University of Utrecht

2013

Master Thesis MSc International Development Studies

THERE AND BACK:

Labor Migration, Return, & Female Empowerment in Cochabamba City

Maria Isabel Balderrama

Supervisor: Dr. Gery Nijenhuis

Faculty of Geosciences
University of Utrecht

Master Thesis MSc International Development Studies

THERE AND BACK:

Labor Migration, Return, & Female Empowerment in Cochabamba City

Maria Isabel Balderrama
3894886

Supervisor: Dr. Gery Nijenhuis

Faculty of Geosciences

University of Utrecht

August, 2013

Abstract

Two migration trends, return migration and the feminization of migration, have risen to the top of the current migration and development research agenda. This investigation analyses the link between international labor migration, return, and female empowerment through quantitative data analysis and interviews conducted with return female migrants in Cochabamba City, Bolivia.

This thesis argues that labor migration can effectively encourage the economic, and to some extent, the social empowerment processes of the female labor migrants. A subsequent return to the place of origin, however, can have mixed results on the women's empowerment process, as the familiarity of the environment can encourage the women to invest financially upon return; while at the same time the social structures continue to place unequal burden women than they do on men. As a result, neither migration nor return advance the women's process of political empowerment, for the patriarchal structures at the locality of origin discourage the women to enter the political sphere, as most prioritize their role as mothers over everything else.

Keywords: Labor Migration, Return Migration, Female Migration, Female Empowerment, Autonomy, Latin America, Bolivia, Cochabamba.

Acknowledgements

Spending six months in beautiful Cochabamba, researching a subject which I'm passionate about, and learning more about my own culture has been a dream come true. Although I was born and grew up in Bolivia, this experience has opened my eyes to the realities of my country, both good and bad.

A huge "Thank You" goes out to all the experts who gave me their time, support, and guided my way through this topic. Dr. Carmen Ledo's knowledge and advice contributed a great deal of depth to this investigation; I could not have done it without her and the CEPLAG team's enormous bank of information and practical knowledge. Dr. Jorge Veizaga's kindness and eagerness to help were also essential to my success here in Cochabamba. The contacts he gave me and the various data sources to which he facilitated my access played a key role in developing various aspects of the present work. Along with this, the entire CESU and CEP teams must also be mentioned for opening up to my questions and for sharing their knowledge. Thank you also to Olivia Roman from Ciudadania for sharing valuable insight on the topic of female migration.

Acknowledgements also go out to Dr. Hugo Bustillos for the contacts he shared with me and for the interviews he granted. The work he and his organization AMIBE do for return migrants of both genders should be recognized and held up as an example for other non-government organizations to follow.

At Utrecht University, thank you to Gery Nijenhuis, my thesis supervisor for always answering my questions in the timeliest fashion and for her invaluable feedback throughout this entire process; never letting the enormous distance or time difference between us become an issue.

Most sincere thanks to the women who participated in this study: Thank you for your time and thank you for your stories; this investigation would not exist without you. And to all the women of Cochabamba and Bolivia who were brave enough to fight for a better life for yourselves and your families: My respects; you make me proud to be a Bolivian woman.

To my family in Bolivia for their endless support and patience in letting me pursue my dreams. To my fiancée for being there for me in every aspect during the past six months, and for understanding me like none other.

Gracias!

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Graphs

List of Tables

Acronyms

ACOBE – *Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia – España* (Association for Cooperation Bolivia – Spain)

AMDECO – *Asociación de Municipios de Cochabamba* (Association of Cochabamba Municipalities)

AMIBE – *Asociación de Migrantes Bolivia – España* (Migrant Association Bolivia – Spain)

BID – *Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo* (Inter-American Development Bank)

CEP – *Centro de Estudios de Población* (Center for Population Studies)

CEPLAG – *Centro de Planificación y Gestión* (Center for Planning and Management)

CESU – *Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios* (Center for Superior University Studies)

CIUF – *Consejo Interuniversitario de Universidades Francófonas del Gobierno de Bélgica*

CPE – *Constitución Política del Estado* (Bolivia's Constitution)

CUD – *Commission Universitaire pour le Dévelopment* (Commission of Universities for Development)

HDI – Human Development Index

HDR – Human Development Report

IDB – Inter-American Development Bank (BID in Spanish)

IFAD – International Fund for Agricultural Development

INE – *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (National Institute of Statistics)

ILO – International Labor Organization

IOM – International Organization for Migration

LPP – *Ley de Participación Popular* (Law of Popular Participation)

MERCOSUR – Mercado Común del Sur (Common Marketplace of the South)

MNR – *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement)

NELM – New Economics of Labor Migration

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PNUD – Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme)

UMSS – *Universidad Mayor de San Simón* (San Simón University)

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme (PNUD in Spanish)

UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund

UN-INSTRAW – United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

Executive Summary

As interest on the topic of migration has grown significantly during the past few decades, so has the understanding that the term "migrant" does not encompass a homogenous group of individuals, but is rather comprised of a diverse range of actors with a wide variety of agendas, goals, and experiences (Dannecker, 2009).

Two migration trends have risen to the top of the current migration and development research agenda. The first trend is return migration, a phenomenon that has gained even more significance recently due to the ongoing global recession affecting the economy of most migrant-receiving countries, with millions of labor migrants worldwide being forced to return home due to disappearing jobs in Europe and in the United States. The second trend points to the so-called "feminization of migration" (UN-INSTRAW, 2007); as women migrants move beyond occupying the role of companions to their male counterparts, to becoming breadwinners in their own right (Bastia, 2007)(Pessar & Mahler, 2006).

Given the fact that return migration can drastically affect the economic, social, and political context in a sending locality, it becomes necessary to expand our understanding of these experiences as they are lived by the women that have chosen to leave and then to come back. For these reasons, a five-month study was conducted in Cochabamba City, Bolivia, from March until July of 2013, where the answer to the central question "*What are the effects of international labor migration and subsequent return to the country of origin on the economic, social, and political empowerment of adult women from Cochabamba City?*" was explored through a series of interviews with female return migrants and quantitative data analyses.

The framework for this thesis is placed within the context of female empowerment due to the fact that male-oriented theories are inadequate in understanding the consequences and outcomes of female migration experiences (Gaye & Jha, 2011). In this sense, the concepts of female empowerment and autonomy can better explain the effects of labor and return migration on women's lives, while accurately contextualizing their situation in relation to their social and cultural environment.

Bolivia's third most populous city, Cochabamba, is a particularly well-suited choice for a study that focuses on the relationship between temporary female migration and empowerment given that this city largely reflects the nationwide socioeconomic and political realities of the Bolivian citizens. Of the country's 10.4 million inhabitants, 50 percent of them are women; and it is perhaps due to Bolivia's

enduring poverty that women have made up a large percentage of the labor force since 2006 (World Bank, 2013b). But while their participation in the labor sector has been nearly equal to that of men, the capacity of Bolivian women to generate income remains low and in urban areas they incorporate themselves to the least productive and worst paid jobs (Freitag, 2013). Furthermore, in 2008 over half of women in Bolivia (52.3 percent) claimed to have been physically abused by their partners at some point in their lives (World Bank, 2012). Sadly, Cochabamba leads the country as the department with the most number of domestic violence cases reported to the police with 33 percent (followed by Santa Cruz with 20 percent and La Paz with 19 percent)(JornadaNet, 2013).

The investigation's initial hypothesis, based on the regional context, theoretical framework, and on similar prior studies, assumed that the results of this investigation would demonstrate that female migrants experience an increased level of awareness regarding their own ability to exercise autonomy during their time away. It was also predicted that upon return, this increased autonomy would be challenged by local social and cultural structures that would deter the women's empowerment process. As a response, most of the women would either reluctantly give up said autonomy, or be sufficiently dissatisfied with their inability to preserve it that they would choose to break away from normative expectation of gender behavior, leading to separation or divorce, relocation, and/or re-migration.

Concerning these assumptions, the initial hypothesis was correct in predicting the breakup of the household upon return given that half of the women interviewed during the qualitative portion of the investigation either divorced or separated from their partner during their time away or shortly after returning to Bolivia. In many cases, this was due to their pre-migration situation having been one of abuse, either verbal or physical; thus the women utilized their time away not only to gain financial independence upon return, but to put emotional as well as physical distance between their partners and themselves.

Even though most of the women's power remained rather muted during the pre-migration stage as dissatisfaction with the quality of their personal life prevailed, the majority of the women were able to focus on the inadequacy of their economic situation while searching for viable alternatives to it. According to the interviews and the quantitative data analysis, awareness of migration as an option came from interactions with friends and family members who had previously ventured abroad. In many cases, these friends and relatives encouraged the women to migrate, sometimes even going as far as providing financial support for the journey.

In most cases, the women's decision to migrate did not directly lead to a decrease in their subordination, as many were faced, upon arrival to their international destination, with abuse, discrimination, and/or exploitation. But throughout all of this, many women became financially responsible for their household, while others began to earn an income for the first time in their lives. Additionally, during their stay abroad, many of the women met and turned to other women like them for support in an environment they felt lonely and even lost. In many cases these friendships played a crucial role in teaching the women that domestic violence is not something one should put up with. As a result, the women equipped themselves with self-confidence and the potential to alter the structures upon return. In some cases, the women did not even wait until returning to exercise greater control, but rather, had their children join them at their destinations, where they could take direct charge of the kids' lives and education.

Once back in Cochabamba, it was observed through both the interviews and the quantitative data that, upon return, many of the women started earning more than they did before migrating, while others exchange their previous status as homemakers for remunerative employment. During this process, a great number of the women acquired agency, as they began "acting on their own behalf" through the construction of "something new," (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003, p. 426). Returning to Cochabamba did not seem to negatively affect the economic empowerment process of the women; rather, it promoted it as they began applying their skills in an environment where they felt more comfortable investing in new ideas and undertaking new ventures.

It is necessary to point out here that the majority of interviewees did not increase their autonomy relating to financial matters by creating a more equitable environment in their households, but by breaking up with or divorcing their partners in order to put a stop to the violence and the control. The results of this investigation reinforced the belief that women pay a higher social price than men for migrating alone (Ghosh, 2009), for many were faced with the disintegration of their personal relationships upon return.

The findings of this investigation also demonstrate that the act of separation ratified the women's position as primary breadwinners and heads of the household, leaving them free to make strategic decisions about their own lives and the lives of their children. Even as many of the women who chose separation were left to bear the social and financial burden of the household alone, many of them felt that this situation was better than the previous, as they said to feel more "at peace" now than before

migrating; the reason being that before migrating, they had to not only put up with a violent and unhelpful partner, but also with the uncertainty of whether he would provide for the family or not.

Of the three aspects included in this investigation, along with "social" and "economic," the political empowerment of women is the one that may best lead to large-scale change when it comes to closing gender gaps and creating a more equitable society by giving women a voice and increasing their participatory power in local politics. Unfortunately, this study did not yield any conclusive evidence that women's political awareness is increased through a migratory experience. One conclusion as to why this may be is that the patriarchal structures in place in Bolivia make it difficult, even for women with the leadership traits and/or education necessary to be successful in politics, to be incentivized to enter this sphere. Although a few of the women interviewed did show remarkable insight and awareness of the structural challenges facing women, most of them were quick to point out the need to prioritize their families and, more specifically, their children.

The fact that these women felt personally emboldened by the experience of having lived abroad, earned income, and for the first time for many, did not have to rely on anyone else, went a long way in changing their way of life once back in Cochabamba. Whether having mustered the courage to walk away from an abusive relationship or gathered the confidence to start their own business, migration and the wide range of new experiences it brought with it forever altered the way these women live their lives and perceive their options.

1. Introduction

Though the consequences of international labor migration on development have been debated within academic and policy-making circles for decades, only recently has there has been a resurgence of optimism regarding the link between the two (de Haas, 2010). This optimism has been fueled in part by increased interest in the developmental potential of the income that is generated by labor migrants in destination countries and sent back to the less developed sending localities as remittances. Experts have come to regard these remittances as an effective tool of income distribution that could potentially help mitigate persistent and increasing global inequality issues (Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002) (de Haas, 2010), especially as global remittance flows reached 381 billion in 2011 (World Bank, 2012b), over three times the net amount of official development assistance funds in the same year (OECD, 2011).

As the economics behind labor migration began taking precedence in the global policy agenda, academic research incorporated the fluidity of international migratory movements as a key aspect of migration studies (Cassarino, 2004)(Dustmann & Weiss, 2007), as it was recognized that migration movements are not only comprised of closed cycles with a beginning and an end. Rather, some migrants, if not the majority, may often choose, for a variety of reasons, to return to their place of origin, while others may choose to migrate yet again. Within the context of international development studies, temporary migration specifically is of particular importance considering that some returnees can in fact become agents of change upon returning to their society of origin (Belanger & Rahman, 2013) (Jones, 2010), bringing back with them not only financial capital, but also skills, knowledge and innovation from abroad, all valuable assets to the development of their locality. The phenomenon of return migration has become even more significant due to the present situation of the global economy, with millions of labor migrants worldwide being forced to return home due to disappearing jobs in Europe and in the United States.

But despite the progress that migration theory has made in trying to encompass the multidimensionality of labor migration, relatively few studies have established a theoretical framework to adequately deal with the effects that international migration followed by a return to the country of origin have on women; even as women today make up about half of the world's migrants, outnumbering their male counterparts in some parts of the world (Osotimehin, 2013). As women increasingly migrate to look for better labor opportunities abroad and, as experts on the topic have argued, the position of women in a society can be best measured by looking at their level of access to the labor market, among other things (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011), this investigation has chosen to focus on the connection between female empowerment and temporary labor migration.

Bolivia, a Latin American country where mobility and migration are fundamental features of its population's dynamic (Mazurek, 2007), provides a fitting setting for this investigation due to the fact that the number of Bolivian women who participate in cross-border migration has been on the rise in recent years, with some estimating that up to 70 percent of Bolivians residing abroad are female (Coordinadora de la Mujer, 2011a). Cochabamba, Bolivia's third most populous city, is also a well-suited choice since in 2009 the percentage of females returning to this city from an international migratory destination surpassed that of men 47.4 to 37.4 percent (CEPLAG, 2012).

As Bolivia was labeled one of the most unequal countries in Latin American and the Caribbean in terms of gender (World Bank, 2012a), this thesis explores the positive and negative ways in which international labor migration can affect the empowerment of adult women from Cochabamba City. Additionally, the effects of the subsequent return to Bolivia on the process of empowerment are also examined. Through in-depth analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data collected and accessed during five months on-site, this thesis looks at three stages of female return migrant's lives: The pre-migration situation, the migration experience, and the experience of return.

Thesis Structure

This thesis will describe the context and the findings of the investigation in the following way: First, the theoretical background relevant to the topic will be reviewed (2). Then, the geographical, economic, and sociopolitical context of the investigation will be laid out (3), followed by a description of the methodological design that guided the fieldwork (4). Finally, after the main quantitative (5) and qualitative (6) findings of the investigation have been detailed, a discussion of said findings will take place, which will then lead to a description of the conclusions at which the thesis has arrived (7).

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will lay out the theoretical context within which this thesis will discuss the topics of international labor migration, return, and female empowerment. First, a brief overview of the evolution of migration theory will be provided (2.1) and the concepts of female empowerment and autonomy will be introduced and defined as they relate to the topic at hand (2.2). Then, after a brief discussion on the potential effects of labor migration on female empowerment and how these effects can be further affected by a subsequent return to the women's place of origin (2.3), the conceptual model that guides this investigation will be introduced (2.4), followed by the main research question and sub-questions to be answered (2.5). Lastly, a hypothesis will be constructed based on the pertinent literature reviewed (2.6).

2.1. Brief Overview of the Evolution of International Labor Migration

Migration can be defined in general terms as a movement of people across an international border or within a State (IOM, 2013b). Encompassed within this concept is a wide array of migrant typologies that aim to define the diverse range of actors with a variety of agendas and goals that are classified as "migrants." Consequently, no universally accepted definition of "migrant" exists at the international level (Ibid.). As this thesis' focus is on labor migration and return, the emphasis of this section will be placed on these two terms and on their theoretical implications for international development.

Labor migration is a concept that describes the movement of people, either within their country of residence or internationally, for the purpose of employment (IOM, 2013b). International labor migration has been the focal point of migration studies given its direct link to development. It has been argued that migration can either be the outcome of development (or oftentimes of the lack of it) as much as the cause for it (Raghuram, 2009). These two views have informed the migration on development debate during the last five decades (de Haas, 2010), as migration "optimists" and migration "pessimists" have taken turns throughout the years in leveling their views towards the drafting of policies that reflect these opposing ideologies.

Up to the 1970s, neo-classical theories of economic growth that emphasized the role of push-pull factors that compel individuals to leave their region of origin in favor of another that presents them with better economic prospects (Portes, 1985) dominated development as well as migration theory. As these views tended to emphasize the role of the migrant as a utility-maximizing individual while disregarding non-financial reasons for migrating (de Haas, 2010), they painted a mostly optimistic, if one-dimensional, picture of labor migration. According to the neo-classical theories, return migration could

be but a failed experience, for it signaled the inability of a migrant to achieve the only goal conceived by the proponents of these theories: Permanent settlement and family reunification abroad (Cassarino, 2004).

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, as considerable pessimism took over the migration and development debate, especially as the negative impacts of migration on developing countries, such as "brain drain" and the exploitation of migrant workers, gained visibility. During this time, migration came to be seen as a "'flight from misery' caused by global capitalist expansion" (de Haas, 2010, p. 233) which brought about a depletion of skilled and productive manpower (Papademetriou, 1985, as cited in de Haas, 2010). Likewise, remittances were also seen to enhance inequality rather than lessen it, for they fueled "conspicuous consumption" (de Haas, 2010, p. 236) such as the purchase of imported goods, or the repayment of debts incurred solely for the purpose of migrating.

As contradictory as these views are, they both failed to take into consideration the heterogeneity of the migrant population, a factor that social science scholars began to incorporate during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. One manifestation of the attempt to put the migrant back at the center of migratory discourse is the nascence of the New Economics of Labor Migration Theory (NELM), which rejects neo-classical models as it seeks to understand the decision-making process of migrants by utilizing the household as the primary unit of analysis (de Haas, 2010). One crucial difference between NELM and the neo-classical approach to migration is that NELM perceives migration, not as a single individual's income maximization strategy, but as a risk-spreading strategy evaluated by all members of a household (Ibid.). Within NELM, return migration is also reevaluated and viewed as the "logical outcome of a 'calculated strategy'… resulting from the successful achievement of goals" (Cassarino, 2004, p. 255).

Parallel to NELM, transnationalism gained momentum in the late 1980s as a multidisciplinary approach formulated with the goal of gaining more understanding of the complexity of migratory movements in a more globalized context. This approach viewed the migration experience as more than just a finite sequence of events, but rather, as an ongoing process consisting of a series of links between origin and destination locations (Cassarino, 2004), facilitated by technological advances such as cellular phones, satellite television, and the internet. The main implication that transnationalism brought to the migration debate is the increasing difficulty of assigning clear cut definitions to terms such as "origin" and "destination," or "permanent" and "return migration" (de Haas, 2010). Pluralist views on migration such as NELM and Transnationalism contributed to a shift away from generalized theories that attempt

to define migration in broad strokes, and towards a more multidisciplinary approach that reconsiders the importance of structure and agency (de Haas, 2010), thus reshaping the way in which migration has been viewed since then (Long & van der Ploeg, 1994).

Although it has been noted that there is no automatic mechanism by which migration can lead to development (Papademetriou & Martin, 1991, as cited in de Haas, 2010), the need to elaborate a theoretical framework that can accurately deal with the extensive range of migration experiences and its diversity of actors has been highlighted by experts (de la Torre, 2009) (de Haas, 2010). But even as the study of migration has made great progress in trying to encompass the multidimensionality of labor migration, none of these approaches is successful in capturing the gendered nature of migration, or the impact that a decision to migrate can have on gender relations (Ellis et al., 1996). Furthermore, relatively few studies have established a theoretical framework to deal with the effects that labor migration followed by return migration can have on women.

As it is clear that male-oriented theories are inadequate in understanding the consequences and outcomes of female migration experiences (Gaye & Jha, 2011), this investigation chose to place labor migration and return within the framework of female empowerment, as this approach was determined to be more suited to explain how temporary migration and return experiences affect women; while accurately contextualizing their situation in relation to their social and cultural environment.

2.2. Of Female Empowerment & Autonomy

Female empowerment became a point of discussion in a wide variety of academic and policy-making circles beginning in the 1970s, when Deputy Director of the United Nations' Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs Margaret Bruce declared that relegating women, who make up over half of the world's population, to second-citizen status could have dire effects on the social and economic development of nations (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011).

In September of 1995, the UN held the fourth Women's Conference in Beijing where member states were called to adopt a comprehensive "Platform for Action" (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002) that called for, among other things, women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making, the eradication of illiteracy among women and their equal access to education, and the promotion of women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment and control over economic resources (UN, 2005). Then, in the early 2000s, the United Nations included "Promoting gender equality and empowering women" as Goal #3 in its list of Millennium Development Goals.

Experts have since argued that the achievement of this goal can lead to wider benefits for developing countries and thus should be a vital inclusion to any development plan (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011).

The root of the concept of female empowerment can be traced to the notion that gender, unlike sex which is genetically predetermined before birth, is but a cultural construct and thus can vary widely to accommodate an extensive range of behaviors. For this reason, gender is primarily a relation of power that permeates all levels of society (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003). As power, defined as the ability to make choices (Kabeer, 1999), is central to the notion of empowerment, one can define empowerment as a process of change under which an individual previously denied choice, or disempowered, gains the ability to make choices regarding strategic life decisions or decisions that affect their everyday life. Hence, autonomy, or the ability to make choices about one's own life (Bastia, 2012), plays an essential role in the empowerment process.

Kabeer (1999) noted that the process of empowerment can entail change at different levels: At the individual level, as an improvement on the "inner sense of self"; in relationships, relative to the partner or to other members of the household; or reflected as an improvement in status within the larger political and social structures. Additionally, Charmes & Wieringa (2003) have argued that the empowerment process is made up of several steps: One, becoming aware that there is a situation of oppression; second, the recognition of the existence of viable alternatives to their current situation; third, the ability to make choices given these alternatives; fourth and fifth, gaining a voice to air their grievances and attaining agency, or the ability of an individual to define his or her goals and act upon them (Kabeer, 1999); and finally, their successful inclusion as equals in a society where they can make choices relating every aspect of their lives.

There has been much discussion on how to effectively empower women and increase their autonomy within a society (Anderson & Eswaran, 2007) and much of the debate has focused on enabling women's access to economic activities and financial resources (Haile et al., 2012). Despite the fact that in most developing countries it is women that take care of the housework and the introduction of earned labor income may present an added responsibility, it is still argued that control over financial resources can be crucial to women's emancipation from patriarchal structures as it introduces alternatives to their present situation (Anderson & Eswaran, 2007).

Women today make up almost half of the world's migrant population (See Fig. 2.1), and additional research has shown that an increasing number of them migrate for work-related reasons (Ghosh, 2009). In this sense, labor migration can be seen as a catalyst for women to begin a period of both increased awareness about viable alternatives to an oppressive situation and increased decision-making regarding

their own lives. Thus the connection between development, migration, and female empowerment becomes clear.

Fig. 2.1 – Female migrants as percentage of all migrants
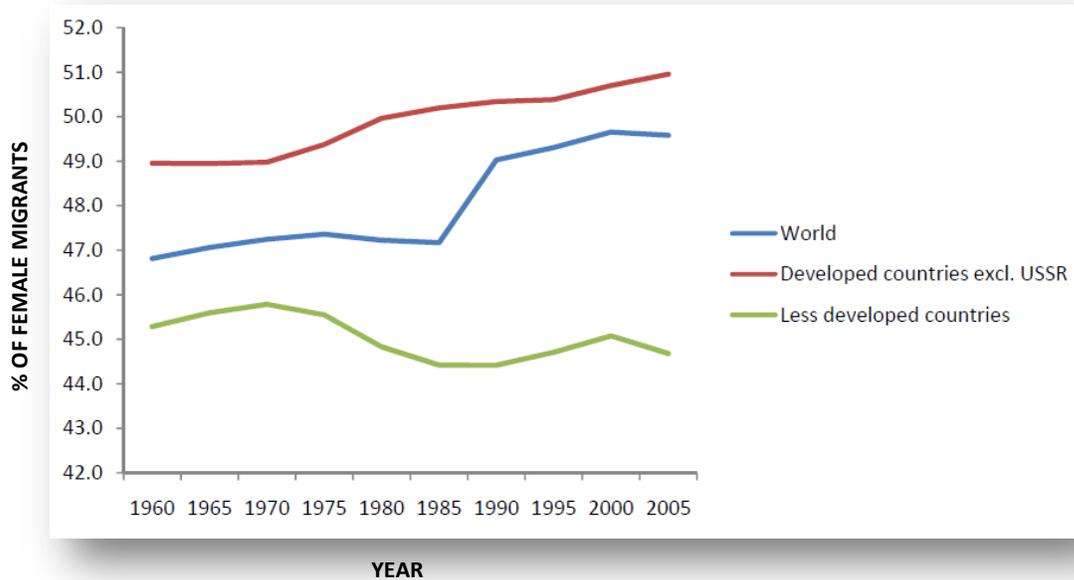
2.3. There and Back: Female Migration & Return

Babatunde Osotimehin, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), stated during his opening remarks at the 46th session of the UN's Commission for Population and Development (CPD) on April of 2013, "Building a life in a new country can foster greater independence and self-confidence, and create opportunities for the empowerment of women." But despite optimism from experts in the international development community, there has been a great deal of debate among scholars critical of the belief that female autonomy can have a place in the female migratory decision-making processes. These scholars (Chang, 2000) (Radcliff, 1989) (Tyner, 1994) argue that a woman's decision to migrate is hardly autonomous, taking into consideration that it often occurs within a framework of unequal gender relations where women are constrained by ideological views that assign them the role of child bearers and care givers, resulting in situations where their very mobility is restricted by the migratory decisions their male counterparts make for them (Ellis et al., 1996).

Some have argued that the increase in market pressures on typically labeled "female labor sectors" (such as domestic work and care) brought on by a globalized economy that created an increased demand for low-paid female workers (Desai & Potter, 2008), nevertheless resulted in a challenge to the established patriarchal gender structures entrenched within the societies of most developing countries, especially in rural sectors. But some scholars counter that this shift is actually the product of the prevalence of these patriarchal structures, which represent women as "passive, flexible, acquiescent and more suited to mundane repetitive tasks" (Elson, 1995 as cited in Desai & Potter, 2008, p.360), and thus more willing to accept lower wages (Mora & Piper, 2011) or get coaxed into situations where the illegality of their status as migrants will make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Desai & Potter, 2008, p. 361).

But even as previous research on the topics of migration and female empowerment has demonstrated that the mobility of women, especially those that are married, can be largely influenced by their sense of familial responsibility (Ellis et al., 1996)(Hofmann & Buckley, 2011)(Roman, 2012), scholars do contend that women are empowered by an increase in their decision-making abilities through the new roles and responsibilities they are required to take on while away (Bastia, 2012)(Gaye & Jha, 2011). Furthermore, there is evidence that the increase in opportunities for females to work abroad can represent a way out for women looking to escape traditional expectations and gendered power relations in their society of origin (Belanger & Rahman, 2013)(Desai & Potter, 2008).

Zambrano & Hernandez-Basante (2005) as well as Hugo (2008, as cited in Ghosh, 2009) have found that once women are drawn away from pre-established gender roles they played at home, they are bound to experience more autonomy and self-confidence than women who stay behind. Bastia (2012) also champions the usefulness of autonomy, especially when place within a context of social relations, as it has the potential to disrupt patriarchal structures by giving women the ability to make choices about and exert control over their own lives. Belanger & Rahman (2013) found that even women that migrate from extremely patriarchal societies, as is the case in Bangladesh, benefit from international labor migration as it allows them an escape from subordination and abuse at home, while providing them with a space where to begin questioning the limited role that Bangladeshi society had assigned them.

Based on a few prior studies that have gone beyond examining the effects of temporary labor migration on women to an analysis of the effects that the return experience can have on them, it can be induced that while an international migration experience may empower most women, despite harsh conditions and/or feelings of loneliness during their time abroad, the experience of returning to their

place of origin can become challenging, as the autonomy they may have been able to exercise while away can come into direct conflict with the identities they left behind. Bueno's 1996 case study based on five stories of returned Dominican women from the United States found that most of these women were aware that returning to the Dominican Republic meant they had to give up some of the rights and freedoms they acquired during the migration process; however, most of them made gender-based justifications for this, while at the same time expressing regret about the changes (i.e.- *"I came [back] because my husband wanted to and it was a better place for my children"*)(p.61).

Similarly, a survey conducted in rural China by Connelly et al. (2010) on the impact of circular migration on the position of married women in rural China found migration to impact the way women perceive their own position relative to the man's as they were more likely to desire fewer children, believe that it should be a women's right to choose whom to marry, and think that divorce is okay. But despite these changes in mindset, the study found that few tangible differences took place in the household dynamics of these women. A study done by Hofmann and Buckley (2011) on returned Georgian women that had participated in international labor migration found that a predominant coping mechanism upon return was for them to present migration as a last resort and, upon return, to reinforce their own traditional gender roles as caregivers. The authors concluded that although migration can in fact be an empowering experience for women, if women present their experience "in a way that fits within the bounds of traditional gender norms, these norms may be strengthened rather than challenged" (p.77). Belanger & Rahman (2013) observed that although migration was a liberating experience for the women interviewed, many of them struggled with exclusion and stigmatization from their peers upon return, leading the authors to conclude that sometimes international migration can reinforce patriarchal ideologies rather than subvert them.

