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BOLIVIA:

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION SITUATION

The case of female labour migrants

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Foreword

Changing labour markets with globalization have increased both opportunities and pressures for women to migrate. The migration process and employment in a country of which they are not nationals can enhance women's earning opportunities, autonomy and empowerment, and thereby change gender roles and responsibilities and contribute to gender equality. But they also expose women to serious violation of their human rights. Whether in the recruitment stage, the journey or living and working in another country, women migrant workers, especially those in irregular situations, are vulnerable to harassment, intimidation or threats to themselves and their families, economic and sexual exploitation, racial discrimination and xenophobia, poor working conditions, increased health risks and other forms of abuse, including trafficking into forced labour, debt bondage, involuntary servitude and situations of captivity. Women migrant workers, whether documented or undocumented, are much more vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and abuse – relative not only to male migrants but also to native-born women. Gender-based discrimination intersects with discrimination based on other forms of “otherness” – such as non-national status, race, ethnicity, religion, economic status – placing women migrants in situations of double, triple or even fourfold discrimination, disadvantage or vulnerability to exploitation and abuse.

To enhance the knowledge base and to develop practical tools for protecting and promoting the rights of female migrant workers, a series of case studies were commissioned. These studies were intended to provide background materials for an Information Guide on Preventing Discrimination, Exploitation and Abuse of Women Migrant Workers. The Guide, which is comprised of six individual booklets, aims at assisting and enhancing the efforts of government agencies, workers' and employers' organizations, non-governmental organizations and civil society groups in sending, transit and destination countries to protect the human rights of women migrant workers in the different stages of the migration process.

This working paper is based on one of the country case studies. The countries covered included Bolivia, Costa Rica, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and the United Arab Emirates. The focus was on the situation of the women migrant workers in their families, workplaces, communities and societies in sending and receiving countries and also on the initiatives, policies and programmes, “good” and “bad” practices implemented by government, private recruitment and employment agencies and a wide range of social actors to assist and protect women migrants against exploitation and abuse and to prevent them from being trafficked.

The case studies represent a collaborative effort between the Gender Promotion Programme and the International Migration Branch, as well as a number of Area and Regional ILO Offices. Katerine Landuyt had main responsibility for commissioning the case studies. Tanja Bastia provided technical guidance to the national consultants, while Minawa Ebisui and Tiina Eskola provided editorial and formatting assistance.

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Presentation

International migration, a massive and permanent phenomenon motivated primordially by the search for work, can no longer be conceptualised within narrow explanatory frameworks to be resolved by bi-lateral actions. The phenomenon of international migration includes factors responding to the countries in question, such as low growth rates, scenarios of crisis, increasing unemployment, and persistent poverty. Furthermore, we find a highly complex social fabric associated with the movement itself. Thus, some authors also refer to an ever-growing transmigration (Pries, 1999).

In the Bolivian case, as the sending country for a growing mass of labour emigrants, the most notable characteristic taken on by international migration is related to its illegal nature and the labour and employment status of the male and female migrant workers. They are associated with significant insertion into agricultural activities, the manufacturing “industry” (apparel), and in low-skilled services having to do with the rural origins of a great majority of these migrants. A growing participation of female labour migrants may also be noted in what was primordially a masculine migration.

If the international labour market was one of preponderant access and use of male manpower, currently the economic, social, and cultural dynamics involve a massive participation by young women, with growing economic responsibility for household upkeep. Women are now an important part of this mass of individuals that seeks work motivated by the search for and construction of higher standards of living than those currently enjoyed.

The illegal nature displays and hides forms of economic exploitation, different forms of violence and denial of basic human and labour rights of female workers, converging on ethnic factors which are found in discriminatory relationships not lacking in xenophobic traits.

The information that could be systematised and analysed for this study, shows how women are involved in emigration and re-migration processes, where fundamental aspects such as their active participation in social networks stands out, as well as their contribution to the generation of income and assets. These contribute under complex international circuits not only to the subsistence and investment in family assets, but also to different circuits of international activities, such as those of regional and local economies where they are placed in the labour market, but under frameworks of total social defencelessness.

It has also been possible to ascertain the different receiving destinations, and for some of them it has been feasible to obtain approximations coming from some important research and case studies, among which the Argentine case has received the greatest emphasis. In general, there is still limited knowledge on this topic, gender “neutrality” in existing studies, the need for in-depth analysis of the emerging migrant flows in the new context of the globalized economy, as well as the absence of studies that approach the topic from an overall perspective, taking into account the national dimension, that of citizenship, and of the Nation/State. It is also important to add the need to observe the implications of the phenomenon in the daily affairs of the economic, social, cultural, and political milieus of the sending and receiving countries. This will allow a reflection and search for alternative public policies and advances in legislation on this issue within the national and international context.

This report is exploratory in nature, providing challenges for future investigation.

The research strategy was oriented by a guide prepared by GENPROM, which specified the information requirements and some methods for gathering it.

This implied a three-faceted approach to the problem: from the institutional sphere, both public and private, which implied legislation, policies, and programmes; from the viewpoints of the male and female migrants, oriented to capturing their needs and problems; and, from the viewpoint of the different social players that in one way or another are concerned with and have an impact on this problem from the perspective of specific programmes.

The query on the advances in legal matters and public and private institutional involvement was handled by means of documentary revision and interviews of Government officials, in agencies related to international migration; and with involved public and private institutions and personalities that are involved in the topic from different points of view.

At the same time, it was considered important to contact the researchers that worked in this field, as well as carrying out the broadest bibliographic and documentary search possible. One finding was the dispersion of the data, insufficient systematisation thereof, and the lack of a system with pertinent, complete, and current statistical data, and this circumstance was a limiting factor for the study is the scope of the information on the problem in general and with regard to the gender dimension prioritised therein. We found that there is no precise official information, and what exists emphasises the under-recording, that there is no consideration of the fundamental values that would allow us to ascertain the structure and status of international migration, nor of its gender distribution or characteristics.

The shortages in official data, the lack of evidence and empirical information sources, required that we carry out data from newspaper files as a means of achieving approaching the status of international migration and that of female labour migrants. In this sense, a systematic follow-up was made of a nationally circulated newspaper, *La Razón*, for the period of the two years of 1999 and 2000, as well as the first quarter of 2001.

Another difficulty encountered was the high rotation of personnel in the public agencies, which hindered follow-up of the initiative carried out, and generated a permanent lack of mechanisms to monitor and accumulate knowledge and of the proposals for intervention. Therefore there is evidence of a development of fragmented initiatives, which respond to praiseworthy efforts which usually do not enjoy decisive and effective support from these agencies in deciding policies. Beyond these evidences, it was possible to identify as a background, that the topic of international emigration is not a priority item on the public agenda, which is reflected in the absence of a serious and sustained policy. Perhaps it is the negligible hierarchy of the topic which explains why it is not prioritised and justified in the overwhelming need to establish an information system on international migration.

The fieldwork, the focus group organisation, and the interviews of the emigrating workers, their families, and friends were decisive for the study. The organisation and implementation took into consideration the departments and localities identifies as areas of significant expulsion that present visible experiences of emigration abroad. These are Cochabamba, La Paz, Potosí, Tarija, and Beni. Their migration destinations were also taken into consideration, especially the surrounding countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, United States, and Japan, which are the countries receiving the largest flows of Bolivian male and female migrant labour.

All of these methodological approaches and the circumstances of the information have given rise to a certain inequality in the treatment of each of the aspects under study. Thus, we can see greater amplitude given to the socio-economic characterisation of the country and the processes that generate the phenomenon, than to the legislation in this regard, so that there is a significantly reduced description and analysis of the public and private policies and initiatives on both the preparation for migration and the reinsertion of the returning migrants.

With all its limitations, the document allows an approximation to the set of aspects that constitute the problem and can provide indications on future steps in favour of the female labour migrants.

Introduction

Socio-economic context

Bolivia has a heterogeneous productive structure with profound regional and sectorial inequalities, which have contributed to the establishment of unequal relationships between social groups, regions, segments, sectors of activity, and in a social-spatial framework displaying an important breach between the urban and rural milieus.

From the decade of the 80s through the present, our country has been implementing the policies known as neo-liberal structural adjustment, executed in two periods. The first, from 1985 through 1990, under the label of “stabilisation”, was a result of the foreign debt crisis, and whose policies responded to a sole prescription derived from the accords of the “Washington Consensus” (fiscal adjustment, liberalisation, and deregulation of all markets: for goods, labour, and money, privatising public companies and the reduction of public regulation in general). This was followed by a second stage oriented to the consolidation of the prevailing new economic order, based on an analysis of the social costs of the adjustment that assumed the name “second generation” or “social reform” for that reason.

The adjustment process has participated in the extreme conditions opening the economy to the world’s markets, demanding the payment of the external debt under new forms, reinforcing the social controls over the population to foresee and constrain the challenges to the new order established, by means of new terms in resource distribution.

Thus, over the last two decades, there has been a new social dynamic which is far from reducing the pretension for change in the economy and in the reorganisation of labour relations, but which has implied restructuring the state apparatus and the scaffolding of society, with the emergence of previously unknown social processes creating new scenarios that influence the working and living conditions of workers, particularly working women.

Effectively, the induced adjustment model has accentuated discrimination in the labour market and, generally, in the different economic activities, as a result of the unequal competition based on heightened requirements for “human capital”, and in the greater relative absence of this in those population groups belonging to determined gender and ethnic status. At the same time, it has implied a resurgence of marginality or “disaffiliation” due to the scant dimension of the capitalist entrepreneurial sector, its token productive vocation and minimal spirit of risk; also due to the impossibility of access to services and satisfiers as a result of the cancellation of collective consumption paralleling the de-structuring of the organisational principles of a wage-based society.

In summary, it can be said that the structural adjustment programme was based on two pivotal formulae:

Openness of national economies to the interplay of forces on the world market; i.e., the interplay of the interests of the great multinational firms; and

The minimization of the Nation/State’s role in the regulation of these forces and the reduction of its social compensatory functions.

The former has meant a world-wide loss of attention to “non-competitive” economic activities and insistence on the free circulation in our markets of foreign goods, services, and capital with scant restrictions, without the economies of the “Core” countries adopting similar steps. Thus, the possibilities for a “self-centred national development”, i.e., one

based on the domestic market, was left out of the options opened by the nature of the adjustment.

Specifically, the defencelessness of the supposedly uncompetitive activities has been accompanied by an offensive against classical wage-earning workers, by means of the imposition of free contracting, the “rationalisation” of employment, “relocation” (a euphemism for massive firing of the workers in the state-owned mining companies), wage freezes for public sector workers, minimum wage impositions for employees in the public sector, which has generated a downward trend in all wages and salaries. This, in turn, has had repercussions on changes in the contracting regime and the appearance of new forms of labour enrolment: eventuality, sub-contracting, parcelling the labour process, and transferral of some phases to the home, piece-work, suppression of the requirement for a contract. To wit, forms limiting and avoiding the acquisition of rights on the one hand, and that allow a significant incorporation of women and children into the labour force, due to their greater availability to accept partial shifts and lower remuneration, on the other.

Definitely, the wage and salary freeze and the un-liberal measure of regulating some prices, principally the prices for petroleum products, have had regressive consequences on income distribution, affecting not only urban producers, but also, and particularly rural producers, especially those that are growing foodstuffs and, in general, the consumption goods for the urban wage-earning population. This has had effects on the de-structuring of the peasant economy, accelerating migrant flows.

With regard to the second, the “shrinking” State has appeared fundamentally in four aspects: (a) privatisation of public firms and the incorporation of its logic into the social and local milieu; (b) the weakness of the State or national Government in deciding development strategies, favouring a greater involvement of the non-regional international agencies; (c) the legal expansion of the networks of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the promotion and assistance of the poorest sectors and those excluded by the policies; and, (d) the pretensions for greater social self-autonomy through an expansion of the co-participation of the communities, grass-roots organisations, homes, and other social organisations, by means of payments, contributions of work, and other material resources to alleviate or attenuate the social problems caused by the adjustment, and the generation of income oriented to the satisfaction of immediate needs.

In general, the push towards a regressive overall income policy is favouring the private export sectors, large-scale import trade, and creating regional oligarchies; i.e., those that own the monetary circuit and only that production oriented for export, to the detriment of labour income. The expression of this policy can be found in the reduction of tariffs, open market policies inhibiting internal initiatives, facilities for the freer flow of capital, on the one hand, and in the implementation of the value added tax (VAT) that burdens the whole population without discrimination, the suppression of certain food subsidies, and the elimination of collective consumption as a public service, on the other.

The set of macroeconomic policies executed within the adjustment framework were only able to achieve a fragile stability and equilibrium among the major macroeconomic variables. With regard to the second-generation reforms, the country incorporated important changes in the development orientations, within the framework of “human development” and “sustainability” arising for the challenges to the inequalities and exclusions recognised as problems. New principles of democracy, justice, and humanisation were proposed within social relationships, under which an attempt was made to resolve the problems such as “economic stagnation, unemployment, and the low levels of remuneration for work, the delay in education and health, rural marginality, the State’s moral and institutional crisis, gender, cultural and ethnic, and generational disparities”; which however, must be subordinated to the objective of economic growth as a

requirement for employment and income generation, and the improvement of general welfare conditions.

The institutional reforms promoted as a part of the modernisation plans for the State are based on the territorial redistribution of power towards the municipalities, by means of a political and administrative decentralisation and the placement of controls on the State by means of the creation of a regulatory system.

The regressive nature of the income distribution policy, however, the prosecution of privatisation of the mechanisms of long-term social security the partial expropriation of the funds contributed to social security, housing, the progressive deregulation of labour relations, among others, alongside an effort at redistribution of a small proportion of the tax revenues in favour of the municipalities, have not allowed a significant progress in reducing the recognised disparities (gender, cultural and ethnic) much less a reduction in the socio-economic inequalities. To the contrary, these latter have been increasing.

Thus, after 16 years of adjustment, the country is in a complex and difficult economic, social, and political situation.

The transfer to the world market of the incentives for domestic production has translated into a reduction in basic export product prices, with the consequent decline in income for this concept, with substantial effects on the trade balance; while this production destined to export barely reaches 26 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product, with a declining trend. This means that, in spite of the emphasis on policies, 74 per cent of the production continues to be a production for the domestic market, without the necessary incentives.

The long-awaited economic growth is barely expressed by an average annual rate of 1.5 per cent, and with the downward trend in revenues (Report on Human Development 2000. UNDP. Bolivia); it places restrictions on the possibilities of achieving labour force absorption and instead promotes emigration. Indeed, the proposals for increasing savings and investment have not reached the levels foreseen, neither has the privatisation process (by means of the capitalisation of public firms), which attempted to increase the investment levels, had the expected effects on either the levels of investment or on an increase in employment, and in consequence, on revenues. This generates unemployment or self-employment in such precarious conditions that they promote the expansion of internal and international migrations.

The virtual stagnation of the productive sector has had direct negative impacts on employment, with the exception of employment in the public sector and in part of the entrepreneurial sector. This has accelerated the increase in the unemployment rate, which, with regard to the open unemployment rate has been fluctuating around 7 per cent and 10 per cent in the 90s; falling to 3.6 per cent in 1997, in the measure that underemployment increased to 54 per cent together with employment throughout the so-called informal sector.

In spite of the slight increase in the rates of investment, derived from the policy of openness to direct foreign investment (DFI) by means of the privatisation processes (capitalisation) in the five state enterprises (US\$ 1.67 billion) ¹, the rates of investment in general are low, as are those of domestic savings. Both are insufficient to achieve the goals established for productive refurbishment, raising productivity and economic growth as factors generating employment and income.

¹ The State enterprises capitalised were: ENFE, LAB, ENTEL, ENDE, and YPFB.

The capitalisation process has allowed the installation of capital-intensive firms with only a slight capacity for employment generation, and their impact on indirect employment generation requires as a pre-condition a significant articulation among segments and sectors of the economy, with is not the case, since reality shows us a profound economic, regional, and sectorial disarticulation inhibiting this linking effect. (Villegas, C.; 1997).

Thus, salaried employment in the formal sector shows a declining trend. If one adds to this situation the growing transfer of the responsibility for the reproduction of the labour force towards society itself, it is understood that the counterpart is an expansion of the so-called informal, family, and semi-entrepreneurial sector in the country's new occupational structure, which from another perspective is known as the "popular economy". The growing presence of this economy places it as the main provider of occupation and employment within the framework of the tertiarisation of the economy, obvious in the broadening of the labour base and in trade and personal services, in particular; although it is taking on ever-greater importance in the production of goods as well.

This demonstrates the trend towards the duality of the economy and society, under circumstances where policy offer privileges to those sectors that are advanced, exclusive, and discriminatory.

This trend towards duality is emphasised by the population dynamics characteristic of the country, during the lapse between 1990 and 1997, there was a total population growth rate of 2.4 per cent, less than that of the labour force, at 4.5 per cent. If we add to that the low levels of GDP growth, we find that product per inhabitant for this period grew much less than the natural growth of the population, with all the difficulties that this implies in terms of the conditions for reproduction of the population, particularly that of the labour force.

The gap in social reproduction as a result of the transferral of the "common good" from the State to society, the scant demand for labour, the difficulties for substituting collective consumption, and the difficult conditions of subsistence are factors driving population migration. But, furthermore, the scant economic growth and recession in recent years are the foundation of the acceleration of emigration streams, attended by open market policies promoted by the adjustment and so-called globalisation.

The actual structure of the labour market corresponds to an "investment" pattern characterised by low rates of investment and, above all, an orientation towards activities of capital recovery, such as commerce and services detached from support for the industrial transformation.

In synthesis, the capitalist productive matrix with its emphasis on exports shows a high degree of vulnerability to fluctuations and transformations in the global economy, a weak self-centred productive development, a scant productive vocation that, in counterpoint is expressed as a trend towards hypertrophy of the activities of trade and finance intermediation. In spite of this, and due to the low rates of savings and investment, the interest rates are very high, accentuating the regressive income distribution and the deterioration of the unequal terms of exchange, which forms a feedback loop to the minimal trend towards productive undertakings.

Some characteristics of the employment situation

This economic dynamic accentuates consideration of the value of the labour force as an adjustment variable for entrepreneurial "competitiveness". Furthermore, it accentuates the growing precariousness of the modes of labour recruitment, decentralisation of productive entrepreneurial activities, with a concomitant growth in "home industries". It is

only in this context that one becomes aware of the concentration of occupation or job creation in the family and semi-entrepreneurial sector, whose characteristics are small scale activities, scant capital and investment, precarious labour conditions, intensification of family labour, and low levels of remuneration as a condition for market subsistence or insertion. In these spaces, one becomes aware of a significant concentration of the female labour force; so that only under these conditions can one say that the current model “generates” employment for women to the detriment of the male labour force; given the greater proclivity of the former to accept worse working conditions. However, it is precisely this precariousness in the conditions of the “jobs” that operates as an incentive for women’s emigration.

Table 1: Evolution of employment according to categories of labour organisation

Segment of the labour market	1992		1995		1997	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
State	162,700	15.81	161,650	13.16	244,047	6.8
Entrepreneurial	213,500	20.75	226,188	18.42	561,528	15.7
Semi-entrepreneurial	190,741	18.54	274,370	22.34	375,587	10.5
Family	402,533	39.12	498,260	40.56	2,309,537	64.8
Domestic	59,293	5.80	67,837	5.52	78,942	2.2
Total	1'028'767	100.0	1'228'305	100.0	3'569'741	100.0

Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of the Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (EIH) 1992 and 1995, and the Encuesta Nacional de Empleo (ENE) III, 1997. INE.

As can be seen in the following table, the most important part of urban employment has been contributed by the informal sector, with 89.5 per cent of the labour market, distributed principally among commerce, services, and manufacturing.

Table 2: Contribution of labour market segments to employment creation according to sectors of activity: 1992–1995

Sector	Capital cities			Total
	Formal	Informal	Domestic	
Manufacturing	34.4	65.6	—	100.0
Commerce	7.9	92.1	—	100.0
Services	43.0	57.0	—	100.0
Other	-10.3	95.5	14.8	100.0
Total	6.2	89.5	4.3	100.0

Source. CEDLA: Social Report 1996, 1997.

In this context, female labour has undergone significant changes such as its massive incorporation into the labour market, and above all its overwhelming presence in the expansion of the informal, family sector, the feminisation of agriculture, and the importance of its presence in manufacturing activities.

These changes have translated into a new gender structure in the economically active population (EAP), but the most significant aspect is its important expansion and the more than significant reduction in economic inactivity. The data from the period between the censuses of 1976 and 1992, and the 1997 records point out two trends: (a) the decline in female inactivity and their greater presence in the formation of the EAP; and, (b) a growth in the inactivity of men and their relative decline in the EAP.

