

Contribution to Integration or Segregation?

The influence of Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires on the integration process of Bolivian migrants in the Argentinean society

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August 2013

Master thesis International Development Studies

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Executive Summary

Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires have a vulnerable social and economic position within the Argentinean society. The migrant has to deal with unequal treatment and discrimination, the majority of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires has European roots and often feels superior towards the indigenous population of Argentina and other neighbouring countries. Irregular migrants that live in informal settlements and work in the informal sector have problems to obtain access to health care and education. Since the 1970s the Bolivian migrants started to establish associations and federations to maintain their cultural identity and stimulate the social inclusion of migrants in the receiving society. Currently there are numerous migrant organizations with a broad variety of objectives and activities. These migrant organizations have the intention to contribute to the integration process but at the same time they separate the migrants from the Argentinean society. New laws and policies introduced by the current Argentinean government of President Cristina Kirchner facilitated the documentation of Bolivian migrants, which had a positive impact on the integration of the migrant community in Buenos Aires. The different types of migrant organizations also made their contribution to the integration process, each organization on their own way.

Resumen Ejecutivo

Los Inmigrantes bolivianos en Buenos Aires tienen una posición social y económica vulnerable en la sociedad argentina. Esta persona tiene que lidiar con el trato de desigualdad y discriminación, esto se debe a que la mayoría de los habitantes de Buenos Aires tiene raíces europeas, lo que suele generar un sentimiento de superioridad hacia la población indígena de Argentina y otros países vecinos. Existe una gran cantidad de residentes bolivianos que se concentran en asentamientos informales llamados villas donde estas personas suelen tener problemas para obtener acceso a la atención sanitaria y la educación en el caso de estar indocumentados. Desde la década de 1970 los inmigrantes bolivianos comenzaron a establecer asociaciones y federaciones que permite mantener su identidad cultural y fomentar la inclusión social en la sociedad receptora. Actualmente existen numerosas organizaciones con una amplia variedad de objetivos y actividades. Estas organizaciones tienen la intención de contribuir al proceso de integración, pero al mismo tiempo separan a los residentes bolivianos de la sociedad argentina. Las nuevas leyes y políticas de la Argentina, introducidas por el gobierno de la presidenta Cristina Kirchner contribuyeron a la facilitación de documentación para extranjeros de países limítrofes, lo cual tuvo un impacto positivo en la integración de la comunidad boliviana en Buenos Aires. Los diferentes tipos de estas organizaciones también hicieron su aporte al proceso de integración, cada organización a su propia manera.

Key words: Integration, Migration, Migrant organizations, Bolivia, Buenos Aires, Cultural Identity

Acknowledgements

After four months of fieldwork and two months of writing I finally present my masterthesis. Honestly I have to admit I enjoyed every part of it, although I liked the fieldwork better. But along the way the subject and research became more interesting because I was slowly figuring out which way I wanted to go with my research. Looking back I am happy with the consistent progress of my research and I am satisfied with the results. Although the process wasn't always as smooth as I wanted it to be. I was fortunate to have people around me on who I could trust. First of all I would like both of my supervisors Gery Nijenhuis and Susana Sassone who kept me on the academically right track and made sure I was making progress with my research. The genuine interest of Gery motivated me to get the best out of myself. In my feedback moments with her she shared her expertise on migrant organizations which helped me to improve the quality of this research. Susana took care of me in Buenos Aires by inviting me to interesting seminars and helping me to get in contact with the right people. Without your insights and hospitality this fieldwork could not have succeeded.

In general I would like to thank all the respondents that were willing to share their perspective in all openness with me. The Bolivian migrant community welcomed me sincerely and they were able to make a good contribution to my research. In particular I would like to express my gratitude towards the respondents of the Bolivian consulate and the IOM regional office in Buenos Aires, who provided me in the initial stage of my research with useful information and contacts. Lastly I would like to name Antony Otieno (Phd. Candidate Utrecht University), during my pre-master phase he inspired me to focus on the migration and development nexus which indirectly led to this research. I hope I can use my affiliation and experience with migration and development in the near future.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Argentina country of immigration