The reality seems to be that international labor migration can significantly affect the way women perceive their own situation at home by increasing their awareness upon return of the existence of other viable, more desirable options to the way they live their lives. Yet this outcome is highly dependent on many factors: The context of the destination regarding the degree of social isolation women may experience in their new environment (Connelly et al., 2010); the social and cultural context at home; and on the women's individual traits such as self-esteem and confidence. Additionally, Gaye and Jha (2011) have noted that the definition of empowerment itself is very context-specific as it is highly dependent on the degree of oppression that women face in their localities regarding what the local norms dictate to be autonomous behavior relative to local traditional gender roles.

3. Geographical Context & Regional Background

Historically, and up until the 1990s, the region of Latin America was a destination place for European, Middle Eastern, and Asian migrants (Durand and Massey, 2010). In the decades since, however, this trend reverted as more Latin Americans began migrating internationally to countries all over the globe. But as Durand and Massey (2010) point out, one of the distinctive traits of the Latin American region is heterogeneity, and the migratory processes of each country are unique to their own local economic, social and political context.

Bolivia has always been affected by negative net migration, currently at -3 migrants per 1,000 residents (IOM, 2013a). The reasons for the constant out-migration of the Bolivian population most likely have to do with the country's high poverty rates, underdevelopment, and deep social and economic inequality. This chapter will provide a description of the national (3.1) and regional (3.2) context in which this research will be carried out.

3.1. National Context – Bolivia

This section will provide a brief overview of Bolivia's geography and demographics (3.1.1); its historic, political and cultural background (3.1.2); the current social and economic situation in the country (3.1.3); a summary of the current economic, social, and political situation of women in Bolivia (3.1.4); and a description of the overall current migration patterns (3.1.5).

3.1.1. Geography & Demographics

A landlocked country in the heart of South America, Bolivia is bordered by Peru and Chile to the West, Brazil to the North and East, and Paraguay and Argentina to the South. It is said that Bolivia's unique geographic obstacles contributed to a number of highly developed identities within the country, making its population multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, but with little sense of nationhood (Springer, 2005).

Stretching in a broad arc across Western Bolivia, the Andes mountain ranges divide the country into three geographical areas: the mountains and Altiplano in the West, the semi-tropical Yungas and valleys of the Eastern mountain slopes, and the tropical lowlands or llanos of the Eastern lowlands. Because of its harsh geography and climate, the Altiplano is mostly uninhabited, except for a few cities: El Alto, Bolivia's largest and fastest-growing urban region, mineral-rich Potosi and Oruro, and La Paz, Bolivia's political capital and center of government, located at the bottom of a chasm 400 meters below the surface of the Altiplano but at still 3,631 meters above sea level.

As the mountain slopes descend gradually, the northeastern flank of the western range of the Andes gives way to long and narrow valleys, ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 meters above sea level, which are

adequate for crops and settlement. Two important cities are located at the basin of this region: Sucre, Bolivia's constitutional capital, and Cochabamba. In Bolivia's lowlands one can find the departments of Beni, Pando, and Santa Cruz, Bolivia's largest department. Also located here are most of the country's petroleum and natural gas reserves, the second-largest in the world.

Sixty-two percent of the country's inhabitants are indigenous, the highest percentage in Latin America (ILO, 2013). Of the indigenous people, the majority are of either Quechua (50.3%) or Aymara (39.8%) descent, while about thirty percent are of mixed European and indigenous lineage. Bolivia's Aymara population mostly inhabits the Andes region of Bolivia, while the Quechua-speaking population resides in the Valley region. The lowlands are populated, to a lesser degree, by Chiquitano (3.6%) and Guarani (2.5%) people. Since the approval of the Bolivia's new constitution in 2009, thirty-six languages, in addition to Spanish, were recognized as official languages, one for each one of the indigenous nations that make up the country (Article 5, CPE, 2009). Although many of the indigenous people retain certain aspects of their pre-colonial religious beliefs, ninety-five percent of the population considers itself Roman Catholic.

3.1.2. Historic, Political & Cultural Background

Bolivia declared its independence on August 6th, 1825, naming the country after Simon Bolivar, its liberator. The sudden departure of the nation's first president, Antonio Jose de Sucre, the year after independence and even before his term ended would foreshadow the decades of political instability that would befall this remote and scarcely populated country (Gascoigne, 2013). In the years after independence, Bolivian society was dominated by a male white Spanish-speaking elite that controlled the country's economic and political power, while largely marginalizing the majority indigenous population.

In 1952, the *Movimiento Nationalista Revolucionario* (MNR), a nationalist political party, led a revolution and took control of the government, starting a period that is known as the *Revolución Nacional*, or National Revolution, during which the country underwent a fundamental period of transition regarding citizen participation, land distribution, and the control of the state over natural resources and the economy (Klein, 1982). The MNR brought with it radical political changes such as nationalization of the mining industry and agrarian reforms that promised to improve the quality of life of the general population by doing away with an unjust land ownership system under which only six percent of landowners controlled 92 percent of all cultivated land. They also enacted universal suffrage, eliminating literacy requirements and enfranchising the indigenous peasant masses.

In 1994, Bolivian politics experienced another major change as then-president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada initiated a decentralization process that began after the passing of the Law of Popular Participation (LPP) under which the state recognized the multi-ethnic nature of the country and for the first time granted indigenous people territorial rights and thus, greater political influence (Reyes-Garcia et al., 2010). During his presidency, from 1993 to 1997, Sánchez de Lozada also began a process of capitalization of state-owned companies, ceding management of these to foreign interests. Although this process was perceived as privatization, it was more of a joint venture between the foreign investors and the Bolivian people, who came to own 49% of the companies and were expected to benefit from its royalties, which were placed in a "Collective Capitalization Fund." From this fund, Bolivia began paying for the first time, an annual stipend to the elderly (Mesa et al., 2003).

In 2005, after several years of recession and violent political uprisings, the country elected its first self-identified indigenous president, Evo Morales, with over half of the popular vote. Some saw this as a sign of the start of a new political agenda that would seek to "unsettle historic class-based and ethnic hierarchies rooted in its colonial past" (Hippert, 2007, p. 500). Morales' two presidential terms helped Bolivia reach some measure of stability, but the naissance of his indigenous leftist government also reshaped party politics and created new alliances within a more decentralized state (Klein, 2011). During his first term, Morales promulgated a new constitution aimed at giving more rights to the indigenous majority along with greater autonomy to each region. Morales also officially renamed the country the "Plurinational State of Bolivia" (Multinational Bolivian State) in order to recognize the diversity of ethnicities that make up Bolivia.

3.1.3. Social & Economic Context

Perhaps due to its difficult topography, Bolivia is one of the more sparsely populated countries in the continent, with a population density of 9.13 inhabitants per square kilometer (INE, 2013b). It is estimated that 66.4 percent of the population resides in urban areas, mainly in one of the three biggest: Santa Cruz, La Paz, and Cochabamba (IOM, 2011). Having always been designated the poorest and least developed country in Latin America, the relative political stability the country has enjoyed during the Morales administration, combined with the recent high prices of the country's raw exports, have brought moderate growth to its economy, averaging 4.8 percent in the past seven years (World Bank, 2013a). The country's banks have also strengthened their solvency and liquidity as the country's gross public debt declined from 94 percent of the GDP in 2003, to less than 40 percent in 2012 (Ibid.). According to the World Bank's World Development Indicators, life expectancy in the Bolivia rose from 60 years in 1993 to 67 in 2011 and, according to Bolivia's National Institute of Statistics (INE), the

illiteracy rate went from 20 percent in 1993 to 3 percent in 2008. But in spite of these improvements, the country continues to face considerable developmental challenges.

Throughout its history, Bolivia has struggled to overcome the deeply ingrained structures of racism, social hierarchy, and economic exclusion (Springer, 2005). Even though extreme poverty has decreased between 1996 and 2009, today about 60 percent of Bolivians still live below the national poverty line, most of them women and children from rural areas (IFAD, 2013). According to the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI), the country is in the 108th place, which is above mid-level, but still lower than the average for Latin America and the Caribbean (See Fig. 3.1).

Fig. 3.1 - HDI: Trends 1980 - Present
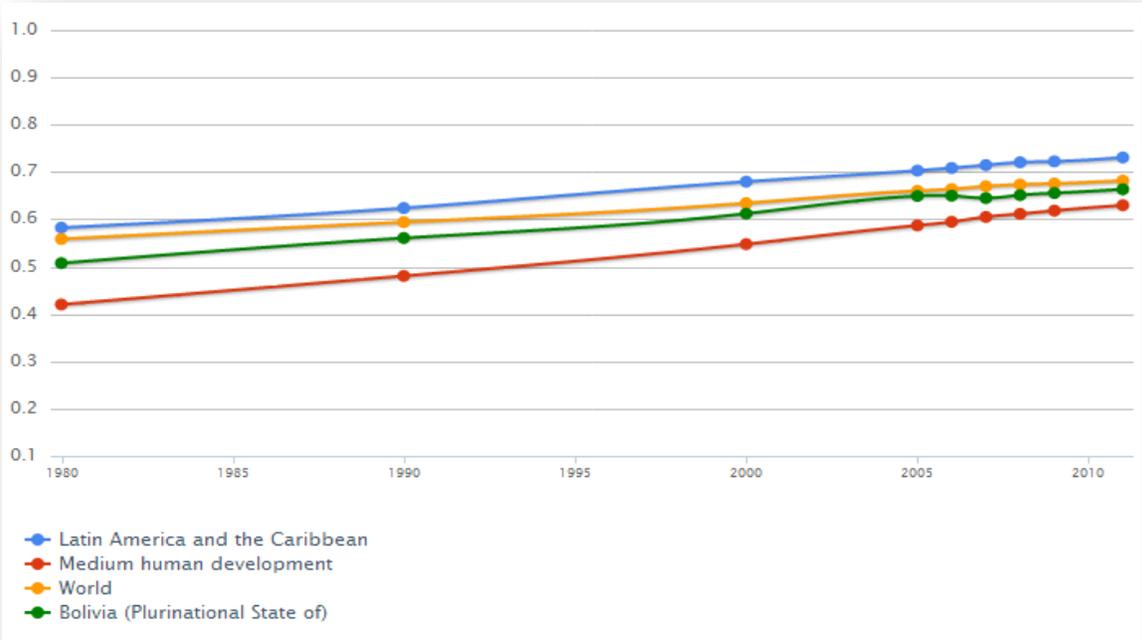
Source: UNDP, 2013

Informal employment in Bolivia is high and development of agricultural production in the rural areas is slow due to inadequate infrastructure. Even though Bolivia's unemployment rate in 2012 was estimated to be at 7.34 percent (El Diario, 2013), this only took the urban areas into consideration as nearly 100 percent of rural work is described as either temporary or informal and of very low productivity (IOM, 2011). In 2005 it was calculated that 62.4 percent of Bolivia's labor force belonged to the informal sector and that only 60 percent of jobs in urban areas qualified as full time, with 35 percent of urban residents

belonging to the informal sector (IOM, 2011). Social and gender equality indicators also remain lower than average for the region, as Bolivia is still considered one of the most unequal country in Latin America and the Caribbean (See Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2 - Gini Coefficient Distribution – Latin America (2009)
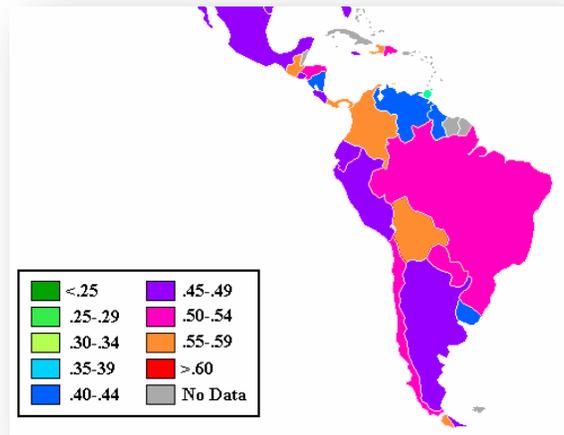
3.1.4. Women in Bolivia

Some have argued that the main factors for the persistence of gender inequality in Bolivia, and in Latin America as a whole, are government instability, socially constructed gender norms closely guarded by both men and women (*machismo*) and a strong Catholic presence that goes back to colonial times (Guse, 2010). Although women in Bolivia have gained influence in politics and hold more government seats than before, gender-based violence and socioeconomic inequality continue to plague the country (PNUD, 2010). In this section we will conduct a brief survey of the economic, social, and political situation of women in Bolivia today.

Economic Situation of Women in Bolivia

Of the country's 10 million inhabitants, fifty percent are women (INE, 2013b). Beginning in the 1990s, women have made up a large percentage of the labor force, 44 percent in 2006, and the ratio of women to men labor force participation has been increasing ever since (World Bank, 2013b). But while their participation in the labor sector has been nearly equal to that of men, the capacity of Bolivian women to generate income remains low and in urban areas they incorporate themselves to the least productive and worst paid jobs.

Female access to the various sectors of the labor market and to all levels of employment is quite limited as most of them seem to only have access to either the informal sector (36.4 percent in 2002) or

in the family businesses (34.8 percent in 2002) (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011), making up only 2.2 percent of employers in the early 2000s (Ibid.). Even though the gross earning gap between the genders declined significantly in the 2000s throughout most of Latin America and the Caribbean, the gap in Bolivia was greatest, along with Peru, and growing for the population aged 15-64 as of 2010 (See Fig. 3.3).

Fig. 3.3 – Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean with increasing gender gaps in monthly labor Income (Age 16-64) (2000 – 2010)

	2000	2010
Panama	0.93	0.90
Colombia	0.84	0.81
Nicaragua	0.83	0.80
Bolivia	0.71	0.65
Uruguay	0.69	0.69
Peru	0.68	0.64
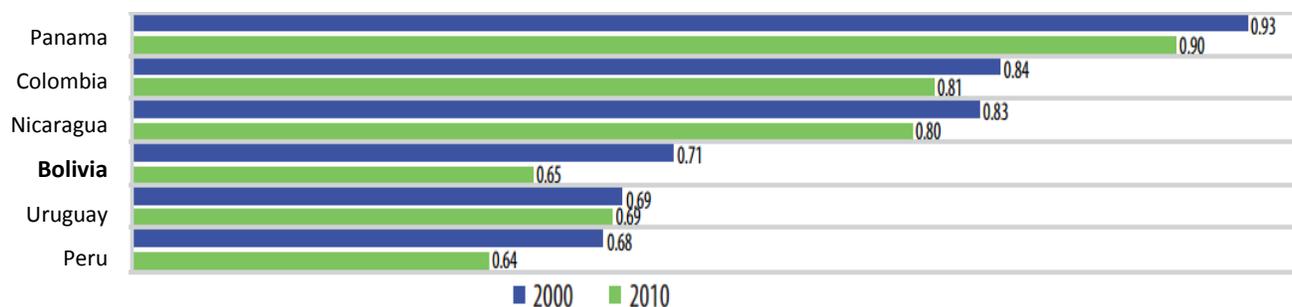
Source: World Bank, 2012a

According to the 2010 National Report on Human Development in Bolivia, the average monthly income for an urban resident aged 20 to 65 in 2007 was approximately 218 US Dollars, but the gap between those employed in the formal sector versus those employed in the informal sector was around 50 percent (IOM, 2011). Once gender is taken into consideration, however, the gap widens considerably: A man between 20 and 65 working in the formal sector makes three times as much as a woman working in the informal sector.

Social Situation of Women in Bolivia

In 1994, then-President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada enacted two important structural reforms that significantly improved the quality of life for Bolivian women. The first reform was the establishment of the *Ley de Participación Popular* (Law of Popular Participation), or LPP, which set about a process of decentralization and social reorganization that sought to engage previous sectors or society that had been traditionally neglected, namely indigenous groups and women by guaranteeing both men and women equal levels of participation at all levels of politics (Hippert, 2007). The second reform, or *Ley de Reforma Educativa* (Law for Educational Reform) was approved in 1995 and its aim was "to promote free universal, and mandatory education based on equal opportunity and gender equality" (Guse, 2010).

Although the Educational Reform increased net enrollment rates in primary education and reduced dropout rates between the early 1990s and 2001 (Contreras & Simoni, 2003), while also improving the efficiency of the primary education system, female school attendance in Bolivia continues to be one of

the lowest in the continent. Also, even if the LPP was considered a "forward-thinking piece of legislation" and was lauded as a "victory for women" (Hippert, 2007, pp. 498-499), scholars argue that these laws did not produce sufficient change over time, as and the LPP did not do anything to break down pre-existing gender issues that prevented women from participating in the government in the first place, such as violence and lack of child-care (Guse, 2010)(See Sub-section 3.1.4 for more on the political situation of Bolivian women).

Although the country today has shown improvements in literacy rates and education among girls and women, inequality persists as the percentage of literacy among adult women is of 80 percent, versus 93 percent for men (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011). Then, even as the rates of enrollment for both boys and girls were very close in 2004 (with 72 percent of girls and 73 percent of boys enrolled) (Ibid.), education distribution continues to be extremely unequal. The level of education is significantly lower in rural areas than in urban areas, but there is also a large educational gap between the genders, as urban men averaged 11.1 years of school while rural women averaged only 4.1 years in 2007 (PNUD, 2010).

Regarding health, fertility rates have been falling steadily along with the rest of Latin America and Bolivia currently ranks 66th in the world with 3.07 children per woman. Moreover, life expectancy for women is slightly higher than for men, at 69.7 versus 64.2, respectively (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011). The number of maternal deaths related to pregnancy, birth or post-partum complications however, was extremely high at per 100,000 live births in one year was more than 420. The number of deaths before the age of 1 per every 1000 live births has also remained high at 46 (Ibid.). According to the INE (2013b), only 67 percent of women gave birth to their last child at a health facility, versus 28 percent who gave birth at home.

One of the most worrying social aspects of the life of Bolivian women is their susceptibility to physical violence from their partner[1] or other male family member. It is ascertained by experts in this topic, such as Betty Pinto who works at the offices of Bolivia's Ombudsman for Human Rights and has been campaigning for women's right for years, that violence against women has established itself as a normal part of the Bolivian culture due to a patriarchal education system where it is taught that a "real" man should beat his partner (Freitag, 2013). In 2008, over half of women in Bolivia (52.3 percent) claimed to have been
physically abused by their partners at some point in their lives and 16.5 percent of them believed that wife-beating is justified for at least one reason (World Bank, 2012a). On March 9th of 2013, Morales

---

[1] Given that a large number of Bolivian couples live together without being married (30 percent, according to study conducted in 2012 by the INE), the term "partner" will be used throughout this article to designate either the woman's husband or concubine.

promulgated Law 348 to guarantee women a "life free from violence," (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2013a). This law makes "feminicidio," or the murder of a female, a crime punishable by 30 years in prison without the possibility of parole, Bolivia's highest punishment. Yet these measures came only after a number of highly publicized cases of femicide where women were violently beaten to death by their partners came to light, garnering enough attention to trigger nationwide marches against female violence (Freitag, 2013).

Political Situation of Women in Bolivia

When Morales proposed the enactment of a new constitution, a constitutional assembly was called in 2006 with the goal of drafting a document that would move the country towards broader political participation and greater social justice (Healy & Rodríguez-Frías, 2009). During this time, women's organizations and movements from around the country came together to build a proposal based on the voices of over 20,000 Bolivian women, to be presented to the different political parties making up the constitutional assembly (Muñiz, 2011). This proposal went on to become part of the new constitution, which included a number of clauses meant to guarantee equal rights and protection for women and for girls. As part of the structural reforms meant to modernize Bolivia's electoral system during the decade of the 1990s, a "Quota Act" was introduced in 1997 that mandated that at least 30 percent of senators and representative candidates be women (Coordinadora de la Mujer, 2011b). Under the new constitution enacted under the Morales' government, this percentage was raise to 50 (Ramírez, 2012).

But despite the fact that Bolivian women today hold a stronger presence in politics at every level[2], in the past eight years Bolivian police have received more than 4,000 complaints of harassment from women participating in politics (UN Women, 2012). Fortunately, on May 4th, 2012, Bolivia's Legislative Assembly passed a new law meant to protect women and their political participation (Ibid.). The law will provide a two to five year prison sentence for anyone who pressurizes, persecutes, harasses or threatens an elected woman or those exercising public functions, and three to eight years in prison to those found guilty of practicing physical, psychological or sexual aggression. The political status of women in Bolivia, however, is not only dependent on the institutionalization of laws that allow for their wider participation, but is also subject to broader social structures that encompass a variety of preconceptions that are continuously reinforced through all levels of society.

The Morales government's agenda is that of emancipation from established post-colonization racial and class structures. Most scholars view this as falling in line with emancipation from the patriarchal

---

[2] Women in Bolivia make up 23 percent of deputies, 44 percent of senators, and 43 percent of the mayors and council persons in Bolivia's 327 local governments (Cartagena-Torrico, 2012)

norms embedded within the fabric of Bolivian society (Hippert, 2007), but, taking into consideration the ethno-political diversity within the Bolivian context, the political goals of indigenous women tend to differ greatly from those of non-indigenous middle-class women.

Members of indigenous political movements, to include President Morales' party, tend to blame colonization as the culprit of the patriarchal system seen in place today. Others, namely communitarian feminists[3] and anarcho-feminists[4] tend to argue that patriarchal structures and the institutionalized subordination of women were just as inherent in pre-colonial cultures as they are in today's Bolivian society (Burman, 2011). These groups point to the Aymara concept of *Chachawarmi*, or complementarity between man and woman, as one of the instruments utilized to subordinate women through cultural practice[5].

Though contrary to the ruling party's stance, Evo Morales' government adopted several aspects of communitarian feminism by way of the 2008 National Plan for the Equal Opportunity, where the concept of *Chachawarmi* was addressed for the first time as a cover for discrimination and subordination of women (Burman, 2011). Its cultural value, however, was defended if the concept could be utilized as a model for equal gender relations (Ibid.).

3.1.5. Current Migration Trends in Bolivia

Bolivia has always been a country of emigration, something which has mostly been attributed to economic push factors (Farah & Sanchez, 2002). As seen in the above sections, a lot of these factors are connected to the country's structural deficiencies, as relating to social and gender inequality, and the lack of remunerative employment opportunities coupled with more appealing labor prospects in neighboring countries as well as in Europe and the United States (IOM, 2011). Roncken and Forsberg (2007) pointed out that one of the most frequently cited reasons by Bolivians for migrating was to "get ahead" (p.10). In the following section, the topic of migration patterns in Bolivia will be divided into two sections that will cover internal as well as international and return.

---

[3] Communitarian feminism in Bolivia is seen as a feminist current opposing the individualistic and more conventional nature of Western feminism (Burman, 2011). Julieta Paredes, an Aymara feminist activist is its most well-known advocate, having written what is considered the Communitarian Feminism Manifesto: *"Hilando Fino: Desde el feminismo comunitario"* (2008).

[4] Represented in Bolivia by the radical feminist group *Mujeres Creando.* Julieta Paredes was one of the group's original founders but broke from it when she began embracing communitarian feminism, a less Westernized version of feminism.

[5] The *Chachawarmi* does not incorporate clear-cut distinctions of "female" and "male." Rather, it signifies completeness when relating one factor with another. In this sense, men and women complement each other and form a complete entity only after marriage (Burman, 2011).

Internal Migration

Spatial mobility between urban and rural sectors has played an important part in how the Bolivian population copes with the inequitable distribution of services and labor opportunities. Internal flows in the country have been always been significant and have maintained their continuity throughout the years. It is estimated that 150,000 people migrate internally per year (Ledo, 2010), contributing to the accelerated process of urbanization as these flows are mostly made up of thousands of rural residents leaving the fields and heading for the cities in search of better labor prospects (IOM, 2011). The most important internal flows observed in the region are those originating in the Altiplano region and headed to the valleys, as well as flows directed towards the inner Altiplano region (where La Paz and El Alto are located) from neighboring departments Oruro and Potosi. The perceived reason for the high volume of transit between these regions is most likely the existence of adequate roadwork connecting Cochabamba, La Paz and Oruro (Ledo, 2010).

The largest numbers of female migrants are found in the larger cities, La Paz, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz, whereas the men seem to prefer less urbanized and rural destinations; something that can be explained through the difference in labor opportunities available to either women or men (Ledo, 2010). The flows of women towards more urbanized centers is probably a reflection of the larger availability of care and commerce related opportunities available in these areas, whereas the men's preference for less urban and rural destinations is indicative of opportunities available to men in mining or agriculture (IOM, 2011).

International Migration and Return

Because of the difficulty in compiling accurate information on the number of Bolivians living abroad, estimates range from 1.6 million (IOM, 2013a) to around 2.5 million (Coordinadora de la Mujer, 2011a). According to most recent data available, the top tree destinations for Bolivian migrants are found to be Argentina, the choice destination for 48.9 percent of migrants, followed by Spain with 31.5 percent, and the United States with 14 percent (See Table 3.1). Even though it has been observed that, unlike male migration, female migration is not as dependent on economic cycles due to the fact that demand for female labor is mostly for the care and entertainment sectors, which are contingent on longer-running demographic and social tendencies (Ghosh, 2009), we can still expect stricter immigration policies coupled with the global recession affecting Europe and the United States in recent years to have altered these numbers somewhat, if not significantly.

.

Table 3.1 – Bolivians abroad according to country of destination[6]

Country	Number of Bolivian immigrants	%	Year
Argentina	345,272	48.9	2010
Spain	222,497	31.5	2009
United States	99,210	14	2010
Brazil	20,388	2.9	2001
Chile	10,919	1.5	2002
Canada	2,605	0.4	2001
Venezuela	1,810	0.3	2001
Mexico	1,334	0.2	2000
Paraguay	1,062	0.2	2002
Other Countries	1,411	0.2	2001
Total	**706,508**	**100%**	

Source: IOM, 2011

According to analyses conducted on the characteristics of the international migratory flows, the majority of skilled Bolivian migrants choose further-flung destinations, whereas flows to Argentina and other bordering countries are mostly made up of unskilled or less-skilled individuals (Ledo, 1985 and 2002 as cited in Ledo, 2010, p. 96). This pattern was undoubtedly established due to the relative ease with which Latin Americans can move inter-regionally, aided by the creation of the Andean Community and MERCOSUR trade blocs, both of which enable Bolivians to travel throughout the region freely and without a visa (Durand & Massey, 2010).

Ledo (2010) explains how the 2001 Argentine economic crisis, a year-long period of political instability and economic change, had severe repercussions in the reduction of the agricultural-sector activities that employed Bolivian labor, precipitating the increase of flows from the north of Argentina to the Greater Buenos Aires area. This directional change went hand in hand with a rise in female migration due to an increase in the demand for labor in what is generally considered the "female sector" such as garment

---

[6] This table contains data compiled by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) from census data from the various receiving countries. It does not, however, take into consideration the high number of irregular migrants, which is probably substantial.

manufacturing and domestic work (Bastia, 2007). According to Bastia (2011), the 2001 crisis also prompted many migrants to return to Bolivia, and/or to re-migrate to Spain, where the economy at the time was booming. At the time, Spain encouraged immigration through relaxed citizenship rules and the lack of visa requirements for Bolivians visiting the country.

The peak period for emigration to Spain took place between 2002 and 2007; it was made up of mostly young people between 20 and 44, with women outnumbering the men 100 to 77 (IOM, 2011). After Spain instituted entry visa requirements in 2007 and the global recession began affecting Europe's economy in 2008, Spain decreased the number of migrants it allowed within its borders, and even established a voluntary return scheme for non-EU migrants (Bastia, 2011). The Minister of Foreign Relations, David Choquehuanca, stated on April of 2013 that the number of Bolivians to have left Spain during the past year reached 16,000 (La Razón, 2013) and, in early 2012, the Spanish ambassador to Bolivia announced in an interview given to a Bolivian radio station that more than 30 thousand Bolivians had returned from Spain due to unemployment (El Sol, 2012).

3.2. Regional Context - Cochabamba

The importance of context while conducting research on the effects of return migration on women has been strongly and consistently emphasized by several experts in the field (Bastia, 2012) (Connelly et al., 2010) (Ellis et al., 1996) (Gaye & Jha, 2011). This section will provide more insight into the geographic and socioeconomic context of Cochabamba (3.2.1), present a summary of relevant migratory patterns present in the region (3.2.2), and analyze the current economic, social, and political situation of women in Cochabamba (3.2.3).

3.2.1. Geographical & Socioeconomic Context

Cochabamba is a centrally located department in the valley region of Bolivia. It has area of 55,631 square kilometers and is home to 1.9 million inhabitants, 51 percent of whom are women (INE, 2013a). The Department of Cochabamba is divided into 16 provinces which are then subdivided into 47 municipalities and then into 144 cantons. The main languages spoken in Cochabamba are Spanish and Quechua, although Aymara has some presence in the Department due to the strong influx of internal migrants from the Western regions of Bolivia. Cochabamba's economy is mostly agricultural; its most important products being corn, wheat, potatoes, and various fruits. Cochabamba's territory is also rich in minerals such as silver and antimony, in addition to containing important reserves of natural gas. Another significant source of income for Cochabamba farmers is coca, given that its Chapare region is mostly known for its large coca fields.