Both trends have variations between the urban and rural areas; while in the urban area, the female EAP has grown by one-third, in the rural areas it has tripled, as a part of the process incorporating rural women into remunerated labour (see Appendix 2); but, also as a consequence of the significant male migration flows, both internal and international. This has been generating severe urban labour market pressures at the national level, which usually does not conclude with the expected labour market insertion.

Current information shows that for 1995, nine of every ten women were occupied. Other suggestive data refers to the economic participation rates that show that of every ten occupied persons six are males and four are females. Of every ten unemployed individuals, eight are males and two are females. In general, the largest concentration of employed men and women falls in the age range between 20 and 49 years of age, with the greatest relative weight in the 20 to 29 year old group. (See Appendices 2 and 3).

The economic participation rate for women by their position in the home shows that the female heads of household are the ones with the highest levels of participation, followed by the daughters, and finally the spouses. This situation can be explained by the overwhelming need to maintain the dependents under their charge. In the case of the spouses, it constitutes a supplementary income and domestic responsibilities and family restrictions limit their labour access. (Arriagada, I.; CEPAL, 1999).

Taking into consideration the poverty situation, it is interesting to observe that the economic participation of non-poor women as against those considered below the poverty line, whether they be indigent or not. Doubtless, the domestic burden for women below the poverty line and the complicated arrangements that they must undertake to combine their domestic labours with their income-generating labours, frequently through social networks of different types, makes more difficult the identification of their occupations or extra-domestic labours

The greater labour participation of non-poor women is based on their advantages deriving from their higher levels of schooling or less children, which favour their remunerated or salaried occupational performance inside or outside of the home, making it easier to visualise and measure.

It is also obvious that the labour participation of the urban women in remunerated occupations is greater than that of the rural sector.

Workloads are growing awhile public social services are being reduced. This also causes an expulsive trend of workers, oriented to improving social service, primordial education and health.

Internal migrations and changes in the demographic profile

The internal migration processes have contributed to a changing demographic profile, Bolivia has shifted from a predominantly rural nation, through 1976, to a country with an urban majority at present. This phenomenon, which brings us closer to the Latin American demographic profile of growing urbanisation, in the Bolivian case has obeyed the acute dismantling and pauperisation of the peasant economy and rural society as a result of the still unequal and exploitive terms of exchange between the countryside and the cities, and a progressive expansion of the agricultural frontier to the detriment of the communal territories of origin.

The significant decline in the relative importance of the agricultural sector in the national product as well as the important decline in traditional agrarian economies, which

are the major exporters of rural population and originators of the migration flows that give rise to new patterns of occupation of the urban space, human settlements, and social mobility that widen the breach of social differentiation in the cities, paralleling urban growth and the continuous pressure of a contingent of job-seekers in the labour force.

The resulting urbanisation rate has been climbing, reaching 16 per thousand during the 80s, placing the country among the group of the fastest urbanisation in Latin America (UNDP, 1998), in spite of the enormous shortfall in service provision.

In 1900, the urban population was just 15 per cent; today it is over 60 per cent, and the three major cities (La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz) hold over 37 per cent of the country's population. An additional 21 per cent reside in the 112 remaining cities and about 40 per cent live in the rural zones, with a declining trend, as shown in the estimated data for 1997 (39.5 per cent).

The structural changes have had an impact on the labour market, reducing employment in the public sector and in the private industrial sector, increasing service and commercial employment and generating linkages among formal enterprise and family and semi-entrepreneurial units around consignment sales, sub-contracting, part production, home-made piecework, etc. This maintains the high levels of employment in the family and semi-entrepreneurial units, which when taken together are giving rise to hidden and open forms of wage labour.

This trend indicates the frailty of industrial development activities and, as a consequence, of opportunities for productive and professional employment to respond to the growing labour supply, creating thereby a complex and heterogeneous occupational structure, which includes ethnic and gender grounds for segregating and discriminating occupations and income, generating asymmetrical opportunities, but in particular, difficulty for effective insertion.

For example, between 1993 and 1997, the family and non-paid worker categories grew as modes and specific conditions for female labour force insertion.

In 1993, two-fifths of the population were occupied in small family units and over one-half of female employment was concentrated in this sector (Montaño, G.; 1997). By 1997, this sector had incorporated more than three-fifths of the jobs, corresponding to 51 per cent of the women.

Linked to this phenomenon we also find a growth in the proportion of female heads of household, which reached 24.26 per cent of households by 1992. Among this group, about 82.8 per cent were single, widowed, or divorced women, conditions forcing these women into the labour market.

The urban occupational insertion of women is concentrated in services, social services, education, health, social security, and commerce (teachers, nurses, secretaries, saleswomen, etc.), among the better educated; while the less-educated or un-schooled women only have household employment and small-scale trade as their principal alternatives (see Appendices 3 and 4).

Occupied women can be found in trade and service activities (57 per cent)², and after that, in agriculture, cattle raising, hunting, and fishing (36 per cent); manufacturing industries fall to last place with 7 per cent.

With regard to rural employment, this is linked to the dynamics of rural economic activity. Agriculture's share in the GDP has dropped, showing a greater dynamism in the production of agro-industry goods and coca production. With regard to animal husbandry, forestry, hunting, and fishing, these have all shown negative rates of growth (See Appendix 1).

This situation has to do with processes of differentiation in the countryside, since the growing production of agro-industry goods corresponds to the so-called "modern" agricultural sector, while non-industrial agricultural products correspond to the "traditional sector". This latter is made up of a multitude of small farmers for whom agricultural and animal husbandry activities are neither the sole nor sufficient for their subsistence, so that several members of the household, among them women, must seek employment as wage-earners in non-agricultural activities in the rural milieu. This frequently becomes a slow transit towards the urban milieu or abroad.

The growing difficulties in the conditions for reproduction of the male and female rural productive units promote growing rural emigration flows towards the cities, although there are also some rural zones of migration attraction with dynamic economic activities, where there are agricultural firms producing flowers and fruits in *el Valle* (principally heart of palm), agro-industry in the *Oriente* (cotton, soybeans, and sugar), and the production of coca and other products.

Thus the rural labour market structure is defined by the agrarian structure still predominating in the rural milieu, the survival of traditional agriculture, the agricultural modernisation processes, rural-rural and urban-rural migration processes, as well as rural settlements of alien origin, modernisation with urban influence, expansion of the markets for land, capital, and labour, availability of natural and forest resources, and a certain growth in the market for consumer goods in the most modern regions.

An important characteristic is the temporary and permanent labour supply coming from the smaller agricultural units that feed the migration streams with a growing presence of young rural women whose main occupational destination is employment as household workers or in small-scale commerce, principally in the cities. Nevertheless, 47 per cent of working women have stayed in the rural areas.

Given the seasonal character of agricultural employment and the difficulties for achieving subsistence levels in rural agriculture, the male and female workers are forced to seek employment alternatives in the rural market and/or in the urban market.

Opportunities and access to other sources of labour, however, are crossed by the differential conditions between men and women in educational and linguistic terms. Rural women present very high illiteracy rates (49.9 per cent) as compared to the men (15.5 per cent), as a result of their greater monolingualism in their native tongues and, of course, lower levels of schooling, which lower their future expectations.

This situation worsens for the indigenous population. According to the Indigenous Census for the lowlands, 95 per cent of the women have no instruction and 89 per cent of

² These constitute the most important, household service 10 per cent, commerce 9.5 per cent, and education 5.8 per cent.

the men do not either. Only 10.5 per cent of the indigenous males and 5 per cent of the females had access to primary education.

Furthermore, the Human Development Report for Bolivia 2000, drafted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), using some qualitative methods, questions different aspects of human development, setting three possible scenes for the nation's situation: (i) continuous trend, based on the statistical data existing in country, (ii) the moderate scenario, and iii) the optimistic scenario.

Even in the optimistic scenario, the data show that by 2010, Bolivia will have a poverty gap of 16 per cent between the urban and rural areas. The urban-rural and female-male gaps tend to maintain their relative positions without change, with a resultant permanent discrimination against populations such as peasants, indigenous groups, and women. In all of the scenarios, the unemployment remains constant.

This Report also indicates that one of the most deeply rooted components in collective deliberative practice is female subordination, in both public and private spaces. To wit, this practice arises within a context of inequity, based on a system of negation of the other, an inequity that is also tied to the "patriarchal demands of Bolivian society".

With regard to education, the interviewees from the Human Development Report indicate that 82 per cent would like their children to be professionals, illustrating a very high expectation from higher education, which does not correspond to economic reality. This would tend to lead us to think along the lines of a collective frustration, with its subsequent sequelae, among which international migration never ceases to be an option. Curiously, these perceptions are proportionally higher in Cochabamba, La Paz, and Santa Cruz.

General trends in international labour migration and trafficking in persons

Bolivia has important structural and circumstantial factors that are incentives for internal migration streams in different directions, but principally rural-urban ones, which have accelerated since the 70s. Similarly, the scant productive and industrial calling in the country and its entrepreneurial class have been the permanent cause of international migration flows of different types, due to the impossibility of absorbing the population expelled from the countryside or for "re-localising it" elsewhere, such as the case of the colonial countries in the past. These circumstances have generated massive migration flows motivated by the search for work to survive, but also the professional and labour alternatives impossible to find in the country, as a result of its basically primary and tertiary productive structure.

These conditions have converted Bolivia traditionally into a sending country, providing immigrants to other countries, with a negative international migration balance. In general, the migrations have been oriented to the surrounding countries in South America (principally Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru), North America (United States, Mexico, and Canada), and several European countries.

The migration flows mentioned have arisen principally from labour and professional causes, without excluding other motivations. After the decade of the 60s, important flows can be seen with an urban origin whose main protagonists have been the middle-income levels. Migration has also been important among mid-upper income strata, for purposes of residence and studies; these flows have been oriented fundamentally towards the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. In this case, for these social strata, the selection of

a country of destination is linked to its social, economic, and historical value, and their significance as models for society.

The departure of significant groups of the population has been significant in terms of political reasons (repression and exile) throughout the period included between 1950 and 1982, but especially during the 70s. These departures have involved men and women from different social strata and, in this case, particularly the middle and working classes (mine and factory workers and peasants, in particular).

The departures for both studies and residence as well as for political reasons, those of professionals and youth, and the strictly subsistence labour migrations have not had a return or remigration flow in all cases, and they have not made any distinction between men and women. Since it was a family migration or one of family reunification, the latter valid in the case of political or labour migration in the strictest sense.

This non-return has allowed the establishment of relationship networks among those “outside” and those “inside”, based on family ties, relations in general, trust, and nationality favouring a matrix of communications on information about job opportunities, wage and salary levels, possibilities for housing, and other aspects that promote migration movements with different expectations for improving the quality of life and that nowadays are enabled by the new communications and transportation technologies. Indeed, in the country people have begun to speak of “social networks” and “migration chains” that arise around these movements and that serve functions of enormous importance for organising life and preparing arrangements at the point of origin and destination (Pries, L; 1999; Hinojosa et al; 2000).

In recent decades, the socio-economic and political processes already described have accelerated international migration, converting it into a daily phenomenon, not the least bit marginal, rather massive in nature, arising more from the characteristics of the Bolivian economy than the labour requirements of the receiving countries, judging by the characteristics of the jobs performed in general. However, this does not impede the effect on reducing wage levels in the receiving countries due to the greater labour supply.

Recent research³ provides accounts of the massive nature of the phenomenon with regard to different places of expulsion, as well as the circuits created by the constant coming and going of the migrants in a circular movement of information and goods begun by the “development of stable networks” as a basis for “ever-greater linkages between economic activities and living conditions in the zones of departure and arrival”.

Beyond the long history of these movements, after the 70s the present migration departures from rural areas take on the visible character of a social and economic phenomenon, which has begun to claim the attention of national Governmental agencies and those of the country of destination, insofar as they are no longer seasonal or temporary migrations towards specific activities requiring a seasonal labour force (such as the sugar cane harvest or *zafra* or the truck garden and orchard harvests in the north of Argentina), rather, these are transfers seeking permanent occupation, possibilities for socio-economic mobility, and urban settlements with a certain service infrastructure.

This trend towards stability and permanence is the one that has raised the visibility of the phenomenon, by demanding the paperwork for legalising their status, documentation, settlement, or in some cases, application of amnesties to achieve their legalisation or

³ See: Grimson, A and Paz Soldán, E: *Migrantes bolivianos en la Argentina y los Estados Unidos*. (Bolivian Migrants in Argentina and the United States) Cuadernos de Futuro 7. UNDP. Bolivia, 2000; and Hinojosa, A. et al: *Idas y Venidas. Campesinos tarijeños en el norte argentino*. (Comings and Goings. Peasants from Tarija in the North of Argentina) Ediciones de Bolsillo. PIEB. La Paz – 2000.

“whitewashing” of their migration status, and even, in many cases the corresponding documentation. For example, this is the case of Bolivian migrants to Argentina, arising from the *zafra* in the north and now spread out through most of Argentina as far as Buenos Aires, which implies an ever-greater displacement from “marginal or border zones to important urban centres throughout the country (See Grimson, A.; 2000).

The reasons for migration have been constant: work and better income; a search for better living conditions, to climb the social ladder, prestige and new opportunities; acquisition of new symbolic and cultural elements with differential meanings according to their social strata, but different from their connotations in the country of origin. There are also reasons linked to differential opportunities for occupational insertion according to qualifications, economic situations, and the different networks that exist, whether these be regional, ethnic and cultural, or national.

The emigration streams have been increasing, finding in each period those aspects or circumstances that drive them forward.

The economic and social transformations of 1952, for example, upset the traditional structures in the country, creating conditions for substantial changes in the situation of the populace, which at that time was 80 per cent rural, and 90 per cent dependent on agriculture. In fact, when the Agrarian Reform eliminated servitude (which up until that time was the regular system governing the labour force and land distribution), the labour force was freed and the supposition of expanding its frontiers for movement came into being.

Post 1952 rural dynamics were characterised by slow processes of sub-division of the land, scarce incentives for productive expansion as a result of the absence of an industrial development based on agricultural transformation, ecological restrictions, market access difficulties due to the deficient and insufficient transportation infrastructure, unequal terms of trade based on the structural inequality of the city-countryside dyad. All of this means that around 80 per cent of the rural population lives in conditions of subsistence and infra-subsistence, with severe restrictions for production and access to basic goods and services.

Thus, in addition to seasonal multi-employment, among the strategies or alternatives for reproduction they have developed, we find spatial movements that are no longer restricted to the interior of the country, but reach international dimensions.

Given the characteristics of the development model already described, which in its essential and structural aspects has not undergone changes, the factors of “expulsion” that are linked to the permanent destructuring and impoverishment of the rural farmers have not ceased to be active through out the last three decades. Thus the emptying of the rural areas seems to be an unstoppable phenomenon, as long as the terms of the regressive and discriminatory distribution of income and resources are not changed. This is permanently defrauding the rural male and female labourers and urban ones as well via low wages, and it leaves significant segments of the urban middle class without options.

Thus, structural factors, made more acute by situational measures, are making international migration a social problem that affects significant groups of the population and the country’s options for the future, insofar as a large proportion of the migrants are professionals and youth, in whose education the country has invested important resources.

This set of factors of expulsion affects both men and women professionals, and above all, the rural small farmers or urban workers. However, in regard to international migration movements, there are differential consequences by gender. It is evident that those who migrate are mostly men in the working ages, preferably between 20 and 40 years of age. However, young women also depart, and this migration departure does not involve the

family as a whole. All of the research on this phenomenon (internal and international migrations) indicates that those first to depart are the men, leaving behind the aged and the children and without a doubt the adult women (spouses or partners, mothers, or older sisters). These are the women that must care for the aged and the children, and, of course, the agricultural or cattle land; in summary, the set of productive and reproductive economic activities, thus deepening the “feminisation” of agriculture, at the same time further promoting the aging of the country’s rural societies.

At the same time, inflated expectations generated by the mass media and the scant labour and vital opportunities create frustrations among youth, in particular, driving them to leave.

Migration characteristics

Migrant profiles

According to data from the National Statistical Institute (INE, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*)⁴, in general, migrations abroad involve about 1.2 per cent of the total population, i.e., 82’890 persons of a total of 6.86 million. Other researchers dealing with this problem consider that this is an underestimation⁵.

In Argentina alone, the 1991 Census of that country recorded 143’306 Bolivian residents. This figure could be even higher if one takes into consideration the “informal” residents and “Argentine children” of Bolivian migrants. Noting the growth in migrations, this figure could well have doubled in ten years; notwithstanding, the number indicated represents 2.1 per cent of the population of Bolivia in that year.

Information for the year 2000 from the National Migration Service⁶ show that 92,300 Bolivians left the country, but figures from CELADE indicate that there were 198’755 Bolivians in the censuses of other countries in the Americas between 1990 and 1996. According to census information from the United States, there were 20’043 Bolivians there in 1990 and 15’694 in Brazil in 1991. Given the acceleration of the migration flows, these numbers may well have duplicated. Unofficial estimates indicate that there may be as many as 600’000 Bolivians in the United States.

Therefore, the national information may only refer to the departures recorded at the official entry and exit points; i.e., it may not include the illegal departures through unofficial border crossings into the surrounding countries, which are well known as those most often used by labour migrants.

In order of importance, the countries of destination with the largest numbers of Bolivian emigrants are: Chile with 13’310; United States with 12’353; Argentina with 8’307; Brazil with 7’538; Spain with 7,384; Italy with 6’461; and Mexico with 6’200.

According to data from CELADE, the 1991 Census of Argentina and the 1990 Census of the United States recoded 143’306 Bolivians in Argentina and 31’303 in the United States. Current estimates indicate that these groups have at least doubled. The sex

⁴ These are the data from the National Employment Survey of 1997, which most unfortunately, does not break down the international migration variable by gender, in the published results.

⁵ Interviews have been carried out with key informants and Government authorities.

⁶ This Service is just organising its computer system for statistical information on arrivals and departures of Bolivians and aliens to and from Bolivia. However, the current design proposal does not include disaggregation of the data by gender nor for motives for departure.

ration for this population in Argentina is 123, which would indicate a greater proportion of male emigration.

The Human Development Report for Bolivia 2000 (UNDP) indicates that 7 per cent of the Bolivians interviewed on “where would you like to live?” responded “abroad”. This response shows their mood and provides guidelines for considering that as a response to the economic and social crisis they are experiencing, a good part of the Bolivian population is interested in migrating. Taking into consideration their distribution by Department, the following Table indicates the variations that occur.

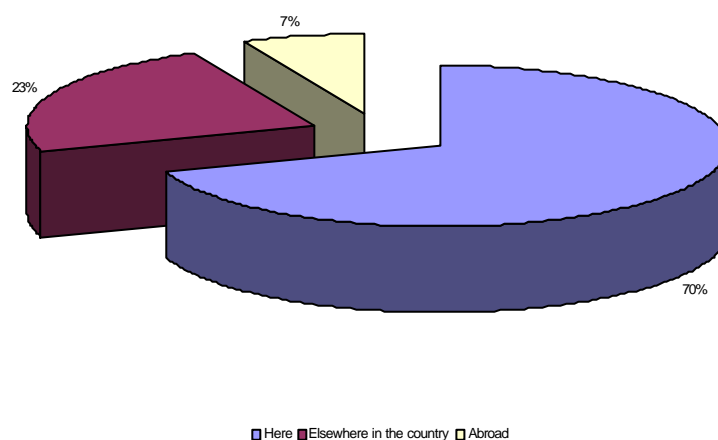
Table 3: Population preferences on where to live by department

Where would you like to live?	Response of the population interviewed by department, in percentage									National %
	Chq	Lpz	Cbb	Oru	Pts	Tja	Scz	Bni	Pnd	
Here	72	71	74	54	56	78	80	65	76	70
Another part of the country	24	19	17	36	38	12	16	31	19	23
Another country	4	11	9	10	6	10	4	4	5	7

Source: Human Development Report for Bolivia 2000, UNDP. Bolivia, 2000.

These results at the national level can be illustrated as shown below:

Figure 1



In the table we find between 20 per cent and 46 per cent of the population uninterested in living in the place where they currently reside. Among these persons wishing to live elsewhere, in all of the Departments, the proportion is higher for those who prefer to live somewhere else within the country, with a preference for those that have been the source of internal migrants. What is interesting is that at the national level, of the 7 per cent that would like to live outside the country, the persons from La Paz, Oruro, Tarija, and Cochabamba are the ones with the most interest, i.e., with the exception of Oruro, the departments that actually are providing the largest proportion of current international migrants (see below, table 4).

