



**Different aspects of development: from
economic growth to well-being
Case Study: El Alto and Montero, Bolivia**

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UDAPE	<i>Unidad de Análisis de Políticas Sociales y Económicas-</i> Analysis Unit of Social and Economic Policies
CEPAL	<i>Comisión Económica para América Latina-</i> Economic commission for Latin America
WB	World Bank
HDR	Human Development Report
HDI	Human Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NPE	<i>Nueva Política Económica</i> - New Economic Policy
MNR	<i>Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario</i> – Revolutionary National Movement
MAS	<i>Movimiento al Socialismo</i> – Socialist Movement
FSE	<i>Fondo Social de Emergencia</i> – Emergency Social Fund
FIS	<i>Fondo de Inversión Social</i> – Social Investment Fund
FCC	<i>Fondo de Capitalización Colectiva</i> – Colective Capitalization Fund
IHDI	Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index
SME	Small and medium enterprises
FEJUVE	<i>Federación de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto</i> - Federation of Neighborhood Councils-El Alto

Abstract

This paper explores the changes experienced in the people's subjective and objective well-being as well as their understanding of the concept of *buen vivir* in Bolivia, more specifically in the cities of El Alto and Montero. These changes will be looked at since the arrival of Evo Morales to power and with the economic bonanza experienced due to high commodity prices and different nationalizations. Bolivia is a very diverse country and one of the poorest of Latin America, but in the last decade it has suffered major economic and social changes. This paper will try to explore how these changes affected the people's well-being and their perceptions of it. The two cities selected represent the two sides of Bolivia and show both the east and the west of the country, which have been in constant ideological struggle.

By exploring both primary and secondary data, this study analysed the different effects in terms of human development index, Gini coefficient, self-evaluation of life, basic needs and the conceptualization of *buen vivir*.

The paper will point out that the effects of economic growth were different for subjective and objective well-being and that the conceptualization of *buen vivir* still is a work in process and that trying to take a philosophy of life as a political goal for a country can have major challenges.

Keywords

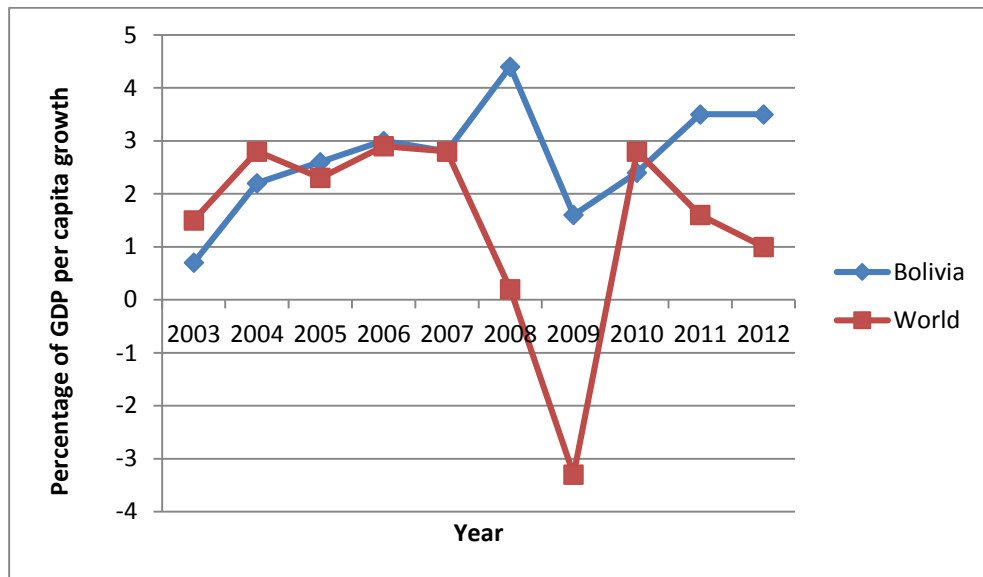
Economic growth, objective well-being, subjective well-being, *buen vivir*, human development index, capability approach, redistribute policy, GDP

Chapter 1 . - Introduction

1.1 Indication of the problem and justification of the study

Well-being is a concept that has been studied for some time now, but nevertheless it is a very important notion for development and it is evolving and changing to adapt to the new interests in people's lives. It has different angles and different theories. The following research paper will try to explore the effects that economic growth has on people's well-being in Bolivia. More specifically it will look at two cities, El Alto and Montero. This study tries to cover not only the objective aspect of well-being, but also the subjective one. Bolivia has been chosen for this paper because of the diversity of its population. Since the constitution of 2009 it has been known as the Plurinational State of Bolivia. In the last years it has suffered some major economic and social changes and despite it had high GDP growth over the last years, it is still one of the poorest countries in Latin America. In Figure 1 we see the progress in percentage of that economic growth in per capita terms comparing it with the world's GDP per capita growth. It is clear that even with the economic crisis, Bolivia has not suffered as much as the rest of the world. (World Bank, Overview 2013). According to the World Bank, the average economic growth experienced in Bolivia in the last decade has been its highest in the last 30 years.

Figure 1 Percentage of per capita GDP growth in Bolivia and in the World



Source: World Bank. Bolivia Overview 2013. Self-made

1

¹ Annual percentage growth rate of GDP per capita based on constant local currency. Aggregates are based on constant 2005 U.S. dollars. GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population

Since the election of Evo Morales in 2006, Bolivia has experienced big socio-political changes, which have had an impact on the complex definition of well-being and 'buen vivir' particular to the country as will be explained further in this paper.

The fact that the majority of the population is indigenous and that the president is also indigenous has inevitably changed people's perspective and aspirations. For the first time there has been significant inclusion of indigenous people in spheres of power. This has broadened people's horizons not only in a subjective sense but for the fact that aspects of the constitution have also been changed to incorporate concepts such as *buen vivir/vivir bien*, which will be better explained below. Along with the increase in the price of commodities that Bolivia exports and the nationalization of natural gas and regaining the control of production and revenues, Morales has used the upturn in the economy in order to implement different social policies. Also a change in the macroeconomic policies used during the crisis, helped to soften the blow for Bolivia. (World Bank Overview 2013).

The government has introduced a range of programs targeting the poorest people in Bolivia. Among these programs we find payments to poor families to increase school enrolment; expansion of public pensions and payments to uninsured mothers to reduce infant and child mortality. (Weisbrot et. al: 2009: 3). This must be better explored, because it's important to find out how people perceive this kind of aid and the effect it has on their well-being objectively and subjectively.

Bolivia is a country with a rich mixture of beliefs and traditions. Colonisation brought the catholic religion and, with globalization, modernity and technology have "developed" the country in different ways. Nevertheless the indigenous traditions remain a very important aspect of people's lives and with President Morales' arrival to power, this has been further enhanced.

The concept of *buen vivir or vivir bien* (loosely translated as living well) has always been a philosophy of life among the indigenous people, but it became more popular since it was included in the National Constitution of 2009. One of the mottoes of the Morales' government has been to set this concept as one of the country's goals. This paper will explore how people live with this mixture of beliefs in a changing world and how the concept of 'buen vivir' and the perception of well-being is changing along with the country's economic growth.

1.2 Objective and research questions

The objective of this research is to explore the effect of economic growth (in the past 10 years) in Bolivia on people's well-being (objective and subjective), and the concept of *vivir bien*. This paper will focus on two cities to try to assess the nature and size of these changes brought about by the growth in GDP, objectively and through people's perceptions.

In order to achieve this objective the main research question will be how did the economic growth, experienced in terms of GDP growth, change the objective well-being of the population as well as their subjective notions of their own well-being - and their idea of *buen vivir/vivir bien*?

The sub-questions related to this central question are:

- How much did the country (for this specific research the two cities studied) change in terms of the Human Development Index?
 - o Are the basic needs of the population covered
 - What are those needs
- Have people felt these changes in their subjective well-being because of the economic growth experienced?
 - o How do they evaluate different aspects of their lives?
- Did the redistributive policy of Morales have a major effect in the country?
- What is their understanding of the concept *buen vivir/vivir bien*?
 - o Is it possible to achieve it as a national goal as stated in the Constitution?

1.3 Why the cities of El Alto and Montero

In the last ten years Bolivia has changed not only politically but in terms of structure and society. El Alto is a city located in the department of La Paz and according to the last census (2012) it has 848.840 inhabitants (National Institute of Statistics 2013). El Alto has been characterized by numerous small and medium enterprises (SMEs), factories and hydrocarbon processing plants. This city can be classed as a ‘migration mecca’ with a large part of its population made up of people moving from rural areas. This population has been a key part of its industrial growth. El Alto began as part of the city of La Paz, but has grown to become its own city with migrants coming mostly from the departments of La Paz, Oruro and Potosí. Three regions in the *Altiplano* area, with a majority Aymara population. El Alto is one of the country’s centres of commerce and a big part of its fast grow in terms of population and wealth has been due to this specific sector. El Alto has always been seen as a middle step before trying out in one of the more important cities like La Paz and it is responsible for an important part of the country’s industry. El Alto also has very important social organizations like Federacion de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto (FEJUVE) Federation of Neighborhood Councils-El Alto and it played a very important role during the *Guerra del Gas* (War of gas), the conflict that ended with the resignation of two presidents and started the period of political instability that ended with Evo Morales becoming president. The city has been the centre of many demonstrations and is very active in terms of social unions. El Alto is a city of social struggle, of changes of injustices and is the motor of social organization and movement. In short El Alto represents change in political terms and aspiration for migrants.

Montero is a city in the department of Santa Cruz, in the east of the country. It is the second largest city of this department and has a population of 109.518 (National Institute of Statistics 2013). There has always been an east-west split in Bolivia, which has increased since Evo Morales became president. The eastern part of the country is mostly of the opposition and in many aspects represent the anti-thesis of this government. A key point to take into account here is that in the last elections of 2009 in Montero, the majority of votes went to MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo), the Morales party (Órgano Electoral Plurinacional 2010). Montero is also an intermediate city close to a larger one, Santa Cruz. It has also attracted rural migrants but drawn from different departments so that

the population make-up is different to El Alto. It is the agricultural and sugarcane centre, which is important, since Bolivia started exporting big amounts of sugar to Colombia and Venezuela. Also it has a very big commercial sector and banking sector. It is the province with the biggest growth (in terms of population) in the department of Santa Cruz.

