

The social events of May 24, 2008 in Sucre-Bolivia

Los Hechos Sociales del 24 de mayo de 2008 en Sucre-Bolivia

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Abstract

This research has a highly complex object of study which resulted in a challenge for the team coordinator and the research team. The establishment of the Constituent Assembly in 2006, generated a set of expectations around the country, the possibility of leaving behind the water and gas war and above all ensure that the social sectors get an inclusive Political Constitutions, in other words the constructions of a social pact that allows after more than 180 years Bolivia as a Republic, a national cohesion. Because of the hegemonic political interests and lack of clarity of the opposition, the legitimate request to include an item in the debate of the assembly created an area of confusion within the constitutional assembly, so it's impossible to understand what happened on May 24, 2008 without doing a review from the Bolivian state and its political practices The conceptualization as racism of the social facts of May 24, 2008 was a heavy trial a priori the fact with the one we had to lead the work; our results lead us to discuss the political practices of the Bolivian state since 1825 and the genesis of it, the possibility of getting a test in which civil society and the state has a violent political practice is a contribution to search for the construction of citizenship.

Resumen

Esta investigación tiene un objeto de estudio muy complejo que supuso un reto para el coordinador y el equipo de investigación. La instalación de la Asamblea Constituyente en 2006, generó un conjunto de expectativas en torno al país, la posibilidad de dejar atrás la guerra del agua y del gas y sobre todo asegurar que los sectores sociales obtengan una Constitución Política incluyente, es decir las construcciones de un pacto social que permita después de más de 180 años a Bolivia como República, una cohesión nacional. Debido a los intereses políticos hegemónicos y a la falta de claridad de la oposición, la legítima petición de incluir un punto en el debate de la asamblea creó un espacio de confusión dentro de la asamblea constituyente, por lo que es imposible entender lo que sucedió el 24 de mayo de 2008 sin hacer una revisión desde el Estado boliviano y sus prácticas políticas. La conceptualización como racismo de los hechos sociales del 24 de mayo de 2008 fue una prueba pesada a priori el hecho con el que tuvimos que dirigir el trabajo; nuestros resultados nos llevan a discutir las prácticas políticas del estado boliviano desde 1825 y la génesis de la misma, la posibilidad de conseguir una prueba en la que la sociedad civil y el estado tiene una práctica política violenta es una contribución a la búsqueda de la construcción de la ciudadanía.

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Introduction

There have been certain social facts that make up the national conscience, and it is precisely the research on these facts that determines the veracity or falsity of the popular social judgment issued; such popular judgments are logically a priori, they do not respond to basic precepts of inquiry or scientific explanations.

The national conscience predisposes society to a determined course, as was the case in the revolution of 521 when it was built around the social judgment that the mining-feudal thread was sucking the State and impoverishing the Bolivian population, which led to revolutionary nationalism.

The social events that determine the national conscience have occurred on several occasions in the history of this country, within this search for social events, a social event that has not been investigated is the one that occurred on May 24, 2008 in Sucre, Bolivia.

Problem Statement

What events have established that May 24, 2008 in Sucre, Bolivia, is considered a social event resulting from racism, and not, on the contrary, a violent political practice?

Research Objectives

General Objective

To establish what type of social conflict occurred on May 24, 2008 in Sucre, Bolivia and whether it is the result of a violent political practice.

Specific Objectives

- Determine whether a violent political practice can lead to racism.
- Define whether the category racism is understood by the population of the municipality of Sucre.
- Determine if there is another cause that led to the social conflict of May 24, 2008 in Sucre.

Justification

The water war of the year 2000 in Cochabamba was the relaunching of the national-popular, the vindication of the massive popular mobilizations, around living well.

The intellectual construction from 2000 to date has been constant, it was predicted that the Constituent Assembly (2006-2007) would break with national exclusion and would give us a new social pact in which the national conscience would prevail around a new national consciousness.

Plurinational state with an ideological basis in communitarian socialism. The road to national construction did not come to fruition because the particularities could not cohere around the national as a common idea of good living.

In anthropological, sociological and political studies, the topic of social exclusion, racism, has been permanently addressed in our country, since the educational reform, by considering interculturality as an essential factor of social cohesion among Bolivians, this -harmony of debate is broken on May 24 in Sucre, since the establishment of a social judgment on the matter, understanding what racism is, generates the indispensable need to carry out a study on the subject.

This -harmony of debate was broken on May 24 in Sucre, since the establishment of a social judgment on the matter, understanding what racism is, generates the indispensable need to carry out a study on the matter, since the events of May 24 concern all Bolivians.

Methodological development

Materials and Methodology

The approach used for this work is mixed, that is, quantitative and qualitative. For this reason, it does not have a hypothesis. The first will allow us to carry out observations, such as the evaluation of the phenomenon under study, which in our case are the conflicts of May 24, 2008, from this point it will allow us to establish assumptions or ideas as a derivation of the previous observation and the respective evaluations, and consequently will allow us to demonstrate the degree of foundation that the previously developed ideas will have.

Subsequently reviewing such assumptions or ideas on the basis of the data collected or the subsequent analysis, this approach will allow us to make new observations and evaluations of the phenomenon to be studied in order to unravel, transform and stipulate the previously developed assumptions or ideas, or even generate new ones.

The qualitative approach will allow us to accumulate information about the internal or external reality of the phenomenon to be studied for research purposes, it will give us access to a set of manipulations, transformations, operations, reflections and verifications that we carry out on the data in order to extract relevant meaning in relation to a research problem.

In this sense, the two characteristics of this type of approach are taken into account, which is to have a general vision of the phenomenon to be studied, where each object of research can be understood as a text in a context, and both must be approached in their totality. The second characteristic is that of not losing contact with the immediate reality, since proximity is an indispensable requirement.

The analytical-synthetic, inductive-deductive and abstract-concrete methods will also be used, understood in their transversal application as rational logical thought processes, necessary in all stages of the research. The historical-logical method will also be used, which will allow diverse contextualizations in time and the historical construction of the theoretical framework following a rational categorical ordering. Also, for the elaboration of the theoretical framework, the documentary and statistical bibliographic method will be used, which will allow the former to carry out a sufficient and systematic documentary review to consolidate the conceptual and theoretical content, and the latter to adequately manage the measurable categories through an adequate description and relationship. The statistical method, through the application of surveys, to carry out the analysis of the perception of the citizens of the municipality of Sucre.