Although the table and figure indicate a strong preference to remain in the country, the percentage desirous of leaving cannot be ignored, showing that pressure for emigration is a product of causes going beyond the mere desire to do so.

On the other hand, it also shows that migration decisions are made within the personal, family, and local community milieus, that they become viable through information networks arising from within their closest environs, from personal relationships of trust, and that they have nothing to do with deliberate public actions.

Table 4: International migration by department, 1997

Departments	Total migration	Total population	%
TOTAL	88'346	7'826'844	1.13
Chuquisaca	1'939	554'077	0.34
La Paz	16'407	2'283'077	0.70
Cochabamba	16'222	1'420'449	1.10
Oruro	616	384'624	0.16
Potosí	3'272	749'813	0.43
Tarija	5'617	372'147	1.50
Santa Cruz	37'745	1'669'061	2.20
Beni	1'748	339'681	0.50
Pando	4'780	53'510	8.80

Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of the ENE III, November 1997. INE

The data show that the Department that expels the largest proportion of its population is Pando, part of the Amazonian region bordering Brazil. As already indicated, the other departments with significant out-migration are those forming the axis La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz. The latter has the highest rates of out-migration along this axis, in spite of the greater economic dynamism it has acquired over the last three decades from agro-industrial, industrial, financial, and service sector activity growth.

With regard to migrant characteristics, there is a heterogeneous composition by geographic zone and socio-economic strata. Although the information available does not allow a complete identification of the migrants, in general it is possible to see that an unavoidable requirement for migration is Spanish literacy, as well as a certain degree of schooling. The same source (ENE III, 1997) shows that of the total international migrant population, 93 per cent is literate, of this major subgroup, 34.6 per cent has primary schooling, 28 per cent has university training, and 23.6 per cent has secondary education. There are smaller percentages of Normal school, military, or technical training. (see figure 2 and table 5). To wit, considering that this includes both men and women, it is possible to state that the female international migrant population does not belong to the strata of extreme poverty or indigents, a situation that is associated to the fact that the information not only refers to the emigrant labour, but also to professionals and others who also depart for other motives.

Figure 2: International migrant population by literacy condition, 1997

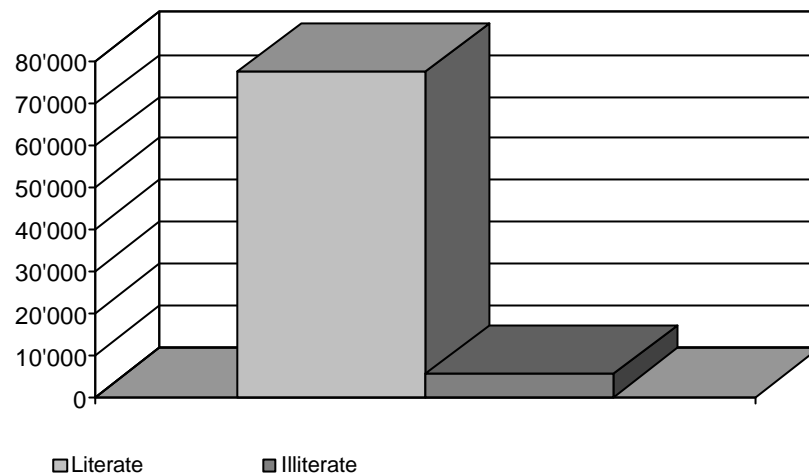


Table 5: Population migrating abroad by level of schooling

Level of schooling	Number	%
None	5'513	6.6
Pre-school	736	0.8
Primary	28'700	34.6
Secondary	19'604	23.6
Basic adult education	155	0.1
Normal school	1'282	1.5
University	23'407	28.0
Technical school	2'737	3.3
Military of religious	236	0.2
Others	520	0.6

Source: Encuesta Nacional de Empleo III, November 1997. INE

In addition, other data indicate that the majority of the persons that leave are between 20 and 24 years of age. These are the most productive ages, so that with regard to the marital status of the migrants, it is not surprising that they mostly single (46 per cent) and married (51 per cent). The proportion of separated or widowed is small (1.3 per cent and 2.1 per cent, respectively). This information goes to corroborate the impression of the family nature of the migration stream, the departure of working-aged individuals with family responsibilities; but at the same time, there are also persons without any important ties for their departure. As is known, they are mostly men, but there is also an important proportion of single and married women

Table 6: Marital status of migrants (both sexes)

Marital status	Absolute	%
Married	42,088	51.0
Separated	1,099	1.3
Widowed	1,778	2.1
Single	37,925	46.0

Source: Encuesta Nacional de Empleo III, Nov. 1997.

Zones of expulsion and other characteristics of the male and female migrants

Using available data ⁷, it is possible to see that the migration streams have both urban and rural origins, with heterogeneous socio-economic characteristics from their zones of origin, reasons for leaving, levels of schooling, and sex and age of the migrants. It is unfortunate that the information system does not take these criteria into account, nor does it have mechanisms in place to detect “tourist” departures without returns, knowing that this is the customary category for entering the receiving country.

Due to specific research, we know that the migration flows have both rural and urban origins. The major receiving countries are those bordering Bolivia: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru, as well as others that are more distant: United States, Spain, France, and Japan.

With regard to the rural migrations, the severe restrictions on landholding and access, the loss of soil fertility, low production and yield levels, market access difficulties, low prices for the small producers that contribute 70 per cent of the country’s food production, constitute a difficult situation for this population, 80 per cent of which is below the poverty line.

Thus, it is not surprising to see frequent and massive exoduses of rural population, which for some communities and areas of greater economic depression and expulsive poverty have become true “diasporas”, such as the case of northern Potosí and Tarija. The departure, however, implies expenses and other requirements if one is not to remain illegal; so that what they need are some savings and other conditions to be carried out, difficult to meet for individuals in extreme poverty. However, the situation of most of those who emigrate is also impoverished, so their departure has consequences of nationwide-scope.

Thus, the rural emigrants generally have the following characteristics:

- with regard to education, they are literate with low levels of schooling and little technical labour training
- the type of migration is, in principle, temporary, but cyclic, which allows them to maintain ties to their places of origin
- the job destination in the receiving country is also basically rural and in activities related to agriculture, such as vegetable and fruit production in northern Argentina or Chile. To wit, the emigration is generally to a bordering country
- if the migration destination is urban, the emigrants must rely on higher levels of schooling
- their occupations in the urban milieu are linked with activities in construction, apparel, and textiles, services and household work (activities with the highest absorption of alien labourers in the neighbouring countries)
- rural women have greater insertion in apparel, household services, trade, and other personal services, in general.

An outstanding trait is that this emigration, both men and women, establish themselves in the very lowest occupational categories, a product of the racial and ethnic discrimination, but also of the fact that it is not an emigration in response to a labour requirement of the receiving countries.

⁷ Although the information exists, unfortunately it is not processed in the way needed by this study: disaggregated by sex, socio-economic strata by zone of origin of the emigrants, causes for emigration, and others.

The occupational careers follow two routes:

- (a) promotions within the occupational hierarchy of positions and income within the same economic unit, reaching the limit allowed by his or her origin; or
- (b) Conversion into a self-employed worker after reaching certain levels of accumulation. There are examples of family and semi-entrepreneurial undertakings in the apparel industry in Argentina, among Bolivian owners, that have become important sources of jobs for Bolivian women and children.

Studies have found that rural emigrants fit into urban occupations after prior migration experiences in rural zones of the receiving country, or supported by a social network based on blood or nationality relationships, which also play an important role in housing access and basic social footing in their new milieu.

Going further, such as to the United States, requires greater economic and educational resources: an average of 12 years of schooling and technical or professional training.

The focus groups indicate that the main geographic zones of emigration expulsion from rural areas come from those rural areas suffering from extreme poverty, such as the municipalities of Betanzos, Chaqui, and Caiza D in Potosí Department and San Lorenzo and El Puente in Tarija Department.

The Potosí municipalities are mainly rural, with 75 per cent of their population in rural areas, with levels of illiteracy around 50 per cent, double the national average, with a generally younger population, low levels of agricultural production due to climatic factors, and scant technological resources, absence of roads and basic sanitary, health, and education service infrastructures.

Rural dwellers from Potosí have been emigrating to the cities of the Bolivian central axis for the last two decades in both permanent and seasonal streams linked to the agricultural calendar, climatic catastrophes, or festivals. They generally arrive to supply themselves with food and clothing by begging, which is carried out mostly by women and children.

On the other hand, the municipalities of Tarija are generally better off socio-economically than those of Potosí, their principal problems are climatic and soil erosion, which have caused a significant reduction in productivity. These circumstances have led to identify emigration as a regional problem, according to a diagnosis made by a local NGO. This has given rise to a feeling and disposition to seek and implement inter-institutional measures that would permit the youth to remain.

The data collected for this study show that the persons emigrating to Argentina from the aforementioned municipalities tend more to be from the lower middle class with at least some assets they can sell to obtain the funds for their paperwork and the trip itself.

However, in both places, a majority of the women remain in the community to face and suffer the crisis awaiting the remittances or, finally, the reunification.

In one particular case of urban emigration, the women of Riberalta, a city in the Bolivian Amazon, are the emigrants. As seen before, this region has the highest rates of expulsion.

The main economic activity of this region is the industrialisation of almonds (peeling and classifying), where more than 80 per cent of the women in this zone work.

According to data from the INE, 90.65 per cent of the population over 15 years of age in the Province of Vaca Diez is literate, a high percentage when compared to the western

region of Bolivia, where there are municipalities such as Potosí, with an illiteracy rate of 40 per cent. This datum comes with another indicating that 73 per cent of the households in this Province (where Riberalta y Guayaramerín⁸ are found) are poor.

Local industry cannot absorb the labour supply and the wages of the men and women employed in the almond industry are insufficient to cover their minimum needs; thus, a large part of the population also carried out some informal activity such as the sale of food, refreshments, or candies, washes clothes, or shines shoes. These activities are usually carried out by women and children; i.e., women are always forced to seek complementary or additional work.

Their main source of jobs is breaking almonds, which is estimated to provide employment for 15,000 persons; however, only one-third as company employees and account owners. The difference means working as helpers, usually non-paid family workers. This activity is seasonal, beginning in March and ending 6 to 10 months later, when castaña processing is completed.

Working conditions are precarious; the nuts are broken manually, with a minimum daily obligation by contract, which is paid on a piecework basis, without a fixed schedule or shift. Notwithstanding, this runs from Sunday through Friday; work begins at three in the morning and ends at five or seven at night, depending on the quota to be met. The quantity that a breaker can process depends on the number of children and/or helpers she has, and the number of tools available.

Given the piecework pay, their pay varies by production volume. A single worker, breaking the daily minimum, earns approximately Bs. 400 (around US\$ 70) per month, working between 12 and 15 hours a day, thus, their urgency to seek help and surpass the required daily minimum.

As can be seen in Table 7, the number of women working in the processing plants is four times that of men. It should also be indicated that among their helpers, they mostly the daughters of the breakers, girls who are, according to their mothers, safer in the plant than in their homes, where they are at risk of victimisation by violence and rape.

Table 7: Workers in the Castaña plantations, by sex

Riberalta 2001			
Firm	Men	Women	Total
Claure	26	218	244
CAIC	21	98	119
Urkupina	89	407	496
Amabol	32	183	215
Castedo	20	130	150
Bowles	39	97	136
Ingama	28	144	172
Becerra	31	122	153
Lourdes	17	120	137
Manutata	42	147	189
Total	345	1'666	2'011
Percent	17	83	100

Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of direct observation.

⁸ Focus Groups were held in both cities for this study.

These are the working conditions that make Riberalta a contributor of such a significant number of emigrants, whose destinations are usually Japan and Spain, due to the significant contingent of Japanese immigrants that arrived in this region during the decade of the 30s. Currently, and taking advantage of the Japanese labour recruitment policies, their descendants and other natives make up the stream of emigrants.

There are other migration streams towards Argentina, Brazil, and in significant numbers, towards the United States originating in other non-border zone areas of the country, such as the Department of Cochabamba. This region has shown high levels of social mobility for the last several decades, which can be attributed to a slow and scanty industrialisation process, blocked by the concentration of coca raising and the organisation of the “business” around it. Nowadays, in the urban and rural areas of Cochabamba, one finds many families that live on the remittances forwarded by relatives in the United States, Argentina, and Brazil. In fact, a socio-economic study carried out in Punata, to ascertain the situation of family economic resources, in order to estimate their possibilities for access to a restoration project in the historic colonial town centre found that 80 per cent of their income came from remittances.

As can be seen, international emigrants are, to a large extent, urban and rural farmers and workers (labourers, unionists, peasants), whose conditions of reproduction are ever-more difficult because of the scant growth in national production and the destructuring of collective consumption. Furthermore, they are young professionals whose possibilities of personal success face the scanty opportunities offered by the country. Even though the information available does not allow us to make estimates on the distribution by gender of the emigrants, everything seems to indicate that there is a trend that is closing the gap between men and women.

This progressive equalisation between female and male emigration, several hypotheses are possible. Among these, the growing responsibility for the women to maintain the household, visible in the growth of the proportion of female heads of household, and in the more frequent loss of employment by the men. The reduction in fertility rates, especially among urban women is another factor simplifying women’s entrance into the labour market and new household arrangements; nevertheless, one fundamental factor has to do with the current precarious characteristics of labour recruitment, marked by a preponderant preference for women. The persistence of occupations at the bottom of the hierarchy and income differentials, which are also indicators of the search for other, better conditions (not without their own asymmetries) abroad.

Much of this information comes from the focus groups (Appendix 8), carried out specifically in the most important sites of emigrant origin; furthermore, this information has permitted us to reveal additional characteristics such as those indicated below.

Causes for emigration

The working-age emigrant women themselves corroborate the migrant profiles as well as the indicators of the causes for emigration. On interrogation, especially on the causes of emigration, indicated that the *reasons* for their departure were primordially their labour and income requirements under better conditions, with education and social mobility. Although the motivations referring to work and income are common among all of the inhabitants in the five zones of origin, they were the exclusive reasons in Potosí and in Vaca Díez. To the contrary, in Cochabamba and Tarija, these reasons merge with those related to mobility, studies, and even the discrimination for gender factors.

The argument emphasises not so much the lack of work (which is an important cause identified) as the need to improve their income. Insofar as the male and female migrants

are occupied prior to their departure, it is the precariousness of the labour conditions and lack of job satisfaction that condition and promote their departure, i.e., labour tied to activities punished by low income, the precariousness of its organisation, and the lack of the subsequent rights.

On the other hand, among the factors supporting the decision to emigrate several stand out that are related to friends or acquaintances and relatives, both returnees and non-returnees, for whom it went “well”, and from whom they have acquired information on possible opportunities.

In general, then, the fundamental causes: unstable labour, shortage of opportunities, wage and labour asymmetries, growing family responsibilities and insufficient income, are the one structuring the objective conditions for labour expulsion.

Table 8: Causes for migration and factors supporting the decision

Place of origin	Receiving country	Causes for emigration	Factors supporting the decision to emigrate
Cochabamba	Argentina	Sick husband Small children Lack of jobs in country In country jobs too unstable Low wages Shortage of funds Debts Sexual harassment at work of a household maid Get ahead in life Earn more for the children	Proximity to Argentina Cheap fares More chance to study More flexible work schedule Easy paperwork
Riberalta	Japan Spain	No perspectives to improving the situation in Riberalta or Bolivia We are dying of hunger There is no work in Riberalta	For Japan, it is enough to have all your papers in order Good experiences among the returnees Those that have gone have built homes
Guayaquerín	Brazil	Lack of jobs Lack of money	Those who went did well If they aren't caught by the Federal Police, my friends do well
Tarija	Argentina	Work Pay lower in Bolivia Too much discrimination in Tarija (single woman head of household) To see other places	The fact of being single A favourable family financial situation
Potosí	Argentina	Lack of jobs Low income in Bolivia	A sister that lives in Argentine With her husband they both decided to emigrate

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

Decision to emigrate

The decision to emigrate obeys a multitude of circumstances, primordially a lack of satisfactory labour options. For almost all of them, the decisions are made by the family, since emigration is assumed to be a family project, which follows specific family strategies, whether these are referred to its survival, prestige, or alternatives for improving family maintenance.

Emigration is considered an opportunity for the whole socio-cultural spectrum in the urban and rural milieus; migration is looked on in a positive light, and *social representation* in this regard has to do with opportunities for labour, income, social improvement, prestige, or progress (to the good life).

Table 9: Who makes the decision on the woman's migration and what information is available

Place of origin	Receiving country	Who makes the decision	Prior information received
Cochabamba	Argentina	Decision made with her spouse Decision by the couple	Friends who told of their good experiences Friends who got him/her work Transportation company that loans money to emigrants Sister that had work waiting for her Sister in law and in laws that lived there
Riberalta	Japan Spain	Everyone decides on the woman	Japanese firm looking for manpower Relative that are there already
Guayaramerín	Brazil	The family If the woman is single	Friends Relatives
Tarija	Argentina	If they are single the decision is personal If they are minors the decision is made by their parents	Bolivian employers that have located in these communities Friends or relations
Potosí	Argentina	Decision is made together Decision made by her and supported by the family (single)	

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

It was also clear that the family with members abroad is proud of the fact, so that migration by women is not restricted, given that in some way she will be linked to her relatives, the family will benefit from her labours, and her labour begins to be seen as something ever-more common and necessary. The exit restrictions fall within the new requirement frameworks for female labour performance, but in general, they consider that the emigration will be beneficial for their future and the future of the rest of the family.

“When a woman is going to emigrate, the whole family is happy, since that means an improvement in the family's economy, food for all.”

Certainly, this perception includes a view of the roles assigned to women through their greater family responsibility derived from their assigned roles with regard to the protection and care of the others.

Although it has not been possible to identify differential “*expulsion factors*”, available research shows that, given the family nature of emigrations decisions, married women or those in union are hindered from emigrating in the case of temporary or seasonal migrations. However, when these take on a permanent character, the point of departure is delayed until the husband or partner is well installed.

As a first approach to the problem, we can conclude the following:

- the factors promoting emigration are common structural factors affecting both male and female labourers;
- culturally, wage labour by women has been assumed as a family need and requirement, in spite of their insertion into the labour market exerts pressure on employment and wages, not only because of the increase in the labour supply, but also due to the statistical discrimination that they are subject to;
- female labour migrants are made up of:

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- Girls that must contribute to the support of their household, maintain themselves, or for whom migration constitutes an opportunity for their labour, economic, and social futures.
 - Adolescents entering the labour market
 - Single women who are heads of households
 - Women migrating with the whole household
 - Women assuming the economic responsibility for the household.

These characteristics are related to the age band of female migrants that falls between 13 and 40 years of age, with a larger concentration among those 13 to 25 years old; i.e., a young population without an initial family burden, with early responsibilities, and eventually with few labour skills.

Apparently, having children or a spouse is not an obstacle for the women that migrate, when the decision is made by the family. There are various cases of women that have assumed the decision to emigrate individually, or with the whole family, in the face of their spouse's unemployment. In other cases, it is the family (parents, siblings, etc.) that stays behind caring for the children, as a condition for being able to count on the income generated and remitted by the mother for her children.

These data show that several phenomena are generated around migration. Family break down and territorially dispersed residences of the different members, on the one hand, and the configuration of an international economy and labour market on the other. The activities that require labour immigrants are agricultural, personal services such as household workers, and different services. Furthermore, and to a significant degree, the entrepreneurial and semi-entrepreneurial sector is an important destination for manpower in construction and apparel manufacturing, in particular.

The occupational trajectories of men and women have apparently dissimilar traits; however, common trends are also found based on the qualification and occupational specialisation of the labour force. Working women have *occupational routes* such as:

- those of rural origin remain in the agricultural milieu, combining or evolving into household or commercial employment in the urban areas;
- those of urban origin find placement in services, household service, and commerce, also finding placement in apparel or other manufacturing activities;
- there is an important flow of urban professionals that work providing services in different areas (the case of physicians in Brazil, for example).

With regard to the age of the migrants, the data show that the women go to Argentina and Brazil constitute a young migration that begins with adolescents. The men begin their migrant life even earlier, between 13 and 15 years of age. Most frequently, however, the age at migration is higher, especially for those going to Spain or Japan. "Women's age when they go to Japan is usually as a young adult, between 20 and 40 years, they can't be older than that because the work is hard and for healthy and strong individuals."