The city of Cochabamba, also referred to as the *Cercado* Municipality, is one of the 47 municipalities that make up the Department of Cochabamba, as well as the capital of the Department. Created in 1826 by the *Decreto Supremo 231* (Supreme Decree 231), the city, along with the adjacent municipalities of Tiquipaya, Quillacollo, Vinto, Cocapirhua, and Sacaba, make up the Department's metropolitan axis (Ramírez, 2011). It is estimated that up to 90 percent of the department's total population reside in this reduced metropolitan space (CEPLAG, 2012).

Fig.3.4 – Map of Cochabamba

Source: Embassy World, 2013

Cochabamba City is sub-divided into fourteen districts, each with its own autonomous government. The residential areas, benefitted with quality infrastructure and services, are mainly located in the Center and Northeastern districts of the city and stand in stark contrast to the urban periphery and, more specifically, the southern districts where poorer *Cochambambinos* and internal migrants from Western Bolivia come to settle (CEPLAG, 2012). In 2009, the city was home to about 43 percent of the entire department's population, making it the third most populated city in Bolivia and one of the four that make up the "Bolivian economic corridor," along with Santa Cruz, La Paz and El Alto (Ibid.).

Cochabamba is an extremely diverse city but with prevailing inequalities that largely reflect the nationwide socioeconomic and political realities of the Bolivian citizens (CEPLAG, 2012). This fact is exemplified by the segmentation of its population between the impoverished and the more affluent neighborhoods of the town. In recent years there has been an expansion of commercial activity throughout most of the city, as street vendors and stores began edging their way from the center of town towards the north and the east.

3.2.2. Migration & Return Patterns in Cochabamba City

Immigration into the city of Cochabamba is as important as emigration, and the ongoing inflows of migrants, most from other departments in Bolivia, has been continuous throughout the years. Internal immigration to Cochabamba reached its peak during the decade of the 1980s partly due to the

economic crisis in Bolivia between 1985 and 1992 that prompted the closure of several mines and to the subsequent firing of thousands of mining workers under a so-called program of "re-localization" that led several of them to find residence in cities like Cochabamba (Espinoza, 2011). These inflows go a long way in explaining the city's quick expansion and the development of the more extended metropolitan area that surrounds the *Cercado* itself.

The fast population growth in the metropolitan area of Cochabamba was followed by an unorganized and largely unplanned urban expansion that led to an unbalance between the number of people looking for work and the number of jobs available to them. This, in turn, led to the economic and social disparities still present in this region today. It is this situation that perhaps contributed to the subsequent high numbers of outmigration toward international destinations that gained momentum during the early 2000s.

In the decade of the 1980s, the main international destinations for migrants from Cochabamba were Argentina and the United States, with Argentina attracting mainly unskilled workers for jobs in agriculture and with the more skilled migrants opting for the United States. Then, during the 2000s, the flows were redirected towards Europe, mainly to Italy and Spain, due to the rise in demand for workers, mostly female, in the domestic sector or to provide care services. As of 2009, the primary international destination for migrants leaving Cochabamba was Spain, as opposed to the rest of the country which experienced larger flows to Argentina (See Sub-section 3.1.5). According to a 2007 study conducted in Spain by the Association of Cooperation Bolivia-Spain (ACOBE), the percentage of migrants from Cochabamba in Spain was 35.4 percent, followed by La Paz with 20.6 percent, and Santa Cruz, with 18.9 percent (ACOBE, 2007).

The higher percentage of migrants from Cochabamba in Spain is probably due to the fact that during the last few years, as the labor market for women expanded, while jobs traditionally occupied by men such as construction were greatly affected by the global recession, women left Cochabamba towards an international destination in larger numbers than did the men (See Fig. 3.5). Argentina occupies the second place as a

Fig. 3.5 – 2009 Distribution of Cochabamba migrants, per gender and according to destination
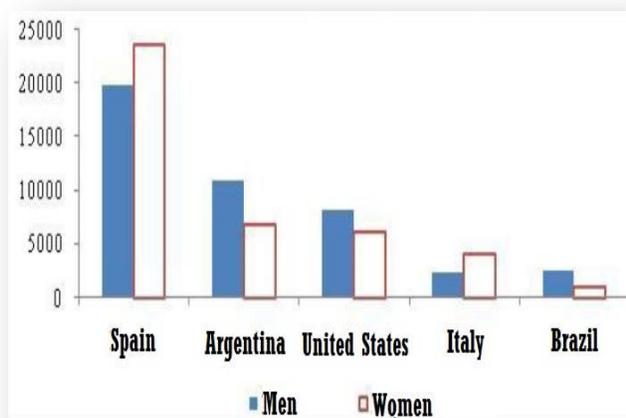
Source: CEPLAG, 2012

choice destination preferred by men, followed by the United States, Italy, and Brazil. Today, the labor markets for male migrants from Cochabamba in Argentina and Brazil are mainly in the manufacturing sector and for women in the commercial sector. In the United States, both men and women find work in the professional sector, although there is a large contingent of men working in construction and of women employed as domestic workers (CEPLAG, 2012).

During the decade of the 2000s, the number of female migrants returning to Cochabamba from international destinations was found to have increased, with women surpassing men 47.4 to 37.4 percent (CEPLAG, 2012). It was noted by previous studies in this region that return migrants tend to be a selective group made up of working-age individuals (15 to 64 years of age) and with at least secondary-level education (Ibid.). It was also observed that a large percentage of internal as well as international return migrants, 31 percent of women and 28 percent of men, choose to resettle in the economically and commercially active districts in the northern region of Cochabamba City (See Fig. 3.6).

Fig. 3.6 - 2009 Distribution of return migrants to Cochabamba City as a percentage, per region and according to gender
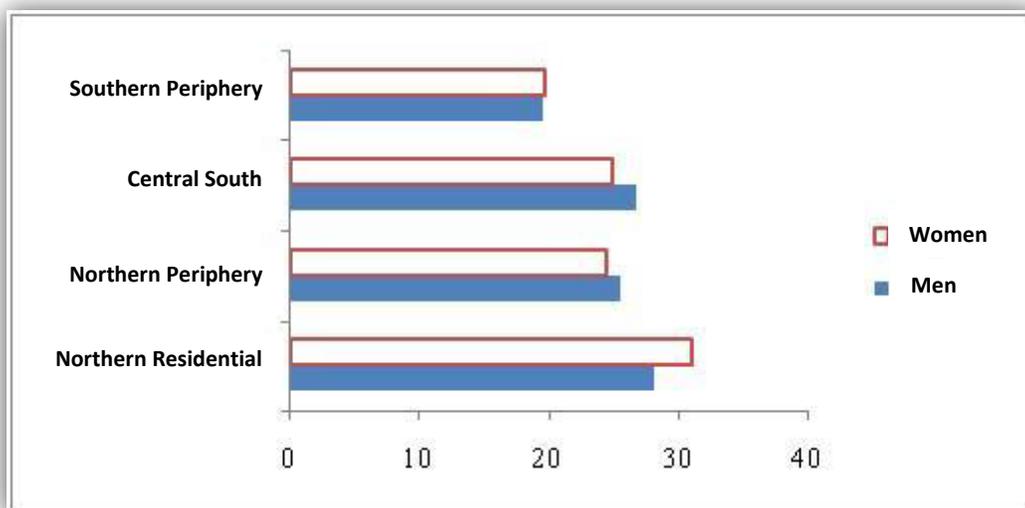
3.2.3. Women in Cochabamba

Within the Bolivian context, the *Cochabambina* woman is generally seen as bolder and stronger than the average Bolivian woman. This is in part due to the 1812 *"Episodio de la Coronilla"* (Hilltop Incident), considered by many one of the most memorable episodes during the Bolivian War of Independence, in which the women of Cochabamba, faced with an incoming enemy army and the absence of the men,

who had been recently defeated in a battle in the nearby town of Mizque, famously exclaimed: *"If there are no men, we will defend!"*

Yet after the war ended in 1825, this episode became a passing tale and today, the strength of *Cochabambinas* is no more than a myth. Currently, the women of Cochabamba are faced with ongoing socioeconomic inequality exemplified by the fact that it is estimated that 6 out of every 10 women in the Department have been physically assaulted by a man, the highest number in all of Bolivia (Vásquez, 2013). In this section, the current economic, social and political situation of women in Cochabamba will be analyzed in order to get a better sense of their status in Cochabamba today.

Economic Situation of Women in Cochabamba

The economic activity of the general population in Cochabamba City is reflective of the overall situation in Bolivia regarding the persistent income gap between the genders. A study conducted in the metropolitan region of Cochabamba by the CEPLAG in 2012[7] found that, despite the increase in recent years of women's participation in the labor market, along with a reduction of fertility rates, only 45.6 percent of women belong to the to the economically active population[8], while 54.9% of men do. One must also keep in mind that while many of the women in Cochabamba do perform activities related to reproductive labor[9] on a fulltime basis that is not considered "work" by many males as well as by many females.

When conducting an analysis of the different ways in which the economically active population in Cochabamba earn a living, it is observable that an important percentage of women do occupy managerial and professional positions, especially in the Northern Districts (1, 2, 3, 4, and 12)(See Table 3.2). But while this may be considered a significant achievement, one must also take into account the persistent wage gap between the genders and also the fact that, as women are primarily considered responsible for the care of the children and the home, women who work may often times be seen as

---

[7] The 2012 *Report on the Public Opinion Survey* implemented by the CEPLAG and sponsored by the International Development Bank (BID) as part of its Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative was conducted in the seven municipalities that make up Cochabamba's Metropolitan Region: Cochabamba City, Quillacollo, Sipe Sipe, Tiquipaya, Vinto, Colcapirhua, and Sacaba. For the purposes of this study, only information relevant to the Cercado Municipality (or Cochabamba City) was extracted from the report and cited in this paper. All of the percentage numbers utilized when citing this report, however, still refer to the whole of the metropolitan region.

[8] Economically active population is defined as the segment of the population that is either employed or actively seeking employment.

[9] Reproductive labor is a term derived from the work of Caroline Moser (1989) and describes domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the children. These tasks are traditionally done by women and, as opposed to productive labor which earns an income, are usually unpaid. The commodification of household work, however, shows that reproductive labor duties may be passed on from one woman to another in exchange for pay, as is the case of migrant care workers in Spain and Italy.

bad mother and made feel responsible for "abandoning" the children in order to make money (Public Opinion Survey Report, 2012).

Table 3.2 - Socio-occupational distribution of the economically active population in the metropolitan region of Cochabamba, according to gender in 2012

OCCUPATION	Northern Region (D1, D2, D3, D4, D12)		Central Region (D5, D6, D10, D11)		Southern Region (D7, D9, D14)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Managerial and Professional	21.1 %	20.2 %	13.8 %	13.4 %	5.9 %	5.7 %
White Collar, salaried	47.7 %	45.7 %	32.5 %	31.5 %	19.4 %	19.0 %
Self-employed	6.0 %	5.8 %	13.8 %	13.4 %	16.5 %	16.1 %
Self-employed small-scale producer	21.1 %	20.2 %	27.6 %	26.8 %	45.9 %	44.8 %
Blue-collar, salaried	3.0 %	2.9 %	11.4 %	11.0 %	5.3 %	5.2 %
Other	1.0 %	5.3 %	0.8 %	3.9 %	7.1 %	9.2 %

Source: Table formulated by the author based on the data collected by the CEPLAG-IDB Public Opinion Survey Report, 2012

Social Situation of Women in Cochabamba

One of the ways in which the social situation of women can be assessed is by examining the level of education achieved by the female population compared to that of the male population in the same region. Access to education is an important factor in women's empowerment given that it can also have a direct effect on employment and income (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011).

While the percentage of illiteracy in all of Cochabamba's fourteen districts is 2.6 percent, a more nuanced look leads to the realization that here too there is a social and gender gap present in the education level of the population. The illiteracy rate for both men and women is highest in the districts in the southern area of the city (Districts 7, 9, and 14), but what is most striking is the fact that the illiteracy rate for women is almost three times that of men (See Graph 3.1).

Graph 3.1 - Illiteracy rates for the *Cercado* Municipality per gender and as a % of Cochabamba's metropolitan region (2012)

This is underscored by the fact that men are more likely to attend any type of educational institution, public or private, than women are in nearly all districts throughout Cochabamba's metropolitan region (See Table 3.3). In Cochabamba, as in the rest of Bolivia, this gap is a direct reflection of the structural and social inequalities that women are still subjected to today.

Table 3.3 - Distribution of the population in Cochabamba City per type of educational institution attended and according to region and gender in 2012

EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT TYPE	Northern Region (D1, D2, D3, D4, D12)		Central Region (D5, D6, D10, D11)		Southern Region (D7, D9, D14)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Public	72.4%	70.4%	88.2%	86.3%	87.4%	84.4%
Private	27.1%	28.8%	10.8%	11.0%	11.0%	10.9%
Did not attend	0.5%	0.8%	1.0%	2.7%	1.6%	4.7%

We have already discussed at large in Chapter 3 the susceptibility of Bolivian women to be victimized by their partner or other male member of her family. Sadly, Cochabamba leads the country as the department with the most number of domestic violence cases reported to the police with 33 percent (followed by Santa Cruz with 20 percent and La Paz with 19 percent)(JornadaNet, 2013). According to

the 2012 Public Opinion Survey carried out by the CEPLAG, men as well as women are victims of physical violence in Cochabamba's metropolitan region, but most of the incidents of domestic violence, especially directed towards women were registered in the southern districts 7, 9, and 14 of Cochabamba City.

Political Situation of Women in Cochabamba

One relevant measure of women's empowerment in the political system is the number of women who hold government seats (Kabeer, 2005) (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011). As Dr. Alejandra Ramírez points out in her book *Warmis Valientes* (Brave Women) (2012), the fact that a woman may assume a leadership role in her community, no matter how small such role may be, entails her taking on a whole new way of life by facing challenges that other women and men do not necessarily have to face.

As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, the government of Evo Morales promulgated a law under the new constitution which states that women must have a participation rate of at least 50 percent in all positions of public office. In Cochabamba, it was observed that, at a municipal level, the women that are elected to hold public office are often chosen for temporary or substitute positions for male officials as a way to fill the 50 percent quota mandated by the law (Ramírez, 2012). Then, it is the males that take over the titular roles when the time comes for decision-making. This may be one of the reasons why presently there are only four councilwomen in the city of Cochabamba and only two of the 47 mayors in the Department are female (AMDECO, 2013). At a local level, it is much more likely that women occupy leadership positions in organizations near their center of activity, for example as union leaders or as leaders of neighborhood associations (Ibid.), given that it is here where they may feel may comfortable exercising leadership and not have to face the same challenges, such as harassment, violence, and strain in their family life, as women that run for public office have to face.

4. Methodology

Now that the theoretical framework and regional context for this research has been established, this chapter will go on to describe the research objectives and state the main research question and sub-questions that have guided this investigation (4.1). The conceptual model (4.2) and hypothesis (4.3) will then be presented and the host organization that has aided during the research will be introduced (4.4). Finally, the research design along with data collection techniques utilized will be identified and detailed (4.5).

4.1. Research Objectives & Sub-Questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to answer the question of how, if at all, does an international migration labor experience affect the autonomous decision-making power of adult women that have embarked upon this experience alone. Furthermore, this investigation also seeks to find whether any increase in economic, social, or political empowerment due to international migration is positively or negatively affected by the migrant women's return to their country of origin.

It is also relevant to this investigation to find out how the women readjust to the present local structures given that they find themselves back in a more patriarchal society where female empowerment may be perceived as a threat to their male counterparts. In this sense, the perceived challenges that the women face or are in the process of facing will be analyzed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which the process of readjustment could be made easier for female return migrants.

Given the theoretical framework and regional context described thus far, the guiding question for this thesis is stated as follows:

"*What are the effects of international labor migration and subsequent return to the country of origin on the economic, social, and political empowerment of adult women from Cochabamba City?*"

Additional relevant sub-questions this investigation sought to answer are:
- To what extent, if at all, do women experience an increase in economic, social, and/or political autonomy following an international migration experience?
- What specific challenges do migrant women face upon returning to Bolivia in order to achieve what they consider to be a successful readjustment?
- Do female return migrants view female empowerment and autonomy as something desirable?
- How could public policies and/or programs better empower return female migrants while simultaneously helping them achieve a successful re-adjustment process given the local structural context?

4.2. Conceptual Model

Based on the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2, the conceptual model below illustrates the empowerment process as proposed by Charmes & Wieringa (2003) and Kabeer (1999), but altered to better fit the parameters of this investigation and placed within the context of an international migration experienced followed by a return to the place of origin.

Fig. 4.1 – Conceptual Model
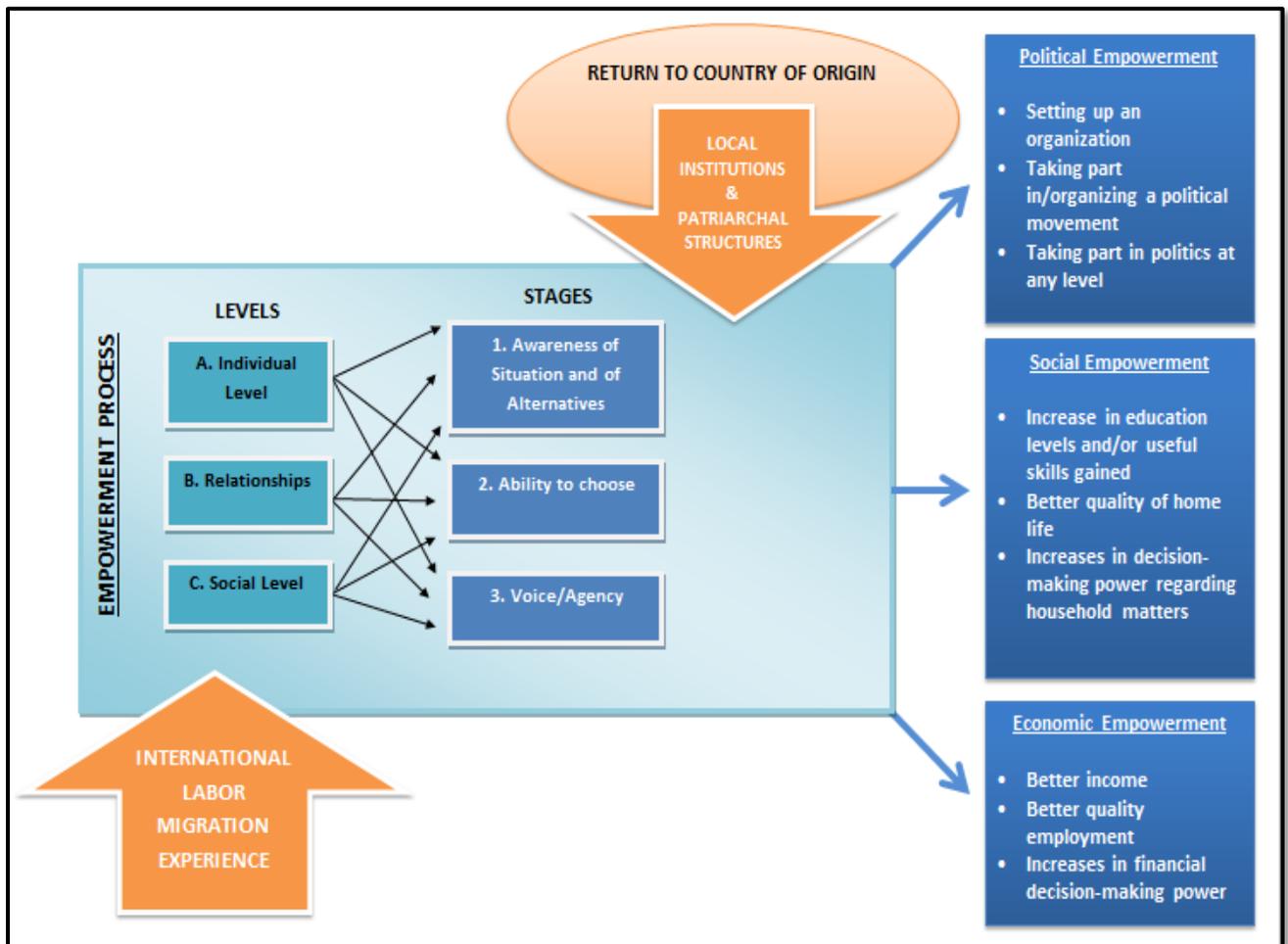
For the purpose of this investigation, the individual steps in the empowerment process outlined in Section 2.2 can be summarized within three stages that may apply to each and every level of the process as described by Kabeer (1999), from the individual to the familiar and the social.

Given that this investigation was conducted in an urban and semi-rural area and with former migrants who were aware of the existence of alternatives, it can be determined that women who were aware of their situation made the decision to migrate based on the fact that they had knowledge of alternatives to their current situation; therefore, the first and second steps are conflated into the first stage. The second stage encompasses the women's ability to make choices based on alternatives and resources available to them. The third stage includes the attainment of a voice and/or agency in order to create something new, or to voice their dissatisfaction either individually or through a collective. The last step in the women's empowerment process as described by Charmes & Wieringa (2003), or the successful inclusion of the women in a society where they are treated as equals in every aspect, is omitted given the current patriarchal structural context still in place in Bolivia, and in Cochabamba in particular.

The empowerment process and the levels and stages it encompasses are placed within two events that either drive the process forward or hold the process back. The first event, or the international migration experience, is thought to promote (or raise up ↑) the process of empowerment process by enabling the recognition of alternatives to the women's oppressive situation by placing the women in a context where they are not only financially responsible, but also where they often are in charge of making everyday decisions that can build up their character and contribute to their self-confidence. The second event is the return to the country of origin, where local institutions and patriarchal structures may hinder (or push down ↓) the empowerment process by making it a challenge for the women to retain their newfound sense of autonomy, even when once again surrounded by the elements they found oppressive before embarking on their journey abroad.

This investigation aims to explore final outcome of these two events on the empowerment process as reflected on three dimensions of female empowerment: economic, social, and political. The outcome is assessed through indicators such as quality of employment, increase in earnings, increases in decision-making ability in either the social or economic matters, improvements in the women's quality of home life as determined by the degree of stability in their personal relationships, increases in education levels and/or useful skills learned, and degree of participation in political activities and/or organizations and/or movements at any level.

4.3. Hypothesis

Following the theoretical framework and the results of prior studies, the results of this investigation should demonstrate that female migrants experience an increased level of awareness regarding their own ability to exercise autonomy during their time away. Upon return, however, the women's

autonomy is questioned by local institutions and social structures, creating a conflict that challenges and hinders the women's empowerment process. In order to readjust to life back home, it is assumed that most of these women either reluctantly give up said autonomy regarding social, political, and economic matters, or become sufficiently dissatisfied with their inability to exercise autonomy that they choose to break away from normative expectation of gender behavior, leading to separation or divorce, relocation, and/or re-migration.

4.4. Host Organization

The organization that facilitated certain aspects of data collection and provided access to comprehensive databases that contributed quantitative information to this investigation is the *Centro de Planificación y Gestión* (Center for Planning and Management), CEPLAG, located in Cochabamba City. CEPLAG is the research arm of the Faculty of Economics in the University Mayor of San Simón (UMSS) and it is headed by Professor Carmen Garcia Ledo.

4.5. Research Design

As it was pointed out before (See Chapter 2), the impact of migration on women's empowerment is mixed and largely dependent on migrants' individual characteristics. Furthermore, as migrants have been found to be a self-selected sample, selectivity bias tends to make it difficult to attribute socio-economic conditions of migrant women to migration alone (Gaye & Jha, 2011). These factors can result in a wholly quantitative or qualitative analysis being incomplete or superficial, whereas the combination of qualitative and quantitative research can yield results that are more useful in understanding the complex relationship between migration and women's empowerment. The Q^2 methodological approach has been chosen for this investigation in order to offset the weaknesses and potential limitations of either qualitative or quantitative approaches while assessing the different variables present in this study.

4.5.1. Operationalization & Definition of Terms

This section will go on to better explain and define the concepts utilized throughout this research in order to better understand the aims of this research as well as subsequent conclusions.

Labor migration

Describes the movement of people, either within their country of residence or internationally, for the purpose of employment. People who participate in this kind of migration movement are known as labor migrants or economic migrants.

Temporary migration

Labor migration may be sub-divided into either temporary or permanent migration. A temporary migrant is one who stays in a host country for a limited period of time regardless of whether the migrant's intention prior to migrating was to relocate permanently or not. Given the context of this research, a temporary migrant can also be defined as a return migrant and the two terms may be used interchangeably throughout the study.

Return migration

Return migration, within the context of this thesis, is defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle. It should be noted that a migrant may initially come home for a short visit but end up staying permanently. Furthermore he or she may choose to emigrate a second time after spending a certain amount of time back in their home country, a related concept called *remigration.*

Female empowerment

The concept of female empowerment, central to this research, is defined as the process of increasing the economic, social, or political strength of women as measured by the degree of autonomy that women display in their decision-making concerning others as well as themselves in relation to these three aspects.

Autonomy

Autonomy describes women's ability to make choices that affect their own lives. Noting weather autonomy has increased or decreased in a given time span can be instrumental in assessing whether empowerment has taken place. Autonomy will be assessed by observing the degree of decision-making power and the weight of the women's opinion over important household matters.

Agency

Agency is defined by Kabeer (1999) as "the ability to define one's goals and act upon them" (p. 3). It can also, however, encompass the motivation and purpose behind the individual's actions towards achieving a goal. Thus agency can be operationalized as focused negotiation towards the achievement of something new at either the personal or collective level (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003).

Economic factors contributing to female empowerment

The three dimensions (economic, social, and political) were chosen because they agree with the definition of empowerment as described in the theoretical framework (See Section 2.2). Economic factors to be measured are: The women's actual employment status and income level compared to their

pre-migration occupation and increases or decreases in the women's autonomy over financial decisions in a household when comparing pre and post-migratory situations.

Social factors contributing to female empowerment

Social factors refer to any improvements in the women's home life such as: Ending a violent relationship post-migration; whether someone began to help her with daily household tasks, and whether decision-making power regarding family matters increased upon returning from abroad. Social factors also relate to whether the women furthered their education and/or gained any useful skills and/or knowledge during or since their stay abroad.

Political factors contributing to female empowerment

Political factors refer to the women's degree of engagement in politics at any level or participation in political activism.

4.5.2. Selection of Research Area

The area selected to conduct the research encompasses thirteen of the fourteen districts that make up Cochabamba's *Cercado* Municipality. District thirteen was not taken into consideration because it is mostly comprised of the territory that makes up Cochabamba's Tunari National Park, a protected area. Although the research area is quite sizeable, it was decided that, due to the difficulties in finding return female migrants to interview, the research area could not be narrowed down to only one or two districts, at least in the qualitative portion of the investigation.

4.5.3. Unit of Analysis

Utilizing the household as a unit of analysis has been said to "falsely equate individual and household behaviour and ignore gender relations," thus failing to grasp the full extent of the way gender can shape the decision to migrate and the impact that migration can have on gender relations (Ellis et al., 1996, p.32). Moreover, Aramayo & Valdivieso (2010) have highlighted the value of and need for studies that focus on return migrants as individuals whose motivations, trajectories, and social re-insertion processes are distinct from those of others. For these reasons, the unit of analysis for this investigation was individual women from Cochabamba City of at least 20 years-old who have embarked on at least one international labor migration experience alone and could describe themselves as having been married or in "union" prior to their latest journey.

4.5.4. Quantitative Data

The initially proposal for this research project had planned, as part of the quantitative data gathering, to randomly administer a survey that utilized a Likert-type scale to at least 50 randomly-selected female respondents in the city of Cochabamba. The purpose of the data gathered would have been to measure income and education levels as well as assess the age, marital status, and number of children of the return migrants that fit into this investigation's profile in order to obtain a base for conducting an analysis of the qualitative data gathered throughout the interviewing process.

After an early meeting with Dr. Carmen Ledo, however, it became clear that a sample size of 50 would be statistically meaningless, and to gather a sample of a significant size would be impossible due to time and logistical constraints. Dr. Ledo then suggested that the quantitative portion of this study be based on a large-scale survey that the CEPLAG had conducted with financing from the CIUF/CUD (*Consejo Interuniversitario de Universidades Francófonas del Gobierno de Bélgica/ Commission Universitaire pour le Dévelopment*) in 2009.

Additionally, the author was introduced via email by Utrecht University Professor Paul Van Lindert to Dr. Manuel de la Fuente, the General Director of the CESU, or *Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios* (Center for Superior University Studies), and to Dr. Jorge Veizaga, a researcher in the CEP, the *Centro de Estudios de Población* (Center for Population Studies). After meeting in person with Dr. Veizaga, he suggested, with permission from the CESU, utilizing data from the 2009 "CESU Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship" as part of the investigation. This survey lifted data from 421 individual return migrants from both genders in and around the city of Cochabamba in 2009 through snowball sampling.

This section will go on to detail the usage of these two quantitative data samples in order to better explain the role that each of these data samples, used independently and never combined, played in formulating the final conclusions for this thesis.

CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba (2009)

Within the framework of the 2009 *National and International Migration Processes Project*, a large-scale survey was conducted by the CEPLAG between February and March of 2009 on a third of the approximately 6,739 households[10] located in Cochabamba City. The sampling technique utilized during this process was a multistage cluster sampling utilizing the 14 districts in the city of Cochabamba, the

---

[10] According to 2001 census data collected by the Bolivian *Instituto Nacional de Encuestas* (National Research Institute), or INE.

city blocks within each district, and the households within the selected city blocks as stages one through three, respectively. Later, a more extensive questionnaire, or a "B Ballot," was administered to respondents who indicated having a family member abroad; making this the fourth stage. In the end, 40,000 residences and 15,400 households were surveyed in all fourteen districts of the City.