A non-probabilistic purposive sample was used.

The purposive or opinionated sample allowed us to select the citizens surveyed, following intentional selection parameters such as:

First, they must be over 21 years of age, which is taken into account since three years have passed since the events of 2008, i.e. respondents must have been at least 18 years old in 2008.

Second, that there is gender equity among the 1,000 respondents, in the case of the application of the quantitative instrument.

The phenomenological method will allow us to study reality, whose essence depends on the way it is lived and perceived by the subject, an internal and personal reality, unique and proper to each human being, for which we will have access to the phenomena as they have been experienced, lived and perceived by those directly involved in the events of May 24, 2008. Primary emphasis will be placed on the phenomenon itself, that is, on what is presented and revealed to one's own consciousness by the aforementioned event and which is of our interest to study with all its concreteness and particularity.

By means of this method, a methodological procedure can be carried out in which the premise is to listen in detail to those directly related to the phenomenon under study, to describe each one in detail and to elaborate a common structure representative of these life experiences. The phenomenological method is applied in a broad sense in sociological research. Emphasis will be placed on starting from a description of human behavior that is as unprejudiced and complete as possible. The method of life histories, this procedure will allow us to see how individuals directly related to the events of May 24, 2008, which led to violent acts, created and reflected this phenomenon.

By means of personal accounts, rescuing the vital experience in the life of the individuals related to this fact, prioritizing the individual explanations of the actions, we will relive all the events of that period of time. For the study, an interview will be applied, in addition to a questionnaire, asking them to detail the vital stage, the experience of the act and the context in which the events occurred. In the application of qualitative methods and life histories, the interviewees were selected through a non-probabilistic, purposive sample, since the interviewees had to be able to share unpublished information, which is reflected in the interviews.

Unstructured interviews of a focused type were conducted, since the topics were derived from an analysis of the interviewee's situations.

Results Obtained

As this was a mixed research, quantitative and qualitative data were obtained.

Quantitative Data.

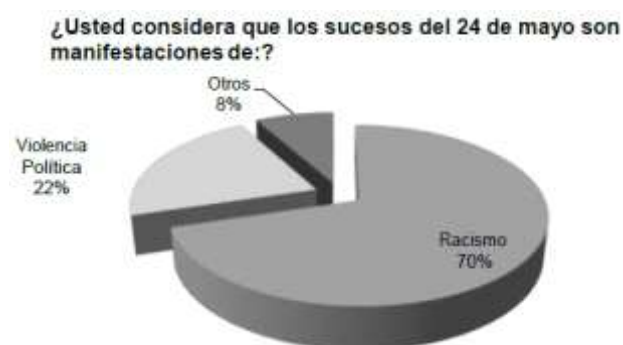


Figure 1 Knowledge of the population

Question number one of the questionnaire, raised the possibility of collecting the perception of the citizens of the Municipality of Sucre with respect to the collective imaginary that they have about the social events of May 24, 2008, the three possible answers respond to an analysis of how the issue has been addressed in public opinion, not so in scientific research, when taking into account the perception, we must be guided by the collective imaginary of the citizenship since they have been formed as a result of public opinion. 70% believe that May 24th is a social event resulting from Racism, the data is conclusive with respect to the perception of the citizenship, it is of utmost importance to take this data into account, but not to take it as conclusive since, as we mentioned, it responds to collective imaginaries, not to a scientific construction.

22% consider that May 24 is a manifestation of Political Violence, it is of utmost importance that citizens take into account an elaborate concept such as Political Violence. 8% consider that what happened on May 24th is neither Racism nor Political Violence.

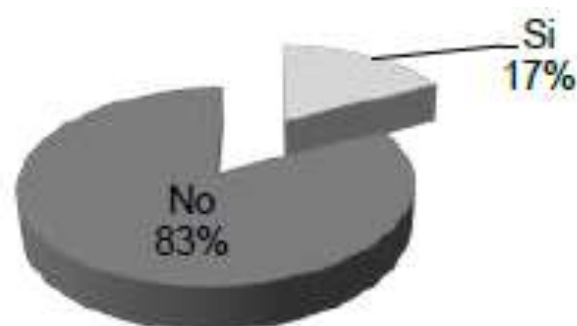


Figure 2 Do you believe that the purpose of the inter-institutional committee was to exclude the Chuquisaca area?

Question number two of the questionnaire has an analytical character, with respect to the criticisms of the leadership of the inter-institutional committee, we refer to the specific fact that the committee could never be a departmental movement, that is, it could not have the capacity to lead in the rural area, the rupture between the urban and the rural has implications for May 24, since on May 24, the victims are from the rural area of the department of Chuquisaca, the victims state that the committee was an organization that generated the exclusion of the rural area. 83% consider that the inter-institutional committee at no time had the purpose of generating the exclusion of the rural area of Chuquisaca, that is, there is no quarrel between the urban and the rural from the perception of the urban citizenship. 17% do consider that the committee had the purpose of excluding the rural area of Chuquisaca.

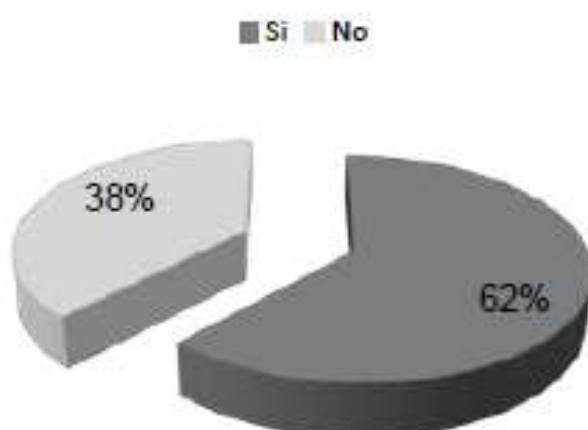


Figure 3 Did you feel included by the committee?