Needs and concerns of the female migrant labourers

To study the needs and concerns of the women migrants, we have made a methodological differentiation into four stages of the migration process: the point in time prior to making the decision, the point in time after making the decision and preparation for emigration, residence in the receiving country, and the return stage.

The point in time prior to making the decision

In Bolivia, in general, there is a popular imagination of the almost insurmountable internal difficulties for “progress”, so that the idea of living abroad is always linked to the possibilities of gaining advantages in living conditions, labour, and income.

Residence abroad has acquired different meanings for migrant men and women. With regard to the women, they relate it to better working conditions, higher income, possibilities for training, social improvement, better opportunities for the children, and the development of competencies.

These expectations for their departure are associated with the migration experience of relatives and friends as examples of the demonstration effect of “progress”, if possible, living in foreign countries, and the feeling of frustration in the face of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of imagining something similar happening in country, at least over the mid-term. Thus, the migration expectations make up a part of the popular imagination of communities and whole families, men and women, making migration a part of or means to future live projects. For many rural communities, it is an inevitable part of their socialisation (integration) process, from the age of 10 years, the young boys and girls are ready for emigration as a culturally acceptable form for social and occupational development and survival (Hinojosa *et. al.*; 2000 and focus groups).

Definitely, emigration is seen as a means for changing residence associated with the possibility of change in the content of a new existence and social reproduction.

The needs and conditions that make migration viable have to do with:

- The existence of family or social networks
- The availability of financial resources that settle the decision
- The possibility of counting on the support of family members or other relatives in the destination country who will support arrival and insertion.

The point in time after making the decision and preparation for emigration

Once the decisions to emigrate have been adopted, these are settled by means of:

- the search for family approval “Inside” and “Outside” the country
- achieve the backing of the family and social networks
- in the case of not having links to these networks, a relationship with intermediaries is sought to simplify movement
- gather financial resources for the documentation, tickets, and the first period of stay
- gather financial resources demanded by the receiving country’s authorities for arriving tourists, due to the tourist condition that they use for entry⁹.

In the case of women, especially the minors, at entry they must be accompanied by a person who can guarantee their personal safety.

⁹ In the Argentine case, US\$1’000 is required. If they do not have this amount, there are individuals on the border that loan the funds for a fee. Once they have crossed the border, they require the return of their money and the cost of the loan service.

The information gathered shows that both inside and outside the country a circuit of “intermediaries” has been formed who will carry out diverse services related with the daily activities of international migration: language assistance, acquisition of identity documents, visas, tickets, and assistance for crossing the border on departure or entry. These activities by intermediaries also extend to communications, simplification of the remittance and delivery of funds from one place to another, etc.

This whole set of activities constitute what is known now as the “technical infrastructure” for international migration, which is quite complex and is flowing principally through the informal channels; in many cases, this informality uses trusted persons working in formal offices and established institutions, such as travel agencies, banks, money exchanges, etc.

The amount of economic resources required for departure and entry depend of the requirements imposed by each of the receiving countries to allow entry (See Appendix 6).

Residence in the receiving country

The most acute and repeated problem is that of missing documentation, for that reason in all sending countries the documentation and legalisation of the Bolivians residing in the receiving countries has become a core concern. In general, migrant residence in the receiving countries is marked by different problems and concerns related to the legalisation of their documentation and their residence, with the labour conditions, with the need for decent housing and adequate food. Given their migration status, they are the “targets” of violence and social delinquency, especially on paydays. Due to these circumstances, a significant concern for the migrants is centred on security and the need for support from local and national authorities to guarantee this demand for security.

Another concern is discrimination, principally ethnic and racial, which is not exempt from gender biases (See Appendix 5 and Table 10). This gender discrimination appears in the types of jobs the women have access to, where household work in private homes stands out; in the prohibition against working the night shift, although their labours are specifically nocturnal (“escort service”), and in lower wages.

There are other concerns related to the perceived lack of information and scant training that they have for functioning in better conditions in the new environment. But, at the same time, they are also concerned about the greater exploitation they are subjected to, which is perceived as a consequence of their ethnic origin and, above all, their undocumented status.

One outstanding point is the identification of certain advantages that they can gain as well as disadvantages suffered for “being a woman”, which can be seen in table 10, which records the expressions of the women that participated in the focus groups (relatives and returnees).

Among the disadvantages the most disconcerting aspects are the greater insecurity and constant exposition to sexual harassment on the part of their employers, workplace violence and abuse with the imposition of extended work shifts and low wages. Furthermore, the use of the women’s bodies is also evident in their jobs, at the very least, as escorts in nightclubs.

In contrast, it appears that women more easily find employment in domestic service and personal services (caring for the aged, children, cleaning services, etc); employment that require low skill levels and, at best, the basic ability to read and write. Although these occupations correspond to the lowest level in the occupational structure in these countries, and can only be assigned to and accepted by women, in any case, the migrant women

declare that the remuneration for their labour is higher than that obtained in the same employment in Bolivia. This leaves them the option of saving, which is one of the reasons that they emigrated.

Table 10: Advantages and disadvantages of being a woman on migrating (based on the focus groups)

Place of departure	Receiving country	Occupation	Advantages	Disadvantages
Cochabamba	Argentina	Farm labourers Household labour Greengrocers Labour in apparel factories Hairstylists Different activities, from dressmakers, nannies, to maids.	Being a woman she has more possibilities to obtain work in doing household chores and in paediatric centres	They had to be deported, because they had no money to return Lack of job security Attempted rape by employer's son. Rape by the intermediary (<i>tramitador</i>) Fear of being exploited Exploitation for lack of papers To leave the children in Bolivia with a family member Lack of orientation and information Insecurity to move freely for fear of deportation Uncertainty of the treatment they will receive Insecurity about assault, robbery, rape, and murder Sundays and paydays they are recognized as Bolivians; when it is known who has the money, they are attacked.
Ribalta	Japan	Labourers Karaoke escorts (no prostitution)	Good wages Transparency in their processing To travel they just need to know how to read and write	The language Insults on the part of the Japanese Processing expenses They come back several times to continue their processing
	Spain	Domestic labour Cleaning Agricultural labour		A lot of discrimination Low wages Difficulties with document processing
Guayaramerín	Brazil	Merchants	Better wages than at home Sleep-in maids	Confiscation of their merchandise by the Federal Police
Tarija	Argentina	Agricultural farm labour Women are employed in family homes Office cleaning by the hour	With their earnings they can fix-up their homes, buy themselves a pick-up and clothes for everyone. Labour in family homes and general office housekeeping up to US\$8'000 a year in savings. The domestic workers earn between US\$300 and 400 a month.	The labourers are bothersome and things always happen We have to build houses out of bags and cartons Everyone sleeps together
Potosí	Argentina	Agricultural labour Domestic labour Labour in an old folk's home Salespersons Hairstylists Labourers in the apparel industry	They prefer women for labour in apparel They get more work	Insecurity, assaults and robbery

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

Independent of the qualifications and particular characteristics of the migrants towards the different receiving countries, you can see that a common feature in all migrant labour is that all correspond to the lowest occupational category of the receiving country. However, in some of them, like Japan, there is a clear demand for workers, mainly females. This country has a high demand for female escorts in nightspots, and also where battering of these women is a common aspect of their trade.

Some additional factors are exclusion and discrimination for ethnic reasons, which are obvious, discrimination that is increased by the fact of being illegal immigrants, increasing their vulnerability and the difficulty of lodging any accusation in this regard. To these factors of exclusion and discrimination, gender and generation discrimination are also linked; thus, women, youths and children are sensitive to most evident forms of exploitation and abuse, justified by discrimination and their undocumented condition.

The perception of discrimination–exclusion on the part of the female migrants is distinguished according to their ethnic origin and their social condition (see tables 10 and 11). Women of rural origins do not recognize the pattern of discrimination because it is common to those who live in Bolivia. However, the women of urban origins, with a higher degree of education and knowledge of their rights, are the ones that recognise the discriminatory treatment and rejection.

Discrimination also occurs among the Bolivians themselves, between those who are in the condition of employers and their employees; where it appears that the ones who have an Aymara or Quechua racial and cultural background, occupy the lower strata in the job or business in question.

Table 11: Occupation, labour exploitation, and discrimination against migrant women

Place of departure	Receiving country	Occupation	Labour exploitation	Discrimination
Cochabamba	Argentina	Farm labourer	Abuse	They are discriminated a lot because they are Bolivians. They have to speak out to earn respect. They think Bolivians are dumb and dirty Bolivians are looked down on When they are younger they are more inclined to abuses and bad treatment Argentine children discriminate against the people for the colour of their skin There is not as much discrimination against women as at home Generally, Argentines have more respect for women and children Contemptuously, they call us <i>bolitas</i>
		Domestic labourer Greengrocers Labour in an apparel factory Hairstylists Women can get work of any kind, from seamstresses to nannies and maids	Difficulties to return or ways to escape from their work The Bolivians themselves do not provide working conditions They don't let them rest, not even Sundays are free Women will work under conditions of slavery to avoid being deported and cannot leave	
Riberalta	Japan	Labourers Karaoke escorts (no prostitution)	Hard work	They have to do any job without any option to choose.
	Spain	Domestic labour Cleaning Agricultural labour		
Guayaramerín	Brazil	Merchants		

Place of departure	Receiving country	Occupation	Labour exploitation	Discrimination
Tarija	Argentina	Agricultural farm labour Women work in family homes Office cleaning by the hour.	They left her alone with a key and they didn't pay her	There is discrimination, but less than with the northerners (rural migration)
Potosí	Argentina	Agricultural labour Domestic labour Labour in old folk's homes Salespersons Hairstylists Labourers in the apparel industry	Sometimes they don't pay Working overtime The whole family works but they only recognize the one whose name is on the contract Youths of 13 years who are working Whole families who emigrate They don't treat them well.	The <i>gauchos</i> (cowhands) proffer insults saying that we are taking away their work Police take money for everything and they undress us to see if we are carrying drugs and tomato and red pepper seeds They are fearful of talking about sexual harassment or abuse for fear of reprisals

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

Table 12: Gender relations

Place of departure	Receiving country	Gender relations
Cochabamba	Argentina	There is not so much discrimination against women. Argentines have more respect for women and children.
Riberalta	Japan	Men have more advantages in working because they can work later and start earlier.
	Spain	There is not much difference in wages, although men are always paid more.
Guayamerín	Brazil	
Tarija	Argentina	Of all the migrants, there are twice as many men as there are women.
Potosí	Argentina	

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

Regarding to the benefits obtained from their migration experience, and which are identifiable as such by the women, these are related to:

- economic benefits, which result in savings, the purchase of real estate like homes and cars, starting their own businesses, achievement of study and work alternatives for their children
- benefits related to the development of personal competencies, especially, those that refer to apprenticeships that facilitate their professional and personal development. The latter includes the younger children, who, according to the interviewees, become “more alert”, a characteristic that gives them prestige in their environment and mostly in their place of origin
- symbolic benefits associated with the possibility of achieving a better life with new ambitions, which they could have never imagined in their previous condition.

In general, they tell of migrants managing to build a new representation around their labours, which acquire a new significance. Thus, the willingness of the migrants to sign up for hard work and long shifts, as a way of accessing an income, becomes more common,

breaking down several myths related to female labour characteristics, despite their linkage to conditions of exploitation.

Return to the country of origin

In regard to the disposition to return to the receiving country, women express a positive assessment on their departure, but the return or a new emigration would be influenced by several factors. One of them is job security; another is related to the need for new income in order to meet financial commitments acquired to build their homes or buy other goods; for some the return is a means for survival, from which they get support for their family settled in Bolivia. Thus, the return to the receiving country is always linked to labour and income. It is of interest to emphasize the cases and reasons why women would not emigrate again. Among them is the fear of prolonging the family separation, the quasi-imprisoned conditions they must undergo for being undocumented, and the fear of violence and racial discrimination to which they are subjected.

On the other hand, in what they refer to as the reasons for returning to the country of their origin, the returning migrant women have provided criteria which make it possible to classify them in three categories:

- those who decide to return to their country of origin for extreme situations of labour exploitation and/or abuse for racial reasons and illegality, which has meant a bad migration experience, in addition to the absence of effective actions on the part of the Bolivian Government
- those who achieved a level of savings, which allows them to have material support to live in Bolivia
- and, the young women who have small children, a circumstance that makes it difficult or even impossible for them to continue working abroad because of the responsibility they have looking after the children and the costs that are involved in raising children or in looking for help with childcare. In these cases, they decide that the husband stays and supports the family until the children are older.

Table 13: Benefits from migration experience and expectations of returning to the receiving country

Place of departure	Receiving country	Benefits from the migration experience	Perspectives for returning
Cochabamba	Argentina	<p>You learn and try harder to earn money; over here, (in Bolivia) people are very lazy.</p> <p>Children become very alert.</p> <p>You learn to think and wish better things.</p> <p>I aspire to have an independent job, my own workshop</p> <p>Over there you earn good money and you work hard, here (in Bolivia) you can work hard but you don't earn the same, although there is no better place to live than at home.</p> <p>They want to improve their living conditions.</p> <p>Work makes you mature and lets you see things from a different point of view.</p>	<p>Return frequently</p> <p>She wants to return because she believes that she has the possibility to earn more money.</p> <p>She doesn't want to return because her children live in Bolivia.</p> <p>She doesn't want to return, the work is hard and with a good salary but she has no time to share with her family.</p> <p>She doesn't want to return because of discrimination; we Bolivians must learn to speak out without letting ourselves be intimidated.</p>
Ribalta	Japan	They bought a house, improved their families' health, eating, and educational conditions	
	Spain	<p>They are allowed to experience another lifestyle and other food, which they are not accustomed to, this form of living experience allows them to extend their horizon and to return with new things to their country.</p> <p>Set up Karaoke</p>	<p>The separation of couples affected a lot. Abandoning their children makes them desist from returning.</p> <p>The kids spend money like little rich kids and she has no control, that's why she doesn't return</p> <p>Despite so many problems people return to the country they migrated to for economic reasons.</p>
Guayamerín	Brazil		Even though they took my merchandise, I return because I work there.
Tarija	Argentina		<p>They return for the children's schooling</p> <p>They don't return because the children get confused at school</p> <p>They come and go with two nationalities</p> <p>The children who go to school in Argentina are prestigious and that's why they return.</p> <p>She wants to return to get money to finish building her house that is going to be the inheritance of her children.</p> <p>She plans to return to visit her children that have settled there.</p>
Potosí	Argentina	<p>Savings</p> <p>Purchase a house</p> <p>To be able to save and study</p> <p>Support for children in Bolivia</p> <p>Became a specialist in leather jackets.</p>	<p>It's my source of work, so I return.</p> <p>I don't want to return because I was never able to leave the house there because I was locked up.</p> <p>We came back to pay off the house, but we will return next year.</p> <p>I rest in Bolivia; life is very hectic there.</p>

Source: Information extracted from the focus groups.

Core problems for migrant women

The information obtained from the newspaper files (see appendix 5), which complements that from the focus groups, interviews of the authorities, and key informants,

has identified the following problems faced by the migrants arising from the conditions under which they effect their departure.

Lack of documentation

The irregular or illegal situation in which the Bolivian migrants find themselves in a majority of the destination countries, is a worrisome question due to the abuses perpetrated on them, the disparaging attitudes expressed by society about them, and the constant coercive and repressive measures they receive from the public authorities of the corresponding countries. It is precisely this status that broadcasts the existence and quantity of undocumented emigrants, based on *de facto* actions by the migration institutions, Ministries of Labour, and others in the receiving countries, especially Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. It is also this publicity that raises the awareness and places the problem of the rights of international male and female migrants on the national agendas for debate, along with the initiatives to resolve their situations.

“7'500 completely undocumented Bolivian citizens live in Brazil, they have neither identity cards nor passports.”

“Chile expelled more than 2'000 undocumented Bolivians.”

“The Law on Alien Status imposes a fine of 1'051 million pesetas (around US\$5'000) for each undocumented alien.” (Spain)

Similar headlines have appeared in Buenos Aires, where they decry not only the extensive proportion of undocumented aliens, but also the victimisation and assassination of some of them. It is known that because of their lack of documentation and illegality, the male and female migrants keep their savings in their homes, far from the banks. These circumstances make them an easy target for assaults, robbery, and other crimes, where women have appeared as the more frequent victims.

The Spanish Law on Alien Status grants only 48 hours to those found in an irregular situation: undocumented, or working without administrative authorisation. The new norm is aimed at halting the immigration of Latinos, Asians, and Africans, pursuant to the law, they lose the right to association, meeting, unionisation, and strike. The only aliens with the right to legalise their status are those that can prove that they entered Spain prior to June 1999; i.e., prior to the promulgation of the law. There are estimates that among the Bolivians in Spain there are 3'500 illegals and 1'200 with due documentation.

“The Spanish Government promulgated the Law on Alien Status on 23 January 2001, which restricts the rights of illegal immigrants, prohibiting them for being given work.” It is known that this problem of lacking documentation includes male and female Bolivian workers; however, there is a common indication that women are more careful about documentation than the men. Therefore, the problems that they face add a gender bias to being undocumented.

Illegal trafficking in persons

As a result of the different requirements imposed by the receiving countries on reception of labour migrants, in addition to the paperwork necessary to obtain passports, visas, and other documents that, for many cases, especially the rural migrants, are difficult to carry out for themselves due to cultural and language barriers, networks of intermediaries have been organised. To a large extent in the hands of “mafias” that have seen in human trafficking or movement of persons a very profitable business. Thus there are organised networks dedicated to the movement of persons, which have adopted particular characteristics and are adapted to the labour market conditions in the receiving

countries. They operate from firms, travel agencies, individuals, or related to firms and travel agencies, even family networks.

They occur under all guises and mechanisms, from the traditional recruitments, through advances proffered to the male or female labour aspirants to the most sophisticated forms related to travel agencies that supposedly simplify the paperwork, transfer, settlement in jobs, housing, etc.

In these cases, supposedly the emigration obeys a demand for manpower in the receiving countries. In fact, this demand exists. In particular it is worth mentioning the demand for female and child labour generally arising from apparel plants in Argentina and Brazil; but also in agriculture in Spain, northern Chile and Argentina. There is also an important demand for household workers. And it is precisely women, girls and boys who are required for these positions, so that they become the primordial objective of preference for this business and illegal trafficking.

“Eight Bolivians are accused of trafficking illegals to Spain. The organisation may have been led by a Bolivian family that took 2'000 personas in illegal status to that country.” (*La Razón*, 3/3/01)

“Minors are trafficked illegally by Bolivian citizens towards Calama, Tocopilla, and Mejillones for household labours.” (*La Razón*, 3/29/01)

“Sweat shop discovered where 40 Bolivian citizens, 15 minors: 13 girls and 2 boys, worked in infra-human conditions.” (*La Razón*, 6/19/00)

In most cases, trafficking is organised with arrangements between Bolivians and other Bolivians or businessmen (Koreans, entrepreneurs that need manpower for the apparel business). Since in many cases those seeking manpower in the receiving countries are themselves migrants that may have problems of legality, it becomes clear that they too use the illicit means to furnish themselves with the necessary cheap labour. These routes of entry to the receiving countries place the women in conditions of greater vulnerability, and at the expense of others.

Labour force exploitation

Publicised denunciations have also reported the terrible working conditions that undocumented Bolivian migrants and those recruited by the aforementioned illegal trafficking methods are subjected to. Among some of these working and exploitive conditions for the male and female Bolivian workers, the following can be mentioned:

- (a) extension of the labour shift to 18 to 20 hours per day, which occurs most often in the apparel plants where a majority of women work. These plants generally belong to entrepreneurs from the receiving country, but also to migrants that have settled there. However, this sector has also allowed Bolivian migrants to undertake their own business and stay in the receiving country employing mostly other emigrant women and children. Data on this sector indicate that in the latter case efforts are being made to modify the working conditions between Bolivian employers and labourers.

“The mass of Bolivian seamstresses working like slaves in Sao Paulo, Brazil, probably is greater than 150'000 persons who cannot leave their sewing machines for 16 hour stretches. The lack of legality in their documentation generates their exploitation.” (*La Razón*, 02/13/01) These apparel workers are made up mostly of ex-miners “relocated” between 1985 and 1987.

“During pay-week, each worker has to deliver 650 dozen underclothes. The labour shift was from 8:00 A.M. through 12:00 midnight.” (Testimony given by children returned through institutional action).

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- (b) the precarious working conditions are expressed in low wages, which are set by performance, as can be established by the foregoing testimony. To wit, in general it is a piecework wage.

“... in the Pari and Brass neighbourhoods, there are children aged 14 and 17. The Koreans are employers that pay one *real* for sewing a pair of slacks. Most of the children work in informal sweatshops owned by Koreans and Bolivians. They work in narrow underground workshops with little circulation of air or ventilation ...”