These two cities are interesting because they represent a middle ground between rural and urban. This is very important in terms of traditions since this characterizes perfectly the dichotomy in the country. In both cities a huge percentage of the population still speak a native language such as Aymara, Quechua or Guaraní, but also speak Spanish. Another point they have in common is the fact that both cities are “pro-Evo” cities. Despite the traditional political split, Morales won in the two cities, although Montero is part of a department that has been known as being part of the opposition.

Last it is crucial to say that both cities have very dynamic economies, and as such, it is very likely to expect rapid changes. And again as Morales’ supporters, one could expect both places to be sympathetic to his redistributive political agenda.

1.4 Scope and limitations

This research will focus greatly on the questionnaire interviews realized during fieldwork in Bolivia. Although other secondary data will be looked at, the main focus will be the information gathered through the questionnaires.

The questionnaires were conducted in two specific cities, El Alto and Montero. The original idea was to focus on smaller rural areas, but the lack of data made that impossible. The specific challenges faced during the collection of data will be explained in the methodology chapter, but it is important to say that part of the focus of the research was made impossible for lack of data.

My personal background also determines the scope of the research. I am a sociologist and therefore have viewed the topic through this lens rather than as an economist although a strong part of my interest lies in the mixture of sociology and economy. Another important aspect is that although I am Bolivian and grew up there, for the last 6 years I’ve been living in Europe. I missed out on most of the process of Evo Morales’ presidency and even though I have followed it closely, the fact that I was absent may also have an influence on my viewpoint and understanding.

Research has been limited due to the lack of data. The perspectives of the rural and urban areas are totally different. That is why the original idea was to look at rural areas and smaller villages, where there has been a greater improvement and more emphasis put from the government in terms of policies. When it became clear this strategy would not work the focus changed to intermediate cities that have experienced great changes in the past decade. The intermediate cities represent the middle ground. The perfect mixture of rural and urban in the sense of traditional and modern side by side. People in the intermediate cities, where the migration has been from rural to urban, keep their indigenous traditions more closely than in bigger cities.

The research is also limited to two cities but could lead to greater research using the same model for other cities and especially rural area. The benefit of

this research is that the two cities selected represent both sides of the country very well, with their similitudes and their differences the research was really enriched from both places and the characterization of the country is possible since they represent east and west.

1.5 Bolivia's historical background

Bolivia, officially known as the Plurinational State of Bolivia, is one of the poorest countries of South America although children in school are accustomed to hear their country described as a “beggar seated in a throne of gold”, a reference to its immense wealth in mineral and natural resources.

From the arrival of the Spanish conquerors in 1532 to its independence in 1825, Bolivia's wealth which came from gold and silver mines has been stripped without a real benefit to the people, especially indigenous people. After independence, Bolivia suffered significant economic decline and the loss of around one half of its territory in wars with Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Chile. Bolivia lost its entire coastline in 1879-83 with all the difficulties that arise from being a landlocked country.

Wealthy urban elites, mostly of Spanish ancestry, dominated the political and economic life for decades, with majority of Bolivians being low-income subsistence indigenous farmers, miners, small traders and artisans. In 1952, the predominantly middle-class political party Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) National Revolutionary Movement came to power led by Victor Paz Estenssoro who introduced universal adult suffrage, land reform and the nationalization of the mining sector. A model defined as “state capitalism” was adopted and the indigenous population for the first time had a voice in what history called the Bolivian national revolution. This model was determined by a large participation of the State in the investment and employment by a government control of the largest companies of the country and by a system of regulations and sanctions for the private sector. Development was one of the key aspects of this model. Although fundamental changes remained in place many structural problems were not solved and the Bolivian revolution remained as yet “unfinished”. The economic, political and social decision making process continued in the hands of a very small elite.

In the 1980s Bolivia experienced a deep economic recession. The tin market collapsed, with the loss of about 21,000 jobs, inflation was out of control and the national currency was in severe crisis. According to Juan Antonio Morales (2013), using data from the National Institute of Statistics, since April 1984 (that the hyperinflation started) and for the following 17 months, prices raised 652.5 times, since the beginning of inflation. The consumer price index in February 1985 had a percentage variation of 182.8. (Morales 2013: 39). In August 1985 the president Victor Paz Estenssoro declares a radical program of stabilization and radical economic policies. The decree and the policies would receive the name of *Nueva Política Económica* (NPE) - New Economic Policy. The general idea of this NPE was to reduce the fiscal deficit as quickly as possible to achieve levels close to zero and to close the loans of the Central Bank to the public sector, which where the key source of creation of money. Key points of the supreme decree were exchange rate unification, other strict measures of fiscal consolidation and a very tight monetary policy. After this program was launched,

the inflationary rates dropped to really 0% in August 1986 (Morales 2013: 61). By the end of 1986, poverty was exacerbated due to the years of hyperinflation and crisis, so the government created the *Fondo Social de Emergencia* (FSE) - Emergency Social Fund -, which was mostly financed with external funds, from the World Bank and other international financial institutions and other country donors. The goal of the FSE was to finance small and middle projects from the local governments and NGOs. Most projects were for economic or social infrastructure.² During the nineties the FSE had some changes made and started to be called the Fondo de Inversión Social (FIS) – Social Investment Fund, which lasted until the mid-nineties. Another very important policy during the period of high inflation, was the salary policy. This policy had two principal instruments: the indexation of the wages to the consumer price index; and the salary compensations that came with the stabilization program. This policy was not as successful as expected for four main reasons. First the government unscheduled remunerations due to pressure from the labour organizations. Second because the wages regime caused non-intentional increases in the wages. Third, the “salary conquest”, which were increases in wages obtained by sector, were a very important disruptive factor. Last the electoral wage increase that came after the elections in November 1984 made also the policy not successful. In 1983 was first instituted the mobile wage scale, with the indexation mentioned before. (Morales 2013).

After some stability was achieved, the general demand was a reactivation policy. People were looking for economic policies that would increase the well-being of the population and a sustained GDP growth. Bolivia needed second generation reforms, following the advice of the Washington Consensus. Among these reforms the most important ones were: (a) increase the openness of the economy with commercial liberalization and protection measures and attraction of foreign capital; (b) reduction of the State and major privatization measures and (c) decentralization of the state services to regain control in a municipal level. The structural reforms affected both the demand and the supply, but trying to put an emphasis on the supply. During the government of Paz Zamora (1989-1993) the privatizations were mostly to some small and medium companies, but later during Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada's mandate the ‘capitalization’ law (as called by Sanchez de Lozada) was approved, and the privatization of major state ruled companies was effectuated in 1996. These privatization policies widened the already huge wealth gap and generated social unrest. (Morales: 2013). The process was first to convert the companies in anonymous societies, then would come a process of auction in order to increase the capital. The part of the company before this increased of capital would remain in Bolivian hands and would be the Bolivian stock, which would be designated to the *Bonosol*. An annuity paid with dividends from the *Fondo de Capitalización Colectiva* (FCC) – Collective Capitalization Fund, formed by the stock of the capitalized companies. The *Bonosol* was a universal social pension paid to all Bolivians over 64 years old. This was not a transfer from the General National Treasury, but from the capitalization of state companies and it meant a big source of income, especially for rural and poorest people. The *Bonosol* meant a contradiction because it was so close with the privatization that it could mean that it actually increased the negative macro-economic impacts of the capitalization itself and it was not clear whether it was

² For more information on the FSE look Jorgensen, S., M. Grosh and M. Schacter (1992) ‘Bolivia’s Answer to Poverty, Economic Crisis and Adjustment’

more effective to hand in the distributions of the earnings of the privatization in cash rather than in public expenditure in social services. The problem with this transfer was that people wouldn't spend the money in things that would increase their well-being, since it was not a conditional transfer. (Aponte et al. 2006)

Another important structural reform during 1993-1997 was the pension reform. It changed the old system (from 1956), whose characteristics were: (a) limited system to employees and not a universal system (b) tax regime (c) set the early retirement age (55 for men, 50 for women) (d) the pension was calculated from the average of the last three wages (e) it offer numerous options for early retirements (Morales 2013: 108)

During the seventies the *Fondos Complementarios* – Complemented Funds were included to mitigate some of the problems of the basic system, but in the nineties the system ended collapsing and there came the need to make the reform. But the reform also had some major failures, the future expected pensions were already higher than the expected quotes and this brought fiscal problems. The deficits of the pensions represented around 5% of the GDP and this was a problem that continued until 2003 (Morales 2013).

Bolivia was (and is) behind the rest of the countries in Latin America in terms of education. In the nineties they introduced the education reform to try to change this situation. The focus was on basic education rather than superior education.

Even with these reforms, the country faced great inequality and disparities in the population.

Bolivia has the second-largest reserves of natural gas in South America, but there have been long-running tensions over the exploitation and export of the resource. Indigenous groups say the country should not relinquish control of the reserves, which they see as Bolivia's sole remaining natural resource. Before President Evo Morales came to power the political fallout from the issue had helped to topple two presidents.

It is in this context of inequity, marginalization of the majority and exploitation of national resources, that Evo Morales came to power, with the promise of great changes. This is the point where the post-neoliberal period of the XXI century starts. Instead of expansive monetary and fiscal policies, Morales focused in policies that would attack the markets, with low inflation. As stated in the Constitution, the economic and social development would be planned in the state institutions with participation and consultation of the population. The main focus is that the State regained control of economic and social development.

As mentioned before, one of the most important aspects of Morales' administration was the nationalization of natural resources and services such as electricity, water and telecommunications.

Government aid and conditional transfers introduced during Evo Morales' presidency were a really important part of his economic policies. The three most important payments introduced by the government were the *Bono Juancito Pinto* dedicated to children in school years, receiving the aid for eight years in total. Six in primary school and the first two of secondary school. The second one is the *Renta Dignidad*, a pension for the elderly, especially the ones living in extreme poverty and that don't have another rent or pension. The third transfer is the *Bono Juana Azurduy de Padilla*, for mothers with the objective of reducing

mother/child dead and early mortality of children. Beyond these conditional transfers, the social policy didn't go much further, but this is also one of the reasons why the MAS has to try to maintain them.