Centuries of international migration have had a major impact on the composition of the Argentinean society. European and Latin-American migration movements towards Argentina resulted in a diverse and multicultural society. In particular the capital city of Buenos Aires attracted a broad variety of migrants. Besides the substantial group of European migrants and their descendants there is an increasingly larger group of Latin-American migrants. The Bolivian migrant community is one of the most visible migrant groups in Argentina, with Buenos Aires as the centre attracting approximately half of Bolivian migrants (CEPAL/United Nations 2010). The first peaks of migration flows between Argentina and Bolivia go back to the times of colonization where Bolivians traded gold with the Spanish conquerors. This historically grown migration corridor resulted in a well-established migrant community with numerous organizations.

Although the Paraguayan community is larger in official numbers (INDEC 2010), the Bolivian community distinguish themselves more visibly from the Argentinean society, not only by their more indigenous physical appearance but also through a strong cultural expression. According to official numbers the province of Buenos Aires inhabits approximately 300.000 first and second generation Bolivian migrants, unofficial estimations state that a number of 1.500.000 would come closer to reality (IOM 2013). The Bolivian community is a diverse group due to the changing compositions over time. For example the group of migrants that entered Argentina in the 70s and 80s mainly consisted out of low-educated males from the rural areas of Bolivia, currently it are mainly young relatively high-educated Bolivians who enter Argentina. The southern districts of Buenos Aires have high percentages of Bolivian migrants, the neighbourhoods Villa Lugano, Liniers and Flores are populated by up to 24 percent of first generation migrants (INDEC 2010).

1.2 Integration problems

The social and cultural differences between the inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires (Porteños) and the Bolivian migrants have led to integration issues. A majority of the Porteños has European roots and often feel superior towards the indigenous population of Argentina and other neighbouring countries. This attitude leads to discrimination and unequal treatment of Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires. The indigenous Bolivian migrant community has a strong cultural identity and has the urge to express their folklore in the Argentinean society. For the more European orientated Porteños this expression of indigenous folklore is rather exotically. The collision of the indigenous Bolivian culture

and the European-Argentinean culture leads to friction, resulting in integration problems and discrimination (Cantor 2012).

Bolivians are often considered the lowest social group in the Argentinean society, with a vulnerable economic position caused by unequal treatment and discrimination. Besides this, Argentineans have bad stereotypes from the Bolivian migrant community. Bolivians are often seen as people who are unhygienic and alcoholic. There is a part of the Bolivian migrants which is undocumented and has bad working and living condition. Their irregular status in Argentina forces them to work in the informal sector and live in informal settlements in the south of Buenos Aires. Living and working in the informal sector of Buenos Aires makes it hard to get access to the free health care and education offered by the Argentinean government. The low standards of living of the Bolivians and the discrimination towards Bolivian migrant society retain the integration process (Sassone 2007).

In reaction to the integration problems the Bolivian migrant community started to secrete itself from the Argentinean society by organizing themselves in non-profit groups, associations and federations. Since the 1960s Bolivian migrant organizations started to multiply rapidly, currently there are numerous organizations created by Bolivian migrants and their descendents, ranging from extensive social networks to small radio stations and dance groups (Pizarro 2009). Whether this process of organizing themselves apart from the Argentinean contributes to the integration process or leads to segregation is the question. This research will discuss the influence of the Bolivian migrant organizations on the integration process of the Bolivian migrants in the Argentinean society.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of this research is to identify the negative and positive influences of the Bolivian migrant organizations on the integration process and the factors that determine these effects. First the research will describe the characteristics of the Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires in terms of objectives, composition and internal organization. Subsequently there will be given an outline of the activities undertaken by the Bolivian migrant community. A further analysis of these descriptions will point out which factors influence the integration process of Bolivian migrant in Buenos Aires combined with external factors. Eventually this will lead to a conclusion of the influence of Bolivian migrant organizations on the integration process of Bolivians in Buenos Aires.

2 Regional Background

2.1 Early European immigration to Argentina

For most of its history, Argentina has been characterized as a country of immigration. After gaining its independence in the early 19th century, Argentina adopted an open immigration policy and encouraged immigration. In some cases even by subsidizing the migrants by paying their boat tickets from Europe to Argentina. Since the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century Argentina became a magnet for European migration while at the same time sustaining population movements to and from other Latin-American countries. Millions of Europeans, predominantly from Spain and Italy, found their way to Buenos Aires and beyond at the turn of the 20th century. (Jachimowicz 2006).