Dr. Carmen Ledo agreed to share a portion of the data collected from this survey with the author in order to provide a useful larger-scale picture that would contribute to a deeper understanding of the qualitative portion of this investigation. The data shared by Dr. Ledo was that concerning adult female return migrants from Cochabamba City and met the following requirements:

- Females
- Age >=20
- Married, in a union, separated, divorced, or widowed
- Department of birth: Cochabamba
- Province of birth: *Cercado* (Cochabamba City)
- Currently living in any district but the 13th
- Migrants who had returned to Cochabamba City by 2009 either from a location within the country or from an international destination

The birthplace requirement was set in order to filter out women who may have internally migrated from rural areas of the department that may present cultural and socioeconomic factors different than those found in the urban and semi-urban areas of the *Cercado.* Also, as it was assumed that urban and semi-urban area natives would be well-aware of the existence of alternatives to their current situation (per the conceptual model presented in Section 4.2); this generalization would potentially not apply to rural-born women and natives from other parts of the country.

The final data set shared by the CEPLAG was made up of 128 cases of women who have international and/or internal migratory experience:

- Sixty-two cases were of women who had migrated only internally
- Forty-seven cases were of women who migrated only internationally
- Nineteen cases were of women who migrated both international *and* internally

The cases relevant to the analysis at hand were filtered and analyzed through the use of SSPS Statistical Analysis Software and Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet Software. Ultimately, this dataset was utilized to expound on the following specific areas related to the topic of this research:

- Average age of female return migrants
- Fertility rate of female return migrants
- Education levels of female return migrants
- International destinations chosen by female return migrants
- Reasons for these return migrants to have chosen these specific destinations

CESU Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship (2009)

Although the 2009 CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey yielded valuable information regarding the subject areas listed above, the author chose to also utilize the data provided by the CESU because it offered valuable insight into themes particularly relevant to the topic of return migration that were not covered by the "CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes" (See Appendix I).

The CESU is Cochabamba's San Simón University's research center for investigation projects dealing with gender, development, and public policy, among other things. CESU's 2009 survey was conducted as part of the Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship investigation Project, done in agreement with the *Cooperación Universitaria Francófona Belga* (CIUF). The investigation utilized the snowball non-probability sampling technique, and was conducted in the entire metropolitan region of Cochabamba, to include its seven municipalities. A total of 421 surveys were administered only to return migrants of both genders who lived in this region. Of these, the CESU agreed to share with the author, for the purposes of this investigation, the data concerning female return migrants, both single and married, for a total of 160 cases.

From this database, the author filtered out only the cases relevant to this investigation, namely, those of women over 20 years of age that were born in the *Cercado* municipality and that were either married or in a union when they migrated. Respondents who migrated only once for education purposes were also filtered out, as were the respondents that did not indicate having held an occupation during their time away. In the end, 84 cases that fit the parameters established by this investigation were left for analysis.

The data provided by the CESU gave more insight into certain areas of the women's migratory and return experiences through the answers they gave to the following questions:

- "Did you receive any support to migrate from your place of origin?"
- "What was your primary occupation in your last destination?"
- "What was your main activity/occupation prior to migrating?"
- "What is your main activity/occupation currently?"

- "What were the main reasons for you to leave the country?"
- "Did you face any opposition to your decision to migrate?"
- "What was your main reason for returning?"
- "From your experience, would you recommend migration to a close family member?"
- Home ownership status before migrating abroad and after returning to Cochabamba
- Car ownership status before migrating abroad and after returning to Cochabamba

4.5.5. Qualitative Data – Structured Interviews with Return Migrants

According to Willis (Desai & Potter, 2008), structured interviews are appropriate when the time to complete them is short and if one prefers standardized questions across interviewees. Given that both of these factors were true of this investigation, the author opted for standardizing two sets of structured interview questionnaires during the first four weeks on site.

The first interview questionnaire contained 116 questions and sub-questions that attempted to address all relevant social, economic, and political issues before, after, and post-migration (See Appendix II). This initial questionnaire was pilot tested and approved by the IDS supervisor with the only comment that perhaps it would be more time-efficient to use a table in order to fill in the information given during the interviews faster.

A total of eight interviews in the interviewees' native language, Spanish, were conducted with this initial questionnaire model and led to a set of very complete snapshots of not only the women's migration experiences, but of their lives before as well as after migration. These interviews lasted an hour on average and were digitally recorded with the interviewees' permission. Although very thorough, conducting interviews in this fashion required the author to find a trusted source to make an introduction to the interviewee and for the interviewee to set aside a pretty substantial amount of time, something which many of the women simply do not have.

These are the main reasons why the second part of the interviewing process was guided by an updated questionnaire which, following the IDS supervisor's recommendations, was amended to include tables that could be filled out by basically the same information contained in the first version of the questionnaire (See Appendix III). The added advantage of this second method was that it was quicker to administer and easier to analyze afterwards. This questionnaire format was administered to 22 interviewees in a time-span of three weeks, and extracted nearly the same amount of information as its previous longer version. An added benefit of this second version is that it appeared less personal to the interviewees, something which allowed the author to administer it without prior introduction. One of

the downsides of this new method, however, was that the answers were not always digitally recorded, but written down to the best of the author's ability.

The thirty interviews were conducted from March 14th until May 6th of 2013 with women at several stages of the readjustment process. No constraints were placed on the international migratory destination of the female migrants, or length of time back in Bolivia: The least amount of time an interviewee had been back in Bolivia was one month; the longest amount of time was twenty-one years. The women's partners (when applicable) were never present during the interviews, although in one occasion, during Gabriela's interview, her teenage daughter was in the room.

Prior to commencing each interview, a presentation letter explaining the concept of the investigation as well as the purpose of the interview was handed out to each interviewee (See Appendix IV). This letter also guaranteed confidentiality and requested permission to digitally record the interview. Although not all of the interviews were digitally recorded, in all of the cases the author was permitted by the interviewee to at least write the answers to the questions down on paper.

Interview collection methods

Because of the difficulty of locating respondents and also in an attempt at avoiding sample bias, various methods for contacting interviewees were utilized and are detailed in this section.

CESU Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship (2009)

In addition to utilizing the quantitative data collected by the CESU through its 2009 "Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship" (See Section 4.5.4), the author also benefitted from the fact that some of the survey questionnaires contained information such as names, addresses, and phone numbers. After choosing a number of respondents that fit the desired profile for this study, phone calls were made asking the women whether they would be open to another interview about their migration experience. In many of the cases, the calls went unanswered or the phone numbers had changed or been deactivated. In a few other instances the women did not accede to the interview. In the end, nine of the thirty interviews gathered for this study came from prior CESU respondents.

AMIBE

Upon arrival to Cochabamba City, the author contacted the *Asociación de Migrantes Bolivia-España* (Association of Migrants Bolivia-Spain), or AMIBE. AMIBE is the counterpart to the *Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia España* (Association for Cooperation Bolivia-Spain), or ACOBE. After meeting with AMIBE's director, Dr. Hugo Bustillos, he agreed to introduce the author to a few recently-arrived female migrants. Thanks to Dr. Bustillos' cooperation, three more women were interviewed, all of whom had

come back to Bolivia less than two months before the date of the interview. Of these, however, only one fit the parameters of this investigation. Though all three women were spoken to, the story of only one of them became part of this thesis.

Couchsurfing website

A few days after arriving to Cochabamba, the author posted a message on the Cochabamba forum of the social networking site Couchsurfing. The message asked if any of the members of the site knew someone or was someone that fit the profile for this study that would be willing to grant the author an interview to be included in a master's thesis on female return migration. The message prompted one response from a person who agreed to introduce the author to his two aunts. Both women were contacted and both agreed to share their stories for this investigation.

IDB/FIE database

A cursory internet search on return migration in Bolivia led the author to the website for the *Modelo Migratorio de Retorno Voluntario* (Migratory Model for Voluntary Return), a project funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Bolivian microfinance institution FIE. Through this website, the author found the 2010 and 2011 project participant lists along with their email addresses. Thirteen emails were sent out to the addresses of the female participants on these lists asking if they fit the profile of a female returnee from Cochabamba, and if so, whether they would be willing to participate in an interview that would go on to become a part of a master's thesis on female return migration. Of the replies the author received to these emails, only one turned into an interview that was included in this investigation. This woman then introduced the author to her friend, another female return migrant who fit the profile. This second woman was also interviewed and became a part of this study as well.

Fig. 4.2 – Women working in Cochabamba's Calatayud marketplace

Local markets

Fourteen of the interviewees who participated in this study were found when the author visited three local markets in Cochabamba City: *Mercado Ingavi, Mercado Calatayud,* and *La Cancha*, the city's oldest and one of Bolivia's

largest open-air markets. Located in District 10, it is estimated that more than ten percent of Cochabamba's inhabitants work in *La Cancha* (Alcócer, 2010). Upon arrival to these sites, the author began asking female business owners whether they or someone they knew had any prior experience migrating internationally. This method led to some interviews and several referrals within a few days (See Appendix V for a detailed data sheet on the interviewees).

4.5.6. Limitations & Risks of the Research

The boundaries that define empowerment indicators keep evolving, and as a result, its definition of empowerment itself can mean different things in different contexts. This fact is most relevant to this investigation when considering female labor force participation and political participation as potential empowerment indicators. Regarding the first, Bolivia has traditionally had some of the highest rates of female employment, due in part to the availability of urban-sector jobs where women often engage in poorly remunerated work. In this context, access to the labor market alone is not a sufficiently good indicator of empowerment. For this reason it was necessary to not only take into consideration whether women have a job or not, but the characteristics of their post-migration occupation when compared to their pre-migration employment status. Concerning political participation, voting in Bolivia is compulsory; therefore there is little or no correlation with the number of women voters and empowerment. It was best, then, to assess the degree of women's involvement in local politics or in women's movements and organizations.

Another significant limitation to this research was the narrow timeframe within which to conduct field research. With only nine weeks to conduct interviews, the approach had to be extremely focused; paradoxically, the limited time frame also made it impossible to narrow the research area down enough to gather all interviews in one or two districts of the city. Given the complexity of both of the topics at hand, migration and female empowerment, a much more thorough investigation that involves a greater number of participants would be required to extract a conclusion that could be generalized nationwide.

Although the figures gathered from the interviews largely reflect the quantitative analysis based on the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey, one must keep in mind that the sample size of both the quantitative and qualitative portions is far too small to paint a generalized picture of the level of empowerment of female return migrants in Bolivia. To gain a deeper understanding of this subject, more time and far more qualitative interviews would be needed, especially with more women whose return was due to the global crisis and the lack of jobs in traditionally receiving countries.

5. Female Return Migration in Cochabamba City: Who, Where & Why?

This chapter will provide an overview of the research area where this investigation took place (5.1) and an overview of the characteristics of the women that participated in this research project (5.2).

5.1. Characteristics of the Research Area

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, there are clear socioeconomic differences that divide the fourteen districts that make up the City of Cochabamba (See Fig. 5.1, note the differences in infrastructure between the two regions). Although most of the inhabitants in Cochabamba City are considered urban-dwellers, two of its districts do fall under a semi-rural typography: District 9 and District 13[11]. The residents of the Northeast and Central parts of the city have, generally speaking, better quality infrastructure, as opposed to the urban periphery where most residents have less access to basic services such as access to water, functioning sewage systems, and garbage collection services (Ramírez, 2011).

Fig. 5.1 – Economic differences between Northern and Southern Cochabamba City
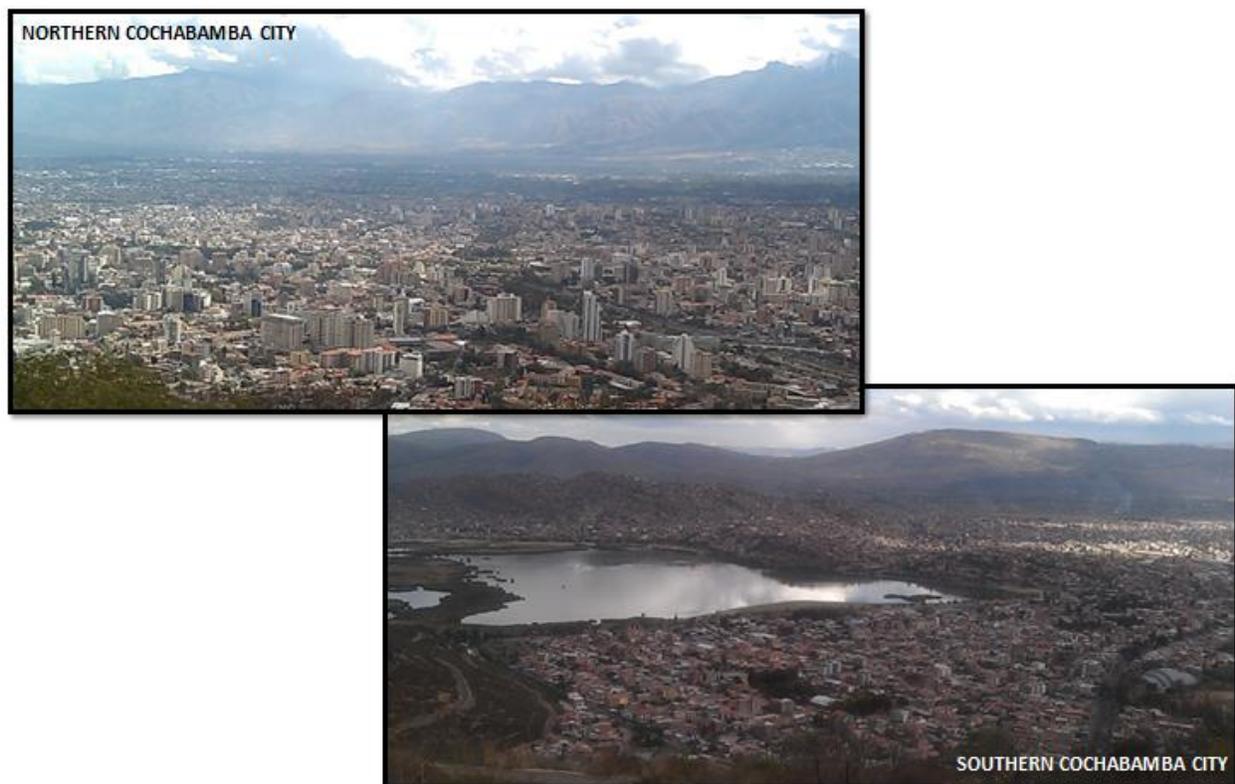
Source: Author's elaboration, 2013

---

[11] Not included in this study.

Not surprisingly, it is in the southern peripheral region that registers higher poverty levels and lower levels on the human development index (See Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 - HDI per district (2009)

District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14
HDI	0.8	0.8	0.72	0.78	0.64	0.64	0.61	0.62	0.53	0.9	0.91	0.92	0.58

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba, 2009

The uneven distribution of human development allows for a bracketing of the districts in the city into four distinct groups, according to their ranking in the HDI: The first group is comprised of the three districts with the higher HDI values, Districts 10, 11, and 12; the second group contains the four districts with a medium-high HDI value, 1, 2, 3, and 4; the third group is made up of the four districts with a medium-low HDI value, 5, 6, 7, 8; and finally the two districts with the lowest HDI value, 9 and 14, fall into the fourth category (See Fig. 5.2).

Fig. 5.2 - District groupings by region and according to HDI level per district
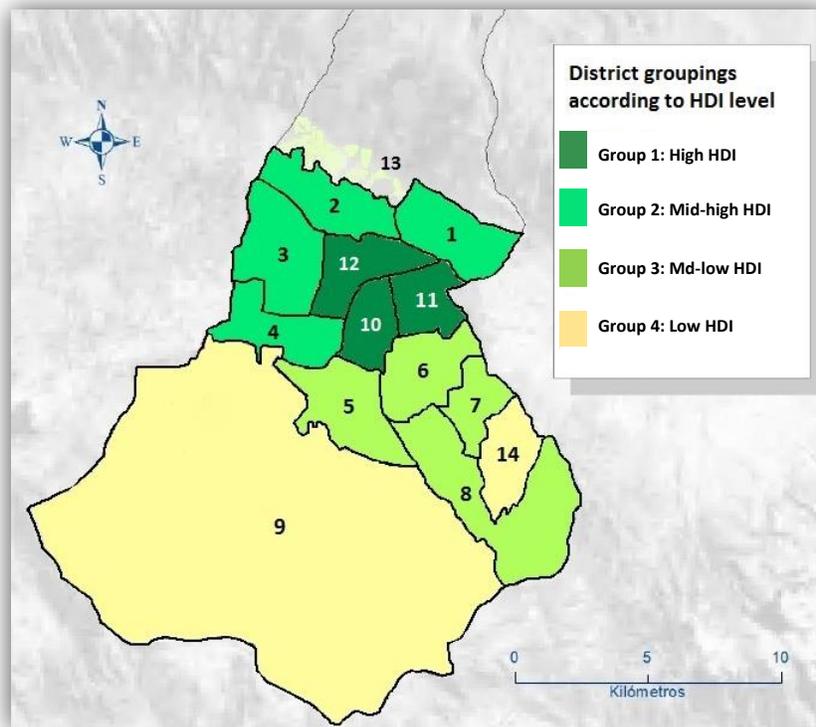
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba, 2009

5.2. Characteristics of Female Migration & Return in Cochabamba City

This section is meant to provide an overview of who the return female migrants of Cochabamba City are, where they go, where they come back to, and why.

5.2.1. The Women

Per the data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey, the average age of the surveyed female return migrants who indicated having traveled internationally at least once was 45, with the youngest being 21 and the oldest 91. The most likely age for one of these women to have traveled abroad for the first time was either 22 or 23, which is indicative of the well-documented tendency of younger, working-age individuals to leave the country due to unemployment or underemployment, primarily (Yepez, et al., 2011)(Bastia, 2011)(IOM, 2011).

The data from the 2009 CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey shows that, on average, the 62 surveyed women who migrated internally had 3.52 children in 2009, slightly higher than the 2010 national average of 3.29 children per woman, but equal to the average for the department of Cochabamba in 2005 through 2010 (INE, 2010). The fertility rate for the 47 surveyed international return migrants, however, shows to have been much lower than any of the above-quoted averages, as the women that traveled internationally only had 2.82 children on average in 2009.

According to the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey, the majority of women who migrated internationally to Spain and Italy to work on the care of the elderly and other domestic services came from the Southern Peripheral region of the city (Districts 9 and 14), while flows composed of higher skilled migrants with more financial resources directed towards the United States, England, and Belgium came from the northern areas (Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, and 12). Of the 128 women surveyed that reported a migratory movement, either national, international, or both, only three of them, one international and two internal return migrants, described themselves as illiterate (from Districts 8, 9, and 12, respectively).

Overall, the women who lived in the districts that belong in the first and second groups reported higher levels of education than the women who lived in the districts that fell into the third and fourth groups (See Table 5.2). One thing of note here is that, although there are a higher number of better educated women belonging to districts in Group 1, the difference in education levels between the internal and international return migrants is negligible, meaning that these numbers fit the overall assessment cited in Section 3.2.2 that return migrants, either internal or international, tend to be a more educated group on average given that a higher percentage of women, from all districts, have at least a secondary-level education.

Table 5.2 – 2009 Distribution of the surveyed return migrants from Cochabamba City per years of school attended and according to migration type and district grouping (Absolute values)[12]

YEARS OF SCHOOLING	Group 1 (D10, D11, D12)		Group 2 (D1, D2, D3, D4)		Group 3 (D5, D6, D7, D8)		Group 4 (D9, D14)	
	International	Internal	International	Internal	International	Internal	International	Internal
0-6	1	2	1	2	1	2	6	2
7-12	7	2	7	11	8	7	6	1
13-17	12	15	7	10	3	3	0	0
18+	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotals	22	20	15	23	12	12	12	3
District Totals		42		38		24		15

Source: Author's formulation based on data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba, 2009

Of the female return migrants that participated in the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey, 39.4 percent of the 66 women surveyed that indicated having traveled internationally said to have chosen Argentina at least once as a destination, followed by Spain. Although these numbers fall in line with the migration data for the entire country (previously discussed in section 3.1.5), they do not reproduce the more localized patterns seen in Cochabamba (discussed in Section 3.2.2)(See Graph 5.1), as migration to Spain was seen to take precedence over flows to Argentina.

Graph 5.1 - Main destinations of surveyed female return migrants in Cochabamba City as a percentage (2009)
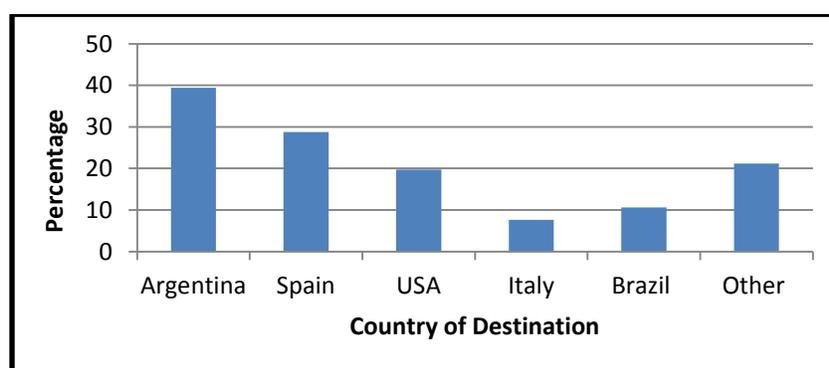
N=84[13]

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba, 2009

---

[12] The 0-6 group represents the women that indicated having an elementary-level education. The 7-12 group includes the women that have secondary-level education. The 13 to 17 group represents the women with a technical-level education, beyond secondary school; and the 18+ group is for the women who have completed at least some university-level courses.

[13] Eighteen percent of the women surveyed indicated having migrated internationally more than once.

Other destinations represented by return female migrants in Cochabamba City were the United States, followed by Italy and Brazil. There were a number of "other" destinations also named which are wide-ranging and include countries such as Peru, the United Kingdom, and Mexico.

Looking at the answers provided by the women surveyed for this quantitative sample reminds us of the fact that, for a migrant, returning from Argentina can be a much less-complicated endeavor given Bolivia's close proximity to Argentina and the much cheaper transportation costs of a bus trip across the two countries. According to AMIBE's director, Dr. Hugo Bustillos[14], a high percentage of Bolivians left in Spain without a job due to the global crisis are also unable to finance the price of a plane ticket for their return and thus are left in a desperate situation that is largely out of their hands (Personal interview, Tiquipaya – Cochabamba, March 8, 2013).

In order to answer the question that this point immediately brings up, namely of how these women are able to fund an international migration when they are, often times, in a self-described poor financial situation, one must become aware of the fact that many of them receive some type of financial support from either their family in Cochabamba, or from their relatives abroad. Of the 84 women who took part in the CESU's "Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship", 68 gave an affirmative answer to the question "Did you receive any support to migrate from your place of origin?" These affirmative responses far outnumbered the 16 women who said to have not received any support to migrate in their place of origin.

5.2.2. The Migration

The effects of return migration on women's empowerment are highly dependent on the circumstances and motivations behind the move (Connelly et al., 2010), and on the success of their experience abroad (Belanger & Rahman, 2013). This section will conduct an analysis of the reasons the women had for migrating, the characteristics of their experiences while away, and whether most considered their experience successful.

---

[14] Dr. Bustillos is AMIBE's current director. AMIBE is ACOBE's counterpart and, as opposed to ACOBE which operates in Spanish soil and helping Bolivians in Spain, AMIBE helps Bolivian return migrants that have come back from Spain and are in need of either financial, social, or psychological assistance. The author had a meeting with Dr. Bustillos on March 8, 2013 in AMIBE's headquarters in Tiquipaya, Cochabamba. During this meeting Dr. Bustillos described various areas of concern for Bolivian migrants in Spain as well as gave a brief overview of the historical background of Bolivian migration and return to/from Spain. He also detailed some of the projects through which AMIBE is currently helping return migrants readjust to life back in Bolivia.

Better than Here: Women's Reasons to Go

From the data collected by the CESU Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, one can induce that the main factor contributing to the women's decision to migrate was economic dissatisfaction. In fact, of the 84 women who migrated alone and for labor purposes, the majority of them cited financial reasons as their number one factor that influenced their decision to migrate (See Graph 5.2).

Graph 5.2 - Main reasons for migrating (%)
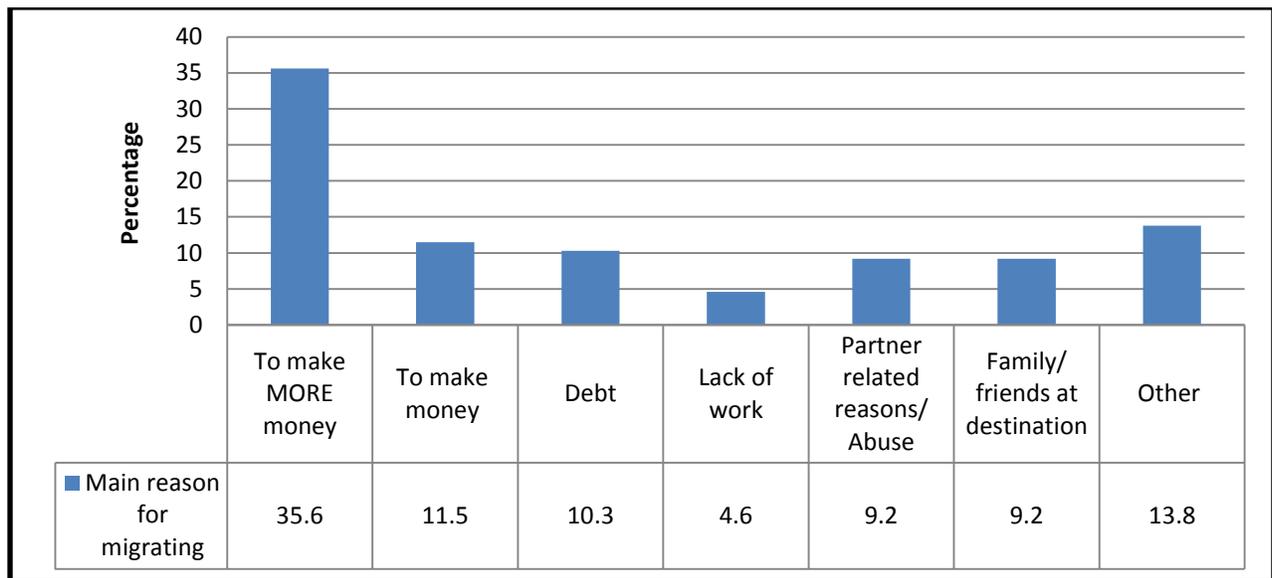
	To make MORE money	To make money	Debt	Lack of work	Partner related reasons/ Abuse	Family/ friends at destination	Other
■ Main reason for migrating	35.6	11.5	10.3	4.6	9.2	9.2	13.8

N=84

<div align="center">Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CESU's Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, 2009</div>

It must be clarified here that the difference between the category of "To make MORE money" and that of "To make money" is in that the women who chose the first answer already had a source of income in Cochabamba, while the women that gave the second answer made no money and thus hoped to make money for the first time during their time away. Adding up the number of responses in the categories related to financial reasons (To make money, to make more money, debt, and lack of work), the percentage of women who based their decision to migrate on economic factors is 62.

Of the 84 women represented by this sample, 24 percent indicated that their decision to migrate had been met with opposition from someone in Cochabamba. This means that in almost a quarter of the cases, the women not only saw migration as a viable option to change and improve their current situation and/or their families', but also stood up to any opposition they faced while taking the

necessary steps to make this change happen. This is a clear indication that in at least some of the cases, the women exercised autonomous decision-making in choosing to migrate.

One additional point worth noting is that social networks and connections to a given international destination can shape the women's migration experience even before this experience begins. According to the data collected by the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey, a great majority of the women said to have chosen their destination due to the fact that someone they already know, be it a family member or a friend, was already there (See Graph 5.3). Oftentimes the women chose a particular destination because they had guaranteed work in that location, presumably due to help from a contact already at that place.

Graph 5.3 - Surveyed return female migrants' main reasons for choosing destination (%)
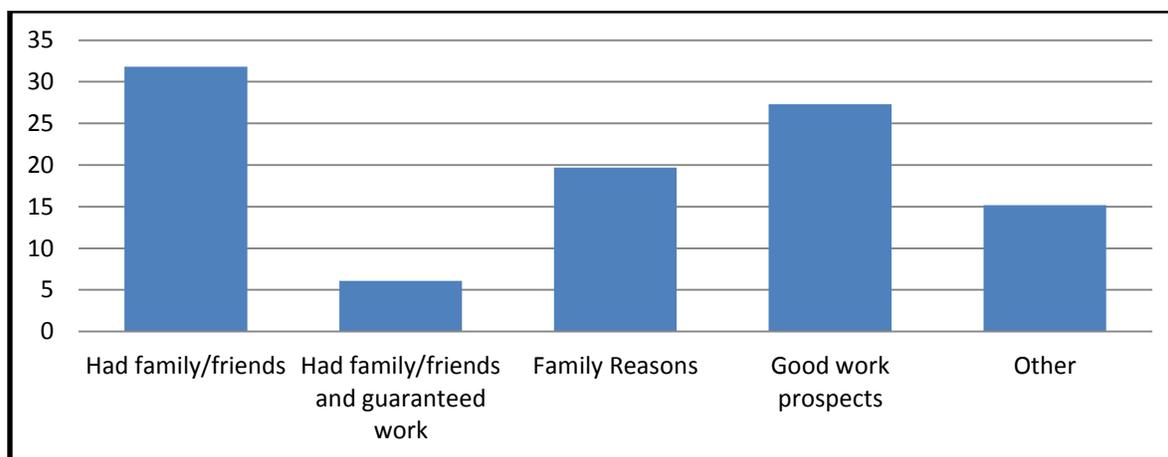
N=66

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba, 2009

Experiences at Destination

The type of work done by women at their destination is relevant to the effects that a migratory experience can have on their empowerment because the positive effects of an international migration experience on a woman's sense of responsibility and autonomy can be offset by an exploitative and/or abusive work environment and/or by the additional stress they may face when living in a foreign country under an illegal residency status.