Question number three of the questionnaire raises the possibility of analyzing the degree of legitimacy of the inter-institutional committee, more than 3 years after its disappearance. 62% felt included by the committee, i.e. 62%, more than 3 years after its disappearance.

Believed in its civic leadership and still maintain their involvement in civic movements. 38% did not feel included by the committee more than 3 years after its disappearance. 38% did not feel included by the committee more than 3 years after its disappearance. It should be taken into account that the perception of the citizens of Sucre from 2007 (peak of the Committee), 2008 (disappearance of the Committee), to 2011 may vary due to the feeling of defeat of the population of Sucre.

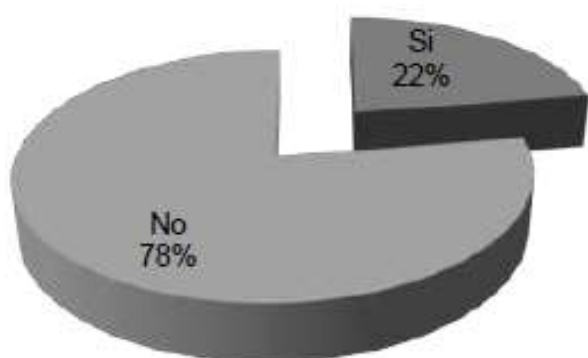


Figure 4 Do you think the committee generated violence?

Question number four of the questionnaire generates an introduction to the political practices of the committee, and whether the genesis of these practices has a relationship with violence. 78% believe that the committee did not generate violence, if the committee did not generate violence the genesis of the violence is not the existence of the committee, in any case the conduct of the committee has no relation to violence. 22% believe that the committee generated violence.

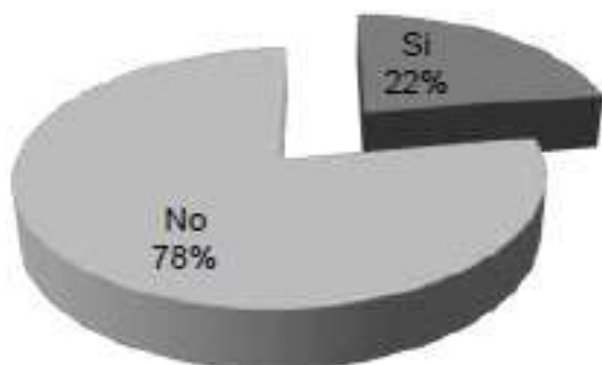


Figure 5 Do you think the political practice of the inter-institutional committee was violent?

Question number five of the questionnaire is related to question four, since in question four we measured whether or not the committee was violent.

Seventy-eight percent believe that it was not violent, but the question "Was the political practice of the committee violent?", 78% determined that it was not a violent political practice, the figure for questions four and five is 78%, determining that the committee did not generate violence or practice it. 22% believe that the political practice of the committee was violent, agreeing with question 4, the percentage of both questions is 22%.



Figure 6 Who do you think had the decision-making power in Sucre's demand between 2007-2008?

In question number six of the questionnaire, we sought to identify the perception of the citizens of the municipality of Sucre with respect to decision making, the degree of leadership achieved by the inter-institutional committee generates the question Who had the power of decision in the demand of Sucre between 2007-2008? Thirty-seven percent believe that the inter-institutional committee had the decision-making power, suggesting the possibility that 37% responded directly to the committee's directives. 29% believe that the political parties had a structure around the demands of Sucre.

25% believe that the citizens of Sucre were politically lazy, we would be talking about a movement without political leadership; in any case, 25% did not respond to an institutional or political directive. 7% believe that the social organizations had the power to make decisions, in the social organizations that participated between 2007 -2008 we have for example the neighborhood councils, which participated in the public meetings of the committee, in any case this 7% is closely related to the 37% of the committee as such. 2% believe that the lodges were in charge of decision making in Sucre, this data is in contrast with the discourse of the central level of the State, which believes that the lodges managed the political practice in Sucre between the period 2007-2008.

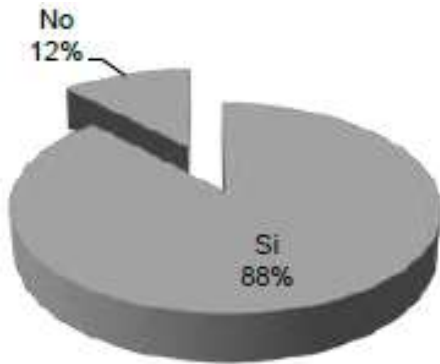


Figure 7 Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

Question number seven of the questionnaire is extremely complex since around the social event of May 24, 2008, the object of our study, a series of pre-judgments have been built, the categorization of the social event as racism is undoubtedly the most disseminated by the executive body of the Bolivian State since what happened in 2008. It is very important for us to know what is the perception of the citizens of Sucre in this regard, the question was the following Do you think that the concept of racism is manipulated with political interests? 88% believe that it is, the forcefulness of the data generates a new paradigm within the investigation. In question one, 70% affirmed that what happened on May 24 is racism, but in question seven, 88% affirmed that the concept of racism is manipulated politically, that is, the population believes that it is racism but that it is manipulated politically, in any case it has not been possible to determine what happened on May 24. 12% believe that the concept of racism is not politically manipulated.



Figure 8 ¿Participó en alguna de las movilizaciones convocadas por el comité interinstitucional?

The first part of question eight of the questionnaire asks us to determine the degree to which the committee as a coordinating and decision-making organization is able to convene, the question was as follows

Do I participate in any of the mobilizations called by the inter-institutional committee? 52% stated that they did participate in some of the committee's mobilizations, such as marches, town meetings and other demonstrations in support of Sucre's claim to full capital status before the Bolivian State. 48% stated that they had not participated in any of the mobilizations called by the committee, for this reason the committee did not have any kind of credibility for these citizens.