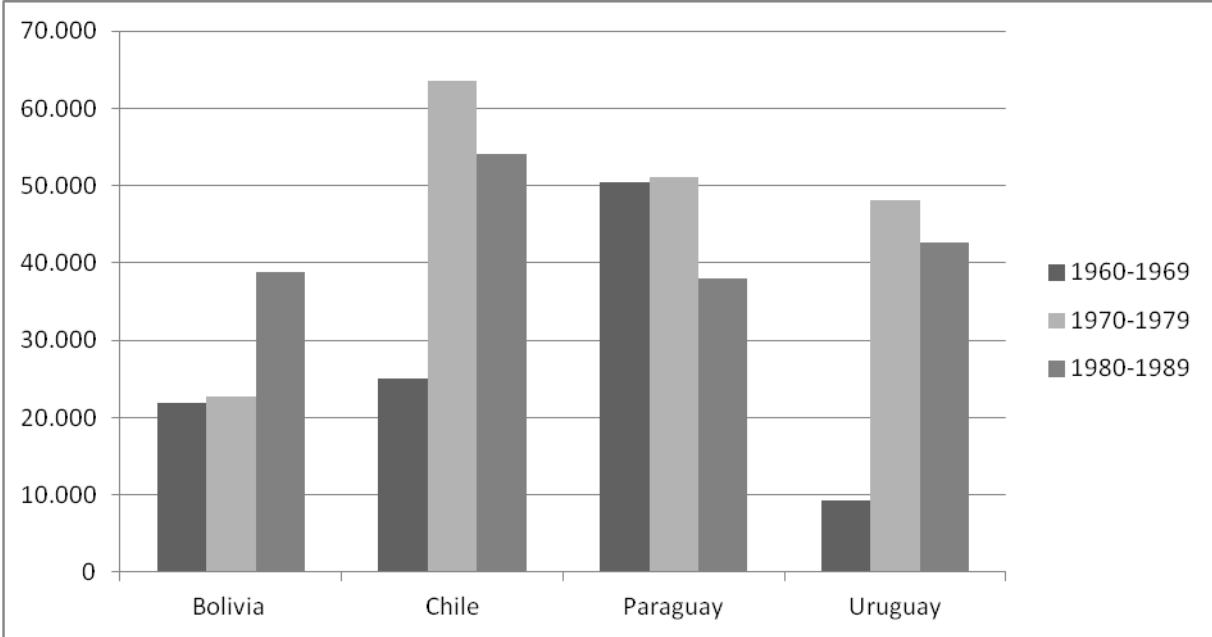
Particularly during the early stages of the migration flow, the European immigrants tended to be of a higher social background, relatively high educated, more likely to be male and younger than those who stayed behind. It is estimated that Argentina received over seven million immigrants in the period between 1870 and 1930 (CEPAL/United Nations 2010).. Argentina proved to be an attractive country for Europeans that had to deal with the economic depression in the country of origin and were up for adventure in the new world. Pull factors of Argentina were the richness in natural sources and better employment prospects ranging from agriculture to factory work (IOM 2012). European migration to Argentina began to decline in the 1930s during the global economic depression. After a short recovery the flow started declining again in the 1950s as the socio-economic situation and political stability returned after World War II. The period between 1950 and 1983 can be characterized by a series of military dictatorial regimes and political instability. These economic and political conditions gave rise to Argentina's first significant emigration outflow of highly-skilled citizens (IOM² 2012).

2.2 Recent migration history Argentina

After the rapid decline of European migrant to Argentina in the 1950s as a result of economic, political and social instability Argentina slowly transformed into a country of emigration and transit. Despite the outflows Argentina ensures its role as a regional immigration hub by consistently attracting new economic migrants from its neighbouring countries (Jachimowicz 2006). Immigrants from Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile and Bolivia found their way to Argentina in search for employment and higher wages. At that time Argentina was ahead of the neighbouring countries in terms of economic development, currently the economic lead on Bolivia and Paraguay remains large. Uruguay

and especially Chile started to grow economically last two decades, because of these economic developments the number of migrants from both these countries decreased since the 1980s. The number of Bolivian migrants keep growing steadily (CEPAL/United Nations 2010). Figure 1 gives an indication of the number of migrants from several neighbouring countries to Argentina.