When conducting an assessment of the primary occupation at the last destination of the 84 female return migrants that were part of the CESU Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, the patterns previously described in Section 3.2.2 are reflected by the fact that most of the

women described their primary occupation as falling into either the "Domestic Work and Cleaning" or the "Caregiving" categories (See Graph 5.4).

Graph 5.4 - Primary occupation of surveyed female migrants at last international destination (%)
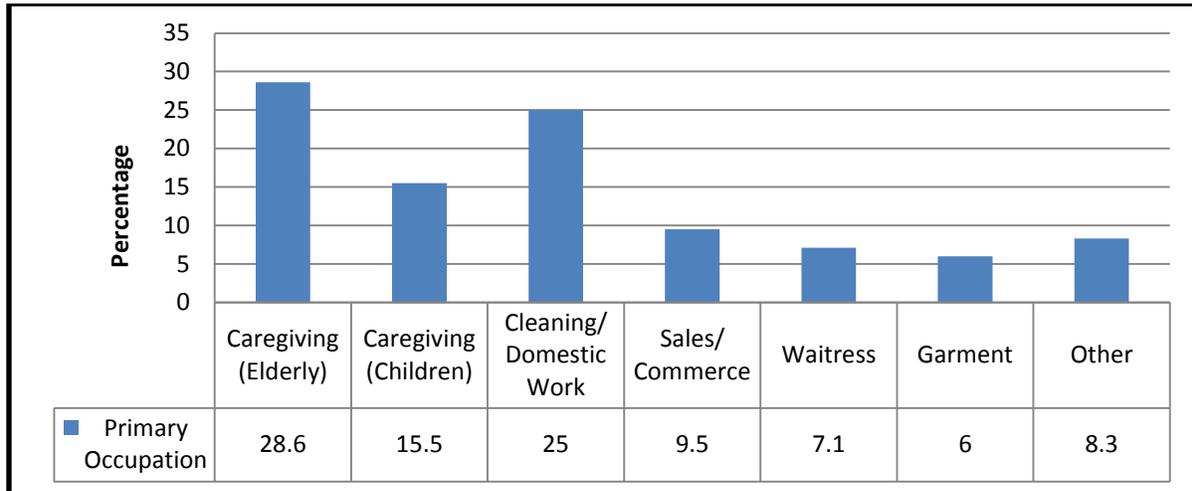
	Caregiving (Elderly)	Caregiving (Children)	Cleaning/ Domestic Work	Sales/ Commerce	Waitress	Garment	Other
■ Primary Occupation	28.6	15.5	25	9.5	7.1	6	8.3

N=84

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CESU's Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, 2009

Ninety-six percent of the women that reported working on the care industry (either with children or the elderly) also reported their international destination to have been either Spain or Italy save one case: a woman working as a caregiver for children in the United States.

Of the 84 women, 73 percent indicated having resided in their country of destination, mostly Spain and Italy (69 percent) without legal paperwork. Most of these women said to have been the victims of exploitation, discrimination, and mistreatment during their time abroad, something which is likely related to the illegality of their situation. Despite this, 61 percent of these women said that they would recommend migration to a close family member.

Completion of Goals and Return
It has been pointed out by experts that the expectations of women before they migrate have the power to shape both the migration experience and its outcome (Kawar, 2005). For this reason, it is important to focus on what the women's goals were before migrating, whether these goals were achieved, and whether they consider their migration experience successful or not.

Given the high percentage of women who found their economic situation unsatisfactory, the success of their experience should be assessed by what they describe as their main reason for coming back. Yet

when asked, 79 percent of the 84 women surveyed by the CESU for their Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship stated that their main reason for coming back was family, rather than choosing a different option such as "Saved Enough," or "To Open a Business," answers which were only chosen by four percent of the women. However, when asked: "From your experience, would you recommend migration to a close family member?" one can better assess the success of their experience, as more than half of the 84 women, 57 percent, answered "Yes." Of the women who answered "Yes," 52 percent cited as the reason why they would recommend migration to a close family member something directly related to improving their financial situation such as: *"Abroad exist better opportunities for making money," "You can make money and then come back to your country,"* and *"You can save and then you live better[15]."*

According to an analysis of any changes in the current employment situation of the women vis-à-vis their pre-migration occupation, a higher number of women surveyed by the CESU indicated that they either worked or both worked and tended the home post-return than before migration (See Graph 5.5).

Graph 5.5 - Economic activity comparison: Pre-migration and Post-return (%)
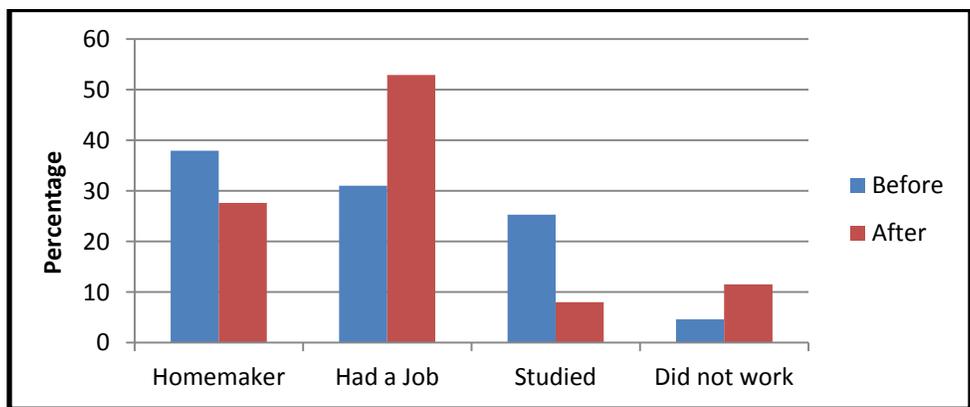
N=84

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CESU's Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, 2009

When conducting a deeper analysis of the employment situation of the individual respondents, we find that, of the 37 women who described themselves as either homemakers or said that they did not work before migrating, more than half reported having started working once back in Cochabamba (See Graph 5.6).

---

[15] All answers were provided to the CESU in Spanish and translated by the author.

Graph 5.6 - Post migration occupation of women who described their pre-migration occupation as "Homemakers" (Absolute Values)
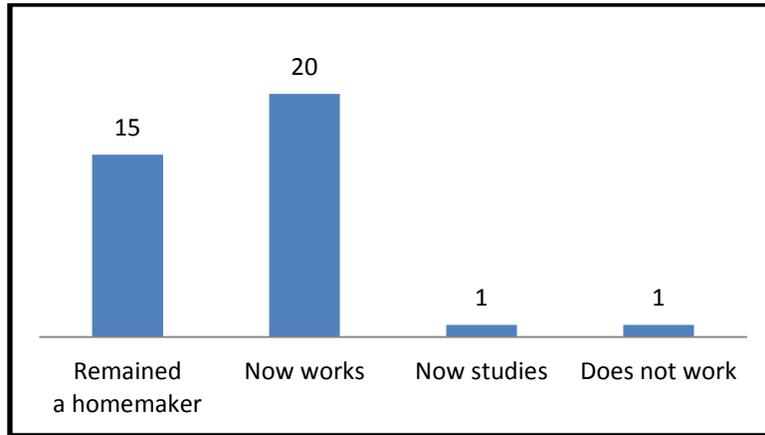
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the CESU's Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship, 2009

This above graph illustrates the fact that a higher number of homemakers began working after returning from abroad, as opposed to those who retook their role as homemakers once back in Cochabamba. The data shows that the majority of the women who started working after returning to Cochabamba became retailers and saleswomen (11 out of 20). Six of them started their own small business, one began serving as the president of a civic committee, one became a butcher, and one found a job as a domestic worker.

When asked about their home ownership status before and after migrating, 23 of the 40 women surveyed by the CESU that indicated having lived in either rental property, antichresis[16], or under a mixed arrangement before going abroad claimed to have attained full ownership of their residence after their return. Additionally, 29 women were able to buy a car upon their return.

---

[16] An antichresis, or *anticretico,* is a popular living arrangement in Bolivia where the tenant pays the landlord a fixed amount of money at the start of the rental period in lieu of rent. The payment can range from a few to several thousand dollars and at the end of the agreed upon term, the landlord returns the tenant the full amount of money received at the beginning of the contract and the tenant moves out of the premises.

6. Migration & Return in the Women's Words

Given that empowerment can be more clearly defined as a process (See Chapter Two for the theoretical definition of Empowerment and Autonomy and Sub-section 4.5.1 for the operationalization of the terms), attempting to measure increases in autonomy solely through quantitative data collection can fail to accurately capture the depth and complexity of this topic. This chapter will provide a more detailed analysis of the background of the women interviewed for the qualitative portion of this investigation (6.1), and the effects of migration and return on the economic (6.2), social (6.3) and political (6.4) empowerment of the women will be analyzed and evaluated qualitatively through the experiences of the women that lived them.

6.1. Background

The interview women's backgrounds and stories were diverse yet also similar in a number of key areas. Much of the data collected qualitatively was fairly representative of the overall situation of female migrants in Cochabamba City as outlined in the previous chapter. The interviews were conducted with women from thirteen of the *Cercado* Municipality's fourteen districts, with the exception of District 13. The ages of the women ranged from 28 to 59. The most represented ages for a first-time migration among the women interviewed were 28 and 32.

The most likely age for the women to have given birth for the first time was 20. Aida was the only woman interviewed who had her first child at 17, and Leticia was the one who waited the longest to both get married and have a child, at 26. Most of the women (16 of the 30) had two children, though three of the women, Otilia, Sara, and Nancy, had six children each and one, Teresa[17], had seven children total. When asked whether there was any difference between the number of children the women had and their ideal number of children, only two of the women, Otilia and Nancy, said yes, admitting that they wish they would have stopped at four children, rather than six.

The level of education of the 30 women interviewed shows a trend that also reflects the wider education patterns for return migrants. Twenty-two of the women had at least a secondary-level education and only one of them, Otilia, described herself as illiterate, having never attended school (See Graph 6.1).

---

[17] All names have been changed.

Graph 6.1 - Level of education of interviewed return migrants (Absolute Values)
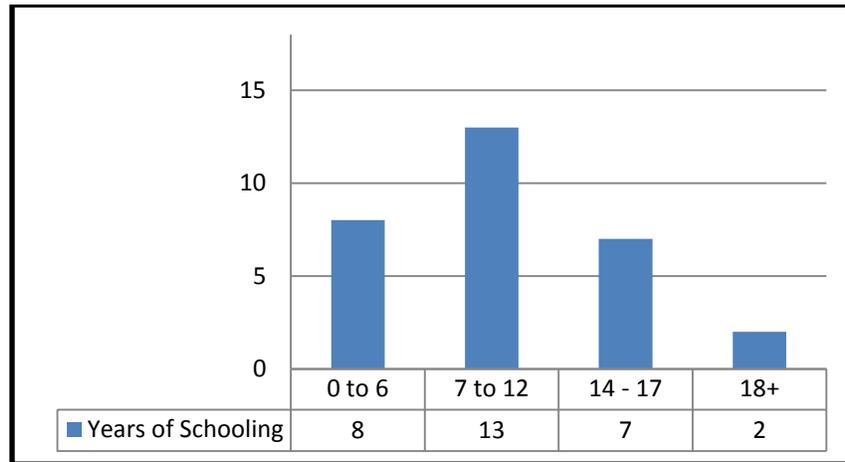
Years of Schooling	0 to 6	7 to 12	14 - 17	18+
	8	13	7	2

Source: Author's formulation based on the qualitative data gathered during the interview portion of this investigation, 2013

The international destinations of the women also reflect the larger migration patterns found in Cochabamba City, as 16 of the 30 women interviewed migrated to Spain, followed by 8 who migrated to Argentina (See Graph 6.2).

Graph 6.2 - International destinations of interviewed return migrants (Absolute values)[18]
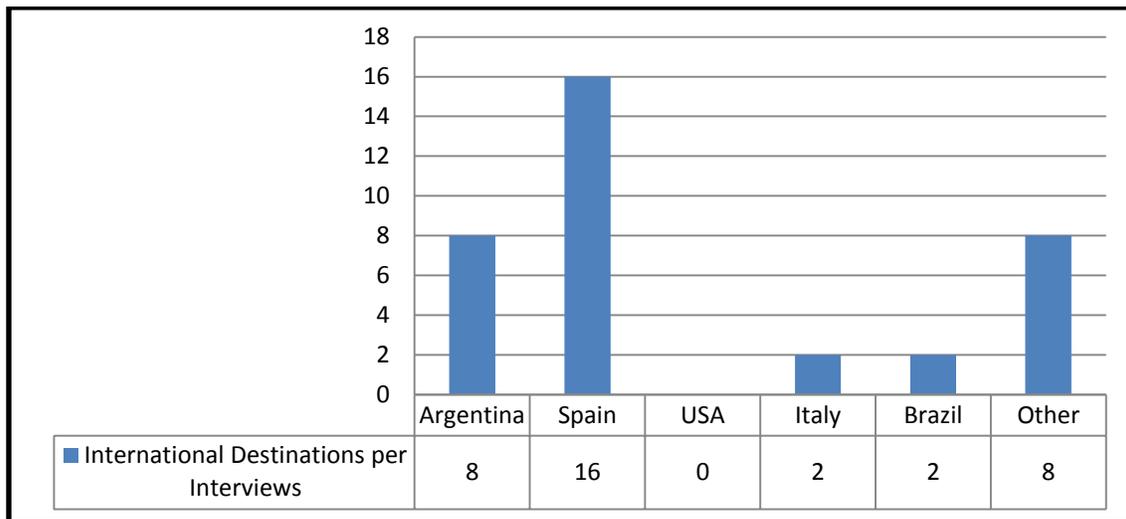
International Destinations per Interviews	Argentina	Spain	USA	Italy	Brazil	Other
	8	16	0	2	2	8

Source: Author's formulation based on the qualitative data gathered during the interview portion of this investigation, 2013

---

[18] Six of the women reported having migrated more than once.

The data gathered during the interview portion of the study mirrors the wider female migration patterns for Cochabamba, as discussed in Sub-section 3.2.2, seeing that most of the 30 women interviewed for the qualitative portion reported having worked as either caregivers or domestic workers (See Graph 6.3).

Graph 6.3 - Main occupation of interviewed female migrants at international destination (Absolute values)
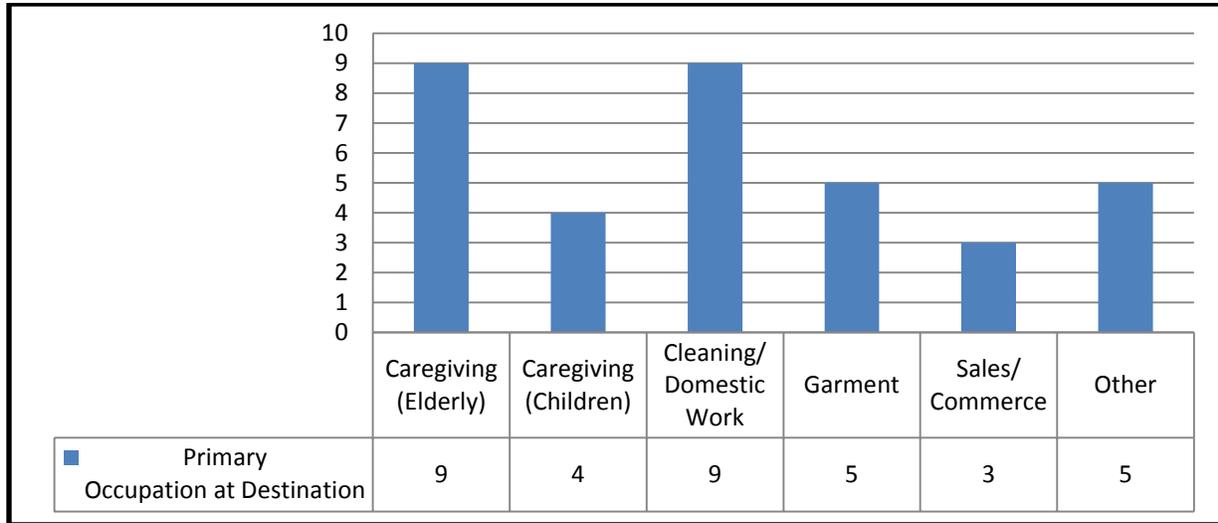
	Caregiving (Elderly)	Caregiving (Children)	Cleaning/ Domestic Work	Garment	Sales/ Commerce	Other
■ Primary Occupation at Destination	9	4	9	5	3	5

Source: Author's formulation based on the qualitative data gathered during the interview portion of this investigation, 2013

6.2. *"You should come… Here you'll save"*: Reasons for Migrating

The reasons that the women gave for migrating all dealt primarily with the desire to improve their financial position, but the complexity of their individual situations became apparent throughout the interview process. One example is Aida's story.

At first, Aida, a 52-year old who now runs her own hardware store near *La Cancha*, described her trip to Barcelona solely as a way to make more money and save for her five children here in Cochabamba. She explained that during her eleven years working as a caregiver for the elderly, from 2001 until 2012, she sent nearly every cent of her salary back to Bolivia. But later during the interview, Aida began talking about the difficult situation she went through with her husband, who was physically and verbally abusive towards her. It then became clear that Aida also utilized her time in Spain to impose a physical and emotional distance from her partner. In time, she brought her two youngest children to live with her in Barcelona so that she could properly care for them and their education, even when this meant that saving money and working full time would require more effort. Eventually Aida filed for divorce but

her husband refused to sign the papers, asking her for money each time she pressed him to. Though Aida and her husband remained separated after her return in late 2012, Aida and her husband remain legally married.

Another example of the complexity of the factors behind a woman's decision to leave is Juana account. Juana, a 30 year-old mother of two, migrated twice: First to Argentina and then to Chile. Similarly to Aida, Juana also claimed that the primary motive behind her move was financial, for she was a seventeen year-old mother whose husband had trouble making enough money to support the family. When Juana was eighteen she got an offer from her sister to join her in Buenos Aires and, given the gravity of her situation, she did not hesitate to accept and left in 2001. Then, later during the interview, Juana revealed how she used to experienced physical violence from not only her husband, but also from her father who was angry that she had gotten pregnant so young: *"My father would beat me because all of his daughters turned out the same, and afterwards my husband would also beat me."*

Juana explains that once in Buenos Aires she felt free because the trip gave her the opportunity to make her own money through her job as a seamstress: *"It was nice not having to rely on anyone else."* During her time in Buenos Aires, Juana distanced herself from her husband and only communicated with him to talk about their son. Then, Juana found a Peruvian boyfriend and began a relationship with him that took her to Santiago, Chile in 2011, where she found a job as a domestic worker. After becoming pregnant with her new boyfriend's child, Juana decided to return to Cochabamba to straighten things out with her husband who by then also had started a new family of his own. Juana claims that she gets along better than ever with her husband who agreed to grant her a divorce: *"We don't fight anymore; we get along better now… And my current relationship is much different; [my partner and I] are both equals."* Even though Juana is currently unemployed, she claims to have saved significantly during her time away, money that she plans to utilize soon to return to Chile with her two children to join and marry her boyfriend.

But despite the fact that in these two cases and in many others there were multifaceted reasons for the women's departure, it is clear, as was the case with the quantitative data, that many of them did find themselves in a difficult financial situation before migrating. Consequently, many of the women received support to fund their journey from either their place of origin or from family or friends already at their projected destination. Sometimes, the women and/or their family took out a loan from a bank, thus raising the stakes for success at their destination. Most frequently, however, friends or relatives who were already at the women's projected destination helped them finance the plane ticket and find a job: *"My brother in-law persuaded me, he said 'You should come [to Spain]. Here you'll save'…So he sent*

some money[19]*."* (Jacinta[20], 31 years-old); *"I had a friend who was [in Italy] before me. She gave me a hand to get there and to find a job"* (Gabriela[21], 42 years-old).

In most of the cases where the women were lent money from someone at their projected destination, the loan was expected to be repaid as soon as the women found a job, even when the lender was a close relative. Otilia[22], a 54 year-old mother of six left to Madrid, Spain in 2006 hoping to earn money to better provide for her four remaining daughters in Cochabamba, as she received little to no help from either of the two men who fathered her children. Otilia's oldest surviving daughter (See Footnote), who had been living in Madrid for a few years, lent her the money she needed for the plane ticket:

> *"She helped me, but like with everyone else we have to pay back that money. When I started working, I paid it back. I think we've all done that, we've all gone there with borrowed money and once we start working we pay it back."*

6.3. *"I now feel sure of myself because I worked"*: Experiences Abroad

Belanger & Rahman observed in their 2013 study on the effects of international female labor migration on the patriarchal gender structures in Bangladesh, that despite mixed experiences migration helped empower female return migrants, who gained confidence and courage throughout the journey. In the same way, the wide range of experiences, both negative and positive, lived by the women interviewed for this investigation became apparent; and even while most stories are filled with unhappy passages, the majority of the women said to have learned from these challenges, coming out stronger and more assertive.

Gabriela, a 42 year-old married mother of two, has fond memories of her time in Italy: *"With my elderly lady*[23] *I saw everything… The mountains, the ocean… And yes, I enjoyed it a lot because we lived a more pleasant life than here… That's also what gave me the courage to remain [in Italy] a while longer."* Nevertheless, throughout her four years away Gabriela also lived through her share of sad moments, including the death of two of the three elderly women she took care of while in Bergamo and Milan.

---

[19] All interviews were translated from Spanish by the author.

[20] Jacinta gave an interview at her home on April 12, 2013, only a few months after her return to Cochabamba. Jacinta's interview was arranged through AMIBE.

[21] Gabriela was interviewed at her home on March 15, 2013. She spent four years in Italy, from 1994 until 1998.

[22] Otilia was interviewed on April 17, 2013 at her home shortly after her return to Bolivia. One of her six daughters, the oldest, died when she was only fourteen years-old. Otilia and three of her daughters, plus one of her grandsons, live in one bedroom in District 14. Otilia had two separate, both very physically violent relationships with the two men who fathered her six children, three each. Otilia is the only woman interviewed for the qualitative portion who described herself as illiterate, never having attended any type of educational institution.

[23] Many of the women interviewed who were caregivers, speak of the elderly they cared for by utilizing the possessive pronoun "mine," i.e.- *"Mi viejita,"* or my elderly lady.

When asked whether these deaths affected her, she explains that before her experience abroad she was an overly sensitive person, but that her time in Italy taught her that *"one should prepare oneself for these types of losses, we are not eternal."*[24] Gabriela adds that despite everything, she considers herself lucky for having had the opportunity to work abroad: *"I honestly thank God for having given me the opportunity to go there and work for what we have now…."* She now owns a sewing shop and, along with her husband, also opened an auto-paint shop, both of which net her household an income of 350 to 450 US Dollars per month, almost three times Bolivia's minimum wage of 145 US Dollars. She was also able to buy the home her and her family currently live in (See Sub-section 6.4.1 for more on the importance of home ownership to the women of Cochabamba): "*We have achieved our dreams."*

From the 30 interviews conducted with the women, it became evident that most of them, 24 of the 30 interviewees, considered their migration experience successful despite any setbacks they may have had. Fifty year-old Amanda[25], a married mother of two and Gabriela's older sister, is another example. Amanda explains that she did not thoroughly enjoy her time working in a sewing shop in Buenos Aires, Argentina due to the extreme work load and the poor working conditions. Still, she highlights the positive aspects of her experience: *"If I hadn't gone I would still only be a housewife like I was before… When one goes [abroad] sometimes one is able to fulfill one's dreams in a way that isn't possible here."*

Of all the migration stories told by the women, Nancy's is one of the most distressing. A 53 year-old mother of six children, Nancy left to Madrid, Spain in 2006 encouraged by one of her daughters who had already gone there years prior. According to Nancy, one of her first employers, a woman who hired Nancy as a caregiver for her mother, cheated Nancy out of a fair salary for almost an entire year. Nancy recalls how the employer, who was a lawyer, gave Nancy only enough for transportation costs now and then, about twenty Euros each time, and whenever Nancy threatened to leave, the woman would assure her that she would not only pay her soon, but would also draft the necessary paperwork to legalize Nancy's status in the country.

After a year of promises, Nancy finally left the woman. Although she pursued legal action against her employer with the help of a local non-government organization in Spain, she could not stay in the country long enough to see the trial through due to financial reasons. Once back in Cochabamba, Nancy

---

[24] Gabriela's interview was conducted at her home in District 7. She now works part time on her own decorating business and helps her husband part-time in his paint shop.
[25] Amanda was interviewed on March 14th, 2013 at her costume shop located in *Mercado Calatayud.* The interview with Amanda was arranged through her nephew, who responded to the message posted by the author on the social networking site Couchsurfing. Amanda is Gabriela's sister.

tells the story through tears in her eyes. Yet when asked she learned anything from the experience she replies affirmatively and explains:

> *"Sometimes life teaches… I now feel sure of myself because I worked. Before, my in-laws would say to me 'You don't know what it's like to earn a living, all you do is take and take.' I used to think I couldn't do much and that I was dependent on my husband… But now, I can fight for my rights, even from my husband."[26]*

Regarding Social Networks…

One observation that is often made regarding the way negative migratory experiences can adversely affect a woman's well-being is that women migrants are more likely to suffer from isolation due to the solitary nature of domestic and factory work (Wright & Ellis, 2000), where they may lack contact with peers while enduring constant monitoring and fearing of reprisal from employers (Ghosh, 2009).

Yet of the 30 women interviewed, 26 of them claimed to have met people and met friends during their time away. These 26 women held a wide-range of jobs and migrated to a variety of destinations. The four women that indicated not having made any friends during their time away, Lidia, Martha, Luz, and Otilia, all worked as either caretakers or domestic workers in Spain.

In some instances, social networks helped to connect the women to jobs, as was Gabriela's case. Other times, friends helped make the women's time abroad more bearable: *"I worked with people from many countries… They were so nice, when you needed helped, they helped you out,"* recalls Leticia[27], a 37 year-old mother of two who spent two and a half years caring for the elderly and working as a field hand in Spain.

The women most often described the people they befriended as other Latin immigrants, even while in Europe (Ecuadorians and Colombians were nationalities often mentioned by the women). Sometimes the women found other Bolivian migrants with whom to socialize, though interestingly, three of the women, Lucia, Diana, and Clara, mentioned that other Bolivian migrants were the least helpful during their time abroad: *"There was a lot of envy among Bolivians, they don't help you out, they rather sink you,"* explains Clara[28], 45, who spent twelve years in Argentina, from 1998 until 2011. *"I only spent time with Argentinians, Bolivians were not solidary,"* comments Lucia, 41, who also migrated to Buenos Aires.

---

[26] Nancy's interview was arranged through AMIBE and was conducted only two weeks after her return to Cochabamba from Madrid, Spain. The author spoke to Nancy at her home which is also where her daughter, with Nancy's financial help, established a snack/cafeteria business where Nancy has been helping out since her return.
[27] Leticia was interviewed at her work, a milk and cheese shop located in *Mercado Ingavi*, on March 27, 2013.
[28] Clara was interviewed on April 9, 2013 at her restaurant located in the center of the City. She was found through word-of-mouth.

It was sometimes the case, in instances where the women had suffered abuse at the hands of their partner before migrating, that once at their destination they used their newly established relationships with other women who had been in situations similar to theirs to form a support group where they learned that they could go to the authorities to report domestic violence. Elsa[29], 38, explains: "*[In Buenos Aires] I met friends who were also victims of violence; I learned that the authorities really do help women who are abused. This is how I learned that you should do something when you are hit."* Nancy learned a similar lesson during her time in Spain: *"Over there I learned that violence, no. One should separate… Now I say no. He shouldn't even dare."*

6.4. Empowerment & Return

This section will focus on what happened after the women's return to Cochabamba, regarding, more specifically, the effects of their return on their process of empowerment. The following three sub-sections are divided according to the three dimensions of empowerment relevant to this investigation: Economic, Social, and Political.

6.4.1. *"I bought my car, I built my home… I now live more relaxed"*: Migration, Return, & Economic Empowerment

Through the interview process, it was noted that the majority of women, 16 of the 30, indicated that migration did change their perception about who should be in charge of financial decision-making, stating that they now believed that both partners, the man and the woman, should have equal say in these matters (See Fig. 6.1). Some of the women, like Miriam, Carla, Sara, and Rita, indicated that what led to their change in viewpoint is the fact that they began earning their own money.

Aida was the only woman interviewed who explained that yes, migration had in fact changed her mind, but that she now believes that it should be the woman who is in charge of financial decision-making: *"Women are better administrators, everyone know that."* All but two of the remaining 14 women indicated that they had always believed that financial decision-making in the household should be equally divided between both partners. Teresa indicated that she always believed that women should be put in charge of financial decision-making, also because they are better financial administrators. Diana, a 32 year-old mother of one, said that she believed that whoever makes more money should decide what to do with it. She is currently separated from her partner and is the sole provider for her son.