Conclusions

The history of Bolivia proves to be a constant pendulum between right and left, with privatizations and nationalizations depending on the current president. Well-being policies have not shown to be really successful and the lack of them represents a clear gap. Evo Morales brought changes to the writing of history. The fortunate situation of having natural resources is helping him finance the different heterodox policies that contribute to the social success and acceptance of the government. The nationalization of natural resources along with the new statist constitution against previous elites are still part of the pillars of this government and represent a new era for the country. (Morales 2013) With these particular historical characteristics this paper will explore how these new redistributive policies and economic bonanza influence the population and their well-being and the perception of it along with the changes that the *buen vivir* as part of the constitution could have.

Chapter 2 . - Relevant theories and concepts

2.1 Understanding well-being

Well-being is a complex concept and the theorization of it has changed over time. Some authors define it as ‘a concept or abstraction used to refer to whatever is assessed in an evaluation of a person’s life situation or ‘being’’. (McGillivray 2007: 3).

Dolan, Peasgood and White (2006) try to categorize well-being dividing the concept into five different lines of thought.

- (a) First is the idea used until the 1980s that well-being is strictly linked to income. In this sense a greater income gives the person more resources to consume and assuming that people who consume more are better off, the higher the income the happier a person is.
- (b) The second approach is linked with the idea of basic needs such as education, health, income, freedom, among others. In this case it is assumed that as long as a person has these basic needs covered, he or she will be happy and well.
- (c) Third is the hedonist approach. In this case well-being is understood as pleasure. This is a more complicated concept since it is hard to define the diverse factors that influence pleasure.
- (d) The fourth approach is the evaluative approach. In this sense well-being is determined by the person’s own evaluation of the different aspects of his/her life in general or in particular.
- (e) Last but not least is the approach related to the Aristotelian definition of happiness in the sense that happiness and well-being depend on the individual and how virtuous this individual is. (Dolan et al. 2006)

This is a general differentiation of theories on well-being. What is important to point out is that the theory of well-being directly and only related with income has not been thoroughly proven and needs expansion. Part of these differentiations were crucial for the questionnaire design and the data collection of this particular paper. The analysis in this paper will try to combine the different categories made by Dolan, Peasgood and White. It will try to see the changes in per capita GDP and inequality, Gini Coefficient for (a), in Human Development Index for (b), as well as the evaluation of each person of their own satisfaction collected from the surveys for (d).

On a different note, Ruut Veenhoven (2008) points out that there are two different ways of measuring well-being. The example he gives is that there are two ways to know if a person is sick. First we check the state of the person and symptoms and then we ask the person if he or she thinks they are ill. (Veenhoven 2008). This paper will look at these two aspects for the analysis in the sense that not only the objective parts of the well-being matter, but also how the people understand their situation. Looking at objective aspects of the well-being, as well as the subjective ones.

2.2 Different perceptions of well-being

For the purpose of this analysis two main conceptualizations of well-being will be explained and a concept related to it. First there will be an explanation of the Capabilities Approach in order to understand well-being in terms of basic needs and actual freedoms and the theory of subjective well-being. Last will be introduced the concept of *buen vivir* or *vivir bien* as a personal goal and an alternative to development in the Andes region.

2.2.1 *The capabilities approach*

Typically well-being has been related with welfare or utility, especially if we look at economics or social policy. Sometimes it's defined as a person having access to certain essential goods. This was the predominant theory on well-being until the 1980s. Amartya Sen was one of the first to question this idea and expanded the concept of well-being to a broader definition that looked also at aspects related to basic needs. He pointed out that it is possible to have countries with high GDP per capita, but with low achievements in the quality of life, including early mortality, or high illiteracy rates. (Sen: 1990). It is important to understand that having a resource doesn't assure a specific level of utility. In order to understand this, Amartya Sen introduces the terms of 'capabilities' and 'functionings' to understand better the concept. Sen describes a capability as

“The various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve. [It] is, thus, a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another...to choose from possible livings' (Sen 1992: 40).

In this sense capability is at the same time an achievement but also an unchosen alternative. All capabilities are built by both freedom and valuable beings or doings in other words functionings. Amartya Sen is the first to combine these two concepts. Functionings could be also understood as the various things a person may value and have reason to value doing or being (Alkire 2011). To understand this theory we need to do a distinction between resource, capability, freedom and utility. Sen gives the example of food. Understanding food as the resource, being able to nourish the capability, being nourished the functioning and with that would come the utility. If everyone had the same amount of food, not everyone would be as full, because each individual has its own metabolism. This example could be applied to all resources and with them would come the idea that Amartya Sen expresses as the ability of each individual to convert resources into functionings. (Sen: 1992).

In order to evaluate well-being with this approach Sen argues that:

The primary claim is that in evaluating well-being, the value-objects are the functionings and capabilities. That claim neither entails that all types of capabilities are equally valuable, nor indicates that any capability whatsoever—even if totally remote from the person's life—must have some value in assessing that person's well-being. ... The relative valuation of different functionings and capabilities has to be an integral part of the exercise. (Sen 1992: 46).

Given that the measurement of capabilities might be harder, the research has usually focused in the measurement of the functionings. In this sense the

individual aspect is very important, because it is impossible to generalize capabilities and functionings of everybody. This is the essence of this approach. Crucially that was one of the problems Sen identified with the income approach, that it was not capable of targeting the most vulnerable people.

2.2.1.1 Martha Nussbaum's approach

Martha Nussbaum takes Sen's approach, but argues that research has proven that

Promoting growth does not automatically improve people's health, their education, their opportunities for political participation, or the opportunities of women to protect their bodily integrity from rape and domestic violence. (Nussbaum 2011: 3).

She claims that a better measurement to see how people are really doing, would be the household income and that it is also very important to look at inequality, since per capita GDP doesn't take into account this very important factor.

Nussbaum introduces a list of the central human capabilities.

- (1) *Life*. - In the sense of living a normal length human life, not dying prematurely, and always having a life worth living for.
- (2) *Bodily health*. - having good health including reproductive health, adequate nourishment and good shelter.
- (3) *Bodily integrity*. - The ability to move from place to place and be secure against assault, including sexual and domestic violence.
- (4) *Senses, imagination and thought*. - The ability to use these elements and have them cultivated by good education. Being able to express oneself freely and respect others
- (5) *Emotions*. - having attachments to people and things outside ourselves and being able to love and grieve them, not experience fear.
- (6) *Practical reason* having a critical and reflective plan of one's life and assuring liberty of conscience and religion.
- (7) *Affiliation*, being able to live with others, respecting them and recognising differences without judging, empathy ensuring non-discrimination or humiliation. Also freedom to form institutions that constitute and nourish this form of affiliation, including the concept of freedom of assembly and political speech.
- (8) *Other species*, living in harmony with animals, plants and nature.
- (9) *Play* having free time to play, laugh and enjoy.
- (10) *Control over one's environment*. In the political sense being able to participate in how decisions are made and elections. In the material sense being able to own property and having the same right as others to look for employment. (Nussbaum 2011: 8-9).

This list is a compilation of needs (in terms of capabilities) that every individual should have, according to Nussbaum. Although every person should be raised by these ten capabilities, some might have some priority above others and that would be related to two concepts, first introduced by Wolff and De-Shalit (2007) which are the fertile functionings and the corrosive disadvantage. A fertile func-

tioning is one that tends to promote other related capabilities, while the corrosive disadvantage does the exact opposite. (Wolff J and A. De Shalit 2007). The capabilities that should have some priority would be those that have some *fertility* or those that have a tendency to remove corrosive disadvantages. These properties might vary from society to society and even from person to person. (Nussbaum: 2011).

This approach is introduced in order to identify what people believe is well-being. As pointed out by Martha Nussbaum, the list of basic needs can be expanded and not only look at income, education or health. As Nussbaum points out, different societies might have different priorities in terms of choosing capabilities, and that is also important since it can influence in the subjective aspect of well-being as well. This is a very important aspect for the questionnaires, since it will try to compare two different locations and identify their points of convergence and divergence.

2.2.1.2 Capabilities approach and human development

This section begins with a quote by Mahbub ul Haq, and another one by Amartya Sen, founders of the concept understood by Human Development.

The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. (Mahbub ul Haq, n.d.).

On the other hand, Sen describes Human Development as:

An approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it. (Amartya Sen, n.d).³

These two principal concepts of Sen and Haq are further expanded:

Human development is based on the conceptualization of the Capability Approach. First it changed the idea of expansion of capabilities to expansion of choices, in that sense simplifying the concept. Later on it went back to Amartya Sen's language, but with the same objective and idea of the one it initiated with. The Human Development Report had the mission to join this objective and translate it into something practical and easier to transform into policies and to influence countries' strategies towards development.

As described in the 20th anniversary of the Human Development Reports:

Human Development is the expansion of people's freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development equitably and sustainably on a shared planet. People are both the beneficiaries and the drivers of human

³ Both quotes extracted from the web page of the Human Development Report <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>>

development, as individuals and in groups. ('Celebrating 20 years of human development' 2010).

This statement tries to show that components of the human development should be process freedoms, capability expansion along with sustainability, and equity. With this in mind the Human Development Index tries to measure how countries are performing in different aspects rather than looking only at the GDP growth. This index measures life expectancy and education alongside income of the different countries. This was a very big step forward in measuring well-being and it is still one of the most important indexes used when comparing countries. This paper will use the Human Development Index and the Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index to measure the objective aspect of well-being. It is true that some criticism has been pointed towards this measurement of well-being, but it is still a very reliable way of pointing different countries' state in terms of well-being and it will also be complemented with the different points added in this particular analysis, since even the criticism does not rule it out as a valid theory.

2.2.2 The theory of subjective well-being

Recently, psychologists and social scientists have started to question Amartya Sen's and Mahbub ul Haq's approach of well-being and focus on a very important aspect that has not been taken into account so far, the subjective aspect of well-being. This approach is focused on aspects that determine a person's happiness, satisfaction, content and fulfilment with their life and the different aspects of it. (Huppert F A, Keverne: 2005). This view doesn't completely discard the idea that health, education and material circumstances play a big role in a person's well-being, but they are not the only important factors. In fact, much of the research related to subjective well-being looks at how much well-being can be attributed to external circumstances. This theory must be looked at in relation to a person's background and behaviour, in terms of personality, attitudes or early development. (Lyubomirsky S: 2005).