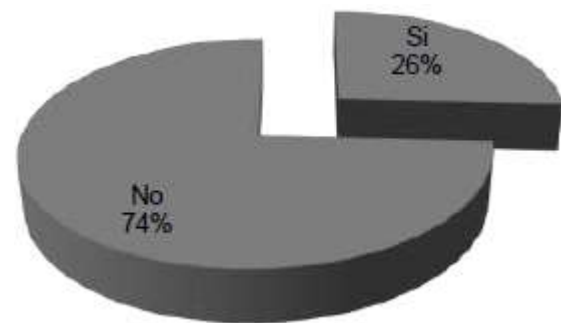


Figure 9 Do I hear any harangues that generate violence?

The second part of question eight of the questionnaire allows us to determine whether the citizens who answered yes in the first part of question eight have ever participated in one of the committee's mobilizations, which, let us remember, constitute 52%. Seventy-four percent did not hear any harangue that generated violence, that is to say, for these people there was no premeditated intention to generate a violent political practice on the part of the committee. 26% did listen to any harangue that generated violence.

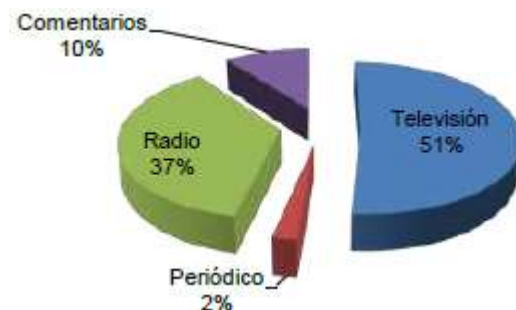


Figure 10 How were the events of May 24, 2008 reported?

Question nine of the questionnaire gives us the possibility of measuring the way in which information about what happened on May 24 was disseminated, in order to know the degree of importance of what happened.

That is, the degree of importance given to this social event by the citizens of Sucre. 51% were informed by television, since the images that were shown generated a panorama of confusion with respect to what happened, the commentary with respect to what happened could only be understood with the reiterated images of what happened. 37% through the radio, this data allows us to determine that 37% of the population found out instantly what happened, remembering that the confrontations in many cases were transmitted live to the audience of the different radio stations that covered the events. 10% through commentaries, which were also labeled as breaking news. 10% through newspapers, that is, through the press. 10% through newspapers, i.e. the day after the event.

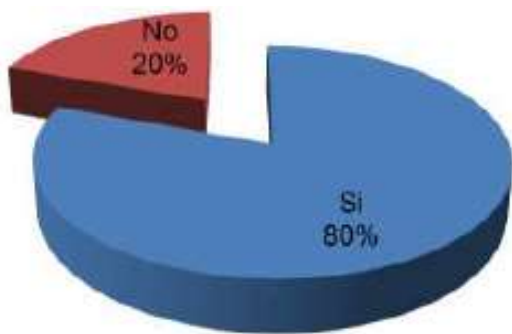


Figure 11 Were you able to watch any of the videos sponsored by the national government about May 24, 2008?

The purpose of question ten of the first part of the questionnaire was to determine the degree of knowledge of the citizens regarding the videos sponsored by the national government, it is worth mentioning that these videos were presented at the national level by the State television, administered by the national government.

Eighty percent of the citizens were able to see these videos in which criteria are expressed in which the social fact is categorized as racism and the members of the inter-institutional committee are held responsible. 20% of the citizens were not able to see these videos and therefore did not perceive their ideological content.



Figure 12 Do you think they reflect what happened?

The second part of question ten was aimed at determining the perception of the citizens who were able to watch the videos sponsored by the national government of what happened on May 24, recalling that 80% of the citizens said they had seen these videos.

Of the 80% who say that they have seen these videos, 85% believe that they do not reflect what happened on May 24, 2008. 15% do believe that these videos reflect what happened.

With respect to the videos, it should be noted that they are not documentaries but, on the contrary, proselytizing videos aimed at building a collective imaginary that the Bolivian State does not have a violent political practice.



Figure 13 Who do you think is responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008?

Question eleven of the questionnaire asks us to determine the perception of the citizens of Sucre with respect to who they believe is responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008. 45% believe that the national government is responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008.

It is worth mentioning that in the report of the Chuquisaca Ombudsman's Office, much less in the investigation of the Chuquisaca District Attorney's Office, the degree of participation of national government officials is not investigated. Eighteen percent believe that the peasant federation was responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008, which coincidentally never investigated their participation in the events, and simply determined themselves to be the victims. 15% believe that it was the inter-institutional committee that was responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008. 11% believe that it was the citizens of Sucre who were responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008. 11% believe that it was the lodges that were responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008.

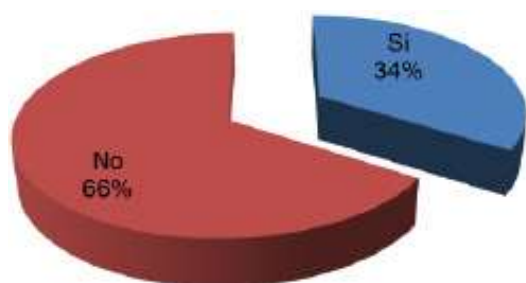


Figure 14 Do you think we are a more politically tolerant society after May 24, 2008?

Question twelve of the questionnaire allows us to perceive what the citizens of Sucre believe could have been learned from what happened on May 24, 2008 in order to become a more politically tolerant society after what happened. 66% believe that we are not a more politically tolerant society since what happened on May 24. 34% believe that we are a more tolerant society since May 24, 2008.

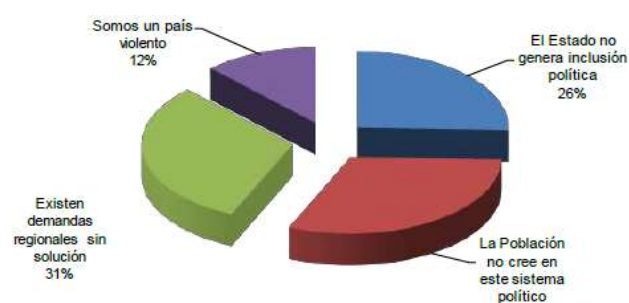


Figure 15 Is a violent political practice generated by?

Question thirteen of the questionnaire allows us to identify which is the factor for which the citizens of Sucre believe that violent political practices are generated.