- (c) among these conditions, there are also reports on how the young boy and girl labourers live. We know not only about their crowded conditions, but also the restrictions on their freedom. With regard to the extenuating labour shift, it is obvious that the remaining time (midnight until 7:50 A.M.) it is only possible to sleep. Beyond this physical barrier to their freedom, there are also expressed prohibitions.

“Bolivian boys and girls in slavery in textile workshops in Buenos Aires.” (*La Razón*. 6/26/00).

Xenophobia

One of the problems exacerbating the condition of the migrant labourers is xenophobia against aliens in general and Bolivians in particular, given the crisis situation in the receiving countries. The most significant aspects of this xenophobia against the Bolivian emigrants, whose racial roots are Aymara, Quechua, or any other indigenous group, are expressed as brutal robberies, physical and sexual violence, and other abusive expressions which may include the collusion of the local police themselves.

“By June 2000, there had been 72 robberies carried out by a band of hooded and armed men who employed such cruelty that some analysts observe racist connotations in these attacks against Bolivian immigrants.”

“Judicial sources said that investigation is underway of a group of police, which may have acted alongside common delinquents in the attacks which began about three months and have affected at least 72 Bolivian families.”

“On 24 May 2000, the Bolivian immigrant Margarita Mamani was intercepted by a group of individuals that took her to a distant site to beat her up and rob her. After having been savagely beaten, the delinquents killed her in the San Martin zone” (of Buenos Aires).

According to research (Grimson, A.; 2000) on Bolivian migrants in Argentina, the Bolivian community in Argentina is one of the most discriminated by society and public agencies and private institutions, similar to the Chilean and Korean groups. This research also indicates that a study by SOS Discrimination carried out on 586 cases of the 700 accusations received during 2000, they found that 30.5 per cent of the cases of discrimination are due to nationality or ethnic origins. Furthermore, it also found that 10.5 per cent of the discrimination cases were gender based.

Other core problems

These problems affect men and women in general, even with the aforementioned gender biases. Nevertheless, although they are the most evident, publicised, and reported problems, by far they are not the only ones, nor are they the core problems, from the point of view of the conditions of the female and male migrant labourers. According to the declarations of the returnee women and their families and friends, with the exception of the professionals that have managed an acknowledged and valued insertion into the labour force, and therefore with consequences in terms of their labour rights. This does not occur with the rest of the emigrant labourers. In view of the declarations, it is evident that the

migrant labourers, particularly the female migrant labourers face a series of problems arising from their undocumented status, their national and ethnic origins, but more generally, their situation as migrants.

One core problem is the generalised absence of labour contracts, which not only inhibits any possibility of acquiring labour rights, but even the legalisation of their migration status, which in turn reinforces the precarious nature of their labour and exploitation.

Without a contract, there are no rights to labour stability, social security, or at least health insurance. Neither is it possible to demand rights to training or to job promotion; much less to wage equality with nationals or between men and women. The training and information problem is seen as such, not only with regard to the treatment received in the receiving country, but also as a shortcoming on the part of the corresponding national authorities.

With regard to female migrant labourers, they must face the further consequences of their biomedical differences with men, which demand specific care in terms of their health, particularly sexual and reproductive health. In the health field, which doubtless affects both male and female Bolivian migrants, there is a very particular problem that affects the female migrants which needs to be looked at.

Remittances

As was indicated, there are rural communities whose income comes predominantly from remittances by family members in Argentina, the United States, Spain, Chile, or Brazil. These remittances, however, are sent by different mechanisms: trusted messengers, trusted individuals that work in banks or money exchanges, which in a majority of cases do not enter into the official records of the institutions.

They also use formal means, and in this case it is possible to estimate the magnitude of these remittances, such as the case of the European migrants:

“Bolivians in Spain sent US\$2 million by Western Union during the year 2000, through Fexco Spain and DHL. Fexco has 105 offices in Madrid alone and DHL has a network of 204 agencies throughout Bolivia. Both forms offer Western Union services, consisting of funds transfers from any point to any other in twenty minutes. Funds transfers grew 100 per cent with regard to 1999.”
(*La Razón*. 2/04/01)

The average wages of Bolivian migrants in Spain is between US\$400 and US\$800 per month, and an estimated minimum of US\$450 are sent to their families in Bolivia.

In spite of the difficulty of estimating the regular amounts and routes for remittances, the preceding estimates allow us to infer that, on the average, half of the wages earned abroad is sent to the families that stayed behind in the country, for different purposes: daily family reproduction, payment of financial commitments, or acquisition of assets. This has to do with the really large amounts mobilised for these motives, to the point that different firms (such as DHL itself) began to offer their services to facilitate this intermediation.

I. Legislative framework

1.1. General Considerations

During the 90s, the country took important steps on legal reform issues, the promulgation of legal frameworks, and the design of policies aimed at equality between men and women. Advances on this issue, based on compliance with the principles and guidelines in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), ratified by Bolivia in 1989, have been facing significant difficulties.

With regard to legal and regulatory frameworks, contradictions can be seen arising from the contrast or conflict with patriarchal and discriminatory ideologies present in many of the laws not reformed during the last decade and the principles of equity with which the newer laws were conceived and others were reformed, within the process of applying the “second generation reforms”. These were promoted in Bolivia between 1993 and 1997, and fall within the current of challenges to the well known “high social costs” charged for the structural adjustment policies applied after 1985 in Bolivia, complying with the measures adopted by the “Washington Consensus” for our countries.

Furthermore, with the proposition of human development inspired in the programmes and platforms adopted in the World Summits during the 90s, there was an attempt to reconstruct the parameters of system operation and include gender equity as one of its important dimensions, favouring an atmosphere to foster the development of contingent legal norms and policies, among other aspects. Nevertheless, the priorities in matters of macroeconomic policies were not modified, so that the new social development orientations (human and sustainable), whose discourse is based on principles of inter-generational equity and solidarity, did not find an echo in the economic policies surrounding the maintenance of neo-liberal stabilisation.

Thus, we can speak of the existence of a set of legal entities and dispositions in the country, with a hybrid, even contradictory, nature from the points of view of their legal and ideological frameworks. We must add to these the inertia of the discriminatory cultural and value systems rooted in the attitudes and practices of the State’s decision makers and operators in general, as well as that of the administrative system of justice.

In fact, among the aspects of the positive and transcendent changes with relation to equity, occurring in the new legislation promulgated during the 90s we find those involved in the following new laws.

The Law on Popular Participation (Law No. 1551, 20 April 1994) incorporates women as subjects of the country’s legal, political and economic life, and promotes their integration in equality of conditions with men in the processes of popular participation in municipal planning and development management.

The Law on Educational Reform (No. 1565, 7 July 1994) introduces equity as a specific goal of Bolivian education, in access and permanence of boys and girls in the school, curriculum innovation, and educational materials, teacher training, and the generation of a favourable educational environment for respectful and equitable relationships among the different components of the educational community.

Furthermore, the Law Against Intra-Family or Domestic Violence (No. 1674, 15 December 1995) is considered one of the most transcendent, raising to the level of public order those crimes of aggression and abuse occurring under family relationships, recognising violence coming from the domestic and family sphere as the worst violence

and discrimination suffered by women due to its massive nature. After this law was passed, important aspects of the Penal and Criminal Procedures Code were modified (Law No. 1768, March 10, 1997), such as 276, which established the impunity of the aggressor when the lesions were provoked by spouses, progenitors, descendants, siblings, or others in direct line, and they were considered slight. Similarly, this law has allowed other modifications to the Penal Code, substituting the concepts of “honest woman” and “crimes against decent behaviour”, for that of “crimes against sexual freedom”, as a means to eliminate discriminatory treatment based on deeply rooted prejudices.

Along with these reforms, there were others such as the one that introduces the representation of women’s interests as agricultural producers, recognising their condition as subjects of territorial ownership, whatsoever their marital status (Law of the Agrarian Reform Institute (*Ley INRA*), No. 1715, 18 October 1996). The reforms that refer to the achievement of greater efficiency and efficacy in dealing with family assistance (Law on the Abbreviation of Civil Procedure and Family Assistance, No. 1760, 28 February 1997). And, finally, the reform setting quotas for women’s participation in the lists of electoral candidates for the parliamentary and municipal representations (Law on the Reform and Completion of the Electoral Regime, No. 1779, 19 March 1997; and the Law on Political Parties).

Notwithstanding, beyond these reforms there are also different social and economic arenas that have not been subjected to changes and that, to the contrary, continue to regulate according to the traditional legislation and the discriminatory attitudes of those administering justice, as shown in several studies¹⁰. Such is the case of the whole problem area of family and labour law. The Political Constitution of the State (CPE, in Spanish) establishes the legal capacity of each and every person and the enjoyment of rights, guarantees, and freedoms, without difference by race, sex, language or religion, political opinion, origin or economic or social condition (Title I, Article 6). However, it does not contemplate sanctions for breaches of the legal principles and provisions in effect in the area of equality between men and women within the different social arenas.

This absence, which extends to all legal bodies, adds to the meanings, ethical, philosophical, and ideological principles on gender equality present in the legal provisions or in the public operators and society as a whole, contributing thus to the hybridisation of the legal system and to a daily practice imbued with both *de facto* and *de jure* discrimination.

With regard to labour affairs, which are more related to our field of analysis, we must mention the General Labour Law (LGT, December 8, 1942). Given its venerable age, this law requires not only an urgent modification to current realities of the world of labour, but also the rights of the labourers. Furthermore, all of the discriminatory aspects that this code contains with regard to women’s labour must be eliminated.

In so far as the LGT does not cover most of the male and female labourers involved in aspects of sub-contracting, short term or temporary contracting, male and female labourers in the so-called informal sector, and all forms of independent undertaking in what is currently known as the “popular economy” and the “non-market economy”, this law does not cover an immense majority of working women participating precisely in the aforementioned sectors. Finally, the law does not cover work at home either.

This means that the LGT leaves out the rights of union members, self-employed, paid and non-paid family workers, and household workers as such. The absence of regulations

¹⁰ See Revollo, Marcela: “Los jueces y la sana crítica. Una visión de género”. Serie Vida Cotidiana. Subsecretaría de Asuntos de Género,. Ministerio de Desarrollo Humano. La Paz, February 1996.

for labour aspects so important for the reality of our country, have given rise to a series of complementary and disperse legal provisions in the search for the solution to labour conflicts, by means of arbitration awards for each case it has been possible to set jurisprudence and define rules and norms that modify the law.

The law include, explicitly, the specific category on “labour by women and minors”, as different for that of men and equivalent to that of children, thereby indicating differential productive capacities between one and the other. The argument justifying this distinction is the need to protect the woman’s reproductive capacity to produce healthy children; however, it has also served to establish articles that expressly restrict and prohibit occupation by women in different sectors of activity considered dangerous and hazardous for their health (basically their reproductive functions). The result of these provisions is the horizontal segregation of occupations for men and women that can be observed in the set of productive sectors.

On the other hand, where the prior health considerations are not justified, nevertheless, the restrictions are maintained. Thus, the law sets the maximum percentage (45 per cent) for contracting female personnel in the key economic sectors. In fact, this percentage has been far from observed, since most occupied women continue involved in commerce and services, including in this category an important percentage in domestic service, in spite of the changes in the sex distribution of labour in certain sectors of activity (principally manufacturing industry and agriculture).

Similarly, there are other prohibitions and limitations to employment of women in night shifts and underground work, without taking into consideration their individual aptitude and abilities.

A current and flagrant discrimination in the LGT is related to treatment in household service, a space covered almost exclusively by female labourers. In fact, the LGT denies the rights of these workers, leaving them explicitly at the will of their “employers”. At the same time, it transfers to them the power to set the length of their work shift much longer than normal due to the characteristics of this type of labour (“... domestic workers will not be subject to a work schedule, accommodating their labours to the nature of the tasks ...”). This provision contravenes the norm of a maximum of eight hours per day for the rest of the labourers. This has generated among the population the extended consideration that household labourers have exceptional connotations and are not subject to the legal provisions governing the rest of the workers.

This legislation continues in effect. For a long time, several years and more than a term of the Government, there have been unsuccessful attempts to reform, in spite of a broad debate on all of these aspects. Supreme Decree No. 21060 (29 September 1985) on the New Economic Policy of neo-liberal structural adjustment, did in fact establish the “rationalisation” of employment. This has meant free contracting, setting the minimum wage for public sector workers, which has generated a generalised trend downwards in all wages and salaries, changes in the contracting regime, and new forms of labour involvement (temporary, sub-contracting, sub-division of labour processes, and transferral of sub-processes to the home). These measures and other, later ones that contravene the LGT in many titles and articles are being fully enforced, at the same time that others have de-structured the social security system and other national measures for redistribution. It is the *de facto* compliance of all of these new legal provisions of a lower ranking than the LGT, that seems to justify the delay in the reform sought, at least in the debate around the gender equity aspects.

1.2. International labour standards ratified by Bolivia

This delay in reform of the LGT is paradoxical, since long before (decade of the 70s), Bolivia had already ratified several of the Conventions adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to protect female workers, and to guarantee their equality with men of opportunities and treatment in employment and occupation.

In 1973, Bolivia ratified Convention No. 100 of 1951 on Equality of Remuneration. Its purpose is to promote the principle of equal pay for work of equal value and without discrimination for reasons of gender. The principle may be established by law, collective agreements, or their corresponding policies.

In January of 1977, the country ratified the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111). The norms defined here establish that men and women must have equal access to occupation and employment, enjoy equality in their employment conditions, including promotion, formation, job security, remuneration, and social security. Furthermore, it recommends that the Government cooperates with representatives of employers' and workers' organisations to promote the application of this policy. Bolivia has also ratified Convention No. 103 on maternity protection (revised), 1952. This Convention is designed to establish a 12-week maternity leave (six before and six after birth), with the right to receive monetary payments and medical assistance. It should be applied to women working in industrial enterprises, as well as non-industrial one, agriculture, and those working at home or in paid household services in private homes.

Table 14: Fundamental labour standards

Name	Ratified by Bolivia
Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)	—
Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87)	1965
Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98)	1973
Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)	1990
Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)	1973
Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)	1977
Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)	1997
Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)	—

Source: ILO.

Taking into account the aforementioned ratifications, the Governmental mechanism for promoting policies of gender equity (Under-Secretariat for Gender Affairs, created in 1993) and some private development institutions (TAHIPAMU and the Solón Foundation) have been attempting to promote an adaptation of the LGT. Furthermore, there are attempts to promulgate the Law “on Household Workers”, which confirms the application of the LGT for these labourers. However, the project to reform the LGT proposed by this mechanism did not produce a response from the former or current Governments. The Government continues to demonstrate a scant intention to deal with the topic as a whole. Meanwhile, the proposed law on household workers, although it enjoyed more luck, and reached Parliament for discussion, it remains forgotten after an intense debate and much disagreement on its terms.

Therefore, there continue to be contradictions within the legislative framework itself, and with regard to the mechanisms and procedures, these continue to function under the inertia of discriminatory principles, norms, and practices that are heavily institutionalised. Beyond the discriminatory norms already mentioned and present in the LGT itself, there

are others that inhibit women's right to work. An example of a legal impediment to the right to freely choose their employment and profession (as is stipulated in Article 11 of CEDAW, ratified in 1989 by Bolivia) is Article 99 of the Family Code. This article stipulates: "... in particular, the husband may obtain a restriction or not allow the woman to exercise a certain profession or employment, for reasons of morality or when the function indicated in the preceding article is seriously hindered ...". Article 98 indicates that "the woman fulfils a social and economically useful function in the home ..." which falls under the protection of the legal system. To wit, the aforementioned article is conditioning the access by women to employment by counterpoising it to their function as mothers and spouses; thereby hindering their professional development and reinforces the idea that their functions is principally in the domestic sphere.

Different reports continue to confirm the unfavourable situation of women in different dimensions of the labour sector. Among them, the right to equal pay for work of equal value is not verified. Recent data ¹¹ show that between 1989 and 1995 women's income continued below that of men, and that the breach widened in the commerce and service sectors, where they are mostly to be found, but also in the manufacturing sector. During the same period, the income breach between self-employed workers also expanded, where the female wage fell from 61 per cent to 57 per cent of the male wage. The situation is better, but not equal, in the case of women with secondary and university education, among whom the average wage is 70 per cent of the average wage of the man with equal educational levels.

With regard to time off for pregnancy or maternity leave, we know that this is not carried out in the case of teachers working in the public education system. In spite of their conditions as salaried workers and social security contributors with short and long-term rights, the payment of the leave does not necessarily mean that the pregnant teachers can enjoy it when the leave period falls during classes. The reason for the non-implementation of the right is the non-payment of the substitution. When the teachers decide to take the leave during the school term, they must pay the salary of their replacement from their own salary.

Another important issue is the obvious reduction in the statistical information on the economic inactivity of women, and as a counterpart, their growing rate of economic participation, which grew from 22.5 per cent to 31.4 per cent during the period between the censuses of 1976 and 1992 ¹², at the same time that this rate increased among men. This means that female employment did not increase at the cost of male employment; rather, it has economic causes, and primordially arises as a drastic effect of impoverishment. These rates were much higher in rural areas, where male participation did decline during those years, corroborating the important and mostly male rural-urban or international migration streams. At the same time, there was limited or reduced flexibility among rural women to seek and have access to other labour opportunities as a result of their majority, not to say absolute, responsibility for the household.

¹¹ See: "Desarrollo Humano en Bolivia 1998". UNDP. La Paz, January 1998.

Farah, Ivonne: "Desafíos de la equidad. 1989-1999. Miradas a la Realidad". Defensor del Pueblo — UNICEF — Coordinadora de la Mujer. La Paz, May 2000.

¹² Data processing corrections indicate that women reached economic participation rates of 42 to 46.6 per cent.

1.3. Bilateral conventions and agreements ratified on migrant workers

In spite of the growing and continuous flow of Bolivian labour emigrants, or more correctly, transmigrants, in contrast to the fundamental ILO Conventions, in the migration arena, Bolivia has not signed ratified any of the Conventions concerning migration.

As far as is known, these Conventions have been ratified by very few or none of the countries where Bolivian women emigrate (Brazil and Italy).

In this sense, the primordial norm in this regard, ILO Convention No. 97 on Migration for Employment (Revised) of 1949 is not in effect in the country, which restricts the possibility of remanding compliance from the receiving Governments. It would only be demandable for those cases of workers legally established, who must receive the same treatment and workers citizens of the receiving country, based on the national laws in effect, or following the route of legal devices and inter-Governmental agreements promoting compliance of the laws in both countries, especially the receiving country.

ILO Convention on Migration Workers (Supplementary Provisions), 1975 (No. 143), has not been ratified by the country. Nevertheless, ILO Recommendation 151 on Migrant Labourers is being taken into account by the country's Ombudsman (*Defensor del Pueblo*), with regard to implementing the Inter-Institutional Agreements and Commitments assumed by the Ombudsmen of Bolivia, Argentina, and Peru (See Chapter II on public initiatives).

Table 15: Conventions related to migration issues

Name	Ratified by Bolivia
Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), and appendices	NO (38 ratifications by other countries)
Migration for Employment Recommendation (Revised), 1949 (No. 86) and Migrant Workers Recommendation, 1975 (No. 151)	NO
Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143)	NO (14 ratifications by other countries)

Source: ILO.

1.4. Legislation related to the employment of female migrant workers

Aside from the fact that Bolivian laws, beginning with the Constitution itself, contain no express provisions on emigrants in general, and labour emigrant in particular, the Bolivian State has not been able to ignore the numerous presence of Bolivian men and women living and working abroad. These individuals not only do not enjoy the rights in effect with regard to their status as labourers, neither do they enjoy their Bolivian citizenship, since the country does not have a law or migration or similar one with regard to Bolivian international labour migrants¹³.

Over ten years ago, the Government began to draft a proposal for legislation on migration. However, to date this initiative has not been able to result in any law. Nevertheless, the country has prepared a Legal Migration Regime, by means of Supreme Decree No. 24423 of November 29, 1996, which basically regulates immigration into the

¹³ To date, Bolivian residents abroad, in spite of their number, lack the possibility of exercising their political citizenship, for example, voting *in absentia* for the election of the president and representatives.

country, although it does contemplate migration in general. In any case, all affairs related to migration as a whole are under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior (*Gobierno*), which has an Under-Secretariat for Migration (currently the National Migration Service, pursuant to Law No. 1788, LOPE, September 16, 1997), as well as a National Migration Council.