When defining subjective well-being there are different perspectives. There are some people who argue that people can adapt to every circumstance and that in relation to happiness, only the individual personality will have a true effect on it. On the other hand, others believe that external factors play a key role in every person's happiness. There have been three main approaches to subjective well-being.

- (a) First is the idea that well-being is defined by external criteria and there exist a certain number of conceptions of the ideal condition. This would mean that well-being would be determined by these desirable criteria. This first approach is normative, since it already indicates what is desirable.
- (b) The second approach has the focus is on what leads people to evaluate their lives positively. This is a more personal and self-reported approach of well-being and happiness and is the one used for this research.
- (c) The third approach is a measure regarding the dominance of the positive affect over the negative affect. In this case emotions would also

play an important role, whether a person is experiencing pleasant emotions at a specific period of his/her life or if the person is predisposed to such emotions.

One of the problems of all three approaches is the measurement, since it can always be influenced by the person's mood at that precise moment. Another problem comes with self-evaluation. It is one of the most widely used measurement tools, but it can happen that people say they feel happy/satisfied, when they are not. Plus other external variables such as age, gender, race, income, education, also play a big effect on people's subjective well-being. (Diener 2009).

Within the theory of subjective well-being there are different lines of thought.

The *Telic Theories*, argue that happiness is achieved when a goal or need is gained. *Activity Theories* on the other hand claim that happiness comes as a product of human activity. This is related to Aristotle's theory, that there are certain human abilities, and happiness can come only when these are performed in an excellent manner. Another line of thought are the *Judgement theories* propose that happiness is a result of a comparison of actual conditions and a hypothetical standard that everyone has. Happiness is achieved if the actual conditions meet or exceed the standard set by each person. (Diener 2009).

As mentioned before, subjective well-being is a concept that can be very difficult to measure. In order to do so, this paper will try to use the evaluative aspect of the concept, since it is the most widely used and the questionnaires will try to capture this aspect.

2.2.3 Vivir bien or Buen vivir

Vivir bien or *buen vivir* is a philosophy of life in the countries of the Andes region with each country having its own distinct definition. And since it is a concept in construction it can be adapted for every social and environmental circumstance (Gudynas: 2011). Bolivia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Choquehuanca defined it as:

Recovering the life experiences of our people, recovering the culture of life and recovering our life in full harmony and mutual respect with the mother earth, with the *Pachamama*, where everything is life where we all are uywas, raised by nature and the cosmos (Choquehuanca 2010: 7).

In order to understand this concept, Gudynas tries to divide it into three different levels: the first level is the radical questioning of the conceptual basis of development, especially its attachment to the idea of progress; the second level is related with the separation of the idea that economic growth or consumption are exclusive indicators of social well-being; the third level is the most practical one and refers to the concrete actions in order to achieve this *buen vivir*, such as political projects, norms, and government strategies to elaborate alternatives of development (it is important to mention that these strategies must be viable and try to avoid entering in what they are criticizing, meaning the previous understandings of development). (Gudynas: 2011).

The concept of *buen vivir* goes beyond mere satisfaction and access to goods and services. It tries to achieve a new harmonious relationship with nature and understands and acknowledges the rights of nature. This understanding and respect of nature comes from constant gratitude to what the *Pachamama* (mother

earth) offers and the idea that we live in harmony with her and in a relationship of mutual respect. In the indigenous view social improvement is a category in permanent construction and reproduction and so the concept of *buen vivir* can't be expressed just by the satisfaction of the basic needs. (Sempere et al: 2010)

Although this concept might be understood as relating exclusively to the rural area and as a critique to modernity, this is not the case. The concept doesn't try to abolish the improvements of modernity, but tries to use the advantages of technology for different purposes and in particular without exploiting natural resources in an unsustainable way. As Unai Villalba (2013) mentions *buen vivir* can be understood in two spheres: the first one is more related with the pure indigenous culture and would be more dedicated to an idea of living in rural areas. The second is linked to approaches more related with the mestizo and more urban contexts where there is a bigger relationship with and acceptance of Western-modern postulates. (Villalba: 2013). This differentiation is very important in order to fully understand the concept of *buen vivir* and the possible implications and differentiations that need to be made in potential government policies. For indigenous people in order to achieve the idea of 'living well', it is important to live in harmony, solidarity, equality, complementarity and reciprocity. This would be in direct contradiction of the consumerism, competition, opulence and profiteering typical of the capitalist system (Villalba: 2013). This contradiction is even stronger for people living in the cities where capitalism is even more implemented as are Western postulates of development. The challenge for *buen vivir* is to try to change these ideas.

One of the ways to achieve this change is with a new economy, where its main value is solidarity. The goal is to create productive networks and relations of exchange and cooperation, based on solidarity, but also achieving efficiency and quality. This economy would try to achieve public monopoly over the strategic resources, while also giving guidelines for their use and exploitation from a sustainable perspective with regulation and control. (Sempere et al: 2010). For example in the Bolivian Constitution, in article 306, they talk about a new economy and the article states that: "The state should have an economic model that is plural and oriented to improve the quality of life and the *vivir bien*." (Bolivian State Constitution 2009).

Other important aspects of *buen vivir* are: community, in the sense that the idea of *buen vivir* can only be achieved in a specific social and territorial context, which originated with the Andean Ayllu; secondly the search for harmony between the material and the spiritual world; and also the decolonization of knowledge (Villalba: 2013).

As a final note for this section we can say that the idea of *buen vivir* in Latin America can be seen as a critique and a way to expand the definition of development. It aims for a more humanistic view with an emphasis on the individual, nature and the quality of life beyond economic progress. This concept goes further than mere achievement of the satisfaction of the necessities, capacities and potentialities of the human beings. (Walsh: 2010).

Using the *buen vivir* for this paper is very important because if we look at the three levels explained by Gudynas, Bolivia is a country where the third level has been very important. *Buen vivir* is included in the Constitution and the economic policies taken in the country try to achieve this new economy with the public

monopoly of the natural resources. It is impossible to have an understanding of well-being in Bolivia, without looking at this important concept.

2.3 Conclusions

Well-being is a complex concept. In order to fully understand it and comprehend the reality in a specific context, it is necessary to try to look at its different aspects and analyse each one of those. The capabilities approach has been really useful over the years to compare different countries in terms of well-being, looking at different components than just income. It is a very useful instrument to understand the objective aspect of well-being. Nevertheless it has been also questioned and it shows that it lacks in referring to a more subjective aspect of well-being. The theories of subjective well-being, especially in the sense that are going to be used for this research, serve as a more personal and self-evaluative aspect of a person's well-being, covering a broader definition. Finally the *buen vivir* represents a philosophy of life that is trying to be achieved in Bolivia and other countries of the Andean region.

This paper tries to cover all these different aspects in order to understand better the situation of well-being in the country.

Chapter 3 . - Methodology

For guiding this research, two kinds of data were necessary, primary and secondary data. The secondary data was mainly recovered in order to give a general picture of figures and reality of the country to be studied, in this case Bolivia. The primary data was mostly collected to look at the more specific population and to have a closer look at the two case studies to be analysed.

3.1 Primary data

In order to recover primary data two months were spent in Bolivia doing field work. The data was collected by conducting 400 questionnaire interviews between the cities of El Alto and Montero. Unfortunately only 300 questionnaires were used for the study, since the other 100 were not useful for different reasons that will be explained in the section 3.3. The sample for the questionnaires was picked following the simple random sampling method making lists based on demographic structure of the population, the index of men and women in each city and the rent according to neighbourhood from data of the National Institute of Statistics and the interviews were made to people of both cities that were over 18 years old. In order to ensure a complete and varied sample, the questionnaire interviews were conducted at different hours in the day, different days of the week trying to have a sample as accurate as possible. Plus the idea of conducting the interviews at different hours and different days of the week ensured that every person had the same probability of being part of the sample and taking some biased that could come if questioning only unemployed people, for example when questioning during labour hours.

The questionnaire was built using different questionnaires that were conducted for topics related to well-being, as models and adapting them to the reality of Bolivia and to this particular research and objectives.⁴ The questionnaire had open and close questions with different formats. Some multiple choice, some rating scales, some agreement scales and some text or numeric open questions. The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect different information regarding people's subjective well-being, their aspirations, their points of view about different public services, changes perceived in the past 10 years, personal information, among other factors.⁵

3.2 Secondary data

Secondary data was necessary at different stages of the research and with different purposes. One of the uses was to build the context and background chapter looking at different articles, books, publications and researches made with the economic history of Bolivia as a topic. Also there was a compilation of data from the World Bank, the United Nations, the CEPAL, UDAPE and the

⁴ For example a questionnaire made by United Nations in Latin America (United Nations 2012)

⁵ For the complete questionnaire look at the annex section

National Institute of Statistics regarding the per capita GDP growth, the Human Development Index, the GINI coefficient, plus other useful data to review Bolivia's situation in different aspects and in different years.

Also was important to look at different researches with a similar topic to this of this paper in order to compare different aspects and avoid repetitions.

3.3 Difficulties in collecting the data

As in every research there were some difficulties to collect the data, both primary and secondary. This section would talk and explain these difficulties. There were numerous problems when collecting the primary data. The first problem was the language. There were some communication problems although the questionnaires were conducted in urban areas. Since both places (El Alto and Montero) are intermediate cities, both have still a large number of people that only speak their native language and even though they speak Spanish, they rather talk in the language they feel more comfortable with which would be the native language. This was a big problem first because I don't speak any native language and second because the questionnaires were in Spanish. So that there was not a biased sample (only people that were willing to answer in Spanish) people that spoke the native languages helped in the conduction of the interviews.