Thirty-one percent believe that a violent political practice is generated because the population of Sucre does not believe in the political system. 31% believe that a violent political practice is generated because there are regional demands without a solution. 26% believe that a violent political practice is generated because the Bolivian state is not capable of generating political inclusion, that is, they do not feel part of the Bolivian state. It should be noted that these three perceptions have in common the lack of political space in which political inclusion can be generated and that this space can be constituted as a popular initiative with the capacity to be taken into account by the rulers of the central level of the Bolivian State, if we add these three percentages we would be faced with the possibility that 88% of the population of Sucre feels excluded from the Bolivian State. 12% believe that a violent political practice is generated because we are a violent country.

Qualitative Data Collected Interview number one

Interviewee: Cristian Copa

University leader of the University of San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca. The interview was conducted by the researcher, Leda Vaca Ventura in April 2011, at which time the interviewee served as executive secretary of the Local University Federation of the University of San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca.

1.- How do you qualify the events of May 24, 2008?

R.- I believe that these demonstrations have been the result of all the events and happenings that took place in 2007, as a result of the Constituent Assembly, so I believe that while it is true that on May 24, 2008 there were mobilizations and reactions to the deaths that occurred in 2007, and as a result there were clashes and confrontations between the peasant sector and the civilian population, which was organized to defend everything that had basically been demanded.

2.- Do you believe that the purpose of the Interinstitutional Committee was to exclude the rural area of Chuquisaca?

R.- I have not been part of the Interinstitutional Committee, at that time I was a grassroots student, I was not even a leader, but I can perceive that in any case the Committee was proposing and demanding a historical demand that was going to benefit or would benefit at the departmental level since the department is composed of the rural area and the urban area, therefore in my opinion what was being demanded was in favor of the entire department of Chuquisaca.

3.- Who do you think had the decision-making power in Sucre's lawsuits between 2007-2008?

R.- In reality, I believe that according to what we could perceive as students, as Chuquisaqueños and as Sucreans, I believe that the decisions were made within the university, by the delegates of each one of the representatives of the living institutions of the department. If someone responded to some interest outside or foreign to Sucre or Chuquisaca, well, I think we would have to see or try to look for another type of responsibility, but at that time the decisions were made by the representatives of the institutions.

4.- Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

R.- I think that this issue of racism today more than ever is an issue that is in vogue, it may be that it has a purely political content when talking about racism, it may be that politically they try to look for those responsible or look for any type of person who committed any type of irregularity in the issue of racism, but in any case now that we have a law that will put a stop to this type of discrimination, racism, etc., we believe that if this law has been produced it must be framed within the framework of this law.

5.- Were you able to see some of the videos sponsored by the national government about May 24, 2008?

R.- Yes, and repeatedly, not only that video but also the videos that were provided through the state channel, but also through the other media, in my opinion there were two different versions through the state channel, one version and another through the other channels,

I believe that the media have also helped to polarize and seek situations of confrontation and not the real culprits, I believe that each media responds to an interest. The state to the government and the private ones to a private sector; and from there they reflect and will always reflect the interest of who hires them or who is the source, therefore, I believe that although abuses have been committed as can be seen in some cases, they have also been exaggerated in the situations of blaming the university students as the gluers and those who would have been punishing the farmers.

6.- Who do you think is responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008?

R.- I do not dare to name names, but as I have said, May 24 is the result and product of what happened in 2007 according to what happened in the city of Sucre, therefore those responsible would not only have to be those who have hit the peasants but also those who have provoked, those who have incited, those who have been in the seizure of institutions here in Sucre and therefore those responsible would also be those who were not in accordance with the demand of the city of Sucre in 2007.

7.- Do you think we are a more politically tolerant society?

R.- I think that if in reality with this change that is taking place at the national level, because things are changing and obviously we are not going to go back, as a society I think that in any case in a sense of tolerance it is very clear that today more than ever citizens are more tolerant at the moment of being able to allow and accept these changes that are taking place at the national level, Therefore, we also believe that as a result of this we are reflecting the representations that can be had as never before there were indigenous people in the parliament, in the representations at national level and obviously in my opinion this is tolerance and acceptance also of the decisions that are being taken politically.

Interview number two.

Interviewee: Félix Llanque Patzy.

Coordinator of the Civic Committee of Chuquisaca, the interview was conducted by researcher Leda Vaca Ventura in April 2011.

1.- How do you qualify the events of May 24, 2008?

R.- It was a real attack against human dignity, we believe that all human beings have the same rights, but above all the same dignity, it is not possible to attack anyone in this way, be they white, black, of any race or of any social condition, we all have the right to dignity.

2.- Do you consider that it was an act of racism?

R.- No, not specifically racism, it was simply an aberration, an attack against the rights, against the dignity, against the quality of human being that every inhabitant of this country has.

3.-Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

R.- No, I deny that there is racism what happens is that it is interpreted that there is racism but no, if there were in this city we would not coexist citizens who live in this city with the farmers who are here every day, not only are their leaders, there are also the real producers or else go to the farmers' market there we share the same city, the same rights, I think it is adventurous to talk about racism.

4.- Do you believe that the purpose of the Interinstitutional Committee was to exclude the rural area of Chuquisaca?

R.- No, the struggle of the Interinstitutional Committee was for the capital city, so we already know the results, we cannot comment any more, the truth is that it was a concrete issue, the capital city, which could not be achieved.

5.- Who do you think had the decision-making power in Sucre's lawsuits between 2007-2008?

R.- I do not think there was a specific person, but what happened is that there have been meetings where some strategies have been defined, but I do not see that there is a specific person who has had the power to demand because it was the institutions, that is why it was called the Interinstitutional Committee.

6.- Were you able to see some of the videos sponsored by the national government about May 24, 2008?

R.- No, I have not even had the curiosity to see because I am not in this attempt to see one or the other thing simply, the experiences is what allows me to give my opinion on the subject.

7.- Do you think we are a more politically tolerant society?

R.- I think we are moving forward, we are more tolerant, so much so that now we are already talking, for example today I read in the press that the government is going to receive a delegation from Chuquisaca made up of all the institutions, so this means that we are gaining tolerance and this is very important for pacification, at least in Bolivia we need a more peaceful climate and not so much confrontation and confrontation.