Figure 1. Immigration flows to Argentina from Neighbouring countries in the period 1960-1989



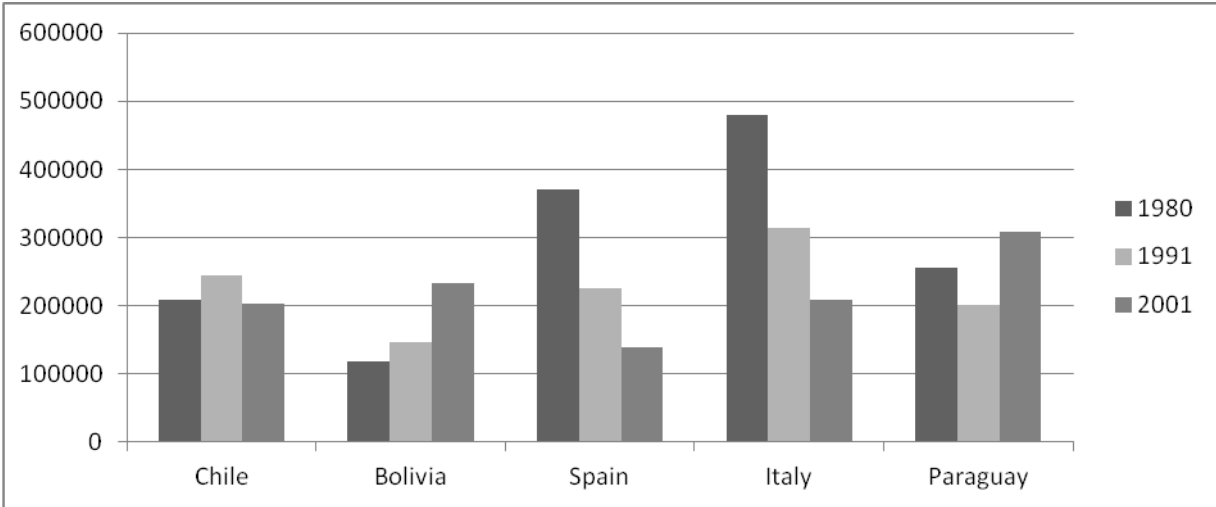
source: CEPAL/ United Nations 2010

Since the 1990s new immigration and emigration patterns were formed. Favourable visa policies in the US, Spain, Italy and other western countries combined with strong foreign-labour demand gave rise to a new wave of emigration. In the same period of time immigration from western countries like Spain and Italy decreased rapidly, as illustrated in figure 2. In 1980 Argentina counted almost 500.000 Italian immigrants, two decades later this number was more than halved, and the same pattern for the Spanish migrants that together represented the major share of immigrants in Argentina. This emigration was partly replaced by immigration from the neighbouring countries Paraguay and Bolivia. The number Bolivian immigrants doubled in two decades while the Paraguayan migrant community became the largest in Argentina (Jachimowicz 2006).

In 2001/2002 Argentina had to cope with an economic collapse which caused an estimated number of 300.000 people leaving Argentina of whom many of European descent. Growing Argentine emigration rates, particularly of the highly skilled, follow the larger Latin American trend of those seeking more stable economies and social conditions in Western industrialised countries (Jachimowicz 2006). A number of 1,05 million Argentines are living abroad according to official estimations. The US, Spain and Italy are the favourite countries of destination (CEPAL/ United

Nations 2010). Argentina’s long history with international migration resulted in a very diverse and multicultural society. First there is substantial group of European immigrants and their descendents, secondly there is an increasingly bigger group of other Latin – Americans. According to the data of INDEC’s complementary survey of Indigenous people only 1,4% (600.000 people) of Argentina’s inhabitants are indigenous, an additional 8% is Mestizo, an ethnic group from the region. In 2010 the total number of Argentina’s resident population that was born outside Argentina was 1,8 million, representing 4,5 % of the total population (INDEC 2010). This is the official number, many experts claim this number is much higher in reality (IOM 2012).