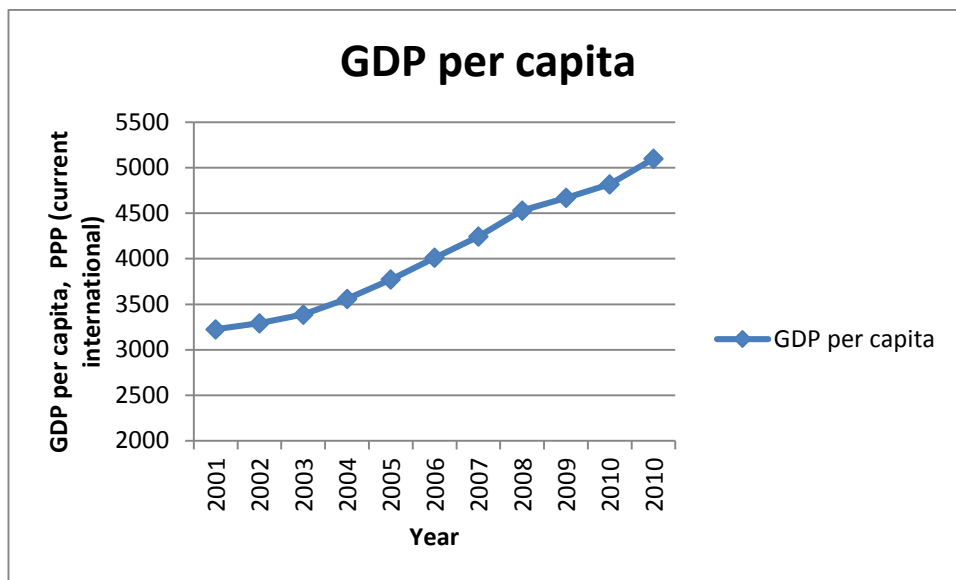
The second problem, which is very much related to the previous one, was the lack of trust. Being a woman and have looks more similar to foreigners than to native people was also a very big problem. It was really tough to gain people's trust. People were not willing to answer the questionnaire and some of them that did, were not really trustworthy. This was one of the reasons for not using all the interviews. When conducting them it was possible to see that some people were not answering with the truth or were just trying to finish as quickly as possible and answering randomly with no true credibility. Another reason to discard some of the questionnaire interviews done, was the high number of blank answers. People were not willing to say their true opinion or the reality so they would avoid answering questions. It was negative to have too many blank answers for the purpose of the analysis. Part of the people's biased to not respond has also to do with the ethnic differences in the country that are usually associated with political views.

In regards to the secondary data collection, the problems were straight forward. In order to obtain some specific data there were some bureaucratic procedures that would take a long time, which would be deducted from the actual time to conduct interviews. Second of all there was a problem of lack of data. The data in Bolivia at a municipal level dates from 2005, because it is data that uses the national census as a basis, in this case the 2001 census. There was another census made in 2012, but the results started to come out in July 2013 and they came out in dribs and drabs. Plus there is a still going on a debate about the validity of the results since already some data has been put into question. The problem with this is that the data from before 2005 doesn't even reflect the period of Evo Morales' presidency or the time of highest economic growth, without mentioning that is data from 8 years ago.

Chapter 4 . - Findings of the research and analysis

4.1 GDP growth and Gini Coefficient

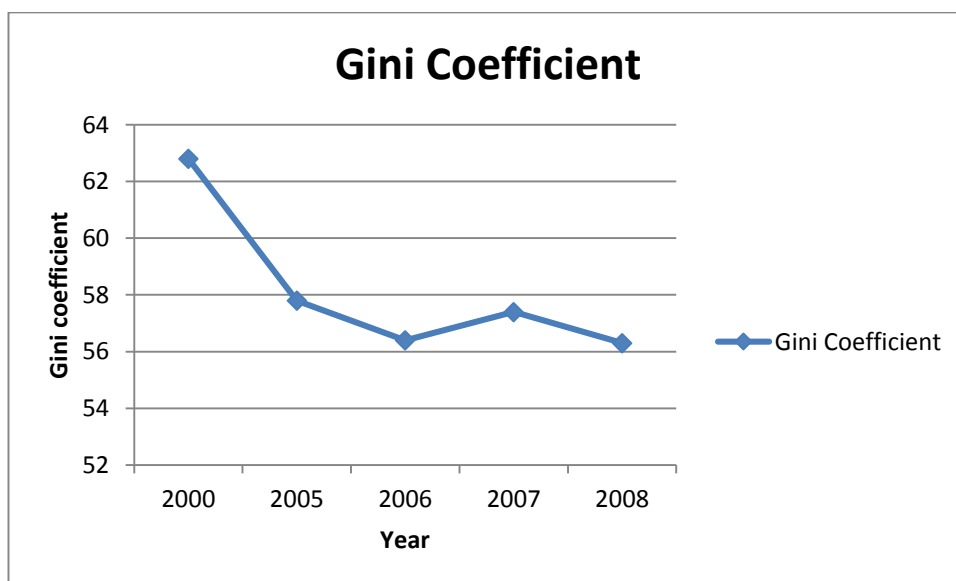
Figure 2: GDP per capita, PPP



Source: World Bank. Bolivia Overview 2013. Self-made

As seen in Figure 2 GDP per capita growth in PPP terms the tendency is to grow and continue growing. The major problem that Bolivia has is that it is one of the most unequal countries in Latin America. In Figure 3 will be reflected the Gini Coefficient to also have a look at the evolution of inequality in the country and with further findings try to explain this evolution.

Figure 3: Gini Coefficient



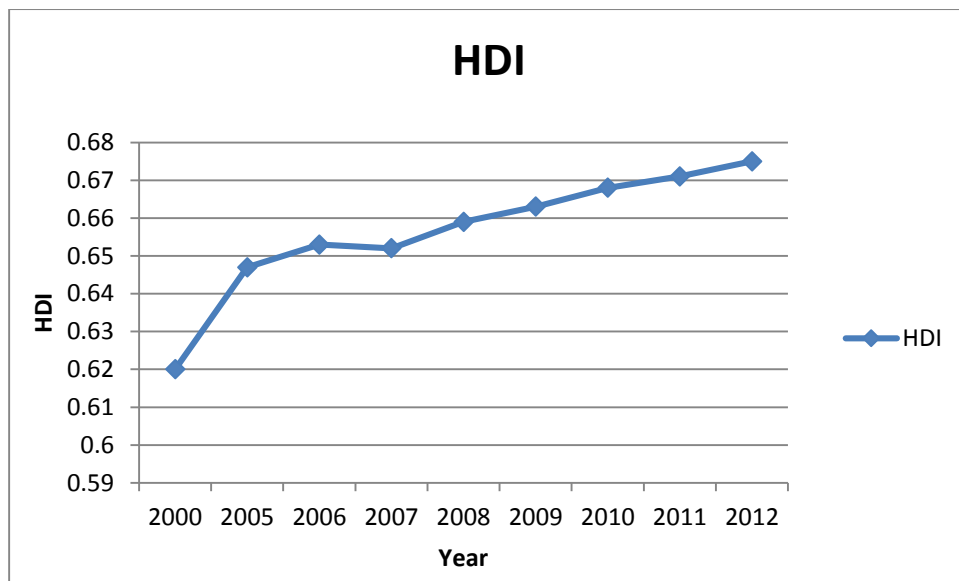
Source: World Bank. Bolivia Overview 2013. Self-made

The evolution of the Gini Coefficient has been a constant decline, except for 2007 where it increased a little bit. One would think that along with this improvement in GDP growth and in Gini Coefficient people are better off.

4.2 Human Development Index

In Figure 4 we see the evolution of the Human Development Index in the country in general.

Figure 4 :Evolution of the Human Development Index in Bolivia ⁶



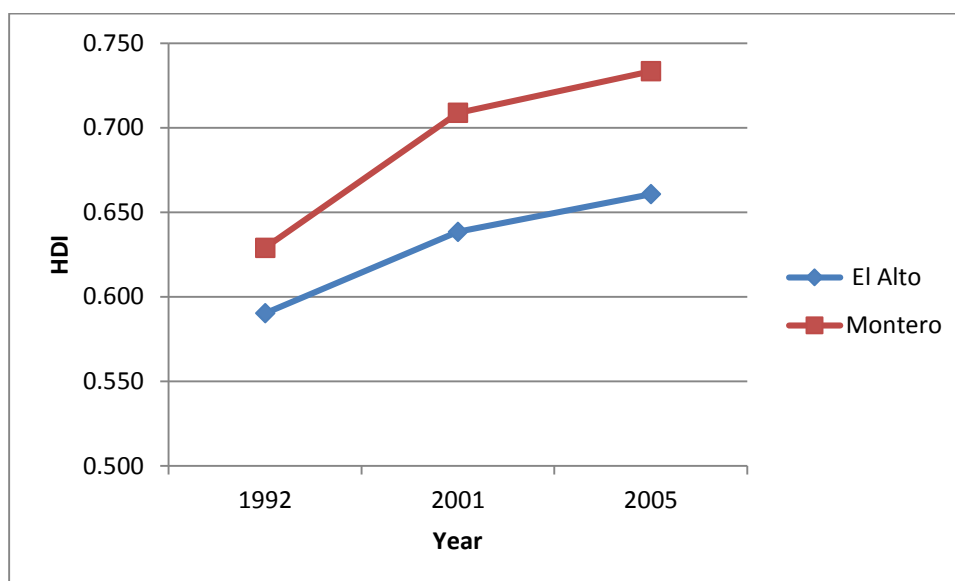
Source: UNDP International Indicators of Human Development 2013 Self-made.

The reason to show the evolution for the whole country and not just for the two cities studied is to show a larger picture of how the Human Development Index evolved in the country. The data available for the two cities goes only until 2005 and it was important to show a general point perspective of how things look like in the country. As shown in the figure HDI has been growing since 2000. The only point where it got a little lower was in 2007 which agrees with the lower point in percentage GDP growth as shown in Figure 1 in the first Chapter and also is similar to the point of the increase of the Gini Coefficient.

In Figure 5 are shown the evolution of the HDI in each of the cities, from the years there is data available. The data was given by the UNDP office in Bolivia and those were the years they provided data for.

⁶ The jump from 2000 to 2005 is because that is the data available

Figure 5 Evolution of the Human Development Index in El Alto and Montero



Source: UNDP Bolivia. Self-made.