Interview number three.**Interviewee: Lourdes Millares.**

The interviewee was a national deputy of the Republic, for the department of Chuquisaca. The interview was conducted by researcher Leda Vaca Ventura in April 2011, at the time of the interview Lourdes Millares served as Councilwoman of the Municipality of Sucre.

1.- How do you qualify the events of May 24, 2008?

R.- Undoubtedly what happened on May 24, 2008 is a regrettable event, an event that should not have happened, from the point of view of the connotations both in the internal life of our city and in the image of our city, and of our country in the international context, it is a regrettable event of violence between Bolivians and brothers of the same land that could have been avoided if there was a prompt and timely intervention of the security control mechanisms in this case of the national police.

2.-Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

R.- I believe that yes, I believe that this issue of May 24 served the government of Mr. Evo Morales Ayma to be widely publicized, to tell the international community and the country as a whole that this is a racist city

I deeply regret that the President and the Vice President of the Republic have made of this unfortunate event a political banner that was widely disseminated in the national and international context, even on Bolivian television (TVB) the video made by Mr. Breo, an Argentinean who came to distort the events of May 24 more than 15 times in a single day, was repeated.

3.- Do you believe that the government-sponsored videos reflect what happened on May 24, 2008?

R.- What happened on May 24, what the videos show is evident, but what there was is a manipulation, I give you an example, in the video of May 24 there is talk of racism and violence of city dwellers against peasants from a racist perception, but the question is what does the image of Wilbert Flores, former National Congressman, who suffers an aggression on April 10, do in the video? Why were images that did not correspond to what happened on May 24 camouflaged and shown with interviews that made sociological analysis of racist behavior along with the revelation of the facts? Along with what has been shown from the government is an edited video, it is not a video that has been taken in the genuine way in which we were initially filmed.

4.- Do you believe that the purpose of the Interinstitutional Committee was to exclude the rural area of Chuquisaca?

R.- No, I do not believe, by all means the inter-institutional committee tried on several occasions to summon the then leader of the Federation of Peasants and current governor of the department of Chuquisaca Estevan Urquiza who was invited repeatedly to the dialogue table to negotiate with the government on the issue of the capital in the framework of the constituent assembly, Estevan Urquiza even had meetings with people from the inter-institutional committee but unfortunately he aligned himself to the vision and the decision that the government of Mr. Evo Morales Ayma had at the time when Don Alvaro Garcia Linera said in a voice without neck that the headquarters does not move therefore the new accompaniment of the rural area to the request for the capital by a political decision of the movement to socialism led that managed the social movements of Chuquisaca.

5.- Who do you think is responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008?

R.- I think we have to assume that here there are several responsible, first, an accumulated anger on the part of Sucre because they refused to deal with the issue of the capital in the constituent assembly, a totally passive attitude of those who should guarantee the internal security of our country in this case of the ministry of government, of the police, and perhaps at that moment when the peasants were being transferred to the center of the city of Sucre, perhaps some authorities of the inter-institutional committee should have intervened. Perhaps at that moment when the peasants were being transferred to the center of the city of Sucre, perhaps some authorities of the inter-institutional committee should have intervened and persuaded the people not to commit the outrage that was committed in front of the house of liberty.

6.- Do you think we are a more politically tolerant society?

R.- I believe that Sucre is a tolerant city, I do not know if it is more tolerant than before, but Sucre has always been a tolerant city, we are a peaceful city, a quiet city, a city in which apparently the events that take place in the city of La Paz do not affect Sucre, Sucre is like the fifth wheel of the cart of this country, what happens in the political context does not affect it greatly because Sucre is not a promoter and participant of that fact, therefore I believe that in Sucre there is a democratic culture, there is tolerance and above all there is understanding among its citizens.

7.-Why do you think a violent political practice is generated?

R.- because there are those who promote it, there are people who promote violence, the speeches, the intransigent positions of hard positions that are messages that in some way the citizen receives from those who at a certain moment lead public opinion with factors that also condition a violent attitude.

Interview number four**Interviewee: Jorge Ulices Mujia Megido**

Representative of the native peoples of Potosí D.D.H.H. activist.

The interview was conducted by researcher Marisa García Picón in April 2011

1.- Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

R.- It is really notorious, especially in Bolivia and Sucre. The issue of racism is an issue of humanity where there is a division of social classes.

2.- Who do you think had the decision-making power over Sucre's regional demands from 2007-2008?

R.- There has not been a clear demand, but rather the personal interests of some and apart from that of sectarian groups that have been seen for a long time, we cannot say right or left wing, since we are originally from those groups, those groups are people who have money and regional ambitions that have been governing and did not want to leave power.

3.- Have you seen any of the videos sponsored by the National Government about May 24, 2008?

R.- Actually, as part of Human Rights we participated in filming these events as it should be, we divided into groups, some filmed the arrests and everything else.

4.- Who do you think may have been responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008?

R.- In reality many of the population as well as those who had in their hands the power to make decisions about what would or would not be done.

5.- What do you think are the reasons that could generate a violent political practice?

R.- Because of the fact that there are always rich and poor, and despite the fact that the government launched the law against racism, it only remains a law that seems nice but very few will comply with it.

Interview five.**Interviewee: Dr. German Gutiérrez Gantier.**

Former Mayor of the Municipality of Sucre, former National Deputy of the Republic, university professor at the San Francisco Xavier University of Chuquisaca. The interview was conducted by researcher Marisa García Picón in April 2011, when the Honorable Dr. German Gutiérrez Gantier was Vice President of the Honorable Municipal Council of Sucre.

1.- How do you qualify the demonstrations that took place on May 24, 2008?