With regard to emigration, this instrument indicates, in Article 12, sub-paragraphs d and e, the responsibility of the National Migration Council to “study, draft, and propose to the National Government, plans and programmes that would tend to halt emigration of Bolivians abroad”. Furthermore, it should “suggest to the Supreme Government the cooperation and collaboration with International Conventions on migration or the review or rejection of the existing ones”, respectively.

Although there is no explicit mention of emigrants, the Supreme Decree has three articles involving them. These are the power granted to the former National Sub-Secretariat of Migration, for the approval of requests for recognition of Bolivian citizenship for the children of Bolivian fathers and mothers born abroad (Article 14, sub-paragraph g). It is also authorised to propose bi-national or multilateral agreements to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship (Article 14, sub-paragraph j), which may refer to the situation of emigrant Bolivian male and female labourers. Similarly, it deals with the responsibility granted to the National Directorate of Alien Status, to “maintain permanent contact, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship, with Bolivian Consuls accredited abroad in matters relating to migration”.

As can be seen, the Supreme Decree does not incorporate any provision on how or when to carry out actions that would bear on hindering or stopping Bolivian departures, whether these are for labour emigration or any other purpose. The brief mentions of this topic indicate the lack of priority that the international emigration issue has had on the agendas of successive Governments. Along these same lines, there is neither legislation nor legal dispositions related to the employment of emigrant labourers, to an even lesser degree would we find specific provisions with regard to female migrant workers.

Nevertheless, within the framework of the foregoing provisions, the country has proceeded to sign two bilateral agreements with regard to emigrant Bolivian men and women, one with Argentina and the other with the United States. In both cases, they are agreements destined to grant an amnesty for legalising the migrants’ residence. The terms of these accords establish lapses for documentation first, and then for their residency. Similarly, they establish provisions for simplifying and reducing the costs of the legalisation of their residency. To these ends, the Bolivian Consulates must grant the corresponding current identity documents¹⁴, with which the migrants may begin processing their residency, which would be simplified by both countries.

In the case of the United States, the desirable number of residents has also been set at 40,000 persons already settled in that country.

1.5. Legislation related to trafficking in persons

At present, however, from both public (Parliament: Social Policy Commission, National Migration Service, and the Chancellery, the Ombudsman, Municipal Ombudsmen for Children (*Defensorías Municipales de la Niñez*) and private spheres (Child Defence International, CDI) initiatives are appearing to establish a legislation which, at the outset,

¹⁴ Usually, there are three types of regular passports: booklet, on a single sheet, and safe conduct. Due to its cost, emigrants depart with a single sheet passport or a safe conduct, which only has a very limited validity.

will face two of the most acute problems Bolivian emigrants face: their undocumented status and illegality and trafficking in persons, particularly young women and children.

The recently promulgated Code on Male and Female Children and Adolescents (Law No. 2026, October 27, 1999) also attempts to halt trafficking in minors, establishing in Article 127 the requirement for parental authorisation in writing for any transfer of boys or girls or adolescents from one place to another. A further attempt in this direction appears in Article 128, which prohibits “contracting adolescents to perform any type of labour abroad, on an exceptional basis, an overseeing the greater interest of the adolescent, the Justice for Childhood and Adolescence may authorise said contract, prior to ascertaining whether the activity to be carried out is licit or not”. Certainly the intention of this article is praiseworthy; however, the country’s system for administering justice suffers numerous problems, so that this provision may ultimately act to legalise the traffic.

In this regard, the initiative of the State to promulgate a specific disposition with regard to minors has, as a consequence, the force of law. Therefore, it is of mandatory implementation.

In the same manner, the initiative against the undocumented status and trafficking in general is being promoted by the National Migration Council, and in particular by the Commission on Social Policy from the Chamber of Deputies, the National Migration Service, and the Chancellery. It is aimed at achieving Bilateral Accords with Argentina, Brazil, and Spain, first of all, and then extending them to the United States and Chile, later. Their purpose is primordially to achieve the documentation and legalisation of the residence of Bolivians abroad, promoting research on the situation of their human and labour rights, and halting the illegal traffic in persons, especially minors, with coordinated inter-institutional actions.

Notwithstanding, this initiative is still being drafted, seeking a consensus among the countries involved. Later, it would still have to go through a debate on its terms of reference within the framework of parliamentary procedures necessary to approve it and gain the Government’s promulgation. For this reason, it is not possible to speak of its implementation and application yet, although it is pertinent to review this question within the framework of the analysis of Governmental migration policies and programmes.

Although it has not been possible to obtain a copy of the proposed project, and for that reason, have access to the concept of trafficking that is being handled, it is a topic requiring urgent attention. Trafficking has immediate effects on its victims, but also, because the receiving countries do not place significant barriers or are lax on migrant entry, under the figure of tourist; however, there are significant barriers within the countries for legalising their situations, and in general, have high costs. In fact, beyond their identity documents, they are required to produce legalised labour contracts approved by the pertinent bodies from both countries, medical certificates, police background checks, photographs, birth certificates, and funds to allow them to survive for a specific period. (see chapter III and appendix 6).

II. Governmental migration policies and programmes

In reality, a national policy or programme oriented to meeting the demands of international labour emigration has yet to be developed, one which would consider the different aspects included in Convention No. 97 and its Appendix. These refer to preparatory actions on the part of emigrants for work abroad, for the prevention of exploitation and, in general, the lack of labour rights and all other social rights derived from this condition. They also include the protection and assistance against abuse; information and professional development, as well as other issues related to ensuring equity and a dignified and legal residence for migrant labourers.

2.1. Preparation of migrant women for work abroad

It is known that receiving countries place a series of requirements in order to acquire a work visa. The following are the countries that have a greater affluence of Bolivian migrant workers.

Argentina

Requires a passport in booklet form, two legalised birth certificates, legalised certificate of police records, medical certificate issued by certain medical doctors, clinical analysis for HIV, four photographs and of course a labour contract prepared and legalised by a solicitor. The approximate cost of the above is US\$600.

Chile

Chile requires a passport, a legalised certificate of police records, two photographs and a legalised labour contract. The cost depends on the type of work and the contracting party.

Brazil

Brazil allows entrance as a tourist and the processing of the visa once inside the country. For this formality, a passport, legalised certificate of police records, two photographs, money for living expenses during 90 days and vaccination against yellow fever are required. Once employment is secured, a legalised contract is required. The estimated cost of the above is US\$205.

United States

Under its H-1B Work Programme, only professionals are admitted. Thus, the firm requiring employees must justify the need for immigrants. Once this justification is accepted, the Consulate begins formalities for a visa. The professional must have a passport, visa, work application, photographs, interview with a consular officer and must demonstrate personal and financial stability in Bolivia.

Spain

Requires a labour contract sent from Spain and presented to the Consulate, work application, passport, medical certificate, and certificate of police records. These documents must be sent to Spain for their approval, before initiating travel.

Japan

Visas are granted only to children and grandchildren of Japanese citizens. In this case, family registries are necessary (birth certificate of requesting father or grandfather), labour contract issued by the employer and sent to Japanese migration authorities, labour contract sent from Japan before initiating travel.

Except for Japan, where rules are very clear and there is no possibility of emigration besides that which is established in the guidelines, in all other cases formalities are extensive and costly. As a consequence, most Bolivian labour emigrants decide to enter as tourists and then stay on as illegal migrants in the receiving country or to enter illegally.

These requirements indicate the type of initiatives the Government must promote through the corresponding agencies (basically, the National Migration Service), in order to prepare migrants for the possibility of work abroad. That is, the first task must be ample dissemination of these requirements as well as ample information with respect to the possibilities and/or difficulties associated with work abroad.

Another indicator for Government initiatives deals with perceptions and experiences from labour emigrants (see below).

2.2. Prevention against exploitation, and protection and assistance against abuse

With regard to emigrant preparation, there are several actions being developed, especially referring to prevention, protection, and assistance against abuse.

Among these, the Offices of the Ombudsman in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru have started to implement actions, as well as complementary activities between the Bolivian Ombudsman and the Ombudsmen from the City of Buenos Aires and several provinces within the Republic of Argentina, where most of the Bolivian migrants are located.

In fact, during the Ibero-American Seminar on “Human Rights and the Ombudsman in the New Millennium” (Córdoba, 1999), a treaty creating the Network for Protection and Promotion of Migrant Rights in Argentina, Bolivia and Peru (RED) was signed (August 12, 1999). This network includes the ombudsmen from the three countries and offices in eleven Argentine provinces and in the City of Buenos Aires.

This RED has several purposes, which are encompassed in the general objective, to wit: “to establish mechanisms for reciprocal collaboration for the protection and promotion of migrant human rights at a regional level...”, “...to cooperate in attending cases brought to the different institutions according to protection mechanisms that have been previously established...”, and “...to promote, disseminate, and educate in each of the countries involved with respect to such rights and duties as may pertain to people in their condition as migrants.”

These objectives fall within the considerations of the existing legal instruments in the area of human rights protection, which have been adopted by diverse international organisations (particularly the UNO and the OAS), on the vulnerability and greater defencelessness of migrants (as indicated in the published reports from the region), and in a shared responsibility for the incorporation of measures to support the normalisation of the lives of migrants and their families, as well as their legal integration in the receiving country.

This network proposes to do the following, in order to fulfil its objectives:

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- Exchange information regarding issues of interest, related to migrant rights and access to Consular protection when such rights are violated;
 - Oversight with respect to compliance of norms for migrants and the protection of their rights;
 - Supervision in carrying out obligations of state organizations in these matters;
 - Support family reunification and facilitate voluntary repatriation;
 - Collaborate with Consulates in channelling migrants' needs and reviewing violations of rights;
 - Take care of those cases sent by other Offices of Ombudsmen and Consulates;
 - Disseminate, advise, and educate regarding rights in different topics;
 - Promote modifications to migration regulations in favour of legalising migrants and recognising their rights;
 - Promote awareness in public opinion to counteract xenophobic and discriminatory tendencies (See *Commitments agreed upon*)

In order to carry out the above, coordination with consular and Governmental agencies is being proposed, to facilitate protection and solution of individual cases. Furthermore, support is being sought from the Ibero-American Federation of Ombudsmen (Federación Iberoamericana de Ombudsman - FIO) and the International Ombudsman Institute (Instituto Internacional del Ombudsman - IOI) to consolidate these goals. Coordination is also being sought with other NGOs and churches that have these same aims, as well as support from the United Nations system, the International Organization for Migration, the European Union, and others.

With regard to the Agreement between the Ombudsmen from Bolivia, and those of the City of Buenos Aires and Provinces from the Republic of Argentina, the purpose is not directly linked to migrants; rather, it refers to "formulate a joint programme for cooperation... in technical aspects in which they are competent...", so as to be able to carry out the following commitments that have been agreed to:

- Exchange of information of common interest,
- Exchange of technical and bibliographic documentation,
- Programmes, visits, and other activities for technical and professional training,
- Development of technological systems in areas of common interest, and
- Institutional cooperation in national and international forums.

Insofar as these same institutions are part of RED, such programmatic cooperation will no doubt contribute to facilitate the objectives of RED.

The Commission on Social Policy, of the Chamber of Deputies, has begun a process of direct aid in documenting Bolivian immigrants in Argentina. To this end, a Bi-National Commission that had once before made possible that Bolivian officials from the identification agencies go to Buenos Aires, Usquiaya and La Quiaca was re-established. At that time, this Commission proceeded to survey data on Bolivians in these locations. This action will again be implemented with resources from the identification agencies in Bolivia.

These same agencies have supported organization actions for migrants in Argentina, such as one promoted by her Honour Deputy Palenque for the creation of the Bolivian Federation of Immigrants — FIDEBOL — (1998), based on 15 civil associations that are legally constituted and that were previously grouped under FACBOL (*Federación de*

Asociaciones Civiles Bolivianas - Federation of Bolivian Civil Associations). Among its objectives, this Federation is aimed at improving living conditions of those immigrants with the greatest difficulties, by promoting health centres, solving documentation problems, and many cultural activities¹⁵ in an effort to reconstruct their identity as a “Bolivian collectivity”.

Although Government programmes and actions, which are aimed at preventing the exploitation of migrants, are still not in force, certain Bolivian Government and Parliamentary instances are concerned. However, this concern is reactive since it is based on reports and information published by the media and not on a genuine concern. Then again, there have been some cases of travel of legislators to the countries, to try to investigate and verify the reported situations and propose initiatives and measures aimed at their prevention.

It must be emphasised that this concern is mostly on the part of female national representatives. Such is the case with Honourable Deputy Veronica Palenque, who travelled to Calama, Chile, in February of 2001 in order to make arrangements for the repatriation of girls who had been victims of labour traffic originated by intermediation of a Bolivian resident in that locality. Case investigation revealed a network of trafficking in women for prostitution.

In the Chilean media, press reports recounting the Calama case state that the minors escaped from an abusive female employer, who did not feed them and treated them badly. The case was reported because the girls escaped and decided to walk to Bolivia, because they had no money. They were found by the Chilean National Police (*Carabineros*), who took them to a shelter where they were, in turn, rescued and taken to Bolivia by the aforementioned legislator. Once in Bolivia, the girls were turned over to the Office of the Ombudsman for Children and Family of the corresponding locality.

Another case refers to Honourable Deputy Elisa Zúñiga, who has promoted the constitution of a National Commission, composed of the Chancellery, the National Migration Service and the Social Policy Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. This National Commission functions as a type of National Migration Council, whose aim is to verify reports related to working conditions of Bolivian workers in informal sweatshops in Brazil and Argentina, where they manufacture apparel. Through this Commission, the Bolivian Chancellery requested an extension of time limits for the amnesty granted by the Argentine Government for documenting illegal migrants, to prevent their announced deportation. This was carried out by drafting an Additional Migration Protocol (2000), which is still waiting to be signed. Besides documenting and legalising residence, this document also guarantees the reduction of costs to make this legalisation.

The legalisation process reaches the Bolivian residents in Brazil as well, where the Commission went and facilitated a measure that, in its time, made possible the delivery of identity documents (26 October 2000).

In a complementary fashion, a member of the Human Rights Commission of the Chamber of Deputies has started an investigation to clear up circumstances surrounding the murder of the Bolivian migrant Margarita Mamani, in Buenos Aires, which was commented above.

These initiatives are encouraging the creation of bi-national institutional mechanisms that would permit actions for the protection of migrants.

¹⁵ Compare with: Grimson A., 2000 and personal documents belonging to Deputy Palenque.

In the case of Argentina, a Mixed Advisory Commission for a Migration Agreement between Bolivia and Argentina has already been created. In addition, in its second regular session this commission approved a measure to reduce migration fees by 60 per cent and the extension of formalisation of paperwork for an additional year (21 August 2000).

Additionally, the Bolivian parliamentarians, Elisa Zúñiga and Ana Tineo Fernández brought a claim before Argentine authorities of trafficking in children. The result of their effort was to propose the creation of an mechanism which would allow a greater coordination between the Bolivian and Argentine Congresses (21 July 2000).

In Europe, the Bolivian Government is currently making the necessary arrangements to establish an agreement with the Spanish Government, which would achieve a tolerance for Bolivian workers in Spain, formalise their documentation and not deport them. To this end, a Government Commission was set up and this group succeeded in achieving the revision of 34,000 files of illegal Bolivians initially rejected. The Spanish Government agreed to apply Article 34 of the Law on Alien Status that allows granting of temporary permits for residence for humanitarian reasons.

These actions have led to the design of a legal instrument (still in draft form) related to undocumented status and trafficking in persons. However, campaigns to prevent exploitation have still to be launched by the Government, as do information and awareness-raising events on alternative economic opportunities, along with warnings with respect to illegal recruitment practices. Moreover, there are no obvious actions aimed at information on migrant rights.

Except for the initiatives mentioned above by the Ombudsman, no official projects with the objective of helping migrant female workers who have been deceived during recruitment are known, and these workers are involved in various accusations.

In relation to official state representatives abroad, actions on the part of embassies and consulates are reinforced by bilateral agreements signed by the countries. In general, these instances act as accusers in the case of exploitation, abuse, violation of rights, and other similar acts. Almost always, these actions refer to problems that have already been reported in the media of the respective countries and are therefore part of public opinion.

These problems have received neither global attention nor proposals; therefore, as can be noted, initiatives are generally reactive. They are part of what needs to be avoided, since they only alleviate some situations temporarily, not going to the root causes thereof.

As can be seen, from the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Bolivian Government some actions have been launched with respect to the problem of illegality, such as the constitution of the National Commission integrated by representatives from the Social Commission of Parliament, the Chancellery, and the National Migration Service. This National Commission has already intervened to establish the bilateral Accord with Argentina and to achieve an amnesty for one year that will allow legalisation of Bolivians.

Furthermore, measures have been put in place to grant identity cards to migrants in Argentina.

This same Commission has visited Argentina, Brazil, Spain and Chile to verify reports on labour conditions and illegality of Bolivian migrants. Beyond promoting legal instruments, it is currently carrying out actions to support legalisation.

In the case of Spain, the Law on Alien Status forbids work by undocumented persons. For this reason, although their stay has been extended for humanitarian reasons, these persons are in the situation that they must return but neither the Spanish Government nor

the Bolivian Government nor the migrants themselves are able to cover the cost of return travel.

2.3. Evaluation of Government Initiatives by female emigrants and suggestions for future interventions

In general, evaluations of Government interventions do not have much to go on. For this reason, the principal comments refer to the absence or at least the lack of awareness with respect to interventions or programmes towards this end, the sluggishness of implementation when programmes do exist, the lack of cooperation for returnees, and the diverse obstacles for formalisation of paperwork.

If, as is indicated in S.D. No. 24423 on the Legal Regime on Migration, the Government's priority is the retention of Bolivians in the national territory, the best initiative would seem to be a policy of expansion and improvement of labour conditions in the country and the restitution of the social wage by means of the guarantee of social rights, mainly in the areas of health, education, and social security. This is corroborated by emigrants' appraisals and, above all, by emigrant female workers¹⁶. These women have mentioned that the design of policies and programmes should consider additional needs such as those linked to information dissemination and, especially, to training in the language of the receiving country, or in Spanish for the population of rural origin.

The female migrants have also indicated that migration is not a problem, or better, would not constitute a social phenomenon of this magnitude if the local contracting, employment, and income conditions were adequate; i.e., if the social and macroeconomic policies were modified. Since the itinerary of public policy is not headed down this road, at least, they should be developing informational and training activities, they should be simplifying consular functions with respect to migrant labour problems; and support should be provided especially for returning to the country.

Table 16: Government initiatives related to migration

Place of origin	Receiving country	Evaluation of Government initiatives
Cochabamba	Argentina	There are many Government obstacles, paperwork formalities take too long, and are costly. People are treated poorly at the Consulate. There is no knowledge of Government programmes. They return in the same conditions as they left. Never received any help from the Government for return.
Riberalta	Japan	Little information. There is an agreement between Japan and Bolivia. No support for return. Consulates act too slowly.
Tarija	Argentina	

¹⁶ Criteria provided by women in the focus groups carried out in three sending area contexts are emphasised here.

III. Private initiatives with regard to migrants

3.1. Information, awareness and preparation for travel

In contrast to the scant proactive disposition on the part of public institutions, the local press constantly includes unidentified ads for travel possibilities. Travel agencies and transportation firms act as recruiting agents over which there is no known specific regulation. Furthermore, rural radio stations transmit messages in native languages that encourage peasants to travel.

All these initiatives are part of the actions developed by the above-mentioned networks or circuits of intermediaries for labour emigration.

Due to the incipient nature of Governmental initiatives, it is also logical that migrant labourers reach out more to efforts initiated by private firms or institutions, regarding various aspects related to their departure, such as document processing, cash loans, contacts, and others. However, there is no private institution or Governmental organization in the country that is systematically and specifically working in this area.

In Tarija, “Orientation for Young Women” (OPAMI, *Orientación para la Mujer Joven*) was created in 1997 as a department within the non-Governmental organization known as PROMUTAR (*Promoción de la Mujer Tarijeña* [Promotion for Tarija’s Women]). Its services are to orient and train young female migrants, provide shelter in the welcoming centre, counsel and orient with respect to necessary emigration documents, orient in relation to the risks of undocumented migration, expulsion for illegality, information on residence and world-wide services, and in the case of young women who are emigrating from rural areas, provide help in finding work and processing their identity cards, contacts to ensure that young women are welcomed and helped.