Since the data from the 2 cities goes only until 2005 it's only possible to predict how the HDI evolved in the regions, but from the tendency it had and from the tendency the country in general had it could be guessed that the HDI in both cities would be increasing over the years and would follow the same direction. Such an assumption could be a little bit tricky to make, especially considering that since 2010 the HDR introduced the Inequality Adjusted HDI (IHDI), which takes into account inequality in all three dimensions of the HDI by 'discounting' each dimension's average value, according its level of inequality (UNDP 2013). When looking at this new IHDI Bolivia would lose overall 34.2% of the HDI. Table 1 describes how much loss there is in each dimension and in comparison with the average of Latin America.

Table 1 The Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index

	HDI value	IHDI value	Overall Loss (%)	Loss due to inequality in life expectancy at birth (%)	Loss due to inequality in education (%)	Loss due to inequality in income (%)
Bolivia	0.675	0.444	34.2	25.1	27.6	47.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.741	0.55	25.7	13.4	23	38.5

Source: UNDP 2013 < <http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/BOL.pdf>>

It is clear that Bolivia is one of the more unequal countries in Latin America, since the loss due to inequality in every dimension is much bigger than the average of Latin America. But still it is possible to think that in the cities studied in this research the HDI would follow the same direction than that of Bolivia in average since they are part of the cities with higher HDI and that have a growing tendency.

The first finding of the research would be that the HDI in the country and in the two cities had the same evolution of the GDP growth. Both in terms of

growth and in terms of decrease in the year 2007. In this case could be possible to talk about a close relationship between the two of them. Although growth is not the only measurement of well-being, in the case of Bolivia it helped increased the HDI and with that, it helped improving the well-being of the population when thinking of the capability approach as used for the HDI. Using HDI to measure the objective well-being as mentioned in Chapter 2, we can conclude that the economic growth in the country had a positive effect in the objective well-being of the population. In the next section, with help from the results of the interviews there will be a closer look at what happened to the people from the two cities in other aspects of well-being.

4.3 Government transfers and aid

As mentioned in the methodology chapter during the field work, there was a collection of primary data and in the following section the results from those interview will be presented.

One of the first things to mention in this section is related to the conditional transfers introduced by Morales' government. As shown in section 5.1 the Gini Coefficient improved considerably since the arrival of Morales to power. Besides, when looking at latest news from the World Bank, in a new report⁷ released this year it is revealed that 50% of the population was able to move from extreme poverty to become vulnerable class in the last 10 years. Although this vulnerable situation puts them in a very risky position and with high changes of going back, this achievement still represents something really important for the population. As the chief of the World Bank for Latin America, Augusto de la Torre, explained, this improvement was due to the bonanza of the country, the conditional transfers and the government aid focused on the poorest. (World Bank 2013).

Table 2 shows the number of people who receive government aid and the general satisfaction from all the people towards government transfers, also from those who don't receive them, but as a perception of the government's performance in terms of aid to the population since the arrival of Evo Morales to office.

⁷ The news is from the World Bank web page and they never reveal the name of the report

Table 2 Government aid in El Alto

Government aid?	Doesn't receive any aid		No aid Total	Does receive aid		NS/NC *	Yes aid Total		Grand Total
	Not at all satisfied with aid	NS/NC		Not at all satisfied with aid	Not very satisfied		Satisfied	Very satisfied	
Female	3	6	9	3	4	10	45	6	77
Employee	1	3	4	2	1	5	28	4	44
Housewife	1	2	3		3	3	7		16
Merchant		1	1	1		2	4		8
Self-Employed	1		1				6	1	8
Student								1	1
Male	4	7	11	4	3	11	36	8	73
Driver	1	2	3	1		1	7	3	15
Employee	2	4	6	2	2	8	19	4	41
Merchant	1		1	1	1	2	8		13
Student		1	1				2	1	4
Grand Total	7	13	20	7	7	21	81	14	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Questions:

Reciben en su casa algún tipo de ayuda monetaria del gobierno (ejemplo: bono Juancito Pinto, Renta Dignidad, etc.): 1 SI 2 NO

In your household do you receive any monetary aid from the government (e.g. Bono Juancito Pinto, Renta Dignidad, Bono Juana Azurduy, others.): 1 Yes 2 NO

Cuán satisfecho está con los siguientes servicios: 1 Muy satisfecho 2 Satisfecho 3 Poco Satisfecho 4 Nada Satisfecho: Ayudas monetarias del gobierno

How satisfied are you with the following services: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied: Monetary aid from the government

Notes: * The NS/NC (doesn't know doesn't answer) refers to the question about satisfaction with monetary aid

Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

As seen in the table there is a clear majority of people that receive some sort of government aid. When asking which one, people were not really willing to answer, that's why this category was not included in either of the cities. As it would be expected, people that are very happy with government aid, are people that receive some sort of aid. In the case of not being satisfied, there are both people receiving the aid and people not receiving it. In terms of female-male ratio. The difference is not very big, there are a little bit more women that receive aid, but this could be because of the *Bono Juana Azurduy* which is only for mothers.

Table 3 shows the situation in Montero and as it will be explained it is very similar to the situation in El Alto

Table 3 Government aid in Montero

Government aid?	Doesn't receive aid Not at all satisfied with aid		No Total	Does receive aid Not at all satisfied with aid				No Total	Grand Total
	NS/NC			Not very satisfied	NS/NC	Satisfied	Very satisfied		
Female	3	9	12	3	4	10	41	3	73
Employee	2	6	8	1	3	7	24	1	44
Housewife	1	2	3	1		2	9	2	17
Merchant		1	1	1		1	1		4
Self-Employed					1		7		8
Male	4	11	15	4	3	10	41	4	77
Driver		2	2	4	2	1	7	1	17
Employee	3	8	11			6	29	3	49
Merchant		1	1		1	2	4		8
Student	1		1			1	1		3
Grand Total	7	20	27	7	7	20	82	7	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Questions: Same as previous table

Notes: * The NS/NC (doesn't know doesn't answer) refers to the question about satisfaction with monetary aid

Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

As seen in the table, the situation of Montero doesn't differ much from the situation of El Alto, there is still a majority of people receiving some sort of government aid. Although the number is slightly lower, it is still a clear majority. In general terms in both cities people are satisfied with the aid given by the government, but still it is important to mention that out of that group the majority are people that do get some sort of aid, same as the case of El Alto. Women and men do not differ much in terms of receiving aid.

As mentioned in the historical background section, these government aids introduced by the Morales' mandate were targeting the poorest population and were mostly financed by the Direct Tax on Hydrocarbon and the General Treasury of the Nation. This would be a clear relationship with the nationalization of the gas revenues and the economic growth in the country. Which allowed the government to introduce new transfers and helping people achieving new levels of well-being in the sense that these aids helped people to have upward mobility as explained before. As seen in both of the tables the redistributive policy of the government is going to a majority of the population, at least of the population living in the two cities and as shown in the first section of this chapter is achieving the goal of reducing inequality. This would be a very important aspect to consider in terms of well-being since it could be easier to talk of general well-being in the population taking into account that the country is becoming more egalitarian.

4.4 Basic needs

In order to look at the 'basic needs' idea of well-being, people were asked what do they considered are the basic needs of a person, to see whether the idea of health, education and income are the basic needs (as considered by the human development index) or whether people get closer to a broader definition as theorized by Martha Nussbaum. Tables 4 and 5 show the results in El Alto and Montero respectively.

Table 4 What are basic needs in El Alto

What are "basic needs"	Education	Food	Having a job	Health	Other	Sewerage	Grand Total
Female	3	7	30	24	4	9	77
18-29	1	2	8	6	1	3	21
30-39	1	3	14	11	2	4	35
40-49	1	2	4	5		2	14
50-59			2	2			4
60 and above			2		1		3
Male	4	7	24	24	3	11	73
18-29	1	1	4	5		2	13
30-39	1	2	6	5	1	3	18
40-49	1	2	7	7	1	3	21
50-59		1	5	4	1	1	12
60 and above	1	1	2	3		2	9
Grand Total	7	14	54	48	7	20	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Cuáles son para usted las necesidades básicas de cada persona

What do you consider are the basic needs of a person?

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

Table 5 What are basic needs in Montero

What are "basic needs"	Education	Food	Having a job	Health	Sewerage	Grand Total
Female	3	6	30	28	6	73
18-29	1	2	8	8	2	21
30-39	1	4	14	13	2	34
40-49	1		5	5	2	13
50-59				1		1
60 and above			3	1		4
Male	4	7	31	27	8	77
18-29	1	2	4	5	2	14
30-39	1	2	9	7	2	21
40-49	1	1	9	8	2	21
50-59	1	2	9	7	2	21
Grand Total	7	13	61	55	14	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

When looking at the two cities, it is clear what are considered 'basic needs', having a job and health. Both for men and women these are the two most important needs that every person has. When thinking about Martha Nussbaum's theory, with the list of ten basic needs, it could be said that some of them would most likely be considered as such in a more developed country. When thinking about a country such as Bolivia, people tend to reduce the idea of basic needs to actual survival. In this sense, and when considering Amartya Sen's idea of the value people give to certain capabilities and functionings, as long they have a job and good health assured, their basic needs are covered. The fact that people put sewerage as a basic need, shows the level of development of the country. In a more developed country, people would take for granted to have sewerage, but in a country such as Bolivia, sewerage is still a concern in the population even in cities.

Since it is not only important to look at what people consider as 'basic need', but also look at whether they feel these needs are covered, tables 6 and 7 will show the results for that question. Big part of the theory of well-being looks at the coverage of basic needs, so this would mean that well-being in that sense would have been achieved.