R.- What happened on May 24, 2008 is a political action, it was a political struggle between people linked to the M.A.S. and people against the M.A.S., in no way was it a struggle between peasants and city dwellers, because normally they forget that there were expressions of political order and obviously the political struggle acquired the environments and characteristics indicated, but also people forget that there are two contextual factors, because the mere fact of the photograph in itself can cause a frankly distorted vision. What are the contextual elements? Basically two: first, that in previous hours President Morales announced his arrival to the city of Sucre to hold a celebration separately and isolated from the May 25 events without taking into account the birthday people, that is to say, the members of the city of Sucre. The second component is the context from the approval of the new constitutional text, where in addition have happened with three dead and about four hundred wounded there was a whole historical burden, the constitutional text established that Bolivians are different, and being different Bolivians that difference is not a class difference, is not a sex difference, is not a religious difference, but is an ethnic difference, we belong to different cultures, and being of different cultures therefore we are talking almost of races, then in Bolivia there is a difference of these characteristics and if in this country there is something that is racist is the current government, because the constitution allows this type of behavior, then if we take into account all these elements and these factors of the context May 24 was basically a political struggle of course with a repudiable fact that we do not support, but it was a political struggle between masistas and non masistas not between peasants and city people as it has been explained in the future.

2.- Do you believe that the concept of racism is manipulated by political interests?

R.- Definitely, but not only under political interests but from the constitutional text. The constitutional text by recognizing that we are a plurinational State accepts the difference, and the difference is of Nations, the Nation is read as a matter of ethnicity and culture, and ethnicity and culture is read as race at its most extreme level, therefore if there is an action of racism in this Q'ara or Tq'ara language that comes from the government it is basically an action that has been promoted, has been articulated and has been executed from the government that has a racist vision that has a hatred to those that it calls the -kqarall the oligarch to those that it calls the whites, unlike the citizenship in Sucre we are basically mestizos all in our blood we all have something of peasants something of whites, we have a mix I repeat that is founded and condensed with what is the mestizaje.

3.- Do you believe that the purpose of the inter-institutional committee was to exclude the rural area of Chuquisaca?

R.- Not at all, since one of the purposes of the committee was to make the people's demands heard, one of the purposes of course was the full capital status for the city of Chuquisaca and of course that demand included all the provinces of Chuquisaca, so basically there was no exclusion of the rural area by the committee.

4.- Who do you think had the decision-making power over Sucre's regional demands between 2007-2008?

R.- The people, basically it was the clamor of the people that called for a town council where Jaime Barrón was elected rector of the university at that time as leader of all the mobilizations that were carried out to achieve the demands of the city at that time, among the most important of course was the full capital, then basically the committee was formed who sought to make these demands heard by the citizens.

5.- Have you been able to watch any of the videos sponsored by the National Government about May 24, 2008?

R.- Yes, and they do not reflect in any way what really happened, although it is true that there were some outrages among citizens, what the government showed through the state channel was a true manipulation of the facts with respect to what really happened on May 24, 2008.

6.- Who do you think may have been responsible for what happened on May 24, 2008?

R.- Evidently the only one to blame and it is evident was this Mr. Sacha Llorente who was even in the sector of La Calancha inciting the people, the population to fall into confrontation which subsequently led to bloodshed Even the maximum provocation was the siege that he carried out with police and military to prevent the population from interrupting the session of the constituent assembly at that time.

7.- What do you think are the reasons that could generate a violent political practice?

R.- Because of the struggle of two opposites, we are not going to say that it is a class struggle, basically it is a political struggle of opposing positions and ideology, different, for example what is currently happening with the government. What is meant is that simply the roles have been reversed to what is called a role reversal or functions which makes this struggle simply continues to emerge.

Interview number six.

Interviewee: Natalio Yucra.

Executive of the Federación de Campesinos de Chuquisaca, the interview was conducted by researcher Fernando Iglesias Suarez, in April 2011.

1.- What phenomena do you think were manifested on May 24?

R.- That day about 40 indigenous and peasants went to the city of Sucre to receive ambulances for their municipalities that President Evo Morales was supposed to give. This could not be possible because a crowd organized by the Interinstitutional Committee, which was led by several local authorities, prevented the president from arriving at the Stadium due to the fights against the peasants that took place in the surrounding area.

The Interinstitutional Committee then took over the Stadium, identifying the indigenous and peasants present as the direct allies of the more and those who supposedly were traitors to the cause of Sucre, and reacted with great violence.

2.- What do you think was the purpose of the inter-institutional committee on May 24?

R.- The most important thing to highlight in this process of racism and violence is the maintenance of the power that the right wing had for a long time, which was endangered by the election of Evo Morales, who is the first indigenous and peasant president

3.- What do you think was the political practice of the inter-institutional committee?

R.- The practice was one of violence towards those who were not the same as them, they could not understand that there were people different from them who were in the positions they were in before them

4.- Who do you think had the decision-making power in the sucre lawsuits in the 2007 - 2008 periods?

R.- The committee was in full control, since through their radios and television programs they announced what the people had to do, they were the only ones who decided what had to be done against the peasants, they even had the audacity to say that the president did not even come to Sucre to deliver ambulances.

5.- Do you believe that the concept of racism was manipulated for political interests?

R.- It is what happened, those who manage racism are the ones from the committee since they say that it was not and they demonstrate it with the election of the former prefect Savina, they say that they are not racist for electing a woman of pollera, they want to wash their hands with that, but we know that it is a lie and that they are and will always be racist.

6.- Who do you think is responsible for what happened on May 24?

R.- The inter-institutional committee is totally to blame for everything that happened, they were there, with the people who beat our comrades I believe that the conflict of May 24 was a polarization of rural-urban..

Discussion

The polarity of the results is evident; we cannot understand the social event of May 24, 2008 without analyzing the political practice of the Bolivian State, the type of State that has been created since 1825 and its relationship with violence. Although 70% of those surveyed consider that May 24 is a social event resulting from racism, they believe that it is generated by the Bolivian State, since it does not have the capacity to include its entire population. In any case, we would be considering a Bolivian State with a demo-formalist political practice², since it cannot be constituted as such.

The discrimination generated by the Bolivian State of centralist nature, generates regional discrimination, in the case that concerns us, the discrimination of the Bolivian State is evident because it does not have the ability to unite its population, this discrimination was evident in Sucre when the hegemonic force, which holds the Bolivian State, refused to listen to the request for full capital for Sucre. It was in this context that May 24 took place, a Sucre society that was left with the open wound of the dead of the Calancha. With a national government that sought its legitimization through the victimization of its actions, since the only way to sustain the prevailing political system is victimization.

