación ha mejorado. Antes comían solo api y arroz ahora comen más cosas. A mis hijos les gusta la comida local. Al comienzo no fue fácil, a los niños no les gustaba comer quinua u otros productos locales.

¿Que perspectivas futuras ven?

En el futuro queremos seguir a entregar productos para el desayuno escolar pero también queremos ampliar nuestro mercado. Queremos vender a la ciudad de Tarija

INTERVIEW TO A PRODUCER MEMBER OF AN ASSOCIATION WHICH PRODUCES GREEN BEANS AND WHO WORKS IN YUNCHARÁ LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE EDUCATION AND HEALTH DEPARTMENT:

¿A qué tipo de asociación pertenece?

Produzco habas y hago parte de una asociación que entrega a la planta procesadora de habas. De la planta venden la harina que sirve para la producción de las galletas de haba que se entregan al municipio.

¿Cuentan con el registro SENASAG?

No tenemos SENASAG pero de todas formas entregamos al municipio. Producimos de manera orgánica. No tenemos certificaciones pero el municipio sabe que utilizamos abonos orgánicos. Una forma alternativa para entregar al municipio es la confianza con el municipio que sabe que los productores no usan químicos. Tienen preocupación por la salud de los consumidores.

¿Qué productos se distribuyen a lo largo del DE?

Durante el DE se entregan productos locales. La quínuva es un producto que recién se está introduciendo y a los niños a veces no les gusta porque no es un producto muy conocido. La haba es muy conocida y muy aceptada.

¿Cómo cambiaron los ingresos desde que empezaron a vender al municipio?

Los ingresos aumentaron. Antes los productores sembraban y guardaban los productos para consumo personal. Ahora una de las ventajas es que la venta es segura.

¿Cuáles son los principales problemas de vender al desayuno escolar?

Una de las dificultades es que el municipio exige la entrega puntual y constante y hay un riesgo de falta de producción suficiente. Puede pasar que no haya una producción suficiente y no se alcance entregar. Hay un contrato que exige una entrega cotidiana y puntual y hay que respetarlo, sin fallar. A veces hay desastres naturales

como granizadas y riegada y entonces el municipio se ve obligado en comprar de otros municipios. El cambio climático perjudica.

¿Los productores reciben apoyo técnico, capacitación o donaciones? ¿Por parte de quien y en qué términos?

Los productores recibieron asistencia técnica de otras instituciones que apoyan en la producción, elaboración y compra de molinos. En la mayoría de los casos tienen apoyo de ONGs que ayudan en respetar las normas higiénicas.

¿Como se respetan las normas de higiene?

Con el ayuda de los técnicos del municipio. Capacitan a los productores. Además en algunos casos los productores son formados. Por ejemplo, la planta de quesos tiene personas muy formadas, gente profesional en alimentos. Las normas higiénicas se respetan llevando guantes y botas. Hay gente del municipio que hace un control de calidad, que averigua.

¿Cuál es el nivel de conocimiento de las normas?

Las normas se conocen muy poco, no se da mucho a conocer, no hay centros de discusión o seminarios, no hay ningún tipo de formación o difusión sobre las posibilidades ofrecidas por las normas. El 1% de la población conoce las normas. Los productores no conocen los privilegios y las responsabilidades que tienen.

¿Qué tipo de relación existe entre el municipio y los productores?

La relación productores – municipios depende mucho de la gestión política. Es muy relacionada a la voluntad política. Hay gestiones políticas que prefieren invertir en otras áreas como las infraestructuras. En la mayoría de los casos se contratan a los proveedores locales con invitación directa porque no hay muchos productores. Esta gestión tiene el objetivo de invertir mucho en el desayuno escolar y en los programas de alimentación escolar en general.

INTERVIEW TO A YUNCHARÁ SCHOOL PROFESSOR:

¿Qué rol tienen los profesores de las unidades educativas en el proceso de distribución del DE?

Durante el desayuno controlan que todos los niños se sirvan el desayuno. El desayuno se sirve a las 08:30 para los pequeños, para los más grandes durante el recreo, a las 10.00. Todos desayunan.

¿A los niños les gustan los productos locales? ¿Los gustos cambiaron?

Se sirven productos locales durante el desayuno desde hace poco años y es un proceso que ha sido gradual. Al comienzo a los niños no les gustaba todo lo que se les entregaba, como por ejemplo el lacteado de habas. Ahora, están intentando variar la preparación de los productos servidos para que les gusten más a los niños. Están viendo la forma de preparar los alimentos más atractiva, con ingredientes que los hagan más ricos. Han habido dificultades en cambiar los patrones de consumo y se está empezando a variar. La calidad nutritiva mejoró. Los niños que viven en las zonas más rurales comen todo y no rechazan la comida. Los niños que viven por el centro eligen más que comer. El DE beneficia a los niños, comen productos que realmente los alimentan. La buena nutrición tiene efectos positivos en la atención de los niños durante las clases y se nota, porque muchos alumnos vienen caminando desde lejos. Y además se les ofrece una alimentación variada, saludable y nutritiva.

¿Qué rol tienen los padres de familia en el proceso?

Algunos padres se interesan de la alimentación de los hijos en las escuelas, controlan, se informan y otros no. Hay casos de chicos desnutridos y el desayuno ayuda. Algunos niños vienen de lejos, caminan dos horas para ir a la escuela y para volver a casa y necesitan comer bien. Los padres de familia aportan entregando productos porque lo que entrega el municipio no siempre es suficiente y no abastece. Aportan con productos para contribuir a la alimentación de los hijos. Es obligatorio. Aportan también económicamente.

*INTERVIEW TO THE COOK OF AN EDUCATIONAL UNIT IN
YUNCHARÁ:*

¿Qué tipo de desayuno se sirve?

El Lunes, servimos leche de vaca con chocolate y pan; el Martes, el lacteado de haba con leche y pan; el Miércoles, chocolate con mantequilla; el Jueves, tojorí con leche; el Viernes, api con sopaypillas. Todos los productos vienen de la alcaldía. A veces, cuando hay servimos leche con quínua o pastel de quínua.

¿Qué comida les gusta más a los niños?

Los niños comen más el arroz, el fideo, el pollo. El lacteado de haba a veces no comen. Los chicos grandes comen más, ya están acostumbrados a estos patrones de consumo, los niños eligen más que comer y que no.