Figure 2: Number of foreign born inhabitants of Argentina according to country of origin



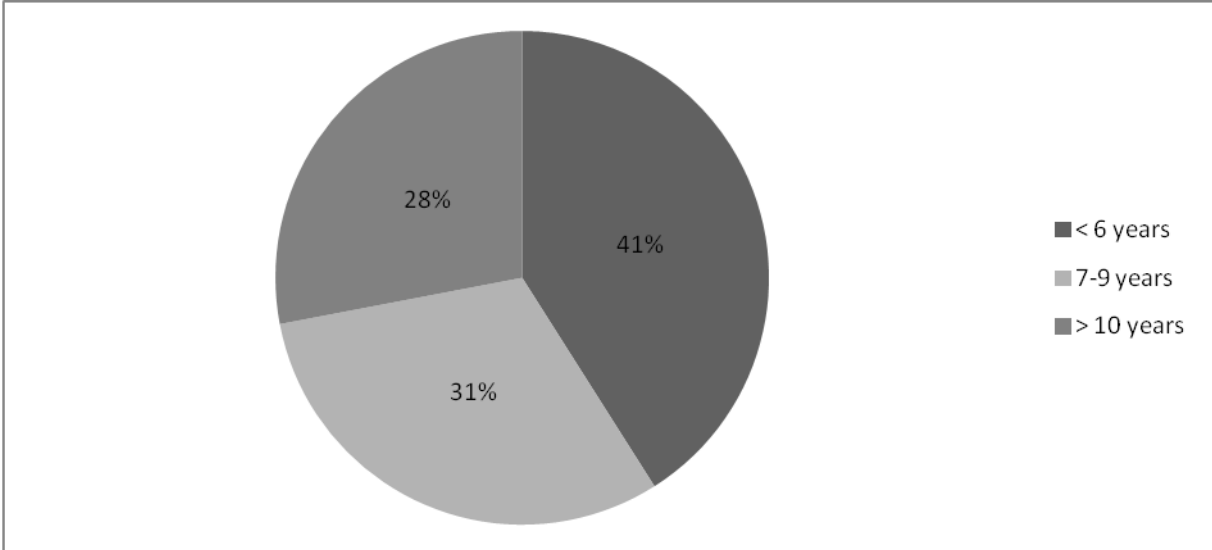
source: INDEC 2008

2.3 Bolivian immigration

Bolivia is according to the statistics of the World Bank the poorest country of South-America in terms of GDP per capita. Financial motives are one of the main drivers of the emigration of the Bolivian population. Argentina is, from an economic perspective, an interesting country of destination. The Argentinean GDP per capita in 2012 (USD\$ 11.558) was nearly five times as big as the GDP per capita of Bolivia (USD\$ 2.576) . Better employment perspectives and higher wages are the main pull factors of Argentina (World Bank 2013). Precise information on the current emigration of Bolivians is hard to find since irregular migration and unofficial border crossings are not taken into account. According to data from the Banco Central de Bolivia, Bolivian migrants abroad sent annually US\$ 1.097 million back to Bolivia through formal channels, twice the amount of foreign direct investment . The largest sending country was Spain 40%, followed by the United States 22% and Argentina 17%. In 2008, officially registered remittances alone accounted for 8% of GDP in Bolivia (CEPAL/ United Nations 2010).

Over the last three decades immigration from Bolivia to Argentina started to increase rapidly, as you can see in figure 2. Between 1980 and 2001 the stock of Bolivians in Argentina doubled from 118.141 to 233.464 people. Argentina’s economic growth promoted the intensification of the migration inflow and extensive Bolivian social networks in Buenos Aires stimulated the dynamic human mobility corridor between the two countries even more. In the period of 1980 until 2001 the composition of the migrant group changed, the proportion of female migrants increased from 44,4% to 49,7%. The reason behind this feminization of the Bolivian immigrant flow is the work participation of the female migrant. While in 1990 just over a third of the female Bolivian migrants in Argentina reported that the main reason behind their migration is work related, this proportion grew in 2001 to 50,7% (Pizarro 2009).