---

[29] Elsa was interviewed at her work, a fabric store near *La Cancha,* on April 4, 2013. She was found through word-of-mouth while speaking to the saleswomen in *La Cancha.*

Fig. 6.1 – Women's answers regarding economic empowerment
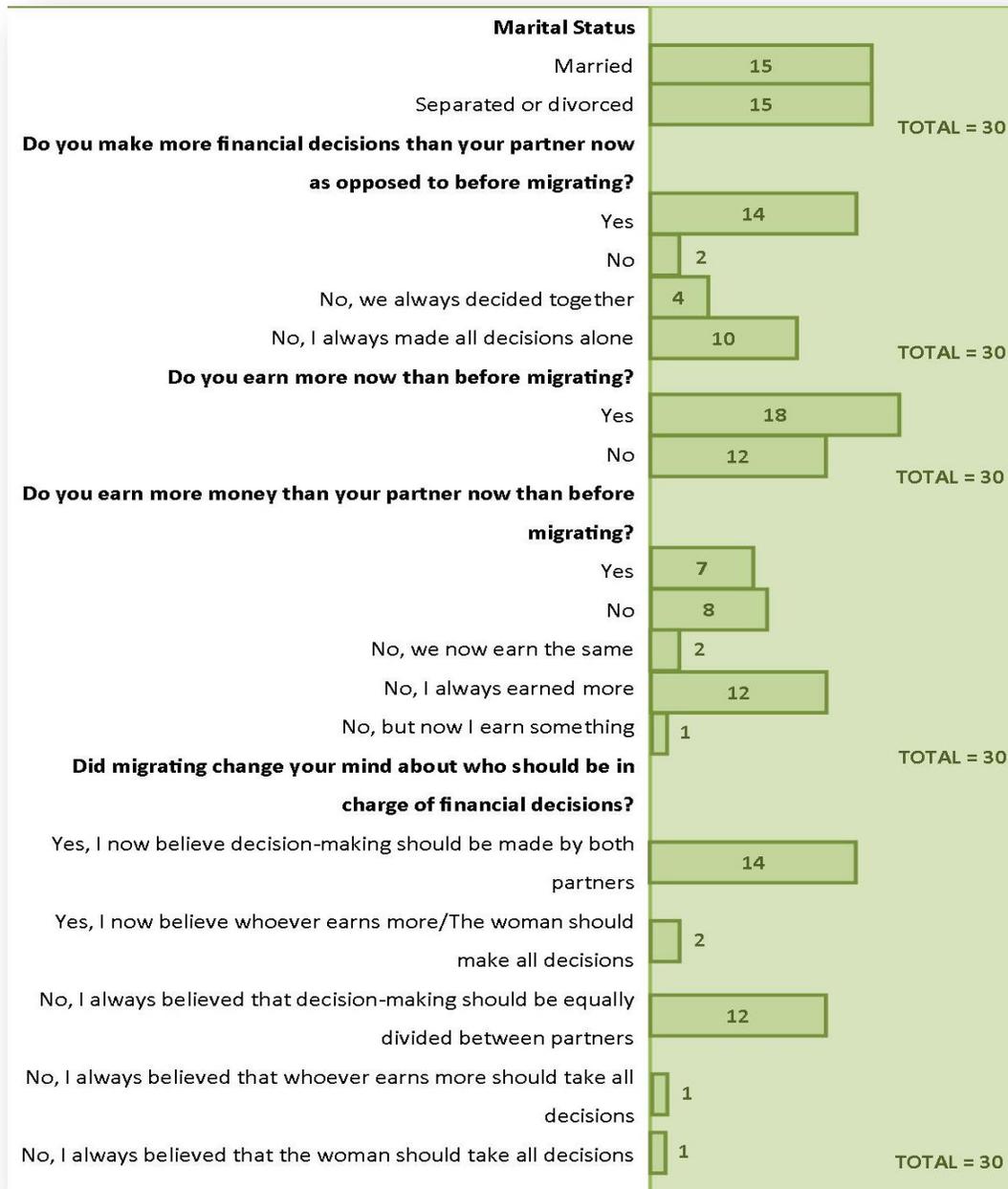
Source: Author's elaboration based on answers provided by the women interviewed during the qualitative portion of this investigation (2013)

When asked about their migration experiences, it became apparent that the group of women interviewed had, for the most part, very specific goals they hoped to accomplish during their time away. The desire to own a home, and in some cases a car, seems to have been a huge motivator for a

considerable number of the women. As such, the realization of this goal seemed to always be a source of pride for them as they saw it as more than just a physical structure, but as a haven and a safeguard for themselves and their children.

"I had an objective with which I always dream of: To own my home and to have a car," explains Leticia, *"… so when my sister called one day and said to me, 'Do you want to come [to Spain]? They need ladies here to care for the elderly and to clean.' I said 'Yes!'"* Leticia explains that her quick decision was the lead up of a number of factors: Debt and the inability of her husband to help out the family financially, among others. *"It was always the same excuse: 'They haven't paid me, I don't have money…' He used to travel a lot and who knows what he spend his money on… But I never asked him for money, I worked for it myself."* Leticia then embarked on a trip to Valencia, Spain in 2007 where she saved enough money to gain financial independence for her and her two children, after divorcing her husband. *"I bought my car, I built my home. I also put up my business and now I have a better income… I now live more relaxed."*

For Gabriela, who, along with her family occupied her mother-in-law's home, gaining financial independence was one of the primary factors that influenced her decision to leave: *"My mother-in-law used to help us financially but always reminded us of it: 'Thanks to me you have this, thanks to me you have a roof.'"* Because Gabriela's mother-in-law died while she was in Italy, Gabriela utilized her earnings to buy the house from her husband's siblings, although they were unwilling to sell at first: *"They would call my husband greedy, usurer… So he wanted to just renounce his part… I convinced him not to [and] we paid [all six siblings] for their parts."* Thought in this case it was not Gabriela's husband whom she had to confront, rather it was her husband's family, Gabriela still managed to exercise firm decision-making and, aided by the money she made in Italy, managed to secure a permanent home for herself and her family.

Jacinta had similar ambitions before migrating, also to Spain: *"I always thought about owning a home… To have my house and to live there with my children, either well or poorly. I've rented before but it's not the same. Everyone is always watching you…"* Jacinta, who had two children, borrowed money for the plane ticket from her husband's brother who was already in Spain. Once there, she worked several jobs during her stay, including as a nanny and a cleaning person for a family. Jacinta's time away was marred by problems with immigration authorities who she claims were abusive towards her; but in the end, she thinks the hardships were worth the money earned: *"The pay over there was good, more than here. Here we don't make much."* Although humble, she is proud of the bedroom where she now lives with her husband and her two now-teenage kids. Jacinta also put up a small neighborhood store in the second bedroom adjacent to the first. With the income from the store supplementing the money

her husband earns as a taxi driver, she claims that her family is doing better now than before: *"We didn't even have a home before… But now we have this."*

Entrepreneurship and Financial Decision-Making
AMIBE Director Hugo Bustillos highlights the entrepreneurial potential of female return migrants by explaining:

> *"…the mere fact that they have gone to another country for work gives them incredible social and economic capacity, especially given the fact that they tend to bring back their savings and… a new approach to business. It's a type of cultural remittance which should be developed. These women may have very well been vulnerable over there, but here in Bolivia they won't be vulnerable anymore."*

In agreement with Dr. Bustillos' statement, twenty out of the 30 women interviewed reported that, upon returning from their migratory experience, they opened up their own business. Two additional women did the same, but as a joint venture with their husbands.

The women's businesses ranged from a fruit stand in the local marketplace to restaurants and coffee shops, and even a hostel. Teresa[30], 50 years-old and the owner of a budget Hostel located in Cochabamba's District 10, reported that she was able to save a large amount of money during her time in Spain thanks to the booming economy that country experienced during the early 2000s. Teresa even managed to bring two of her kids to Spain, where she put them both through college, something that makes Teresa, who barely finished elementary school, extremely proud. Upon her return, she prepared to settle for good back in Cochabamba as she opened her hostel, where she gave one of her daughters a job and a room for her to live in.

But increases in income alone are not enough to demonstrate economic empowerment unless the women are also able to make income-related decisions. When asked whether their decision-making power over money matters in their home had increased after returning from abroad, 14 of the 30 interviewees said that it had, while 10 others indicated that they had always been the ones to decide over money matters, although of these 10 women, only one remained married. It is clear that in the majority of these cases the women were involved, prior to migrating, in strained relationships where abuse, either physical or verbal, was always present but financial assistance and emotional support were not.

---

[30]Teresa was interviewed at her hostel on April 12, 2013. She was found through word-of-mouth while speaking to the saleswomen in *La Cancha*.

Such was the case with Nora[31], 53, who was offered the opportunity to go to Germany to further develop her professional skills. Nora's then-husband was not happy with the fact that her wife may leave him and their two children for several months, nor was he supportive of the fact that she may, upon her return, end up making more money than him:

> *"The men in our country are so sexist…When a woman wants to get ahead they don't let her… He saw that I wanted to better myself and was very jealous of that. When I told him I wanted to go on this trip he didn't agree."*

Nora disregarded her husband's opposition and took the trip anyway, an experience of which she speaks very positively due to the amount of practical knowledge she learned and the people she met while there. Upon her return, her and her husband separated and she left with her two children: *"I make my own decisions, I work. I feel more relaxed. Now I feel very happy because I keep doing the things I've always wanted to do."*

6.4.2. *"What does a man know? He could burn the food"*: Migration, Return, & Social Empowerment

While many of the women's financial goals came to fruition thanks to their time abroad, it is also apparent that for many of them the fulfillment of these goals came at a price. As Gabriela explains, sacrifices were not only made by her when she took the decision to migrate, but by her husband and her two children as well: *"Each one of us sacrificed in our own way… Perhaps money can also bring problems…"*

The weeks after Gabriela returned to Cochabamba after working four years in Italy were particularly tough for the family: *[The children were always reminding me that I left, that I hadn't been here all that time and made me feel a little guilty for it… As if I had gone on a vacation… And it became a little tough for us to remain united."* Although Gabriela is one of the few women interviewed who reported always having had a strong and supportive relationship with her husband, she claims that the couple also went through a rough patch in the early days of her return:

---

[31]Nora was referred to the author by Susana, an interviewee contacted through the IDB/FIE database. Nora was interviewed at a café in Cochabamba City, where she spoke at length about the numerous business ventures she is currently involved in. One of the most highly educated interviewees, Nora holds a Master's degree in Chemical Engineering and her migration experience involved a short-term contract with a metallurgical company in Germany.

"He'd say 'We really suffered here,' and that would bother me. He was with the kids, with his family; he had someone to talk to and I was over there all by myself. Over there you have to swallow everything: Your joys, your sadness, your sorrow, everything."

Not unlike Gabriela, Jacinta now lives with her two children and claims her life is better than it was before migrating. But Jacinta recounts how, upon her return, she found both of her kids, whom she had left with her sister during her time in Spain, in a very bad situation, financially as well as emotionally. *"My sister told me that they were okay… I sent money every month for my kids but she hadn't even bought them any clothes,"* Jacinta recalls through tears. She explains that she had noticed during her time away that her kids were different in some way: *"I used to talk to them over the internet… but it wasn't the same… Now my son [who is twelve] acts a bit rebellious but I have to put up with it, what more can I do?"*

The high social cost of female migration has been debated through the argument that the gap left by mothers who choose to migrate is not immediately filled by fathers, as they are often unwilling to take on the central parenting roles, as they view it as demeaning and belonging to women (Asis et al., 2004 as cited in Hofmann & Buckley, 2011) (Belanger & Rahman, 2013) (Piper, 2005). This in turn leaves the children either in the hands of other female family members, typically the maternal grandmother (Roman, 2012) or to raise themselves and each other, often leading to higher school dropout rates and/or to suffer abuse at the hands of those who were left to care for them (Pedone, 2010). Upon return, many women come back to disintegrated households, the rupture of which is often blamed on the women for having left their families behind (Ghosh, 2009).

But, while keeping these arguments in mind, one must also consider that for many of these women, labor migration can be incredibly empowering in a social sense as they are able to not only increase their own autonomy, but also affect the lives of their children who may later be able to challenge patriarchal structures present within the household (Piper, 2005). Olivia Roman[32], sociologist and author of the book about female migration to Spain *Mientras no estamos* (*While we are not here*, 2009), explains that the experiences of leaving family behind, surviving in an often hostile and unfamiliar environment, and in some cases even facing discrimination, can in fact strengthen a woman's character,

---

[32] Olivia Roman is an associate investigator at *Ciudadania* (Citizenship), a private Bolivian not-for-profit organization dedicated to investigating issues aimed at improving the quality of life of marginalized Bolivians by helping them exercise their citizenship. Roman agreed to an interview with the author for the purposes of this study where she spoke of her experiences with migrants in Spain between November of 2007 and May of 2008 which are detailed at length in her book *Mientras No Estamos* (2009).

which is key in shaping the way they handle decision-making upon their return. "In the cases that I've seen where there was pre-existing conflict in the relationship, it is the woman who acquires more capability in decision-making, which is important," Roman explains. "Even in the cases in which the women go back to homemaking, they still preserve in some way, that autonomy… they retain a different vision of the world" (Personal Interview, Cochabamba City – Cochabamba, April 11, 2013).

In order to determine the extent to which labor migration increased the level of awareness that the women had regarding gender roles, the following questions were posed to the 30 interviewees:

- Do you think that having migrated changed your perception about who should be in charge of household obligations? (Men, women, or both)
- Do you think that having migrated changed your mind regarding the acceptability of violence in the household?

Eleven of the 30 women indicated that migration had changed their mind regarding who should be in charge of household obligations, as they now believed that these obligations should be equally divided between both partners. Fifteen women said that they always believed men should take part in household tasks such as caring for the children, washing clothes, and cooking. The remaining four women explained that it should always be the woman who is in charge of these duties because, as Aida explains, *"What does a man know? He could burn the food, or go drinking and the children could die."*

Regardless of what their views were on this subject, only 8 of the 30 women interviewed indicated that someone began helping them with household chores following their return. However, all of them pointed out that it was their elder children who started helping out around the house. Only one of the women, Susana, said that her husband continued to help her with household duties upon her return, as he had always done; but no other woman reported a partner helping them out with these tasks.

On the subject of the acceptability of violence in the household, 13 women stated that migration had changed their views on this topic; all 13 said that they now believed that any incidence of household violence should be reported to the authorities and/or be the cause for a separation (See Fig. 6.2). Patricia[33], a 42 year-old mother of two who spent six years in Italy working as a caregiver for the elderly explains that she no longer tolerates verbal abuse from her husband: *"I am more confident now since I had more freedom to do things over there [in Italy],"* Patricia explains, adding that should her husband ever turn violent against her she would not hesitate to leave him. The remaining 17 women all declared

---

[33] Patricia was interviewed at her work, a rug store near *La Cancha,* on April 10, 2013. She was found through word-of-mouth while speaking to the saleswomen in *La Cancha*

to have always believed violence of any sort to be completely unacceptable in a household, even though 10 of these women also admitted to have been victimized by their partner, either verbally or physically, at some point before migrating.

Fig. 6.2 – Women's answers regarding social empowerment and the acceptability of domestic violence
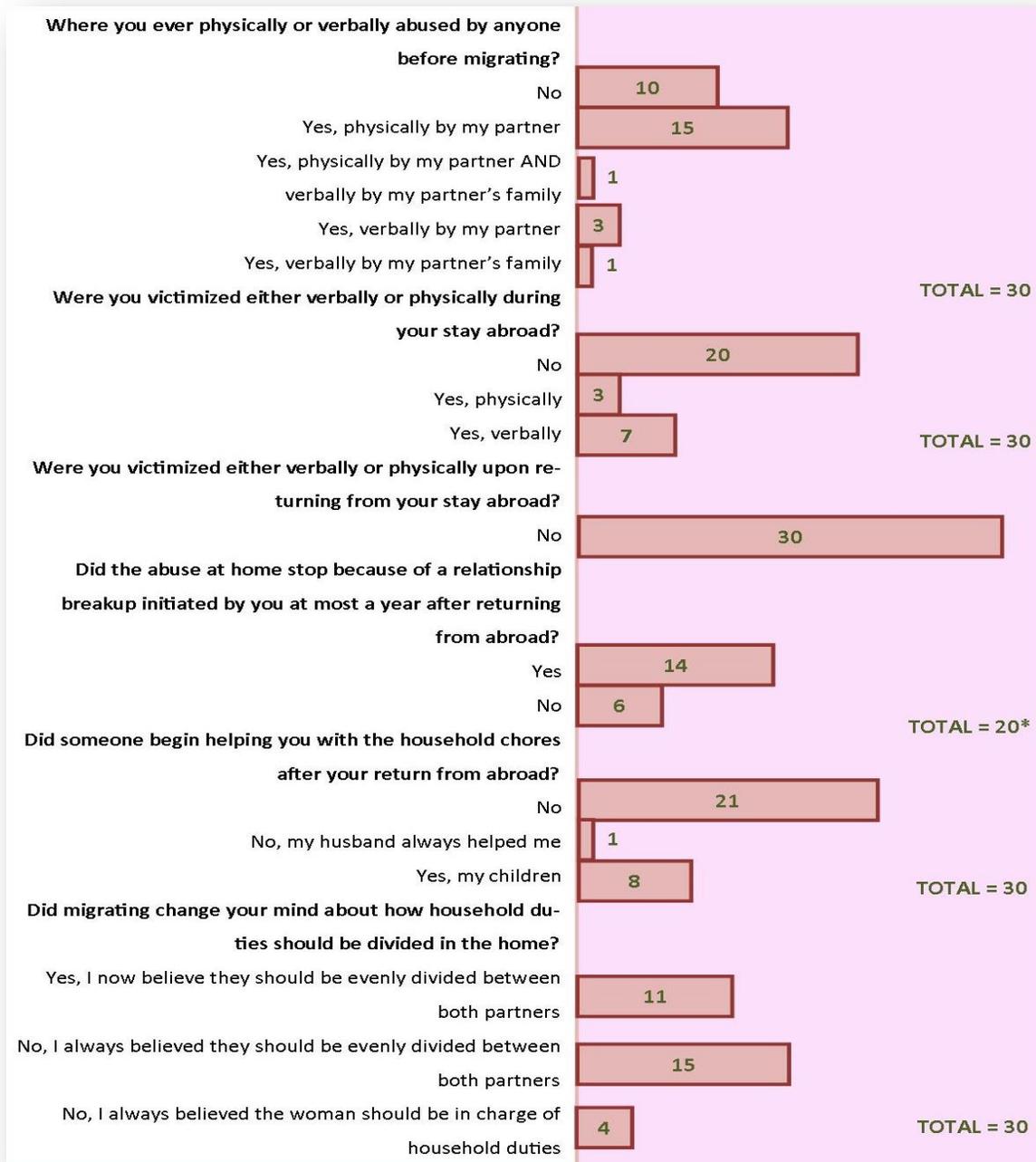
*Only women who reported abuse provided an answer to this question.

Source: Author's elaboration based on answers provided by the women interviewed during the qualitative portion of this investigation (2013)

Cessation of Domestic Violence

Concurrent with the stark statistics on the prevalence of female violence in Bolivia (See Sub-Section 3.1.4), 16 of the 30 women interviewed admitted to have been physically abused and 3 claimed to have been verbally abused regularly by their partner before embarking on their latest migratory experience. Two additional women, Clara and Gabriela, alleged having been abused by their partner's family in several occasions before their trip abroad. In all cases however, the women claimed to have put an end to the violence, whether verbal or physical, mostly by imposing a physical as well as an emotional distance from their abusive relationships by seeking a separation or a divorce. Clara, for example, bought a new home, moving out of the house her and her husband shared with his family, thus improving the quality of her and her family's home life.

All but five of the 19 women that reported either physical or verbal abuse separated or divorced from their partners either during their time away or less than a year after returning to Cochabamba. Of the five women who reported verbal or physical abuse but remained married after returning to Cochabamba, only two said that the abuse had been physical and both of them claimed to have distanced themselves from their partners upon their return, so much that they no longer considered themselves married to them, even if the men refused to grant them a divorce.

In one such case, Amanda's, she claimed to have told her husband several times to move out, which he refused to do because the house used to belong to his mother. Although Amanda borrowed money from the bank upon her return from Argentina to pay off her husband's brothers and keep the home, her husband's persistence kept him in her life. According to Amanda, she now only takes her two children's opinions into consideration when making important decisions, ignoring her husband's input. Amanda calls herself "foolish" for having tolerated physical violence from her husband in the past and claims that it is the woman's responsibility to put a stop to violence in the home: *"Sometimes it is the woman's fault for not putting a stop to it. I feel guilty for having let him behave like that…"*

Given that many women's migration had the underlying purpose of escaping violent relationships, it is important to note how many of the women learned of their legal options as well as of what should and should not be acceptable behavior from a man during their time away (See Elsa, Nancy, and Aida's stories as additional examples). The knowledge gained while away helped reshape the way the women interacted with their partners upon their return, at times helping them alter the relationship dynamic, but most often giving them the courage to terminate the relationship altogether.

The Continued Burden of Household Work

Fifteen of the 30 women interviewed indicated that they always believed household duties should be equally divided between both partners, while only 11 out of the 30 women said that migration led them to this realization. This calls attention to the chasm that exists between the women's expectations and their reality.

The fact that many of the women did not have the help of a man before migrating abroad, something which at least in part triggered their decision to leave in the first place, seems to be the reason why migrating did not change the minds of many of the return migrants interviewed. For example, Otilia justifies the reasoning behind her decision to migrate thus:

> *"Had I stayed, I don't know if my situation would've gotten any better, there isn't much you can do alone. You're mother and father and everything comes out of your own pocket. Between two people it would be 'You save for this, I'll save for that,' but alone, how can you save money? You can't."*

Moreover, Otilia's next statement sheds light on an important issue that underlies the acceptability of violence in the household: *"Maybe I'm wrong but some people think that you have to put up with your partner. I say, why? Maybe if you live from his work, but if you don't live from his work and you are dependent on yourself?"* This simple statement highlights the difficulty of the choice that sometimes faces women who choose to separate from, or report their abusive partner to the authorities, and are thus left in a position where the responsibility for both the household and the income are left resting in their hands. One might further reason that many women that find themselves in a place where they are faced with the difficulty of leaving their partner, and financial provider, due to abuse, knowing that they very well be left unable to manage the task of being a good mother and a provider.

Cases like Amanda's, where she took over the role of breadwinner and head of household in order to minimize her husband's control over her life, demonstrate the taxing repercussions of this decision: *"With the household chores, the children, all of that, I practically have no time left. But that's my life and I think I'm used to it."* Here, Amanda also holds the idealized view of the perfect dynamic between partners: *"[Partners] should be equals, no? I've never been an envious person…but I'd get upset when I'd see a kid being taken to school by his dad and his mom."* She does add, however, that since her return from Argentina, Amanda has constantly tried to make changes in order to fulfill this vision, although not always successfully: *"I now force my husband to do some things… For example cook dinner. He doesn't always want to, but he does have to eat, doesn't he? (Laughs)."*

On Education and New Knowledge Acquired…

Education has been emphasized as one of the factors that can best measure the status of women in a society (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003) (Roberts & Kulkarni, 2011) while greatly influencing their level of empowerment within it. This report has covered the education levels of the female return migrants, both internal and international, that are part of this study (See Sections 5.2.3 and 6.1). What is of concern here is whether the women gained any useful skills abroad or since returning that might help them increase their income and/or gain awareness of their current situation Also important is how the women's views on female education changed, if at all, post-migration.

Of the 30 women interviewed, 18 reported having learned a skill or gained knowledge during their stay abroad that they find useful to their current occupation. Forty-one year-old Lucia[34] for example, traveled to Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2008, hoping that her technical title as an informatics' specialist would help her find a better paying job than in Cochabamba. Instead, she learned a new trade when she was hired to fix printers. Once back in Bolivia and in the company of the two children she left behind for almost five years, Lucia and her husband utilized her new skills to open up a print shop near *La Cancha*, where she reports earnings of 434 US Dollars per month, almost three times Bolivia's minimum wage. Nine of the 30 women also reported having learned a new language while away, although three of them said this language was Catalan, a language which is unlikely to help increase their profitability in Cochabamba. Other languages learned were Italian and Portuguese.

Some of the women interviewed, like Amanda, expressed a desire to go back to school, but recognized that it would be a difficult goal to accomplish given her daily work-schedule: *"I wish I could go back to school… I would like to study informatics. But time? I sew all my own costumes [for the shop]."* Most women, like Leticia, did, however, recognize the importance of female education: *I think all women should get an education, but not just a basic education. I have many [female] friends who did not get an education due to their dad's or their husband's machismo…"*

And although Amanda believes it may be too late for her, she hopes to raise her daughter differently: *"My mother did not teach us, I wasn't educated that way… But there's a big difference between my daughter and I… And that's the way it should be."* Otilia also has high hopes for her younger daughters, to give them a life different than the one she had to lead:

> *"Before, parents did not want the girls to study; they would only send the boys to school… That's why I decided to leave [to Spain]… I sent [my kids] everything [I earned] while I was over there so that they could go to school. Now they've already graduated high school."*

---

[34] Lucia was interviewed on April 16, 2013 at her work, a printer store located near *La Cancha.*

It is critical that many of the women were aware of the importance of imparting an education on their children, especially their daughters, so that they may hopefully transform the system, breaking with the cycle of oppression they had to experience. Some women did not even wait until their return to start assuming responsibility for their children's futures, but they sent for them while still abroad. Teresa's example was already cited, as she brought two of her seven children to Barcelona, Spain, where she put them both through college. Another example is Clara, who was also able to bring her two kids to live with her in Buenos Aires. Although Clara says to miss them now, she still expresses pride about the fact that both of her kids attended a university: *"It's very special to me since neither my husband nor I managed to go to college."*

6.4.3. *"I now see politics in a different light "*: Migration, Return, & Political Empowerment

Of the three aspects included in this investigation, the political empowerment of women is the one that may best lead to large-scale change when it comes to closing gender gaps and creating a more equitable society by giving women a voice and increasing their participatory power in local politics. Though some of the women interviewed for the qualitative portion did show significant insight into local politics insofar as they were able to recognize the wider socioeconomic problems affecting Bolivia today, this study did not yield any conclusive evidence that women's political awareness is increased through a migratory experience.

Only five of the 30 women interviewed describe themselves as "politically active" either before or after their migration experience. Of these, only 4 women became politically active after returning to Cochabamba. One of the reasons why this may be is that in Bolivia, cultural constructs still consider women's role to be complimentary to that of men (Hippert, 2007)(See Sub-section 3.1.4 and the concept of *Chachawarmi).* As related to politics, this means that, while men have dominion over the public sphere, women's participation is expected to be limited to women's groups such as mother's clubs and education boards. Additionally, and as it has been noted in prior studies (Rozario & Gow, 2003) and as was the case with the more educated return migrants such as Susana and Leticia, the aspirations of highly skilled women often clash with the established notions of gender they encounter upon return, which then leads to disillusionment with the inability to overcome these structures.

Susana, a 51 year-old mother of two, holds a master's degree in business informatics and currently participates in a women's organization that helps women returnees readjust to life back in Bolivia. Susana spent some time in working in Germany where her exposure to a political system different than Bolivia's seemed to have largely discouraged her from extending her participation beyond the organizational level. *"[When you are abroad] you see how things should work and here it doesn't work*

that way," explains Susana, *"Things here work because of money or because of influence. That is our reality."* Although Susana knows that her background of having worked abroad and her knowledge of international politics could qualify her for a place in the political sphere she asserts that her active involvement in politics would be an unlikely move for her: *"I now see politics in a different light… I've seen the ugly side of politics when I came back so I wouldn't get involved now."*

Similarly, Leticia, who upon her return from Spain came to be president of the association of shopkeepers in market Ingavi where her cheese shop is located, claims that this experience left a sour taste: *"I think rules are to be followed…but sadly our people, the Bolivian people, we love to infringe on the rules at our convenience and I don't like that."* Leticia quit her post only a year into her term and says she would not do it again: *"I held that seat for one year and that's it. I said no more. No more politics."*

7. Discussion of Findings & Conclusions

Consistent with the assumption made in Section 4.2 regarding the state of awareness of urban and semi-rural area residents of the existence of alternatives, all of the women interviewed for the qualitative part of this investigation demonstrated to have been, at least, at the first stage of the personal level in the social and economic empowerment process, given that they were aware of the fact that their situation was unsatisfactory and were attentive to potential alternatives to achieve change in their lives. This is exemplified not only by the fact that many of them justified their departure by describing the inadequacy of their financial situation pre-migration, but also by the fact that half of the women interviewed envisioned the perfect household as one where tasks typically assigned to women, such as caring for the children, cooking, and cleaning, would be equally divided between both partners. Similarly, 17 women declared to have always been aware of the destructiveness of household violence, even as 11 of these women admitted to have been victimized, either verbally or physically, by their partner or his family before migrating.

But even as most of the women's power remained rather muted during the pre-migration stage, most of them seemed to have focused on the inadequacy of their economic situation when searching for viable alternatives. From the interviews and from the quantitative data analysis, it is apparent that the majority of them became aware of migration as a possible option when they interacted with friends and family members who had previously ventured abroad. In many cases, these friends and relatives encouraged the women to migrate, sometimes even going as far as providing financial support for the journey. Once they made the decision to leave, most women reached the second stage within the first level of personal empowerment, as they not only perceived viable options to their current situation, but also exercised their ability to choose migration as a way to transform their present situation.

Regarding political empowerment, one can argue that pre-migration, the women already achieved the second stage of the second level of political empowerment given that voting in every election is mandatory for every Bolivian citizen. Through the interview process, however, it became apparent that many of the women never did have any inclination to understand or become involved in politics. Thus, it can be inferred that the "choice" they made when voting was mostly meaningless given that they may have largely failed to distinguish between the set of choices given. For this reason, the pre-migration political empowerment of most of the women interviewed was determined to have been non-existent. (See Fig. 7.1).