This NGO also has a relationship of coordination with OPJ (*Orientación para la Joven* [Orientation for Young Women]), which is another NGO with offices in Bahía Blanca, Bariloche, Buenos Aires, Catamarca, Córdoba, Corrientes, Concordia, Formosa, Gauleguaycho, Jujuy, La Plata, La Rioja, Mar del Plata, Mendoza, Neuquen, Paraná, Rosario, Resistencia, Salta, Oran, San Fernando, San Juan, Santa Fe and Santiago del Estero. This list represents an important number of Argentine cities and regions that will eventually be the destination of emigrant women.

Furthermore, this organization cautions young women seeking work or academic opportunities within or outside the country with respect to travelling to other countries without the necessary identity documents and other paperwork that is required. Notices on risks, ill treatment and humiliations suffered when travelling undocumented are placed by this organization in different parts of the Department, such as bus stops, border crossings, hospitals, migration offices, tourism bureaus, document-processing entities, and others.

For the purposes of this project, PROMUTAR has already carried out a First Meeting of Migrant Women and has planned a second event to be held shortly.

Like PROMUTAR, there are other organizations that include migration among their concerns, in spite of the fact that this is not their central objective. They have done so in two ways: on the one hand, by providing information, facilitating departure by documentation support and in general, providing elements that will allow emigrants to be better prepared for facing new situations; on the other hand, trying to persuade against travel and therefore indirectly developing actions to contain or stop migration.

As can be seen, within the group of PROMUTAR activities one can identify initiatives referring to information supply as well as awareness and cautionary notices with regard to the possibility of abuse. In no case are there activities oriented to job preparation, except to inform on job opportunities.

CDI (Child Defence International) is a non-Governmental international organisation oriented to the protection of minors, protection and assistance against abuse, protection and assistance for children who have been able to return as a result of the reports and specific actions towards this end. This institution is also active in various countries as well as the bordering countries; thus it is efficient when pursuing reports and establishing connections with institutions or State representatives in the countries where it operates.

The Bolivian Chapter on Human Rights functions in the areas of defence and protection of human rights in general; this includes male and female migrant workers. In this respect, it has carried out diverse efforts in the fields of information, training, and political incidence; it has promoted the topic among other institutions. In order to sensitise public opinion on this topic, a book has been published (“Migrant Human Rights”, *Derechos Humanos de los Migrantes*).

Since a private effort is being carried out in Tarija on this matter, the Chapter on Human Rights in Tarija is starting to get involved under the coordination of PROMUTAR and other institutions.

3.2. Evaluation of private initiatives for migrants and suggestions for future interventions

There are good and bad experiences in this field. Good experiences refer mainly to activities carried out by radio stations or amateur radio operators who facilitate communication between family and friends, inform on current situations and sending of mail, packages or remittances, as well as how they are being sent, by radio, which is the principal means of communication for rural areas within the country.

Something very evident in female workers is their ignorance with respect to institutions or non-Governmental organizations that provide assistance or aid with migration problems. As can be seen in Table 17, transport agencies and radio stations are precisely those that organize and are most involved in networks based on cooperation and trust for sending, loaning, and transporting money (remittances), packages, and others.

Their independence from NGOs is related to the inexistence in these agencies of interventions or specific programmes on this subject, except for the two above-mentioned experiences. In any case, these agencies are limited to urban actions and specific territories. Although this is not the case with CDI, emigration is not one of its specific areas of intervention.

Actions from private initiatives are still incipient efforts in this area, as well as currently isolated. For this reason, their reach is thoroughly insufficient, when compared to the problem’s magnitude. At present, these are independent actions, uncoordinated neither among themselves nor among the also incipient Governmental initiatives.

For all the above-mentioned reasons, it seems that it is important that business and travel agency activities be transparent, but above all, some NGOs’ activities should be extended to cover this problem and to prepare people for work abroad. This suggestion is based not only on the fact that this is totally absent but also because information, prevention, protection, and abuse prevention activities are starting to be taken up by public institutional initiatives.

As can be seen, there are NGO networks and connections among them in relation to migration. In this sense, some agreements between them would be desirable, in order to be vigilant with respect to the protection of female migrant worker rights and intervene when these are not complied with.

Table 17: Private initiatives related to migration

Place of departure	Receiving country	Evaluation of private initiatives
Cochabamba	Argentina	None known They know of an international NGO that helps everyone get jobs, not only Bolivians (in Argentina) Radio with programmes for migrants. Informs on mail, packages and remittances Radio has services for sending and receiving remittances (rural)
Riberalta	Japan	None known Some people in businesses bring them and take them
Tarija	Argentina	Transportation firm that loans money

IV. Governmental initiatives related to returnees

Since concern for international labour migration is still incipient, it is logical that there are no policies or programmes related to returnees, in order to assist in their social and economic reinsertion, whether this has to do with handling remittances or other issues.

As has been mentioned, when dealing with children who have been repatriated and have received care and family or institutional reinsertion, psycho-social support and assistance has been available through services provided by CDI. Specifically for minors and adolescents, there are public institutional efforts to support and assist their social and economic reinsertion. These are the Offices of the Ombudsman for Children, which are located at the municipal level and are responsible for the protection of adolescent labourers aged 14 or older from economic exploitation, as well as controlling their labour conditions. Although these are nation-wide responsibilities, research could be undertaken with respect to the situation of migrant minors abroad as well as coordination with the network of Ombudsmen to identify means for return or, as the case may be, repatriation of minors that have departed by irregular means.

Finally, in relation to remittances, these are mainly flowing through informal and private channels in the sense that migration initiatives are also familiar and private. As such, it is not possible for the Government to control these flows nor does it have programmes to regulate such flows or to guide their destination.

V. Private initiatives related to returnees

As has been mentioned above, PROMUTAR is promoting a process for the organization of returning migrant women, whether their return is temporary or permanent. This effort is being carried out in national meetings that also bring together researchers in the field, as well as some NGOs interested in a more specific concern on this problem.

Although organization is one of the purposes of these meetings, there is no organization of female returnees. However, the meetings have allowed a greater understanding of the problem of international labour migration; improved identification of the problems, opportunities, and difficulties that female workers face in the countries of destination; better information and knowledge of the problem of female labour migrants and more precise identification of demands and needs that define actions both for potential emigrants as well as for the reinsertion of returning women.

Ombudsman Offices for Children and Adolescents on the one hand, as well as the CDI, are playing an important role in receiving and providing psychological services for returning or repatriated children who are having problems for reinsertion in their homes.

This process has begun but has just gotten underway. Thus, it is not yet possible to have programmes and projects that are designed for returning women, much less functional results.

VI. Institutional framework

6.1. Institutions for the promotion, enforcement, and oversight of policies and legislation

As can be seen, there are public and private institutions associated with the migration quandary, and these carry out activities in order to tend the diverse aspects of this problem.

It would be difficult to indicate institutions that promote international labour migration of working women and/or men as organized flows or transfers, under a migration policy or programme. These streams are spontaneous and have no precise organization being of an exclusively private nature. In this sense, only travel agencies and transportation firms might be mentioned as emigration promoters. However, it would also be difficult to find public institutions undertaking such endeavours, since the Bolivian State has stated an objective of international migration containment.

It is therefore possible to identify among public institutions those responsible for enforcing and overseeing policies and laws. Some of these organizations are the National Migration Service (*Servicio Nacional de Migración*) and the Inter-Institutional Commission (*Comisión Interinstitucional* or *Comité Nacional de Migración*), which consists of the Chancellery, the Social Policy Commission (and currently of Human Rights) of the Chamber of Deputies, and the National Migration Service. With respect to supervision of policies and laws, Congress, the Offices of the Ombudsman, and the Offices of Ombudsmen for Children can be specifically mentioned.

Private institutions or NGOs such as PROMUTAR do not promote migration as an objective in itself; rather, since it is unstoppable, they carry out activities so that migration may take place under the best possible conditions. In particular, with respect to supervision of policies and legislation, the Bolivian Chapter of Human Rights plays a pivotal role implementing activities that will both have a bearing on and for interpellation as well.

6.2. National and International Efforts at Coordination

With respect to coordination on this issue, at the national level the above-mentioned Inter-Institutional Commission stands out, as well as at the international level the regional coordination efforts between the Ombudsmen, whose goals have already been dealt with in Chapter III.

The following table summarizes the set of institutions and their main functions.

Table 18: Institutions working with migration

Institutions	Actions
Ombudsman (Defensoría del Pueblo)	Receives reports, researches, and denounces acts and omissions on the part of State or private organizations rendering public services involving human rights violations A promotional campaign on migrant rights is being organised Supports female migrant documentation Has signed a tripartite accord regarding migration with Argentina and Chile
National Migration Service (Servicio Nacional de Migración)	Is responsible for migration policy Carries out the process of registering of legal departures Aids in documenting and legalising the situation of emigrants in receiving locations
Congress' Commission on Social Development (Comisión de Desarrollo Social del Parlamento)	Has taken the initiative of drafting a legal provision to correct the situation of undocumented migrants, regulate migrant flow mechanisms, and provide guarantees for migrants in their places of destination Has undertaken initiatives to solve cases of exploitation by channelling such cases to the appropriate agencies.
Ministry of Foreign Relations — Chancellery (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores)	Participates in the promotion of agreements and bi-national commissions with regard to the amnesty for undocumented migrants and facilitation of formal proceedings for residency
National Migration Commission (Comisión Nacional de Migración)	Is promoting the promulgation of a legal disposition to halt trafficking in persons, regulate migration movements, and establish defence mechanisms for migrants' rights
Ombudsmen for Children (Defensorías de la Niñez)	Have the necessary competencies for controlling teenage departure abroad for labour reasons
Child Defence International (Defensa de Niños Internacional — CDI)	Has the mechanisms for reporting trafficking in minors Provides shelter and services for minors who have been subject to perverse migration experiences
Bolivian Chapter for Human Rights (Capítulo Boliviano de Derechos Humanos)	Its functions encompass defence and protection of human rights, for which it has carried out dissemination, training, and political impact activities and has promoted treatment of the topic on the part of other institutions as well The book on "Migrant Human Rights" (<i>Derechos Humanos de los Migrantes</i>) has been published The Chapter for Human Rights in Tarija has started to act on this topic
Archbishop's Office for the Catholic Social Pastoral Activities (Arzobispado — Pastoral Social de la Iglesia)	In the social arena it has taken care of specific cases of returning migrants, with support in orientation, assistance, and specific services
PROMUTAR	This NGO in Tarija has a programme aimed at young female migrants that provides legal counsel and assistance through a shelter, as well as orientation and information
Radio Cochabamba	Information, remittances services, and messaging to and from migrant family members
Written press	Has played an informative role on this matter, most relevantly as related to information and reports on trafficking of children
Travel Agencies	Act as recruitment agencies for workers and as intermediaries for transport
DHL	This is one of the most important courier agencies for sending remittances and for other services used by female migrants to maintain their ties to Bolivia

Conclusions and recommendations

As can be appreciated from the above text, the international labour migration phenomenon is a fairly large social problem affecting migrants in particular and the country's future possibilities in general.

Besides the reasons associated with the sense and ideology prevailing in the current political orientations for the country's social and economic development, which generate the structural and situational conditions of the problem, as a national social phenomenon migration must be looked at in specific lights:

First, its massive magnitude in relation to the country's scant population; in demographic terms, the significant presence of rural migrants versus the urban population; in general the youthfulness of the emigrants; the family and even community dimension of the phenomenon in the rural setting; the quasi-parity between men and women who emigrate¹⁷, both with respect to quantity as well as in regard to their educational characteristics. The dimension of the problem is also expressed by the fact that in neighbouring Argentina and Chile, Bolivian immigrant workers are a majority, with regard to those from other countries of origin.

This numerous presence becomes more notorious due to the illegal and undocumented situation of a majority, a situation worsened by the already precarious conditions of hiring, exploitation, and abuse they are subjected to in general as foreign workers and in particular as women.

In the case of Bolivians, the above-mentioned deplorable conditions are reinforced by their characteristics of predominantly Aymara and Quechua ethnic and cultural origins. Although the set of characteristics affecting migrants are treated as equal for men and women, in fact exploitation and abuse of women is aggravated by reason of gender. This is reflected in the nature of the jobs they hold, the abusive treatment they are subjected to in pay and labour shift, and the direction of social violence. Although women and men share apparel industry jobs, women in particular work in housekeeping, personal and non-personal service labour in general, "escort services", prostitution, and others that make it easier for them to be victims of illegal trafficking in persons and an ever-younger initiation of emigration.

These circumstances reveal the need for specific measures in order to provide protection for women, in particular with respect to trafficking, violence and asymmetry in labour conditions with respect to hiring, lower wages, and lack of protection or social security. However, the precarious conditions faced by Bolivian migrant workers in general cause men and women to be vulnerable and thus they hide or understate discrimination towards women as such, within the overall discriminatory framework.

As has been mentioned, a lack of legislation for the protection of migrant workers is not the cause of the various violations of labourer's rights and human rights that migrants suffer. Although Bolivia and most of the receiving countries have not ratified specific ILO Conventions on this matter, those Agreements and Conventions that have in fact been ratified, as well as national legislation, should be enough to guarantee the protection of their rights. The difficulty is the lack of political will in general, as well as the low priority this issue has within the public agenda. This reality prevents institutional and administrative mechanisms and proceedings from being effective in the protection of such

¹⁷ Although information in general is not presented by gender, census data in receiving countries, mainly in Argentina, reveal gaps between men and women that are rapidly decreasing: in 1980 there were 65'730 men and 52'411 women; in 1991: 74'315 men and 69'254 women.

rights as have been established in current norms; however, some of these have started to be enforced.

This lack of prioritisation seems to be derived from a perverse reasoning that emigration liberates the sending country from social and political conflicts; while, the receiving country benefits from workers' contributions to the economy and private accumulation, under conditions of exploitation and relatively uncontrolled.

Political initiatives and actions are a reaction to claims from workers themselves, when they can submit them, from private institutions, and from isolated state agencies that are sensitive to the daily drama faced by migrants.

It seems to be correct to assume that lack of documentation and illegality need to be emphasised, as well as the possibility of stopping or slowing trafficking in persons, which increases illegality and its aforementioned consequences. This is the path towards granting the citizenship migrants need in order to consolidate their residence, strengthen their identity, legalise their organization, and provide autonomous mobility in defence of their rights. However, proposals, programmes, or mechanisms merit careful attention.

From this perspective, the following recommendations are additional basic actions to be implemented in order to strengthen migrant citizenship and autonomy beyond that which has been suggested above (Chapter III, Item 3 and Chapter IV, Item 2).

1. The need to strengthen organizations involved with migrants in the receiving country, for several purposes:
 - To register and have better information on the magnitude, gender, and age structure of migrants
 - To know what activities are being carried out
 - To learn under what conditions labour is being performed
 - To analyse problems being faced with respect to hiring conditions, promotion, and compensation
 - Types or absence of access to basic services
 - Development of the capacity for exerting pressure upon those institutions that are responsible for overseeing respect for migrant rights

It would be important to establish the different situations for male and female labourers related to the above issues and, whenever possible, to promote the organization of female migrant labourers as a means to identify their specific demands and needs as derived from gender discrimination.

2. There is an urgent need to adapt Bolivian diplomatic representation abroad in receiving countries, with the intention that they assume a more proactive and less reactive attitude towards the problems faced by male and female migrant labourers. It seems important to carry out a census of resident Bolivians in each country or city where Consulates are located, including their legal and migration condition, reasons for residency, access to education, health, housing, and other basic services, characteristics of their household, and the activities they perform. Actions related to information, counselling, and support for solving problems faced by Bolivian migrants should also be included.
3. Since the phenomenon is preponderantly rural, it is necessary to strengthen municipal organisations, such as the Offices of the Ombudsmen for Children, the Social Development Directorate and other similar agencies with important rural outreach, in their function of provision of information, orientation, and education with respect to conditions

and consequences of migration. The regional offices of the Ombudsman may coordinate this task, for which initiatives are being planned at present.

Even though this need is clear at the level of public and private organizations, institutional systems or mechanisms have yet to be developed in order to carry out such activities. Such an effort requires the design of a system that articulates the different initiatives, primarily those in the public sector but also those that are private and related to information, documentation, and legal counselling.

4. During the first phase, migrant perceptions and opinions on their experiences need to be considered with respect to what should be done. Simultaneously, specific policies and programmes based upon the preparation of migrants for their departure and return should be designed, in the fields of information, travel preparations, job training and language preparation for the country of destination, documentation, support for return, and protection of the rights of children, as indicated in Table 19. When designing interventions, it will be necessary to include such suggestions in each field as may have been proposed by the interested parties.
5. It is clear that the group of challenges to be met requires a more explicit and vast framework of norms referring to this problem. As a result, it would be important to further support making effective the aims defined by the Network of Ombudsmen (RED) with respect to ensuring compliance of norms for migrants and the protection of their rights. Similarly, processes leading to promoting ratification of Convention 97 (Revised) should be considered, to allow changes in migration norms to favour such legislation, as well as legalising and recognising migrant rights, above all. Additionally, within the RED commitments, it is important to support actions in favour of family reunification and support for repatriation or voluntary return, as well as counselling with respect to education on migrant rights.
6. Because of its importance, the commitment to actions to increase awareness and combat xenophobia in receiving societies needs to receive great support, based upon positive contributions on the part of migrants to the economy and inter-culturality, for which migrant women have a lot to offer.
7. An important initiative to be supported is the organization of migrant women returnees that is under way, allowing the design of a programme to prepare migrant women, predominantly with relation to work and language. The PROMUTAR and the Bolivian Chapter of Human Rights in Tarija can support this task, since these organizations have foreseen such a responsibility with respect to this problem.
8. However, without a doubt, an unavoidable assignment is the design and implementation of a national information system on international migration for the National Migration Service, which would allow the State to have timely and adequate information on this problem and permit the design of policies and programmes according to migration volume and characteristics. This system needs to be complemented with the other that has been proposed, with respect to the identification of the institutional issues that may be linked in order to implement information, communication, and documentation activities.
9. Furthermore, the Vice-Ministry of Gender, Generation and Family Matters, whose equality policies are still absent from this issue, needs to include this aspect in its agenda and to approach the National Migration Commission in order to participate in the promotion of the legal instrument in process, to include gender equity in its design and procedural mechanisms, among others.