Figure 3: Years of education of Bolivian migrants

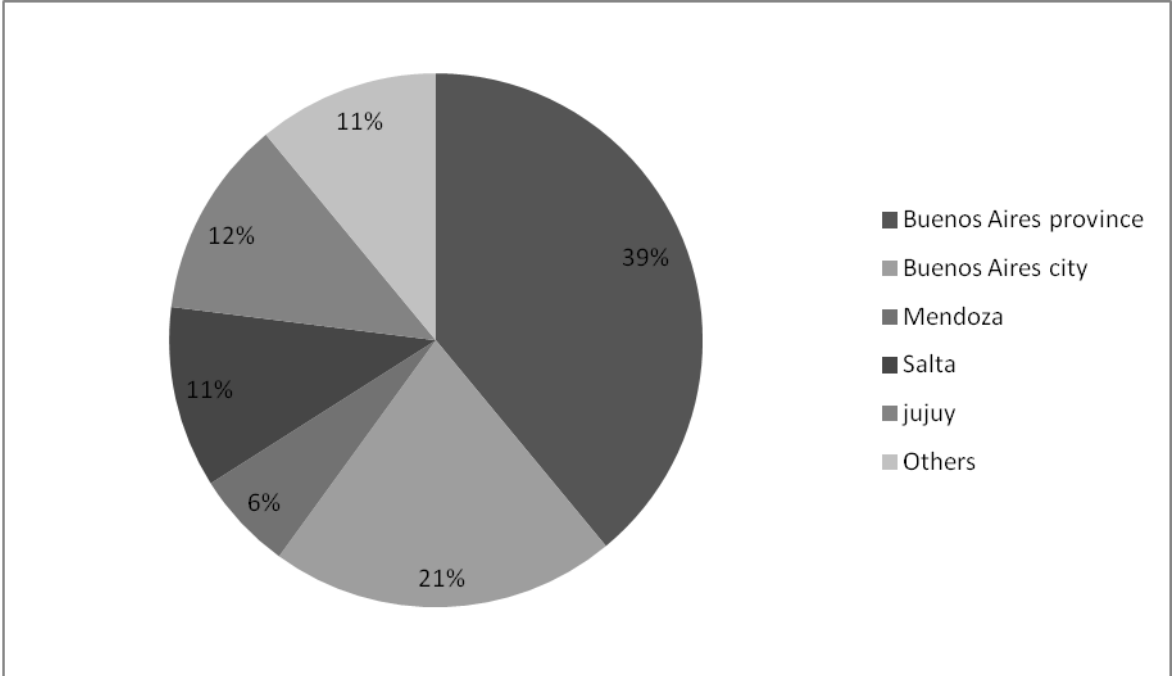


source: IOM 2008

Another characteristic that changed over time is the background of the Bolivian migrant. Until the 1970s the relatively few Bolivians who moved to the big cities, such as Buenos Aires, Cordoba and La Plata, were middle and upper class urban residents in Bolivia. Some were political exiles and others migrated in order to study in Argentina. Most of those who settled permanently reached a good socio-economic position in the host-society, for example as trader. After 1970s the background of the Bolivian migrants changed, the majority was from rural areas and was looking for unskilled labour (Jachimowicz 2006). Figure 3 shows that nearly half of the Bolivian migrants has followed less than 6 years of education while migrants with other nationalities in general followed more years of education. These people attracted by job opportunities, established themselves in the north-western provinces Salta and Jujuy, to work on the plantations of sugar, cotton and tobacco. This migration was on temporary basis and adapted itself according to periods of increased demand for labour in

the agricultural sector. The Bolivian rural migrants were often indigenous and had no integration problems in the more indigenous oriented culture of Jujuy and Salta (Pizarro 2009). Over time the prices of the crops cultivated in north-west Argentina declined and this affected the regional economies. In the 1950s globalization and increasing consumption led to industrialization of the Argentinean urban areas, which was an interesting new alternative for the unskilled Bolivian migrants who used to work in the agricultural sector. This led to a geographical shift in the Bolivia-Argentina migration pattern, from the south-western provinces to the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires as the new destination. During the 1970s this newly formed landscape was reversed by the introduction of import-oriented policies that led to deindustrialization. Since the introduction of these policies the job-opportunities for unskilled Bolivian migrants declined. (IOM² 2012)