Fig. 7.1 – Women's empowerment process in the context of the present investigation

EMPOWERMENT PROCESS

LEVELS

A. Individual Level

B. Relationships

C. Social Level

STAGES

1. Awareness of Situation and of Alternatives

2. Ability to choose

3. Voice/Agency

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS & PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURES

DISCRIMINATION ISOLATION EXPLOITATION ABUSE

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS & PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURES

PRE-MIGRATION

- Pre-existence of Level A, Stage 1 through awareness of actual economic and social condition and awareness of options.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION

- Achievement of Level A, Stage 2 through the act of choosing to migrate
- Achievement of Level B, Stage 2 through the ability to provide for the family
- Achievement of Level B, Stage 3 if the remittances go towards establishing a new enterprise while the woman is still abroad or if the woman brings children with her.

HIGHER INCOME SEPARATION-INDUCED FREEDOM

RETURN TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

- Achievement of B Level, Stage 3 through heightened economic power and/or social empowerment regarding strategic life choices
- Achievement of C Level Stage 3 through an increase in economic power through the establishment of an enterprise Achievement of C Level, Stage 2 (for only a few) through heightened awareness of political matters/issues

Achievement of C Level Stage 3 is not successfully attained

FAMILIARITY WITH LABOR MARKET NEW SKILLS INCREASED SELF-CONFIDENCE SAVINGS

Source: Author's elaboration, 2013

Charmes & Wieringa (2003) pointed out that the choices women make may not always lead to an immediate decrease in their subordination. This was the case for some of the women who, upon arrival to their international destination, continued to experience abuse, either verbal, in the form of discrimination, or physical. Some described their labor situation as exploitative, and one, Nancy, was even scammed out of a year's salary. Others, like Jacinta, were harassed by the authorities due to the illegality of their status. Yet despite all of this, the women were able to move onto the second stage of the second level in economic empowerment process, given that many became financially responsible for their household, while others began to earn an income for the first time in their lives.

Thought for the most part, the women's social empowerment process is hindered while they are kept powerless in an environment foreign to them, it is during their stay abroad that many of the women, aided by the physical distance from their partners, began to recognize their dissatisfaction with their relationships. Many met and turned to other women like them for support at their destinations, all the while becoming aware of the fact that they may in fact be able to change their situation at home, either through separation or by becoming more self-assured in their interactions with the men.

A great number of them also learned that violence is not something one should put up with, thus equipping themselves with the potential to instill in their children a perception different from the culturally held belief that "real men hit their women." Some women even reached the second level of empowerment during their time abroad as they made strategic life choices regarding their children. An example of this are the women who had their children join them at their destination, where they were able to take direct charge of the kids' lives and education.

For many of the women, stage three within the first and second levels of economic and social empowerment was not attained until their return to Cochabamba. It was observed through both the interviews and the quantitative data that, upon return, many of the women started earning more than they did before migrating, while others exchanged their previous status as homemakers for remunerative employment. It is during this process that most of the women acquired agency, as they began "acting on their own behalf" through the construction of "something new," (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003, p. 426). This was certainly the case for the nineteen women interviewed who started a business upon their return.

In this sense, migration seems to have had the most positive effect on their economic power of the women that took part in both the quantitative and qualitative portion of this investigation. Their return to Bolivia promoted, rather than hindered, the process of economic empowerment as they were able to apply their skills in an environment more familiar to them and where they felt more comfortable investing in new ideas and undertaking new ventures. Additionally, as higher income or a new business can translate directly to an improved economic standing, it is also during this time that the social status of the women may have also began to improve.

It is necessary to point out here, however, that the majority of interviewees did not increase their autonomy relating to financial matters by creating a more equitable environment in their households, but by breaking up with or divorcing their partners in order to put a stop to the violence and the control. The results of this investigation reinforced the belief that women pay a higher social price than men for migrating alone (Ghosh, 2009), for many were faced with the disintegration of their personal

relationships upon return. In this sense, the assumptions posed in the initial hypothesis were correct given that half of the women interviewed either divorced or separated during their time away or shortly after their return.

But for many of these women, the act of separation ratified their position as primary breadwinners and heads of the household. It is during this period that the women's social empowerment advanced to the third stage of the second level of the process, as they were able to make strategic decisions about their lives and the lives of their children. Even as many of the women who chose separation were left to bear the social and financial burden of the household alone, many of them felt that this situation was better than the previous, as they said to feel more "at peace" now than before migrating. The reason is that before migrating, they had to not only put up with a violent and unhelpful partner, but also with the uncertainty of whether he would provide for the family or not as they still felt dependent on him.

One area where the women's empowerment was not perceived to have been affected by either migration or return was the political area. One conclusion as to why this may be is that the patriarchal structures in place in Bolivia make it difficult, even for women with the leadership traits and/or education necessary to be successful in politics, to be incentivized to enter this sphere. Although a few of the women interviewed did show remarkable insight and awareness of the structural challenges facing women (i.e.-*"I don't think these [gender] differences should exist. [Salaries should be based] on education and skill levels… If we had people that were really prepared to do their job then our country could really grow."* – Leticia), most of them were quick to point out the need to prioritize their families and, more specifically, their children: *"I know that through politics one can do so much to better the future, but while the 'monster' is so big, no. Here I have my children and I will dedicate myself to them"* (Susana).

It seems that the load placed on Bolivian and *Cochabambina* women as the pillars of the home and primary caregivers to the children creates an already-strenuous balancing act for women, especially for those that are also left with the responsibility of providing for their children financially. Adding political activism to this mix is apparently an unconceivable burden with little or no imminent reward. Kabeer (2005) and Charmes & Wieringa (2003) have addressed the need for wider policy changes and/or private sector intervention that may allow a wider number of women to participate as relevant actors at the collective level. Likewise in this case, structural constraints bear tighter on women who take on a number of responsibilities; yet men are rarely, if ever, challenged to act as equal partners to women. These factors greatly encumber the female empowerment process on a wider level, leaving the majority

of women barred from ever reaching the third stage in the third level of empowerment: The attainment of agency at a collective level.

Readjustment Challenges

Concerning the specific challenges that migrant women face upon returning to Bolivia in order to achieve what they consider to be a successful readjustment, two particular issues stand out. The first deals with the unfavorable economic situation in Bolivia, the primary factor that leads to emigration. Several of the women interviewed spoke of the difficulty in adjusting to the much lower income levels in Cochabamba. Even as many of the women's earnings increased upon their return, many highlighted the difficulties in readapting to the economic reality once back in Bolivia.

What makes this challenge significant is that many women said that they would be willing to re-migrate to the same destination, even when they complained of about the abuse, exploitation, and discrimination they faced during their time away. In fact, during the interview phase of the investigation, many former female migrants referred to the author for interviews by various sources turned out to be no longer available as they had already re-migrated to the same, or to another international destination.

As this investigation's conclusions have revealed that, for the most part, the women's social empowerment process was mostly halted by the adverse conditions they faced during their time away, it is remarkable that, for most of the women, the economic rewards outweigh the emotional price they paid by being away from their children and family members. This fact points to a severe deficit in the Bolivian system that leads working age women to foreign environments where they often have to put up with adversity in order to earn proper remuneration. Were the case that women found proper remuneration and household stability in Cochabamba, or anywhere in Bolivia for that matter, it is possible that the social empowerment process would have a likelier chance to increase alongside the economic empowerment the women may experience as their earnings rise.

The second challenge relates to the way motherhood continues to frame the identities of the majority of Bolivian women (Bastia, 2012), as respondents in both the qualitative and quantitative portions said that the number one reason for returning was their children or their family. Several painted their migration as a sacrifice and as a "last resort" measure taken in response to a "desperate" situation. Others said that they would not recommend women like them migrate unless they had no other choice.

This focus on children and family echoes earlier findings from similar studies (Bastia & Busse, 2011) (Hoffman & Buckley, 2011) where women emphasized their need for having left and the pain they experienced while they were away from their children. Many of the women interviewed in the qualitative portion described a period of readjustment where they had to deal with the defiance and at

times resentment from the children and even the partner. As a direct reflection of the prevalence of structures that dictate that a man is incapable of caring for children and of taking on household duties, the rebelliousness of the children and the disruption of the household are blamed on the mother's absence. The women then, must not only find a way to stabilize the household upon return, but also deal with the judgment of acquaintances and family members while also grappling with the remorse she may feel for having left.

The Appeal of Autonomy in Decision-Making

Regarding the extent to which an increase in decision-making power over economic, social and political matters is desirable to women who have returned from an international labor experience, it became clear during the interview process that most women view an increase in decision making power as something positive, especially if it means living a life free from physical and/or verbal abuse from family members. This fact became clear from the way that many women idealized a household or a society where men and women carried equal shares of responsibility over financial matters, children, and household duties. Many of these women attributed the better quality of their current home life to the knowledge learned and the experiences lived abroad, asserting that for many, even testing times were offset by a sense of accomplishment and self-confidence upon return.

It was evident that many of the interviewees experienced a sense of freedom, be it physical, emotional, or economic, for the first time in their lives during their time away. Though thirteen of the thirty women interviewed said they would like to migrate again, five additional women said they would were it not for their age or the current economic crisis abroad. Fourteen of the thirty women recommended migration to other women like them: *"You have to venture out. There are always opportunities and you only live once"* (Aida).

7.1 Policy Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of this investigation, on the talks with experts, and on the interviews with female return migrants, a few measures could be implemented by either public or private channels in order to facilitate both the women's stay abroad and their process of re-adaptation upon return.

Support Groups

Dr. Bustillos from AMIBE explained, *"…in the case of the return migrants… they have to assimilate their reality [which] makes social and familial re-adaptation much easier and [gives them] a better sense to undertake a business"* (Personal interview, Tiquipaya – Cochabamba, March 8, 2013). It was apparent from the interviews conducted that informal support groups assembled abroad played an important

part in disseminating information and encouragement among groups of migrant, or future migrant women. In this regard, support groups where female return migrants can meet other women in the same situation may be useful in helping them readapt to life in Bolivia as they could not only provide emotional support for the women, but also help connect return migrants with jobs suited to their skills and knowledge.

Additionally, these groups could also help guide women who are planning to undertake international labor migration so that they may arrive at their destinations armed with better information and/or better quality social networks. Finally, it is also through these types of support groups that women could channel their political aptitudes in a place where they feel safe to air their opinions and to come up with solutions collectively. This is a step which may then lead to greater advancements in the women's process of political empowerment as it may prepare them to take on higher level politics that effect change in a broader scope.

Public Policies/Programs in Support of Single-Parent Households

As discussed in previous sections, the decision that many women make of leaving their partners due to abuse comes at the cost of the women assuming both the role of breadwinner and of primary caretaker in the household. The knowledge of this fact leaves many other women with little choice but to put up with an abusive partner in fear that they may not be capable to adequately provide for their children while still caring for them and taking care of the household duties. For this reason, a policy that provides economic and/or material support for single parents would go a long way in relieving some of the stress felt by women who feel that they cannot do everything themselves. This support can come in the form of free or subsidized daycare and after school programs where children can spend time while their mothers are at work. This could simultaneously reduce the vulnerability of children while single parents potentially increase the household income without having to deal with additional stress.

Public Policies to Protect the Rights of Migrants Abroad

On May 8th, 2013, the Bolivian government enacted the first law dealing specifically with the topic of migration, Law 370. The proposed aim of this law is to guarantee the rights of Bolivian migrants abroad. More importantly, this law also takes into consideration the movement of women, as it incorporates measures specifically designed to prevent harassment, and sexual and physical violence towards women (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2013b). But even as this new law has signaled significant change towards identifying and resolving the issues that migrants, and especially women, face abroad, its focus lacks several important and necessary implementations like a budget for training programs in consulates

and embassies for personnel assigned to deal with violence and harassment complaints (Coordinadora de la Mujer, 2013).

Proper and effective migration policy would pay especial attention to setting up guidelines and procedures on how to efficiently handle claims from victims of abuse, especially when the residency status of the victim is not regular. A wide dissemination of the ways in which consular services can aid migrants abroad is also necessary so that migrants can be fully informed of their rights. This is vital in eliminating abusive conduct towards and exploitation of irregular immigrants that are not aware of the existence of options.

Programs Encouraging Entrepreneurship

It is clear from the data gathered through this investigation that there exists an enormous entrepreneurial potential among the female return migrant population. One way in which this potential could be harnessed is through government-sponsored programs that can help women in two ways: One, by helping them reestablish their lives back in Bolivia while accepting their new reality here (as it may involve dealing with rebellious children and/or the breakup of a relationship); two, helping the women achieve their goals in Bolivia through financial help and/or training programs in which they can participate with other women.

Some examples of programs sponsored by private entities and aimed at returned migrants, although not at women specifically, are those offered by AMIBE such as the 2010 *Retorno voluntario productivo Bolivia-España* (Productive Voluntary Return) and the 2011 *Retorno voluntario productivo-FR.* Another example is the IDB/FIE Migratory Model for Voluntary Return project that had two rounds, in 2010 and in 2011. If similar programs were publicly funded by the local government, rather than privately funded or dependent on public funding from receiving countries, they could potentially reach more people, while giving a second chance to those who were driven away by local economic and social inequities.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Although there are quite a few studies done in Bolivia on both the impact of female migration and on the impact of return migration, these two topics have yet to be combined in an adequately comprehensive study. Due to time and logistical constraints, this investigation was confined to an area of research that was much too narrow to properly encompass the wide array of movements that return female migrants carry out once back in Bolivia. Additionally, the number of interviewees was too small to produce broader conclusions applicable beyond the scope of this investigation.

To get a better sense of the effects of labor migration and return on the empowerment of female migrants, a large-scale longitudinal study is necessary. Ideally, the methodological design of a study of this kind would be similar to that used by this investigation, but would employ a survey that utilizes a multistage cluster sampling technique (similar to that used by the CEPLAG in the 2009 "CEPLAG – UMSS – CIUF Survey on National and International Migration Processes in the City of Cochabamba" - See Sub-Section 4.6.4) to gather data that would focus only on the perceptions of migrant and non-migrant women on increased decision-making in the household. Given the substantial quantity of information gathered for this investigation through the use of qualitative interviews, the ideal study would also incorporate this aspect into its methodology, although interviews with non-migrant women and perhaps even some men should also be considered in order to broaden the understanding of the various ways migration is perceived by the Bolivian population in general.

References

ACOBE. (2007). *Situación general de los Bolivianos en España.* Retrieved June 2, 2013 from *Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España:* http://acobe.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=163:estudios-en-espana&catid=21:fp-roknewspager&Itemid=101

Alcócer, G. (2010, October 18). La Cancha, un desorden del que fluye cultura e historia. Retrieved July 23, 2013 from *Los Tiempos*: http://www.lostiempos.com/diario/actualidad/local/20101018/la-cancha-un-desorden-del-que-fluye-cultura-e_94712_182923.html

AMDECO. (2013, March). Lista de los alcaldes y presidentes de consejos de los 47 municipios de Cochabamba. Retrieved July 20, 2013 from *Asociación de Municipios de Cochabamba*: http://www.amdeco.org.bo/internas/municipios.html

Anderson, S. & Eswaran, M. (2007). What determines female autonomy? Evidence from Bangladesh. *Journal of Development Economics*, 90 (2), 179–191.

Aramayo, Y. A. & Valdivieso, L. I. (2010). Migración y perspectivas de retorno. *Proyecto Migración transnacional, inserción laboral y ciudadanía*: *El caso de Cochabamba (1985–2010)*. Cochabamba: UMSS.

Bastia, T. & Busse. (2011). Transnational migration and changing gender relations in Peruvian and Bolivian cities. *Diversities.* 13(1), 19-33.

Bastia, T. (2012). 'I am going, with or without you': Autonomy in Bolivian transnational migrations. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. 1-18.

Bastia, T. (2007). From mining to garment workshops: Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(4), 655-669.

Bastia, T. (2011). 'Should I stay or should I go?' Return migration in times of crisis. *Journal of International Development*. 583-595.

Bélanger, D. & Rahman, M. (2013). Migrating against all the odds: International labour migration of Bangladeshi women. *Current Sociology.* 61(3), 356-373.

Bueno, L. (1996). Experiences of return migration: The life stories of five women. In R. B. Potter, D. Conway, & J. Phillips, *Caribbean circuits: New directions in the study of Caribbean migration.* 13(4), 61-90).

Burman, A. (2011). Chachawarmi: Silence and rival voices on decolonisation and gender politics in Andean Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 43(1), 65-91.

Cartagena-Torrico, J. (2012, August 6). Bolivian women are breaking down barriers to seek political power. Retrieved November 23, 2012 from *Guardian Development Network*: http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/aug/06/bolivian-women-barriers-political-power

Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorizing return migration: The conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 6(2), 253-279.

CEPLAG. (2012). *Nuevas dinámicas de la migración Cochabambina: Trayectorias, reconfiguraciones familiares y transnacionalismo*. Cochabamba: Centro de Planificación y Gestión.

Charmes, J. & Wieringa, S. (2003). Measuring women's empowerment: An assessment of the Gender-related Development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure. *Journal of human development and capabilities: A multi-disciplinary journal for people-centered development*. 4(3), 419-435.

Connelly, R., Roberts, K. & Zhenzhen, Z. (2010). The Impact of Circular Migration on the Position of Married Women in Rural China. *Feminist Economics*. 4(3), 3-41.

Coordinadora de la Mujer. (2011a). Datos feminización de la migración. Retrieved January 8, 2013, from *Coordinadora de la Mujer*: http://www.coordinadoradelamujer.org.bo/observatorio/index.php/generalsim/principal/boton/5/sub/19/tem/5

Coordinadora de la Mujer. (2011b). *Paso a paso. Asi lo hicimos: Avances y desafíos en la participación política de las mujeres.* La Paz: IDEA.

Coordinadora de la Mujer. (2013). Ley No 370 del 08 de Mayo de 2013. Ley de Migración. Retrieved July 25, 2013 from *Coordinadora de la Mujer*: http://www.coordinadoradelamujer.org.bo/observatorio/index.php/marco/mostrar/boton/5/sub/17/id/248/idps/97/tem/5

Contreras, M. E. & Talavera, M. L. (2003). *The Bolivian education reform 1992-2002: Case studies in large-scale education reform.* Country studies. Education reform and management publication series. 2(2). Chang, G. (2000). *Disposable domestics: Immigrant women workers in the global economy.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

CPE. (2009). *Constitucion Politica del Estado.* Bolivia.

Dannecker, P. (2009). Migrant visions of development: A gendered approach. *Population, Space & Place.* 119-132.

De la Torre, L. (2009). Migración transnacional y desarrollo local posible. Estado del arte sobre migración y desarrollo en Bolivia. *2009 Congress of Latin American Studies Association.* Cochabamba: Universidad Católica Boliviana.

De Mesa, J., Gisbert, T. & Mesa, C. D. (2003) *Historia de Bolivia* (5th ed.). La Paz: Editorial Gisbert.

Desai, V. & Potter, R. B. (2008). *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Education.

Durand, J. & Massey, D. S. (2010). New world orders: Continuities and changes in Latin American migration. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 630(20), 20-52.

Dustmann, C. & Kirchkamp, O. (2002). The optimal migration duration and activity choice after re-emigration. *Journal of Development Economics*. 67(2), 351-372.

Dustmann C. & Weiss, Y. (2007). Return migration: Theory and empirical evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations.* (45)2, 236-256.

El Diario. (2013, January 5). INE reporta que desempleo afecta más a jóvenes y adultos mayores. Retrieved May 30, 2013 from *El Diario*: http://www.eldiario.net/noticias/2013/2013_01/nt130105/sociedad.php?n=35&-ine-reporta-que-desempleo-afecta-mas-a-jovenes-y-adultos-mayores

Ellis, M., Conway, D. & Bailey, A. J. (1996). The circular migration of Puerto Rican women: Towards a gendered explanation. *International Migration*, 34 (1), 31-64.

El Sol. (2012, February 8). Al menos 60 bolivianos retornan cada semana de España. Retrieved January 15, 2013, from *El Sol*: http://www.elsol.com.bo/index.php?c=&articulo=Al-menos-60-bolivianos-retornan-cada-semana-de-Espana&cat=148&pla=3&id_articulo=29906

Espinoza, M. (2011, July 22). La "relocalización" minera. Retrieved July 3, 2013 from *La Patria*: http://www.lapatriaenlinea.com/?nota=76115

Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia (2013a, March 9). Ley integral para garantizar a las mujeres una vida libre de violencia. Ley 348. *Bolivia.*

Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia (2013b, May 8). Ley de migración. Ley 370. *Bolivia.*

Farah, I. H. & Sanchez, G. (2002). Bolivia: An assessment of the international labour migration situation: The case of female labour migrants. *International Labour Organization*. GENPROM Working Paper No. 1.

Freitag, V. (2013, March 8). Bolivia's women hope for an end to the violence. Retrieved April 14, 2013 from *DW*: http://www.dw.de/bolivias-women-hope-for-an-end-to-the-violence/a-16645065

Gascoigne, B. (2013). History of Bolivia. Retrieved January 9, 2013, from *History World*: http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/plaintexthistories.asp?historyid=ac11

Gaye, A. & Jha, S. (2011). Measuring women's empowerment through migration. *Diversities*, 13(1), 49-66.

Ghosch, J. (2009). Migration and gender empowerment: Recent trends and emerging issues. *United Nations Development Programme*.

Guse, C. (2010). 'Take your rosaries out of your ovaries: Women's rights in Argentina and Bolivia. *Constellations*, 1(2), 63-80.

de Haas, H (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227–264.

Hafner-Burton, E. & Pollack, M. A. (2002). Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance. *European Journal of International Relations*, 8(3), 339–373.

Haile H. B., Bock, B. & Folmer, H. (2012). Microfinance and female empowerment: Do institutions matter? *Women's studies International Forum.* 256-265.

Healy, K. & Rodríguez-Frías, E. (2009). Women and Bolivia's new constitution. Retrieved November 23, 2012, from *Inter-American Foundation*: http://www.iaf.gov/index.aspx?page=150

Hippert, C. (2007). Women's spaces, gender mainstreaming, and development priorities: Popular participation as gendered work in Bolivia. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 498–508.

Hofmann, E. T. & Buckley, C. J. (2011). Cultural responses to changing gender patterns of migration in Georgia*. International Migration*. 50(5), 77-94.

IFAD. (2013). Enabling poor rural people to overcome poverty in Bolivia. Retrieved June 20, 2013 from *International Fund for Agricultural Development*: http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pl/factsheet/bolivia_e.pdf

ILO. (2013). Bolivia. Retrieved June 15, 2013 from *International Labour Organization*: http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Activitiesbyregion/LatinAmerica/Bolivia/lang--en/index.htm

INE. (2010). Estadísticas e indicadores económicos y sociodemográficos de Bolivia. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas*.

INE. (2013a, January 23.) Boletín informativo No. 2: Censo nacional de población y vivienda. *Instituto Nacional de Estadística.*

INE. (2013b, July) Principales resultados del censo nacional de población y vivienda 2012. Estado plurinacional de Bolivia. *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*

IOM. (2011). Perfil Migratorio de Bolivia. *International Organization for Migration.* Buenos Aires: IOM.

IOM. (2013a). Bolivia. Retrieved March 20, 2013 from *International Organization for Migration*: http://iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/where-we-work/americas/south-america/bolivia.html

IOM. (2013b). Key migration terms. Retrieved March 20, 2013 from *International Organization for Migration*: http://iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html

Jones, R. (2010). The economic imprint of return migrants in Bolivia: A case of embededness and social remittances. *Trans-Atlantic Perspectives on International Migration: Cross Border Impacts, Border Security, and Socio-Political Responses*.

JornadaNet. (2013, March 7). Aumento la violencia contra las mujeres en Cochabamba. Retrieved July 20, 2013 from *JornadaNet*: http://www.jornadanet.com/n.php?a=87653-1

Kabeer, N. (1999). *The conditions and consequences of choice: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment*. Discussion Paper No. 108. *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.* Geneva: UNRISD.

Kawar, M. (2005). Why are migrant women more vulnerable? *International Labour Organization*.

Klein, H. S. (1982). *Historia de Bolivia.* La Paz: Librería Juventud.

Klein, H. S. (2011). *A Concise History of Bolivia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

La Razón. (2013, April 26). El gobierno cifra en 16.000 el número de bolivianos que dejaron España en el último año. Retrieved May 20, 2013 from *La Razón*: http://www.la-razon.com/sociedad/bolivianos-dejado-Espana-ultimo-ano_0_1822017875.html

Ledo, C. (2010). La migración en Bolivia. In C. Zurbriggen, & L. Mondol, *Estado actual y pespectivas de las politicas migratorias en el MERCOSUR*. 75-110. Uruguay: FLACSO.

Long, N. & van der Ploeg, J. D. (1994). Heterogeneity, actor and structure: Towards a reconstitution of the concept of structure. In D. Booth, *Rethinking Social Development: Theory, research and practice*. 62-89. Essex: Longman.

Mazurek, H. (2007). Three pre-concepts regarding the internal migration in Bolivia. *Revista de Humanidades y Sciencias Sociales*, 3(1), 1-18.

Mora, C. & Piper, N. (2011). Peruvian Female Workers in Chile. *Diversities*, 13(1), 4-18.

Muñiz, S. (2011). *The Collective Power of Bolivian Voices*. Leitmotiv.

OECD. (2011). Net official development assistance from DAC and other OECD members in 2011. *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.*

Osotimehin, B. (2013, April 22). Opening Remarks. *Commission on population and development. Forty-sixth session.* New York: UNFPA.

Pedone, C. (2010). 'Varones aventureros vs. madres que abandonan': Reconstrucción de las relaciones familiares a partir de la migración ecuatoriana." *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana.* 16-30

Pessar, P. R. & Mahler, S. J. (2006). Transnational migration: Bringing gender in. *International Migration Review.* 37(3), 812-846.

Piper, N. (2005). Gender and migration. *Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration.*

PNUD. (2010). Los Cambios Detras del Cambio: Desigualdades y movilidad social en Bolivia. *United Nations*. La Paz: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

Portes, A. (1985). 3: One Field, Many Views. Competing Theories on International Migration. *Center for Migration Studies*. 5(3), 53-70.

Public opinion survey report. (2012). *Informe encuesta de opinión pública: Incentiva ciudades emergentes y sostenibles.* Cochabamba, Bolivia: CEPLAG-BID

Radcliff, S. A. (1989). Ethnicity, patriarchy, and incorporation into the nation: Female migrants as domestic servants in Peru. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.* 8(4), 379-393.

Raghuram, P. (2009). Which Migration, What Development? Unsettling the Edifice of Migration and Development. *Population, Space and Place*. 103-117.

Ramírez, A. (2011). *Warmis valientes: Agencia ciudadana: mujeres y calidad de vida sustentable en Cochabamba.* Cochabamba, Bolivia: CESU-UMSS.

Reyes-García, V., Vadez, V., Aragón, J., Huanca, T. & Jagger, P. (2010). The Uneven Reach of Decentralization: A Case Study among Indigenous Peoples in the Bolivian Amazon. *International Political Science Review*. 31(2), 229-243.

Roberts, S. & Kulkarni, K. G. (2011). Empowerment: A Case of Comparison, Brazil & Bolivia. *Journal of Emerging Knowledge on Emerging Markets*. 3(1), 141-164.

Roman, O. (2011). *Mientras no estamos. Migración de mujeres madres de Cochabamba a España.* Cochabamba: Ciudadania.

Ronken, T. & Forsberg, A. (2007). Los efectos y consecuencias socio-económicos, culturales y políticos de la migración nacional en lugares de origen de los emigrantes Bolivianos. La Paz: Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia.

Rozario, S. & Gow, J. (2003). Bangladesh: Return migration and social transformation. *Return Migration in the Asia Pacific, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA*, 47-87.

Springer, N. (2005). Bolivia: A Situation Analysis. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*. Protection Information Section.

Tyner, J. A. (1994). The social construction of gendered migration from the Phillipines. *Asian and Pacific migration journal: APMJ.* 3(4), 589-618.

UN. (2005). Fouth World Conference on Women: Platform for Action. Retrieved January 19, 2013, from *United Nations*: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/

UN-INSTRAW. (2007). *Femenization of Migration.* Working Paper 1. *United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.*

UN Women. (2012, June 11). Bolivia Approves a Landmark Law against Harassment of Women Political Leaders. Retrieved January 19, 2013, from *UN Women*: http://www.unwomen.org/2012/06/bolivia-approves-a-landmark-law-against-harassment-of-women-political-leaders/

Vásquez, K. (2013, February 14). Seis de cada 10 mujeres son golpeadas en Cochabamba. Retrieved March 20, 2013 from *Los Tiempos*: http://www.lostiempos.com/especiales/edicion/especiales/20130214/seis-de-cada-10-mujeres-son-golpeadas-en_202181_431909.html

World Bank. (2012a). The Effect of Women's Economic Power in Latin America and the Caribbean. *World Bank*.

World Bank. (2012b). Migration and Development Brief. Retrieved May 20, 2013 from *World Bank*: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationDevelopmentBrief19.pdf

World Bank. (2013a). Bolivia Overview. Retrieved January 1, 2013, from *World Bank*: http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/bolivia/overview

World Bank. (2013b). Ratio of female to male labor force participation rate (%). Retrieved January 17, 2013, from *World Bank*: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FM.ZS

Wright, R. & Ellis, M. (2000). The ethnic and gender division of labor compared among immigrants to Los Angeles. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 24(3), 583-600.