Table 19: Summary of problems and suggestions for future interventions in favour of migrant rights

Problems	Suggestions
Documentation	<p>On the part of the Government, make it easier to get the necessary papers in order to leave safely</p> <p>Contract people that really help and orient</p> <p>Provide advice with respect to necessary documents, especially at border crossings</p> <p>Pass the Amnesty Law</p> <p>Propose that the formalities for settlement may be carried out both in Argentina and in the Argentine Consulates in Bolivia</p> <p>Reduce the cost of paperwork processing</p> <p>Reduce the cost of legalising birth certificates</p> <p>Create a legal counselling office</p> <p>Establish accords or agreements so that formalities may be simpler and less expensive.</p>
Information	<p>Carry out programmes in the country of origin for people who want to travel; to inform them on living conditions in the countries where they would like to go</p> <p>These programmes should be implemented particularly in rural areas, where people have less information, find it more difficult to function confidently in a foreign environment, and thus are more vulnerable to greater abuse and mistreatment.</p> <p>Provide ample and timely information.</p>
Training	<p>Organize training processes in technical areas, such as sewing and baking, with a certificate of conclusion that is valid both in Bolivia and in the receiving country</p>
Child labour	<p>Create programmes for the protection of children of rural origin, who are those generally taken for very hard work and low pay</p> <p>Be vigilant and prevent departure of children for work in other countries</p> <p>Design specific programmes for the protection of the rights of boys and girls that have already emigrated.</p>
Return	<p>At the Consulates, help all persons who desire to return and don't have the means to do so</p> <p>Create institutional mechanisms to help placement in jobs that make use of knowledge learned abroad</p> <p>Emphasise reinsertion, since not all returnees have the means to start anew; many return as they left: only with funds for travel</p> <p>Provide special attention to youth, when they return on their own and have no place to go</p> <p>Give greater support to the Consulates.</p>
Exploitation	<p>Create a space where complaints may be filed, with respect to abusive conditions suffered; anonymity must be guaranteed in order that the illegal and undocumented may file their demands.</p>
Policies and actions	<p>Promote Governmental efforts in order to improve policies that would result in improved salaries and working conditions within the country itself</p> <p>Have a more active attitude in initiatives destined to legalise emigrants</p> <p>Create a consular office in receiving countries, where emigrants can go in case of assault, fraud, and abuse</p> <p>Facilitate possibilities for travel.</p>
Measures for the support of migrant women	<p>Carry out specific research on labour and other conditions to which women are subject in other countries</p> <p>Promote agreements to do away with mistreatment and harassment</p> <p>Support travel formalities, visa, passport</p> <p>Provide all of the necessary information before the women travel</p> <p>Give classes on basic conversation in foreign languages</p> <p>Follow-up on mafia activities with respect to trafficking in adolescents and young girls and promote serious organizations under Government supervision that carry out activities related to travel</p> <p>Provide oversight with respect to equal treatment in hiring, promotion and pay for women</p> <p>Promote specific organizations for migrant women, which favour the representation of specific demands.</p>
Security	<p>Seek mechanisms for protection from delinquency, especially for the undocumented.</p>

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“ Entre Bolivia y la Argentina “ Claudia Espinoza
Lunes 28, Internacional A/14/:
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“ Viven como esclavos en estancias agricolas de Santa Fe”
Martes 28, Hora de Cierre A/18/:
“ Defensora no cree en convenios migratorios”
(Nota.- Ver agosto 1999 firma de convenio)
Jueves 30, Sociedad A/9/:
“ Que Argentina sancione a los explotadores”
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“ Explotación, diputados quieren ir a Santa Fe”

ABRIL

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“ La Defensora del Pueblo de Buenos Aires dice que el gobierno argentino fomenta indocumentación de bolivianos”
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Sábado 13, Sociedad A/9/:

“ Hallan a bolivianos explotando a bolivianos”

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Martes 27, A/1° y 8/:

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“ Mas sobre el caso de niños explotados”

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Sábado 1, Sociedad A/9/:

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“ Una madre busca a su hija en la Argentina”.” Argentina admite xenofobia contra los bolivianos”

Lunes 3, Información General A/10/:

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Martes 4, Información General A/18/:

“ La iglesia llamó a los argentinos a pedir perdón a los bolivianos”

Miércoles 5, Sociedad A/8/:

“ Ahora también el fiscal que investiga los abusos a bolivianos es amenazado”

Sábado 15, Sociedad A/17/:

“ La policía argentina detuvo a 8 agresores de bolivianos migrantes” “ Los asaltos a los Quinteros se caracterizan por la tortura”

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“ Otros 6 menores bolivianos eran explotados en Buenos Aires”

Miércoles 19, Sociedad A/12/:

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DICIEMBRE

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Martes 26, Informe A/16 y 17:
“ Cientos de migrantes pasan por Pocitos”

Appendix 1

GDP participation and growth rate

Sector	Participation		Growth rate
	1980	1995	1980–1995
A. INDUSTRY	83.72	81.42	1.22
1. Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	13.79	14.88	1.93
Non-industrial agricultural products	5.82	6.54	2.20
Industrial agricultural products	0.92	2.53	8.48
Coca	0.63	0.90	3.88
Animal Husbandry	5.23	4.06	(0.30)
Forestry, hunting and fishing	1.19	0.86	(0.79)
2. Quarries and mines	12.96	10.23	(0.18)
Crude oil and natural gas	4.87	4.23	0.47
Metallic and non-metallic minerals	8.09	6.00	(0.59)
3. Manufacturing industries	19.44	16.83	0.44
Food, beverage, and tobacco	6.74	7.63	2.26
Other industries	12.70	9.20	(0.75)
4. Electricity, gas, and water	1.08	1.97	5.58
5. Construction and public works	3.70	3.50	1.05
6. Commerce and trade	9.33	8.95	1.13
7. Transport, storage and communications	6.12	10.07	4.83
8. Finance firms, insurance, real estate and services rendered to companies	10.71	10.54	1.30
Financial services	2.18	2.35	1.93
Services rendered to companies	3.20	2.47	(0.33)
Ownership of property	5.34	5.25	1.29
9. Community, social and personal services	4.52	3.70	0.06
10. Restaurants and hotels	3.91	3.38	0.43
banking services involved	(1.84)	(2.17)	2.52
B. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION SERVICES	11.69	9.16	(0.23)
C. DOMESTIC SERVICES (housekeeping)	0.49	0.55	2.10

Source: CEDLA. Bolivia Report, 1996. La Paz. 1997.

Appendix 2

EAP by age and gender (in thousands)

Age bracket	Total population	Total EAP	EAP Men	EAP Women	Difference
Total	3'091.8	1'234.1	699.2	535.0	164.2
0-9	794.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-19	735.8	157.8	79.5	78.3	1.2
20-29	572.1	362.5	209.6	152.9	56.7
30-39	422.0	344.7	196.1	148.6	47.5
40-49	262.5	216.6	123.6	93.0	30.6
50-59	142.9	97.1	58.1	38.9	19.2
60-69	99.0	43.5	25.9	17.6	8.3
70-79	46.3	10.7	5.9	4.8	1.1
80 >	17.3	1.3	0.5	0.8	-0.3

Source: INE-SESO/EIH'7^a RONDA (September 1994).

Percentage of the economically active and inactive population 7 years and older, in the 1976 and 1992 censuses by area and gender

Area and gender	Percentage of the population ¹			
	Active		Inactive	
	1976	1992	1976	1992
Total	42	50	58	50
Men	67	62	33	38
Women	18	38	82	62
Urban areas	40	43	60	57
Men	59	56	41	44
Women	23	31	77	69
Rural areas	44	60	56	40
Men	73	71	27	29
Women	15	48	85	52

¹ Does not include population not reporting condition of activity.

Source: INE.CNPV.92.

Appendix 3

Percentage of the economically inactive population 7 years of age or more,
by area and type of inactivity (1976 and 1992 censuses)

Type of Inactivity	Percentage of the population ¹								
	1976			1992			Relative variation between censuses		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
BOLIVIA	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Household chores	51.6	39.7	61.1	34.7	32.1	39.8	-32.8	0.2	-34.9
Student	46.5	57.5	37.8	60.2	61.6	57.4	29.5	7.1	51.9
Pensioner-Annuitant	1.1	1.9	0.4	2.7	3.6	1.0	145.5	89.5	150.0
Others	0.8	0.9	0.7	2.4	2.7	1.8	200.0	200.0	157.1

¹ Percentages were calculated excluding the population that did not specify its condition of activity.
Source: INE.CNPV.92.

Appendix 4

Economically active population 7 years of age or more, according to occupation, by gender and sector of activity

Gender/ Sector of activity	Total	Men	%	Women	%
Total	2'530,409	1'544,105	61.02	986'304	38.97
1. Agriculture, cattle raising, and hunting	981'896	627'851	64.00	354'045	36.00
2. Fisheries	2'511	2,311	92.00	200	7.96
3. Quarries and mines	52'623	49'144	93.40	3'479	6.60
4. Manufacturing industries	222'485	152'427	68.50	70'058	31.50
5. Electricity, gas, and water	6'086	5'566	91.45	520	8.54
6. Construction	129'409	127'295	98.36	2'114	1.63
7. Wholesale and retail trade	207'180	112'902	54.49	94'278	45.50
8. Hotels and restaurants	25'249	10'589	41.94	14'660	58.06
9. Transportation and communication	116'800	110'669	94.75	6'131	5.25
10. Financial intermediation and insurance	9'571	6'382	66.68	3'189	33.32
11. Real estate and entrepreneurial activities	45'140	32'451	71.89	12'689	28.11
12. Public administration	59'093	47'014	79.56	12'079	20.44
13. Education	102'490	45'378	44.27	57'112	55.72
14. Social and health services	34'352	14'419	41.97	19'933	58.03
15. Other services, social and personal communication	107'538	50'699	47.14	56'839	52.85
16. Private homes with domestic service	103'455	5'488	5.30	97'967	94.69
17. Extraterritorial entities	1'971	1'133	57.48	838	42.50
Not specified	292'204	119'005	40.73	173'199	59.27
Seeking work for the first time	30'356	23'382	77.02	6'974	22.97

Source: INE CNPV.92.

Appendix 5

Newspaper Articles from *La Razón* (national circulation)

Date	Topic	Measure
23/06/00	A truck carrying 18 locked-up workers, among whom five were minors. Their destination was a set of farms outside Bahía Blanca, where they were to work picking and packing onions.	A group of Argentine Members of Congress demand greater efficiency on the part of the Ministry of Labour. They request information on inspections to detect labour law infractions.
19/06/00	A textile sweatshop is discovered, where 40 Bolivian citizens, 15 of whom are minors, 13 are women and 2 are men, worked in inhuman conditions, 18 to 20 hour workdays and one dish of food.	Argentine police intervened. Minors were repatriated.
26/06/00	Bolivian children as slaves in Buenos Aires textile sweatshops. Recruitment in Cochabamba	
27/06/00	Each had to deliver 650 dozen pieces of underclothing Work hours were from 8:00 to 24:00	
28/06/00	"Elena and Apolonia Treviño and the owner of Viajes Maggietour Ltda. Roxana Gamboa are apparently involved in trafficking of 50 minors; 15 have returned to the country.	
25/06/00	Robbery and torture of Bolivian peasants working in agriculture in the Escobar zone. Robbery of three families Occurred in more than 50 cases, torturing the head of family	Argentine police intervened.
28/06/00	To Fidencio Choque, 21/6/00, "ten hooded men escaped with 3000 pesos, after burning his chest with an iron, applying electric discharges from a bare cable, hitting him and trying to hang him with a wire" "...Bolivian farm hands keep their savings at home, far from banks, because they are mostly illegal immigrants and work "on the black market" "To date so far this year, 72 robberies have already taken place, by hooded bands who are so cruel that some analysts note "racist connotations" in the attacks against Bolivian immigrants".	
28/06/00	"...Judicial sources indicated that a group of policemen are being investigated, since they could have acted with common criminals in the robberies that started about three months ago and have affected at least 72 Bolivian families. These families were working the land and their assailants violently broke into their modest homes and escaped with money. Several of the Bolivians were subjected to torture as well."	
28/06/00	"On 24 May of this year, in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, Margarita Mamani, a Bolivian immigrant, was intercepted by group of people that took her to a remote location and proceeded to assault and rob her. After being savagely struck, the assailants murdered the woman in the zone of San Martín. Police have no clues that would allow them to locate the perpetrators."	
21/07/00	Bolivian legislators Elsa Zúñiga and Ana Tineo Fernández denounced to Argentine authorities the trafficking in minors and proposed the creation of mechanisms that would allow for improved coordination between both legislatures (Bolivian and Argentina).	The proposal to promote actions against trafficking in children and to defend migrant rights was accepted.

Date	Topic	Measure
9/09/00	Senator Julio Lagos said that illegal immigrants negatively affect education, housing, work, and health conditions of Chileans.	
21/09/00	Argentina reduces migration fees by 60%. Bolivian migrants will need to carry out only one formality, costing 400 dollars. The time limit for formal procedures is extended to one year.	Measure approved during the II Ordinary Meeting of the Joint Advisory Commission for the Migration Agreement between Bolivian and Argentina (<i>Comisión Mixta Consultiva del Convenio de Migración entre Bolivia y la Argentina</i>).
26/10/00	7,500 Bolivian citizens live in Brazil totally undocumented, having neither identity card nor passport. They have until December of the year 2000 to legalise their situation.	The Bolivian Government will request an extension of the term of the Amnesty. A Commission including the Consular system, the Director for Migration and Legislator Zúñiga will travel to begin the process of legalisation of Bolivian residents in Brazil. Identity card delivery will be simplified
3/01/01	Chile expelled more than 2,000 undocumented Bolivians. Most Bolivians coming into the country through the Northern border with Chile settle in the agricultural valleys of Azapa, Lluta, Chaca or Camiña. Work is carried out in a hot climate and Chilean employers prefer them	
28/01/01	The new Law on Alien Status restricts migrant rights (Spain)	
3/02/01	The Law on Alien Status imposes [on the employer] a fine of 1.051 million pesetas, close to 5,000 dollars for each undocumented alien working for them (Spain).	
3/02/01	The Spanish Government passed the Law on Alien Status on January 23rd, which prohibits employment of illegal migrants. Bolivian Consulates in that country have 3'500 Bolivians registered but Ambassador Enrique Toro Tejada believes the number is closer to 7'000. The Bolivian Embassy cannot help them because the State does not have enough funds to pay for the cost of return tickets. Spain does not have the resources to deport illegal aliens either. Illegal Bolivians cannot work and between 60 and 80 requests for repatriation are received; however, these persons have no resources for travel. The situation can be summed up as: they cannot work, they cannot return to their country of origin and they cannot be expelled.	The Bolivian Government will make the necessary arrangements to reach an agreement that will allow Bolivians to legalise their documentation and not be deported.
3/02/01	Spanish Police has discovered a farm in Albacete that employed 150 farm hands, all of whom were Bolivian. Employers were detained and Judicial authorities intervened.	
4/02/01	During the year 2000, Bolivians in Spain sent US\$ 2 million by Western Union services, through Fexco Spain and DHL. In Madrid alone, Fexco has 105 offices and DHL has a network of 204 agencies on Bolivian soil. Both companies offer a Western Union service, which includes transfer of funds from anywhere to anywhere else in the world, in only 20 minutes. Money transfers increased 100% with respect to 1999.	

Date	Topic	Measure
4/02/01	A federation of Latin communities has been organised, where a physical location will be available as well as advice related mostly to legalisation of paperwork.	
5/02/01	The "ample and generous" revision of 34,000 rejected files to which the Spanish Government has agreed to will consist of including all the bases for exception included in Article 34 of the Law of Alien Status. This article allows the granting of temporary residence permits for humanitarian reasons.	A Governmental commission was formed to reach the agreement.
8/02/01	<p>"The Bolivian community is one of the sectors most discriminated against by the Argentine society and its public and private organizations and institutions, as well as the Chilean and Korean communities."</p> <p>A study carried out by SOS Discrimination, analysed 586 cases of 700 reports that were received during the year 2000. It was determined that 30.5% of all discrimination cases are due to nationality or ethnic reasons, 15% to physical or mental disability, 11.5% to their appearance, 10.5% to gender, 9.2% to age, 8.5% to socio-economic status, 8% to religious affiliation, and 6% to political or union ideologies.</p>	
13/02/01	Chancellor Javier Murillo announced that the decision by the Argentine Directorate for Migration, to intimidate Bolivians so that they legalise their migration situation in order to prevent their expulsion, has been revoked.	<p>Javier Murillo, in his role as Chancellor, agreed to make the arrangements in order that both the Bolivian and Argentine Congresses pass the Additional Migration Protocol signed by both countries in the year 2000.</p> <p>This document guarantees the reduction of fees that Bolivians must pay in order to formalise their paperwork.</p>
13/02/01	<p>A report by an AP reporter indicates that thousands of Bolivians work as slaves in Sao Paulo, Brazil</p> <p>The mass of personas with sewing jobs includes more than 150,000 persons who do not leave their sewing machines during 16 hours. The lack of legal documentation may generate their exploitation.</p>	The Chancellor requested two days in order to find out the number of Bolivians in Brazil. Once this information is available, it is possible that an Amnesty will be requested in order to legalise the situation.
14/02/01	<p>The H-1B Programme for temporary work visas for non-immigrants</p> <p>The diplomatic delegation indicates that 195,000 is the maximum annual number established by a law sponsored by Ex-President Clinton in October of the year 2000, which is valid for 2001, 2002 and 2003.</p> <p>The requirement for the H-1B programme is that the applicant have a university degree and a specialization.</p>	
3/03/01	<p>Eight Bolivians are accused of trafficking in illegal migrants into Spain.</p> <p>They worked out of Bolivia and may have brought 2,000 immigrants illegally into the country.</p>	

Date	Topic	Measure
29/03/01	<p>In Parí and Brass neighbourhoods there are Bolivian minors between 14 and 17 years of age.</p> <p>Koreans are employers paying one real for manufacturing one pair of trousers.</p> <p>Most worked in informal sweatshops for manufacturing apparel, owners were Korean or Bolivian.</p> <p>Work is carried out in narrow shops underground, with scarce air circulation and ventilation.</p>	<p>A Bolivian Commission composed of the Social Policy Commission from the Chamber of Deputies, the Chancellery and the Directorate for Migration.</p> <p>The need for putting order and regulating for migration was proposed.</p> <p>In the case of children and adolescents, the use of a single-use passport and exit permit for Mercosur countries was recommended.</p> <p>Another recommendation was the immediate modernisation of Bolivian passports, since these have only 12 security measures instead of 50, as suggested by international guidelines.</p> <p>Detention of people accused of falsifying passports and trafficking in persons.</p>
29/03/01	<p>Minors are transported illegally by Bolivian citizens towards Calama, Tocopilla, Mejillones (Chile) for employment as household workers.</p>	

Source: The authors, based upon a revision of the printed media, *La Razón* Newspaper, 2000–2001.

Appendix 6

Requirements for a labour visa

Italy	France	Spain	Great Britain
Work Contract authorised by national agencies	The interested party (firm or person) must submit an application to the French Ministry of Labour	Labour contract is sent from Spain	The interested party (firm or person) must start the paperwork with the British Government
The employer (firm or person) must submit an application to the Ministry of Labour of that country	The document is sent to the Office of Migration in France and is remitted to the consulate	Application form Labour contract is presented at the Consulate	The fact that the labour demand cannot be met within the English labour market must be demonstrated.
Approved documentation from the Office of Migration of the Italian Government	Interview	Passport Medical certificate Police record	The future employee must submit an application at the Labour Office
This document must be presented at one of the Italian Consulates in Bolivia	Medical check-up	Documents are sent to Spain for approval	The interested party must demonstrate that he or she and his or her family can live with the wages offered, without support from public programmes.
Birth certificate	Passport		With all the above, formalities are initiated at the British Consulate.
Police record	Photographs		Passport
Passport			Two photographs
Medical report			Certificates of studies
			Interview at the Consulate.

Appendix 7

List of interviewees

The sources for the information included in this paper came from authorities, directors, and officials in public and private institutions involved in the migration issue. Their names and positions are listed below.

Interviews

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Dr. Ramiro Meléndrez | Directorate of Multilateral Issues (<i>Dirección de Asuntos Multilaterales</i>) |
| 2. | Hon. Deputy Elisa Zúñiga | Chamber of Deputies, Commission for Social Policy (<i>Comisión de Política Social de la Cámara de Diputados</i>) |
| 3. | Hon. Deputy Verónica Palenque | Legislative Deputy |
| 4. | Rodolfo Eróstegui | ILO Representative, Bolivia |
| 5. | Dr. Luis Serrate | Vice-Minister of Justice |
| 6. | Lic. Alvaro Guzmán | Judicial Advisor to the Vice-Minister of Justice |
| 7. | Lic. Oscar Jordán | Director, National Migration Service, Ministry of the Interior |
| 8. | Dr. Nardy Suño | Judicial Advisor to the Ombudsman |
| 9. | Gonzalo Párraga | Adjunct Office for Human Rights, Office of the Ombudsman |
| 10. | Sagrario Urgel | International Relations, Ministry of Labour |
| 11. | July Roca | Institute for Socio-Labour Research (<i>Instituto Investigaciones Sociolaborales, INIS</i>) Ministry of Labour |
| 12. | Fernando Rodríguez | Bolivian Chapter for Human Rights, Democracy and Development, Bolivia |
| 13. | Marcos Santivañez Soria | Social Communicator. <i>Los Tiempos</i> (newspaper with nation-wide distribution), Cochabamba |
| 14. | Liz Pérez | Researcher, Author of the book <i>Idas y venidas</i> |
| 15. | Alfonso Hinojosa | Researcher, Author of the book <i>Idas y venidas</i> |
| 16. | PROMUTAR. Tarija | |
| 17. | <i>Pastoral Migratoria</i> , Tarija | Catholic Office for Pastoral Activities with Migrants |

Appendix 8

Focus groups

Focus groups were convened to obtain opinions from potential migrants and returnees, both from rural and urban areas. They were carried out in four of the country's departments. In La Paz, women migrating to the United States and Europe were interviewed.

Focus groups carried out were as follows:

Department	Place	No. of participants		Receiving country	Participant characteristics
<i>Cochabamba:</i>					
3 groups	Muyurina	Group 1	8	Argentina	Rural Mixed (men and women)
	Capital City	Group 2	8	Argentina	Rural-urban- women
	Capital City	Group 3	6	Argentina	Urban- Mixed (men and women)
<i>Tarija:</i>					
2 Groups	Rural community Pampa redonda	Group 1	11	Argentina	Pampa Redonda Rural Women
	Rural community Paicho	Group 2	10	Argentina	Paicho Rural Women
<i>Potosí:</i>					
2 Groups	Betanzos Caiza D	Group 1	8	Argentina	Rural Women
	Capital City	Group 2	9	United States Europe Argentina	Urban Women
<i>Beni:</i>					
2 Groups	Riberalta	Group 1	9	Brazil	Urban-rural
	Guayaramerin	Group 2	8	Japan	Urban