Table 6 Basic needs covered in El Alto

Basic needs covered	No	NS/NC	Partially	Yes	Grand Total
Female	15	3	4	55	77
18-29	5	1	1	14	21
30-39	5	1	2	27	35
40-49	5	1		8	14
50-59			1	3	4
60 and above				3	3
Male	19	3	3	48	73
18-29	5			8	13
30-39	4	1	1	12	18
40-49	5	1	1	14	21
50-59		1	1	10	12
60 and above	5			4	9
Grand Total	34	6	7	103	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Considera que estas necesidades básicas están cubiertas en su caso: 1 SI 2 No 3 Parcialmente

In your case do you consider these basic needs are covered: 1 Yes 2 No 3 Partially

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

Table 7 Basic needs covered in Montero

Basic needs covered?	No	NS/NC	Partially	Yes	Grand Total
Female	18	3	4	48	73
18-29	6	1	1	13	21
30-39	7	1	2	24	34
40-49	4	1	1	7	13
50-59				1	1
60 and above	1			3	4
Male	23	4	3	47	77
18-29	5	1		8	14
30-39	6	1	1	13	21
40-49	6	1	1	13	21
50-59	6	1	1	13	21
Grand Total	41	7	7	95	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

In both cities, the majority of the population felt their needs were covered. In the case of El Alto, the number is much higher, but still in Montero more than 60% of the population believe their basic needs are covered. Thinking that Bolivia is one of the poorest countries in Latin America, to have a majority of

population feeling their needs are covered is really a big step. In the sense of basic need coverage, we could say that well-being is achieved in the majority of the population. Looking closer to the data, in the group of merchants almost all of them believed their basic needs were covered. This is very important, since commerce is one of the most important economic activities in both cities.

4.5 Satisfaction about life and different aspects of it

To see the more subjective aspect of well-being, people were asked how satisfied they were with their life in general to get a broad idea of their subjective well-being and with different aspects of their lives. Tables 8 and 9 will show the satisfaction with life in general.

Table 8 Satisfaction with life in general El Alto

Satisfaction with life in general	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female	4	16	25	32	77
18-29	1	4	7	9	21
30-39	2	7	12	14	35
40-49	1	4	3	6	14
50-59		1	3		4
60 and above				3	3
Male	3	18	22	30	73
18-29	1	3	3	6	13
30-39		5	5	8	18
40-49	1	5	7	8	21
50-59	1	3	4	4	12
60 and above		2	3	4	9
Grand Total	7	34	47	62	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Cuán satisfecho/a está con los siguientes aspectos de su vida: 1 Muy satisfecho 2 Satisfecho 3 Poco satisfecho 4 Nada satisfecho: Su vida en general

How satisfied are you with the aspects of your life: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied: Your life in general

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

Table 9 Satisfaction with life in general Montero

Satisfaction with life in general		Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female		7	16	28	22	73
18-29		2	5	8	6	21
30-39		4	7	13	10	34
40-49		1	4	3	5	13
50-59				1		1
60 and above				3	1	4
Male		6	19	26	26	77
18-29		1	4	4	5	14
30-39		2	5	7	7	21
40-49		2	5	7	7	21
50-59		1	5	8	7	21
Grand Total		13	35	54	48	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

When looking at the results of the tables, we can see that when it comes to the evaluation of their lives, the results are distributed along the different options of answer. The differences between male and female and age are not very notable, but we see that there is a very high number of people that are not at all satisfied or not very satisfied with their lives. If we add the people who are satisfied and very satisfied with their lives in both cities we get two thirds of all the people interview, and in El Alto the people that are very satisfied are the majority, while in Montero is the people that are satisfied. Also in Montero the number of people that are not at all satisfied is higher than in El Alto. In this sense we can say that subjective well-being is not fully achieved in the population and that the proportion of people that have achieved the subjective well-being is smaller than the proportion of people that have achieved objective well-being.⁸

4.6 *Buen vivir*

The concept of *buen vivir* is still being defined in the population of Bolivia. Although for the indigenous population it is more like a philosophy of life, since it entered the political sphere and agenda, it became a national concept still to be fully grabbed by the population, especially the urban people. Tables 10 and 11 will show what the people understand for '*buen vivir*'.

⁸ To look at satisfaction about specific aspects look at appendix 2

Table 10 What is 'buen vivir' El Alto

What is 'buen vivir'	Being happy	Having a house/Family	Having a job	Health	NS/NC	Other	Grand Total
Female	9	26	8	8	17	9	77
Primary	5	13	4	3	9	4	38
Secondary	4	13	4	5	8	5	39
Male	12	23	6	6	14	12	73
Primary	4	6	2	2	4	2	20
Secondary	7	15	2	4	9	8	45
University or college degree	1	2	2		1	2	8
Grand Total	21	49	14	14	31	21	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Qué es para usted "buen vivir" (Concepto adoptado en la Constitución del 2009)

What do you understand for "buen vivir" (Concept brought up in the Constitution of 2009?)

Notes: Table looks at gender and education level of the interviewed people

Table 11 What is 'buen vivir' Montero

What is 'buen vivir'	Being happy	Having a house/Family	Having a job	Health	NS/NC	Other	Grand Total
Female	3	24	10	8	19	9	73
Primary	2	11	3	4	10	4	34
Secondary		13	7	4	9	5	38
University or college degree	1						1
Male	4	23	10	6	22	12	77
Primary	2	7	2	1	6	2	20
Secondary	2	13	7	5	12	9	48
University or college degree		3	1		4	1	9
Grand Total	7	47	20	14	41	21	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and education level of the interviewed people

As seen in the two tables, the concept of *buen vivir*, as people understand it, relates to the basic needs for the population, but two new variables appeared in both cases. The idea of being happy and the idea of having family and a house. The first idea is very important, because for the first time, people are using a more subjective aspect to describe what they believe could be *living well*. The second variable is also very important, because it represents the aspect of 'community', that is so important for the *buen vivir*. As explain in previous chapters, *buen vivir* is a philosophy that requires living in a community, in this case the community is reduced to the family, but still represents something important for the people. Both men and women consider this (family) the centre of the *buen vivir* with difference. Again the variables of having a job and health are present, but not with a huge majority as they were in the question about basic needs. An aspect to be mention is the fact that nature is never mentioned when talking

about *buen vivir*, although it is one of the most important points of this concept. This could be related to the fact that the interviews were only conducted in cities. In this sense, although the *Pachamama* still represents a very important part in everyone's lives, it doesn't represent the core. This also shows this re-invention of the concept of *buen vivir* and its adaptation to the urban life. A very interesting aspect of both tables is the high number of people 'not answering' or 'not knowing', this can be explained precisely with the lack of knowledge about the concept even though it is part of the constitution and a major goal of the country.

4.7 Improvement in life

Tables 12 and 13 have the information about the perception of life improvement in the last 5 years.

Table 12 Improvement of life in last 5 years El Alto

Improvement of life in last 5 years			
	No	Yes	Grand Total
Female	29	48	77
Employee	14	30	44
Housewife	9	7	16
Merchant	2	6	8
Self-Employed	4	4	8
Student		1	1
Male	26	47	73
Driver	6	9	15
Employee	13	28	41
Merchant	6	7	13
Student	1	3	4
Grand Total	55	95	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Considera que en los últimos años su nivel de vida ha mejorado en los últimos 5 años: 1 SI 2NO

Do you consider your standard of living has improved in the last 5 years: 1 Yes 2 No

Notes: Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

Table 13 Improvement of life in last 5 years Montero

Improvement of life in the last 5 years		No	Yes	Grand Total
Female		34	39	73
Employee		19	25	44
Housewife		10	7	17
Merchant		2	2	4
Self-Employed		3	5	8
Male		33	44	77
Driver		9	8	17
Employee		19	30	49
Merchant		4	4	8
Student		1	2	3
Grand Total		67	83	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

In both cities the majority of the population believe that their life has improved in the last 5 years. Although in El Alto the percentage is higher. The distribution between the different occupations is very similar. One could think that this majority of people that feel their life has improved feel so because of the bonanza situation of the country, but when asked for the reasons of the improvement the answers were different and are reflected in tables 14 and 15

Table 14 Reasons of improvement

Why yes					Grand Total
	Economy	Other	Self-effort	Work	
Female	4	3	31	10	48
Employee	3	2	21	4	30
Housewife			3	4	7
Merchant	1		3	2	6
Self-Employed			4		4
Student		1			1
Male	3	4	30	10	47
Driver	1	1	6	1	9
Employee	2	2	17	7	28
Merchant			5	2	7
Student		1	2		3
Grand Total	7	7	61	20	95

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Por qué mejoró

Why the improvement

Notes: Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

Table 15 Reasons of improvement Montero

Why yes	Economy	Self-effort	Work	Grand Total
Female	3	30	6	39
Employee	2	19	4	25
Housewife		7		7
Merchant		1	1	2
Self-Employed	1	3	1	5
Male	3	33	8	44
Driver		8		8
Employee	2	21	7	30
Merchant		4		4
Student	1		1	2
Grand Total	6	63	14	83

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and occupation of the interviewed people

The tables show that the majority of the population believe that the improvement in their lives was due to the self-effort. This is something really important, because people take out the effect of the economy for a personal improvement. It is very interesting to think about the huge number of people that receive government transfers, and most likely those transfers had an effect on this improvement, but the general feeling is that it was only due to self-effort. Again the economic growth in the country would not have had a major impact in the people's subjective well-being, since the improvement is seen as a self-evaluation.

Chapter 5 Conclusions and final reflections

This paper examined the effects that the economic changes in Bolivia and Morales' policies had on people's well-being subjective and objective, as well as in their conceptualization of *buen vivir*. According to official data, there has been a clear improvement in Bolivia's economy. It is a fact that the price of commodities and the nationalization of the natural gas helped the economy to grow and remain with an average GDP growth higher than in the last 30 years. The arrival of Evo Morales to power came with numerous changes and brought social and political inclusion. His education policies, government cash transfers helped the Bolivian population, especially those in extreme poverty.

This section will start by presenting the major ideas reviewed in each chapter, afterwards it will present the final conclusions.

Chapter two presented a closer look at different theories of well-being. The aim was to show that well-being is a larger concept than just the income or economic growth *per se*. The theories and concepts used for this analysis, were the capability approach of Amartya Sen, Mahbub ul Haq and Martha Nussbaum. Looking at its influence for the Human Development Index and for the study of well-being in general. Afterwards I presented a closer look at the theories of the subjective well-being, understanding that well-being goes beyond the external aspects and also has a very emotional and internal aspect on it. Last but not least, the concept of *buen vivir* was explained as a philosophy of life from the indigenous population which has been taken to the political atmosphere when introduced in the political constitution of 2009.

Chapter three explained the methodology used to do this research. It explained the collection of primary data, which was made through questionnaire interviews that were done during the fieldwork in Bolivia. I also presented the sources from which I obtained secondary data, such as the National Institute of Statistics from Bolivia, the UNDP, CEPAL, UDAPE and other different publications; and finally the challenges faced during the whole data collection.