Yepez, I., Ledo, C. & Marzandro, M. (2011) Las cadenas que encadenan al cuidado. Migración femenina y reconfiguraciones familiares en Cochabamba. *IV Congreso de la Red Internacional de Migración y Desarrollo*. Ecuador: FLACSO.

Zambrano, G. & Hernandez-Basante, K. ((2005). Cambió mi vida. *Migración femenina, percepciones e impactos.* Quito: UNIFEM/CEPALES.

Appendix I – CESU 2009 "Survey on Transnational Migration, Labor Insertion, and Citizenship
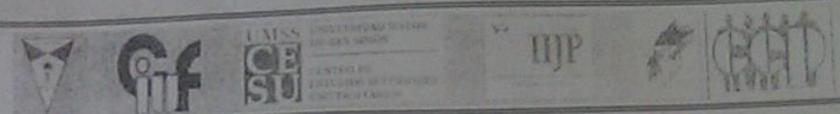
ENCUESTA SOBRE MIGRACIÓN TRANSNACIONAL, INSERCIÓN LABORAL Y CIUDADANÍA

PRESENTACIÓN:

La UMSS en convenio con la Cooperación Universitaria Francófona Belga (CIUF), está llevando a cabo el proyecto de investigación: Migración transnacional, inserción laboral y ciudadanía. El caso de Cochabamba. En este marco esta encuesta tiene como objetivo recopilar información que permita conocer las características generales socioculturales y demográficas de los Migrantes de Retorno en Cochabamba, aspectos de sus historias migratorias y sus características socioeconómicas, con el fin de identificar perfiles de migrantes de retorno que sirva para tener bases que nos permitan a largo plazo sugerir líneas de políticas públicas que coadyuven a fortalecer su inserción laboral y su ejercicio ciudadano.

IDENTIFICACIÓN

Número de encuesta: _____ Fecha: _____

Encuestador: _____

Nombre del/a encuestado(a): _____

Teléfono: _____ Celular: _____

Dirección detallada: _____

Distrito: _____ Barrio: _____

I. INFORMACIÓN SOCIO DEMOGRÁFICA

P.01. Sexo   1.Hombre ☐   2. Mujer ☐

P.02. Edad _____ (Años)

P.03. ¿Cuál era su estado civil al momento de migrar?

1. Soltero/a ☐   2. Casado/a ☐   3. Unido/a ☐   4. Viudo ☐   5. Divorciado/a ☐
   Conviviente

P.04. ¿Cuál era su estado civil actualmente?

1. Soltero/a ☐   2. Casado/a ☐   3. Unido/a ☐   4. Viudo ☐   5. Divorciado/a ☐
   Conviviente

P.05. Nivel educativo (en casilla poner el último curso anual)

1. Sin instrucción ☐   2. Primaria ☐   3. Secundaria ☐   4. Técnico ☐
                                                           Superior

5. Licenciatura ☐   6. Maestría ☐   7. Otro (Especifique) _____ ☐

P.06. Lugar de nacimiento:

Departamento _____ Provincia _____

Municipio: _____ Localidad o ciudad: _____

Si nació en el exterior: País: _____ Ciudad: _____

Área: 1. Rural ☐   2 Urbana ☐

P.07. ¿Cuál fue su último lugar de residencia en Bolivia antes de migrar?

Departamento: _____ Provincia _____

Municipio: _____ Localidad o ciudad: _____

P.08. Nacionalidad: 1. Boliviana ☐   2. Segunda nacionalidad ☐   **País** _____ **Año** _____

3. Tercera nacionalidad ☐   **País** _____ **Año** _____

P.09. Formas de acceso a la doble nacionalidad

1. Por opción ☐   2. Por hijos ☐   3. Por matrimonio ☐
   (naturalización)

II. CARACTERÍSTICAS DEL HOGAR

P.10. ¿De cuántos miembros se componía su hogar antes de migrar? _____

P.11. ¿Quiénes conformaban su hogar antes de migrar? (Respuesta múltiple)

1. Sólo ☐   2. Esposo(a) ☐   3. Hijos(as) ☐   4. Padres ☐   5. Nietos ☐   6. Otros parientes ☐   7. Otros no ☐
              Conviviente   parientes

P.12. ¿Usted era _____?

P.13. ¿Quién era el Jefe de Hogar? _____

P.14. ¿De cuántos miembros se compone su hogar actualmente? _____

P.15. ¿Quiénes conforman actualmente su hogar? (Respuesta múltiple):

1. Sólo ☐   2. Esposo(a) ☐   3. Hijos(as) ☐   4. Padres ☐   5. Nietos ☐   6. Otros parientes ☐   7. Otros no ☐
              Conviviente   parientes

P.16. ¿Usted es _____?

P.17. ¿Quién es el Jefe de Hogar? _____

III. HISTORIA MIGRATORIA

P.18. ¿Qué año salió de Bolivia por primera vez? _____

P.19. ¿Cuántas veces salió a residir fuera de Bolivia? _____

P.20. ¿En cuántos países fuera de Bolivia residió (por 6 meses o más)? _____

Países: _____ , _____ , _____ , _____

P. 21. ¿Alguno de sus hijos nació en uno de esos países?   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

Países: _____ , _____ , _____ , _____

P.22. ¿Cuál fue el último país en el que residió?   País _____

Ciudad _____

P.23. ¿Cuántos años vivió en ese país? _____   Desde: _____ hasta: _____

P.24. ¿Cuál era la situación de residencia en ese país?

1. Sin papeles ☐   2. En trámite ☐   3. Con papeles ☐   4. Ciudadanía ☐

P.25. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo retornó? _____ años _____ meses   Año de retorno: _____

P.26. ¿Cuáles fueron las razones por las que salió del país? (Respuesta múltiple)

1. Deudas ☐   2. No tenía trabajo ☐   3. Reunificación familiar ☐

4. Negocio propio ☐   5. Casa propia ☐   6. Ganar más ☐

7. Problemas pareja ☐   8. Maltrato familiar ☐   9. Nuevas oportunidades ☐

10. Tenía amigos o parientes allá ☐   11. Para hacer plata ☐   12. Otro_____ ☐
                                                              (Especifique)

P.27. ¿Cuál fue la principal razón para volver?

1. Problemas de residencia ☐   2. No tenía trabajo ☐   3. Por la Familia ☐

4. Por discriminación ☐   5. Mala calidad de vida ☐   6. Para abrir el negocio ☐

7. Suficiente ahorro ☐   8. Tenía trabajo aquí ☐   9. Otro _____ ☐

P.28. ¿Tuvo apoyo para migrar en el lugar de origen? 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

P.29. ¿Alguien se opuso a que usted migre en el lugar de origen? 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

P.30. Y en cuanto a su decisión de volver, ¿alguien se opuso?   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

P.31. ¿Qué limitaciones o problemas tuvo que enfrentar para migrar? (Respuesta múltiple)

1. Financiamiento ☐   2. Documentos de identidad ☐

3. Visa u otros requisitos del país de destino ☐   4. Organizar la familia que se queda ☐

5. Otro _____ ☐   6. Ninguno ☐
   (Especifique)

IV. INFORMACIÓN LABORAL

P.32. ¿Cuál era su actividad principal antes de migrar? (Anote código) ☐

1. Tenía trabajo?   6. Sólo realizó labores de casa?
2. Realizó labores de casa y trabajó?   7. Sólo estudió?
3. Estudió y trabajó?   8. Estudio y labores de casa?
4. Atendió o ayudó en un negocio propio o familiar?   9. No trabajó?
5. Realizó alguna actividad por ingreso?   10. Otros?

Si respondió las **opciones 6 a 10 → P.36.**

3

P.33. ¿Cuál era su ocupación? _____

P.34. En esa ocupación ¿Usted trabajaba como:

1. Obrero ☐   2. Empleado ☐   3. Cuenta propia ☐   4. Jornalero ☐

5. Profesional independiente ☐   6. Patrón o Empleador ☐   7. Trabajador Familiar ☐
                                                              No remunerado o aprendiz

P.35. ¿Por esa ocupación tenía derecho a beneficios tales como:

- Vacaciones   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Aguinaldo   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Seguro de salud 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Beneficios sociales 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Jubilación   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

P.36. ¿Cuántos miembros de su hogar trabajaban (incluido usted)? _____

P.37. ¿Cuál fue su actividad principal en el último lugar de destino? (Anote código) ☐

1. Tenía trabajo   6. Sólo realizó labores de casa?
2. Realizó labores de casa y trabajó?   7. Sólo estudió?
3. Estudió y trabajó?   8. Estudio y labores de casa?
4. Atendió o ayudó en un negocio propio o familiar?   9. No trabajó?
5. Realizó alguna actividad por ingreso? 10. Otros?

   Si respondió **Opciones 6 a 8 → P.40.**

P.38. ¿Cuál fue su ocupación principal en el último lugar de destino (fuera de Bolivia)?

_____

P.39. ¿Por esa ocupación tenía derecho a beneficios tales como:

- Vacaciones   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Aguinaldo   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Seguro de salud 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Beneficios sociales 1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐
- Jubilación   1. Sí ☐   2. No ☐

P.40. ¿En el último país que residió fuera de Bolivia, mejoraron las condiciones económicas desde que llegó hasta que retornó?

1. Mucho ☐   2. Poco ☐   3. Se mantuvieron igual ☐   4. Empeoraron ☐

P. 41. Actualmente ¿Cuál es su actividad principal? (Anote código) ☐

1. Tenía trabajo   6. Sólo realizó labores de casa?
2. Realizó labores de casa y trabajó?   7. Sólo estudió?
3. Estudió y trabajó?   8. Estudio y labores de casa?
4. Atendió o ayudó en un negocio propio o familiar?   9. No trabajó?
5. Realizó alguna actividad por ingreso? 10. Otros?

   Si respondió **opciones 6 a 10 → P.44.**

4

P.42. ¿Cuál es su ocupación principal actualmente?

_____

P.43. En esa ocupación ¿Usted trabaja como:

1. Obrero ☐   2. Empleado ☐   3. Cuenta propia ☐   4. Jornalero ☐

5. Profesional independiente ☐   6. Patrón o Empleador ☐   7. Trabajador Familiar ☐
                                                                No remunerado o aprendiz

P.44. ¿Cuántos miembros de su hogar trabajan actualmente (incluido usted)? _____

V.   VIVIENDA Y SERVICIOS

P.45. Tenencia de la vivienda:

Antes de salir del país, su vivienda era ....?

1. Propia ☒   2. Alquilada ☐   3. Anticrético ☐   4. Contrato Mixto ☐   5. Cedida por parentesco o servicio ☐   6. Otro ☐

A su retorno, su vivienda es ....?

1. Propia ☒   2. Alquilada ☐   3. Anticrético ☐   4. Contrato Mixto ☐   5. Cedida por parentesco o servicio ☐   6. Otro ☐

P.46. Servicios en la vivienda

Antes de salir del país:

1. Luz ☒   2. Agua ☐   3. Alcantarillado ☐   4. Teléfono ☐   5. Internet ☐   6. Cable ☐

7. Gas domiciliario ☐   8. Movilidad propia ☐

Al retorno:

1. Luz ☒   2. Agua ☐   3. Alcantarillado ☐   4. Teléfono ☐   5. Internet ☐   6. Cable ☐

7. Gas domiciliario ☐   8. Movilidad propia ☐

P.47.   A partir de su experiencia, ¿usted aconsejaría a algún pariente cercano que salga del país?   1. Si ☐   2. No ☐

P.48.   ¿Por qué? _____

_____

Observaciones o comentarios:

_____

_____

_____

102

5

Appendix II – Qualitative interview questionnaire format. Long version

1. Nombre: 2. Fecha: 3. Lugar:

4. Numero de telefono:

5. En que calle o entre que calles vive?

6. Edad:

7. Cual es su lugar de nacimiento?

8. Cual es su nivel de educacion mas alto?

9. Cual es su estado civil? Vive con su pareja?

10. A que edad se caso?

11. Cuantas veces migro usted?

       11a. Por cuanto tiempo cada vez?

       11b. Sola o acompanada?

           11ba. Quien la acompano?

12. Cuantos anos tenia la primera vez que migro?

13. A que ciudad migro usted en el exterior?

       13a. Porque escogio este lugar?

14. Cual fue su ultimo lugar de residencia antes de migrar?

       14a. Porque decidio usted residir en ese lugar?

15. Cuanto tiempo ya lleva de vuelta en Bolivia?

16. Cuantos hijos tiene?

       16a. Cuantos hijos tuvo antes de migrar?

17. Cuenta usted con ciudadania doble?

       17a. Que significa para usted tener esta doble ciudadania?

18. A que se dedica actualmente?

       18a. De cómo tiene este trabajo?

       18b. Cuantas hora a la semana trabaja usted?

19. Cuantas hora a la semana trabaja su esposo?

20. Cuanto es el ingreso promedio mensual en su hogar?

21. Se considera usted una mujer mas o menos extrovertida o amigable que la mayoria de las Cochabambinas?

22. Cuantos lenguajes sabe hablar?

23. Estudio algo o adquirio algun conocimiento durante su tiempo en el exterior?

24. Aprendio algun lenguaje?

25. Esta estudiando algo ahora?

       25a. Quisiera?

       25b. Va a estudiar? Porque si o porque no?

26. A los cuantos anos comenzo a trabajar?

       26a. Porque?

27. Antes de migrar, se consideraba usted políticamente activa?

       27a. De que manera?

28. Cuales fueron las razones principales por las que usted decidio migrar?

29. Antes de migrar, trabajaba su esposo?

       29a. Quien de ustedes ganaba mas?

30. Quien tomaba la mayoria de decisiones respecto al dinero?

31. Antes de migrar, la mayoria de sus propios ingresos iban a:

    Usted:

    Sus hijos:

    Su esposo:

Gastos del hogar:

32. Antes de viajar, quien se ocupaba de la mayoria de las obligaciones en el hogar como cocinar, lavar, etc?

33. Durante su tiempo en el exterior, quien se ocupo de estas obligaciones?

34. Quien se ocupo del cuidado de los ninos?

35. Desde que usted regreso, quien se ocupa de las obligaciones del hogar?

36. Hubo alguna oposicion sobre su destino o sobre su decision de migrar en general?

37. Que trabajos realizo en el exterior?

      37a. Como consiguió estos trabajos?

38. Durante su tiempo en el extranjero, fue usted victima de violencia fisica o abuso verbal alguno?

39. En su tiempo alla, que hacia con la mayoria del dinero que usted ganaba?

40. Fue util su tiempo alla para ensenarle algo sobre el manejo del dinero?

      40a. Esta utilizando usted estos conocimientos ahora?

41. Durante su tiempo afuera, trabajo su esposo?

      41a. Quien de ustedes dos ganaba mas?

42. Durante su tiempo afuera, la mayoría de sus ingresos iban a:

      Usted:

      Sus hijos:

      Su esposo:

      Gastos del hogar:

43. Desde su regreso, la mayoría de sus ingresos van a:

      Usted:

      Sus hijos:

      Su esposo:

      Gastos del hogar:

44. Cuan frecuente era su contacto con su familia aca?

      44a. Era menos o mas de lo que usted hubiera querido tener?

45. Conocio a muchas personas en el extranjero? Bolivianos, locales, etc? Amigos?

46. Le costo a usted mucho adecuarse a la vida alla?

47. Cuales fueron los aspectos mas diferentes de la vida alla?

48. En general, disfruto usted de su tiempo en el extranjero?

      48a. Porque o porque no?

49. Que fue lo mejor de esta experiencia?

50. Usted calificaria su experiencia migratoria como exitosa?

      50a. Porque? Porque no?

51. Cuales fueron los motivos por lo que usted regreso a Bolivia?

52. A que ciudad regreso usted despues de migrar?

53. Encontro usted muchos cambios una vez de vuelta? Buenos o malos?

54. Cual fue la parte mas dura de su regreso?

55. Gana usted mas ahora que antes de migrar?

56. Ahora que usted esta de vuelta, trabaja su esposo?

57. Quien gana mas, usted o su esposo?

58. Quien en su hogar toma la mayoria de decisiones respecto al dinero que se gana?

59. Cambio de alguna manera su tiempo afuera la relacion con su pareja? Para mejor o para peor?

60. La relacion con el resto de su familia mejoro, empeoro y continua igual desde que usted regreso?

61. Que es lo que mas le gusto a usted del exterior y que mas extrana ya de vuelta en Bolivia?

62. Antes de viajar, fue usted en alguna ocasión victima de violencia familiar?

63. Despues de su retorno, fue usted en alguna ocasion victima de violencia familiar?

64. Durante su tiempo afuera, se mantuvo usted al tanto del ambiente politico aca en Bolivia?

65. Se considera usted politicamente activa?

65a. De que manera?

66. Cree usted que el haber migrado le desperto algun interes en la politica nacional o local?

66a. Porque?

67. Que piensa de la educacion femenina? Es importante? Necesaria?

68. A su parecer, como deberian estar divididas las obligaciones del hogar como ser el cuidado de los ninos, la cocina, etc?

69. Cual piensa usted deberia ser el rol principal de la mujer?

69a. El haber migrado le cambio en algo esta percepcion?

69a.b. Como?

70. Quien piensa usted que deberia estar a cargo, en un hogar, sobre las decisiones monetarias?

70a. Porque?

71. Quien piensa usted que deberia ganar mas dinero en una relación:

El hombre

La mujer

Igual

No importa

72. Cree usted que en alguna occasion es permisible que el esposo o la pareja ejerza violencia contra su mujer?

72a. Cuando?

73. Que deberia hacer, en su parecer, una mujer que es victima de abuso en el hogar a manos de su pareja?

74. Cree usted que el haber vivido en el exterior le cambio el parecer respecto a este tema?

74b. Como, porque?

75. A su modo de ver, es mejor que una mujer embarque en este tipo de migracion laboral:

Sola

Con sus hijos

Con su esposo

75a. Porque?

76. Recomendaria usted alguno de sus destinos migratorios a otras mujeres como usted?

76a. Porque o porque no?

77. Cuales son las principales cualidades que una mujer debe poseer para animarse a viajar sola al exterior en busca de trabajo?

78. Como se podria ayudar mas a mujeres que vuelven del extranjero para readaptarse de una mejor manera a la vida aca?

79. Recomendaria usted migrar sola a otras mujeres?

79a. Porque o porque no?

80. Que lecciones se podrian aprender del modo de vida alla para mejorar el tipo de vida de las mujeres aca? O vice versa?

81. Usted se siente mas feliz antes, durante, o despues de su estadia en el extranjero?

81a. Porque?

82. Tiene usted planes migratorios para el futuro?

82a. Donde?

83. Me puede usted referir a alguna amiga, familiar, o persona conocida que estaria dispuesta a conversar conmigo?

Appendix III – Qualitative interview questionnaire format. Short version.

1. Nombre: _____ 2. Fecha: _____ 3. Numero de teléfono: _____

4. En que calle o entre que calles vive?_____

5. Edad: _____ 6. Lugar de nacimiento: _____

7. Nivel de educacion mas alto:

Primaria	Secundaria	Licenciatura o Técnico (Titulo)	Maestría o mas (Titulo)

8. Estado civil actual:	Edad o Ano
Casada	
Unida	
Divorciada	
Viuda	

9. Numero de hijos:

Antes de migrar	Despues de migrar	Ideal

10. Ocupacion actual: _____

11. Destinos migratorios:

PAIS Y CIUDAD	EDAD	ANOS SALIDA Y RETORNO	ACOMPANANTES	RAZON MIGRATORIA	TRABAJO	RAZON POR EL RETORNO	CIUDAD DE DESTINO AL RETORNO

12. Se consideraba usted políticamente activa:	Si	No	En que manera?
Antes de migrar			
Despues de migrar			

13. Cuenta usted con ciudadania doble? _____

14. A que se dedica su esposo? _____

15. Cuantas hora a la semana trabaja:	Quien gana mas?	Antes de migrar?	Durante la migración?
Usted			
Su Esposo			

16. Ingreso promedio mensual en su hogar: **_____**

17. Lenguajes hablados:	Donde aprendió?

18. Conocimientos adquiridos durante su tiempo en el exterior:	Lo utiliza ahora?

19. Quien tomaba la mayoria de decisiones respecto al dinero:

	Antes de migrar	Despues de migrar
Usted		
Esposo		
Los dos		

20. Quien se ocupa de la mayoria de las obligaciones en el hogar como cocinar, lavar, limpiar:

	Antes de la migracion	Durante la migracion	Despues de la migracion
Usted			
Esposo			
Los dos			
Otros (quien?)			

21. Quien se ocupo del cuidado de los niños durante su viaje? **_____**

22. Hubo alguna oposicion sobre su destino o sobre su decision de migrar en general? _____

23. Fue usted victima de violencia fisica o abuso verbal alguno (Quien?):

Antes de la migracion	Durante la migracion	Despues de la migracion

24. En su tiempo alla, que hacia con la mayoria del dinero que usted ganaba? _____

25. Durante sus viajes, cuan frecuente era su contacto con:

Su esposo	Sus hijos	Otros

26. Conocio a muchas personas en el extranjero? Bolivianos, locales, etc? Amigos? _____

27. De su vida alla que fue:

Lo mejor	
Lo peor	

28. En general, disfruto usted de su tiempo en el extranjero? _____

29. Usted calificaria su experiencia migratoria como exitosa? Porque? _____

30. De su regreso, cual fue:

La mejor parte	
La parte mas dura	

31. A su retorno:	Mejoro	Empeoro	Siguio igual
La relacion con su pareja			
La relación con el resto de su familia			

32. A su parecer, quien debería estar a cargo de las obligaciones del hogar como ser el cuidado de los ninos, la cocina, etc?

El hombre	La mujer	Los dos (equitativo)	El haber migrado le cambio en algo esta percepcion?

33. Quien piensa usted que deberia estar a cargo, en un hogar, sobre las decisiones monetarias?

El hombre	La mujer	Los dos	Quien gane mas	El haber migrado le cambio en algo esta percepcion?

34. Cree usted que en alguna occasion es permisible que el esposo o la pareja ejerza violencia contra su mujer? _____

35. Que deberia hacer, en su parecer, una mujer que es victima de abuso en el hogar a manos de su pareja? _____

36. Cree usted que el haber vivido en el exterior le cambio el parecer respecto a este tema? _____

37. Recomendaria usted alguno de sus destinos migratorios a otras mujeres como usted? Porque?
_____

38. Como se podria ayudar mas a mujeres que vuelven del extranjero para readaptarse de una mejor manera a la vida aca?
_____

39. Recomendaria usted migrar sola a otras mujeres? Porque?
_____

40. Tiene usted planes migratorios para el futuro? _____

41. Me puede usted referir a alguna amiga, familiar, o persona conocida que estaria dispuesta a conversar conmigo? _____

Appendix IV: Interview Presentation Letter

Estimada señora o señorita,

Primero que nada agradecerle por permitirme compartir sus experiencias y otorgarme un poco de su tiempo. Mi nombre es Isabel Balderrama y soy nacida en la ciudad de La Paz. Actualmente estoy realizando una investigación con la Universidad de Utrecht en Holanda y con ayuda del Centro de Planificación y Gestión de la Universidad Mayor de San Simón. Los resultados de esta entrevista serán utilizados para analizar los efectos de la migración laboral internacional y el subsecuente retorno en la autonomía y bienestar de las mujeres en la Ciudad de Cochabamba. Por este motivo, les pido gentilmente responder algunas preguntas que se dividen en cinco partes:

- Factores sociales
- Factores económicos
- Factores políticos
- Experiencia migratoria
- Experiencia de retorno

También les hare algunas preguntas sobre su punto de vista general con respecto a estos cinco temas. La entrevista en su totalidad será grabada para asegurar el registro preciso de sus respuestas.

Su anonimidad y privacidad es garantizada puesto que solo requiero su primer nombre (o pseudónimo si usted prefiere). Los resultados de esta entrevista solo serán utilizados en la investigación que estoy realizando para mi tesis de maestría en Desarrollo Internacional, los resultados de la cual espero ayuden a ver con más claridad los efectos positivos y negativos de la migración femenina, como también ayudar a idear una política más útil de apoyo para las mujeres migrantes que retornan a Bolivia.

Si tiene alguna duda con respecto a este estudio no dude en contactarme vía correo electrónico a:
m.i.balderrama@students.uu.nl.

Gracias una vez más por su participación!

Appendix V – Interviewee Data Sheet

District	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	Education Level	# of Children	International Destination(s)	Year(s) of Migration	Job Abroad	Date of Interview	Duration of Interview
1	Clara	45	Married	Owner, Restaurant	High School	2	Argentina	1998 - 2011	Domestic Worker	9 April, 2013	0:45
1	Lidia	41	Married	Homemaker	High School	2	Spain	2004 - 2005	Caregiver, Elderly	30 April, 2013	0:25
2	Aida	52	Separated	Owner, Hardware Store	Elementary School	5	Spain	2001 - 2012	Caregiver, Elderly	12 April, 2013	0:48
2	Rita	32	Separated	Owner, Chair Store	High School	2	Spain	2003 - 2005	Cleaning	16 April, 2013	0:25
3	Leticia	37	Divorced	Owner, Cheese Shop	Bachelor's Degree	2	Spain	2004 - 2007	Agriculture; Caregiver, Elderly	27 March, 2013	1:15
3	Miriam	28	Separated	Owner, Fabric Store	Technical Degree	2	Chile, Brazil	2005 – 2006 2008 - 2010	Merchant, Fabric	9 April, 2013	0:50
4	Nancy	53	Married	Helps at the Family Restaurant	High School	6	Spain	2006 - 2013	Caregiver, Elderly	25 April, 2013	2:40
4	Bertha	59	Married	Homemaker	Elementary School	4	England, Spain	1989-1991 1999 - 2008	Cleaning	4 May, 2013	0:30
4	Luz	36	Married	Homemaker	Technical Degree	2	Spain	2005 - 2008	Caregiver, Children; Cleaning	4 May, 2013	0:40
4	Nora	53	Separated	Professor; Owner, Dried Fruit Manufacturing Company	Master's Degree	2	Mexico, Germany	1993 – 1993 (4 Months) 2003 – 2003 (6 Months)	Chemical Company	3 April, 2013	1:45
5	Gabriela	42	Married	Owner, Auto Paint Shop	High School	2	Italy	1994 - 1998	Caregiver, Elderly	15 March, 2013	2:05
5	Amanda	50	Married	Owner, Costume Shop	High School	4	Argentina	1999 - 2000	Garment	14 March, 2013	1:40
5	Teresa	50	Divorced	Owner, Hostel	Elementary School	7	Spain, Mexico	1991-2011 2011 - 2012	Caregiver, Elderly; Yarn Factory	12 April, 2013	0:40
6	Lucia	41	Married	Owner, Printer Store	Technical Degree	2	Argentina	2008 - 2013	Printer Technician	16 April, 2013	0:40
6	Carla	37	Married	Owner, Restaurant	High School	2	Spain	2000 -2008	Caregiver, Children	5 May, 2013	0:25
6	Sandra	33	Divorced	Owner, Convenience Store	Elementary School	3	Argentina	2000 - 2010	Garment	13 April, 2013	0:50

District	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	Education Level	# of Children	International Destination(s)	Year(s) of Migration	Job Abroad	Date of Interview	Duration of Interview
6	Elsa	38	Separated	Owner, Fabric Store	Technical Degree	1	Argentina	2010 - 2012	Garment	4 April, 2013	0:48
6	Diana	32	Separated	Merchandiser, Fruit	High School	1	Argentina	2006 - 2013	Merchandiser, Fruit	10 April, 2013	0:40
6	Lisa	42	Separated	Owner, Clothing Store	High School	3	Spain	2003 - 2011	Caregiver, Elderly; Agriculture	9 April, 2013	0:48
7	Patricia	42	Married	Owner, Rug Store	Bachelor's Degree	2	Italy	1998 - 2004	Caregiver, Elderly	10 April, 2013	0:40
7	Juana	30	Separated	Unemployed	High School	2	Chile, Argentina	2001-2010 2011 - 2013	Cleaning; Garment	13 April, 2013	0:50
8	Jacinta	31	Married	Owner, Convenience Store	Elementary School	2	Spain	2005 - 2013	Caregiver, Children; Cleaning	12 April, 2013	1:10
8	Lisette	34	Married	Owner, Clothing Store	High School	3	Spain	2007 - 2008	Caregiver, Children; Cleaning	30 April, 2013	0:30
9	Marta	41	Married	Owner, Clothing Store	High School	2	Spain	2008 – 2008 (8 Months)	Domestic Worker	30 April, 2013	0:35
9	Rosa	42	Separated	Merchandiser, Fruit	Elementary School	3	Spain	2005 - 2007	Agriculture	5 May, 2013	0:45
10	Sara	45	Separated	Owner, Convenience Store	Elementary School	6	Argentina	1998 - 2012	Garment; Cleaning	13 April, 2013	1:05
11	Laura	55	Separated	Owner, Convenience Store	Technical Degree	2	Chile	1987 - 2005	Secretary	6 May, 2013	0:25
12	Susana	51	Married	Owner, Restaurant	Master's Degree	2	Brazil, Germany	1980 -1982 1991 - 1995	NGO	22 March, 2013	1:15
14	Ingrid	45	Married	Owner, Restaurant	High School	5	Spain	2002 - 2009	Caregiver, Elderly	6 May, 2013	0:35
14	Otilia	54	Separated	Unemployed	None	6	Spain	2006 - 2013	Caregiver, Elderly	17 April, 2013	2:50