In this search to generate violence in order to receive it, the political breaking point of the institutionality of Sucre with the political hegemony called -Process of Change¹, the hegemonic process needed to put a qualifying label to this city, what better than -racism¹, without any previous analysis or anything else, it was identified as racism-racism¹, without any previous analysis or anything I identify it as racism, it is more than clear that the process of change would not be such if the political practice of the Bolivian State remains the same since 1825, violent for anyone who does not feel included by the regime in power, the rule of the Police State³ and not the Rule of Law.

In any case we are facing a Process of Change with an ideological apparatus and a violent political practice, it is clear that this State is the one inherited since 1825. How can we speak of a refoundation of the State, if civil society and the State continue to relate in a violent manner, and in many cases violating human rights on a constant basis, unfortunately, unfortunately, this is the State inherited since 1825.

Unfortunately, there is no ethical or even less scientific work on the events of May 24, 2008. The report of the Chuquisaca Ombudsman's Office is a national shame, since it is a chronological account of the apparent racism of the capital city of Sucre and not of the causes of violence, which is the first elementary step to talk about racism.

If the State is the main generator of violence, how can we have a society that is not the result of violence promoted by the State, if the State establishes a violent political practice, the response of civil society is equally violent.

Rene Zabaleta Mercado plantea que la práctica política demoformalista es propia de los Estados que no tienen la capacidad de ejercer soberanía sobre su territorio y no tienen relación con su población.

Niklas Luhmann, plantea que existen dos tipos de Estados, uno el de Derecho y otro el Policía, el de Derecho es aquel en el cual existe independencia entre los sistemas, en el Policía el Estado tiene como finalidad perseguir a la ciudadanía y hacer uso indiscriminado de la fuerza no legítima.

The population is clear in determining that the inter-institutional committee is not responsible for the violence of May 24, although they say that it is racism, they do not believe in the link between the committee and the generation of the same, the population states that it is racism but establishes that the national government is responsible for what happened, the conclusion of the thematic axis of discussion is evident, although the population determines it as racism, they hold the national government responsible for it, which is the operative part of the State that we must remember is still the same as in 1825, the same violent State.

Conclusions

It was a necessity to determine all the nuances surrounding the social events of May 24, 2008, the simple State conclusion of conceptualizing it as racism and that Sucre society is racist was a major challenge.

We cannot understand the events of May 24 without understanding the full capital status, the greatest claim of the city of Sucre before the Bolivian State, unfortunately not of Chuquisaca since the rapprochement with the rural area of the department was practically impossible since the political systemic components of both were not compatible, In other words, the institutional composition of the interinstitutional committee ends up being antagonistic to the peasant unionism that responds to a national corporativism, a corporativism without class or political identity that simply responds to the - Super Rentier State, speculator, violent and above all centralist, surely not from the legal system but rather from its collective imaginary, it is clear that regardless of who is the National Government and whether or not this government has the ability to become a political hegemony that appropriates the entire State, this systemic failure of the Bolivian State allowed us to make conceptualizations about the political practices of the Bolivian State and how this has a genesis of a violent political practice and that as a result of it, the social events of May 24, 2008 were generated.

Although 70% of those surveyed consider that the events of May 24 are a social event resulting from racism, this data is only relative, not absolute, since it responds to the political manipulation of the Bolivian State, it is easy and comfortable for the Bolivian State to characterize it as racism, The investigation led us to determine that the Bolivian State has a violent political practice as a result of the little democratic vocation of its civil society, it is clear that we can not stay with only racism but rather with the Bolivian State as the main generator of these anomalies.

Social dissatisfaction with the political system is clear, the lack of linkage between the Bolivian State and civil society is not a democratic connection, nor is it respect for human rights; it is a path of violent political practice.

The population is clear in their opinion that the inter-institutional committee is not responsible for the events of May 24, and believes that there is political manipulation of the concept of racism. In the interview with the human rights activist we find an interesting clue, he mentions that those who filmed the embarrassing video of Cesar Brie, were a team and that he had several cameras, cameras in a confrontation? What a predisposition to the news, or in any case to the generation of the same, and to the crude assembly of the social fact, we do not propose that there are no human rights violations, of course there were, but they are not racism, of course the behaviors of the aggressors of both sides, if a serious legal analysis is made, they would be found responsible.

It is one thing to talk about the violation of human rights and quite another to say that it is racism, and once again the Bolivian State denies the genesis of the generation of violence, and that the same articulated by the executive power is a generator of violence, in order to characterize itself as a victim and thus be able to legitimize itself before its abysmal management of the constituent assembly.

Recommendations

- The Bolivian State must generate educational policies that promote respect for political differences.
- The investigations conducted by the Public Prosecutor's Office on May 24, 2008, are not impartial for the citizens of Sucre and cannot be carried out under political pressure, at a time when the independence of Bolivian State bodies is non-existent, the executive branch has monopolized the decision making of the Bolivian State.
- The Ombudsman's Office must recover its legitimacy, since in the specific case of the report on May 24, 2008, it does not generate any degree of legitimacy, since the Ombudsman's Office is questioned by the citizens of Sucre for its constant biased opinions regarding the social event under investigation.

– The Bolivian State must be demanded to respect the collective identity of the city of Sucre, since the lightness of the descriptions of an entire society for criminal conduct committed by a minority should not be a reason for the transgression of the collective identity of the city of Sucre.

– Any space for debate and reflection on the violent political practice of the Bolivian State is necessary, since a structural solution to the violent actions of the Bolivian State can only be generated through self-criticism of its actions.

– The object of study is not exhausted, more contributions and research must be done on what happened on May 24, 2008, since the present work simply constitutes a contribution to the clarification of these events.

– Civil society must understand the importance of relating with the Bolivian State without resorting to violence as the only mechanism to be heard, it is more than clear that the Bolivian State has a violent political practice, but civil society also resorts to it to participate in politics, the channels of political relations, whether these are social movements or political parties, are simply instruments of a violent political practice promoted by the State and accepted by civil society.

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