Chapter four presents the different findings of the research both, from the primary and secondary data.

The result of this analysis in what has to do with secondary data, demonstrated that the human development index followed the same tendency than the economic growth. With this evidence I concluded that economic growth and human development index are closely related in the case of Bolivia. Both measures have followed almost the same path and this could be closely related to the different policies taken by the government.

The situation of the Gini coefficient was the same. It moved in the same direction of the GDP growth, which would mean that not only the economic situation of the country is improving, but also the inequality is decreasing. In this sense it is possible to affirm that the redistributive policies of the president Morales had a positive effect in the general situation of the country.

When talking about basic needs we conclude that the majority of the population feel that their basic needs are covered, although in Montero this proportion is smaller. In both cities the majority of the population reduced what they considered basic needs to two categories 'having a job' and 'health'. This is a

very important aspect since this demonstrates the developing aspect of the country. In that sense it shows that people limit their needs to basic survival aspects as having a job to earn money to survive and having good health and do not think about other needs that people from developed countries would think, that would go beyond the mere survival.

These are the conclusions in terms of objective well-being. In this sense the general conclusion is that the economic growth experienced in the country had a positive effect on the objective well-being of the population, shown as a reduction of inequality and as an improvement in the measures of objective well-being (HDI and basic needs).

In terms of subjective well-being the situation looks a little more different. Although there is still a majority of population that feel satisfied or very satisfied with their lives the effect is not as big as with the objective well-being. There is still a large number of people that don't feel at all satisfied or not very satisfied. This aspect can be understood since the subjective well-being depends on many different aspects and it differs from person to person, so it is harder to come to a close standard. Also it is very important to mention that although people feel their lives have improved in the last 5 years, they attribute this improvement to self-effort and not to external circumstances. Again Montero is more negative. Relating this to the objective well-being aspect it is important to say that although people might be better off they could feel differently. Also people are really critical when attributing their success to external circumstances. Although a majority of the population received government transfers, they feel the improvement in their lives is because of their self-effort.

In most of the results the two cities had similar outcomes, but the major difference can come from the fact that Montero had worst results in terms of evaluation. People can be seen as more pessimist even though the city has better results in terms of HDI. This is a very important aspect since it is part of the historical conflict between east and west. Although the party of Evo Morales had a majority of votes in the last presidential election in Montero, the city still is part of the opposition region and therefore more critical to the government and its policies. This differences of the two cities made the research complete since it looked at the two different sides of Bolivia.

When talking about the concept of *buen vivir* people still are struggling to have a clear definition of it. People have different ideas of what *buen vivir* really is and although they include family and happiness as part of the definitions, it is important to remark that nature (which is a major part of the concept) still is not there. When thinking of *buen vivir* as a goal for the country and an alternative for the western understanding of development, this lack of definition comes as a major handicap. The problem comes from the principle of trying to take a philosophy of living of a specific group of people as a national political goal.

As a contribution, this paper introduced new primary data from the field work in Bolivia. This data can be used for future research on a similar topics. Also the results of the analysis made on this paper may be of interest to policy-makers since the new data collected looks at the objective and the subjective aspect of well-being at the same time as well as the concept of *buen vivir* as a critique to western development and as a goal in the country.

This research had also its challenges, and the lack of data and updated information was one of them.

Nevertheless, these limitations also represent the opportunity for initiating a future research project. The results of the new census are finally starting to come out, which means the availability of updated data that will contribute to making a wider research. It is my interest that this future project looks at different places, like Bermejo in the south of the country and a place rich in petroleum and natural gas, to also look at this different region where nationalization of natural gas could have had a special effect; or Cobija in the north to grab their perceptions of these numerous changes and especially looking at Bolivian rural areas, where the government has made an important economic investment and where the changes might be more visible. More importantly, further research in the effects of the economic changes and Evo Morales' presidency are needed, this is particularly important since it might be early in the process to do a proper evaluation of all the implications that this revolutionary period had in the country and since the polls point to him as the winner of the presidential elections of next year, and it will be important to explore this process in an extended period also thinking that the economic bonanza might not be sustainable for a longer period since prices will eventually fall.

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Appendix 1 Questionnaire

1. Sex: 1 Female / 2 Male
2. Age: 1) 18-29 2) 30-39 3) 40-49 4) 50-59 5) 60 or above
3. Study level: 1 Primary 2 Secondary 3 College degree 4 Higher 99
NS/NC
4. Occupation:
5. What do you understand for “buen vivir” (Concept brought up in the Constitution of 2009):
6. Do you consider your standard of living has improved in the last 5 years: 1 Yes 2NO

Why?

7. In your household do you receive any monetary aid from the government (e.g. Bono Juancito Pinto, Renta Dignidad, Bono Juana Azurduy, others.): 1 Yes 2 NO
8. How satisfied are you with the following services: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied
 - a. Drinking water:
 - b. Sewerage:
 - c. Garbage collection:
 - d. Electricity:
 - e. Health system:
 - f. Education system:
 - g. Monetary aid from the government:
 - h. Universal Maternal Insurance SUMI:
 - i. Health insurance for the elderly SSPAM:
9. What do you consider are the basic needs of a person:
10. In your case do you consider these basic needs are covered: 1 YES 2 No 3 Partially
11. What is the most important aspect for you to have a good life and to achieve well-being :
12. For you, how important are the following aspects to achieve a good life: 1 Not at all important 2 Not very important 3 Important 4 Very important
 - a. Feeling happy and good with you and with who you are:
 - b. Having mental and physical health:
 - c. Having confidence in your-self:
 - d. Having control in the actions in the public sphere to achieve changes in the community you live in:
 - e. Human rights, freedom, non-discrimination and respect:
 - f. Being free of humiliation or shame :
 - g. Not living a lonely life:
 - h. Having strong family relations:
 - i. Being part of a community:
 - j. Access to sport and leisure activities:
 - k. Having time to spend with family:

- l. Having free or leisure time:
 - m. Having time to educate your-self or study:
 - n. Living in a safe neighborhood:
 - o. Good and accessible housing:
 - p. Having access to green areas (squares, parks, etc.):
 - q. Good education:
 - r. Good public transportation:
 - s. Access to good and free hospitals and health care:
 - t. Having enough food:
 - u. Having a permanent job:
 - v. Having enough income/money:
13. How satisfied are you with the aspects of your life: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied
- a. Your life in general:
 - b. Food:
 - c. Housing:
 - d. Health:
 - e. Income:
 - f. Work:
 - g. Level of security in your neighborhood:
 - h. Friends:
 - i. Family:
 - j. Education:
 - k. Dignity
 - l. Neighborhood or community:
 - m. Religious or moral aspects:
14. Would you change any aspect of your life 1 Yes 2 No
15. If yes in 14, which three:
- a. .
 - b. .
 - c. .
16. Who do you think is more responsible of changing aspects in your life:
- a. Your-self
 - b. Your family
 - c. Your community
 - d. The local government
 - e. The central government
 - f. NGO
 - g. Other: Who?
17. In the last two years, your salary has:
- a. Increased
 - b. Remained the same
 - c. Decreased
18. Why
19. Do you have children?

20. What are the aspirations you have for your children:
21. The country has experienced great economic growth in the past years.
What effect did this have on your personal situation 1 Positive 2 Negative 3 No effect
22. In case of 1 and 2 in what sense:
23. What kind of effect had on you personally the arrival to power of president Evo Morales 1 Positive 2 Negative 3 No effect
24. In case of 1 and 2 in what sense:

Appendix 2 Satisfaction with specific aspects

1. Health

Table 16 Satisfaction with health El Alto

Satisfaction with health	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female	7	3	47	20	77
18-29	2	1	12	6	21
30-39	3	1	23	8	35
40-49	2	1	6	5	14
50-59			4		4
60 and above			2	1	3
Male	7	4	41	21	73
18-29	2	1	5	5	13
30-39	1	1	11	5	18
40-49	2	1	12	6	21
50-59	1		10	1	12
60 and above	1	1	3	4	9
Grand Total	14	7	88	41	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Cuán satisfecho/a está con los siguientes aspectos de su vida: 1 Muy satisfecho 2 Satisfecho 3 Poco satisfecho 4 Nada satisfecho: Salud

How satisfied are you with the aspects of your life: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied: Health

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

Table 17 Satisfaction with health Montero

Satisfaction with health	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female	10	3	48	12	73
18-29	3	1	13	4	21
30-39	5	2	23	4	34
40-49	2		7	4	13
50-59			1		1
60 and above			4		4
Male	10	4	47	16	77
18-29	2	1	7	4	14
30-39	3	1	13	4	21
40-49	3	1	13	4	21
50-59	2	1	14	4	21
Grand Total	20	7	95	28	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

2. Work

Table 18 Satisfaction with work El Alto

Satisfaction with work	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female	4	10	46	17	77
Employee	1	6	30	7	44
Housewife	3	3	4	6	16
Merchant			6	2	8
Self-Employed		1	5	2	8
Student			1		1
Male	3	10	43	17	73
Driver		2	12	1	15
Employee	2	5	24	10	41
Merchant	1	2	5	5	13
Student		1	2	1	4
Grand Total	7	20	89	34	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question:

Cuán satisfecho/a está con los siguientes aspectos de su vida: 1 Muy satisfecho 2 Satisfecho 3 Poco satisfecho 4 Nada satisfecho: Trabajo

How satisfied are you with the aspects of your life: 1 Very Satisfied 2 Satisfied 3 Not very Satisfied 4 Not at all Satisfied: Work

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people

Table 19 Satisfaction with work Montero

Satisfaction with work	Not at all satisfied	Not very satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Grand Total
Female	4	16	44	9	73
Employee	3	10	26	5	44
Housewife		5	11	1	17
Merchant		1	3		4
Self-Employed	1		4	3	8
Male	3	17	45	12	77
Driver	2	3	12		17
Employee		10	30	9	49
Merchant	1	3	1	3	8
Student		1	2		3
Grand Total	7	33	89	21	150

Source: Author's own data collected in July and August 2013

Question: Same as previous table

Notes: Table looks at gender and age of the interviewed people