Figure 4: Geographical distribution of Bolivian immigrants in Argentina 2001



source: CEPAL/ United Nations 2010

During the 1980s and 1990s Bolivian immigrants were dispersed over the urban areas of Argentina. Some of these localities were: Mendoza, Cordoba, Rosario and some cities in Patagonia. Bolivians in rural areas often found jobs in horticulture, urban male migrants often work in the construction sector and female migrants are often working in the textile industry (Pizarro 2009) Figure 4 statistically shows the geographical distribution of Bolivian immigrants in 2001, remarkable is the share of migrants that live in the city and province of Buenos Aires (together 60%).

2.4 Bolivian migrant community in Buenos Aires

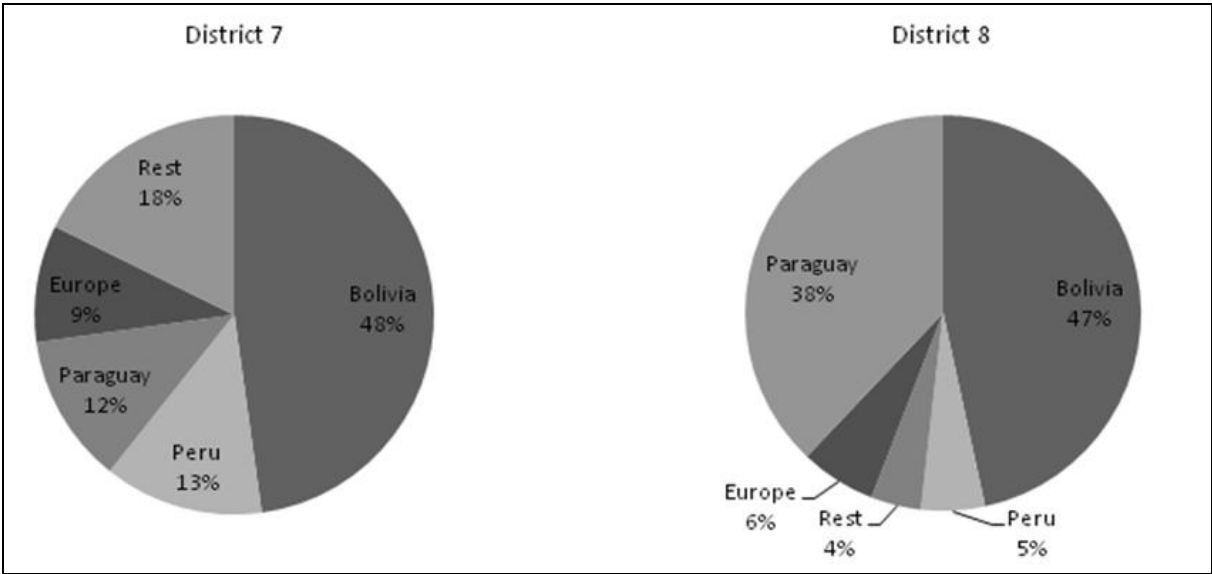
According to official numbers the province of Buenos Aires inhabits 300.000 Bolivian migrants, first and second generation, unofficial numbers estimate a number of 1.500.000. Figure 4 shows that the majority lives in the province of Buenos Aires outside the autonomous city, most often they work in the agriculture business (IOM Perfil Migratorio 2012). This research will focus on the Bolivians living in the autonomous city of Buenos Aires. There is high concentration of Bolivians living in the southern districts (comunas) of the city, mainly the comunas 7, 8, 9 and 10 that are displayed in figure 5. These districts are relatively far away from the touristic and financial centre of the city. The neighbourhoods Liniers, Flores and Villa Lugano are known for their high concentration of migrants and especially Bolivian migrants.

Figure 5: Map of the Southern section of the city of Buenos Aires



Source: MAPA Buenos Aires 2013

Figure 6: Percentages foreign born residents per country, districts 7 and 8 Buenos Aires

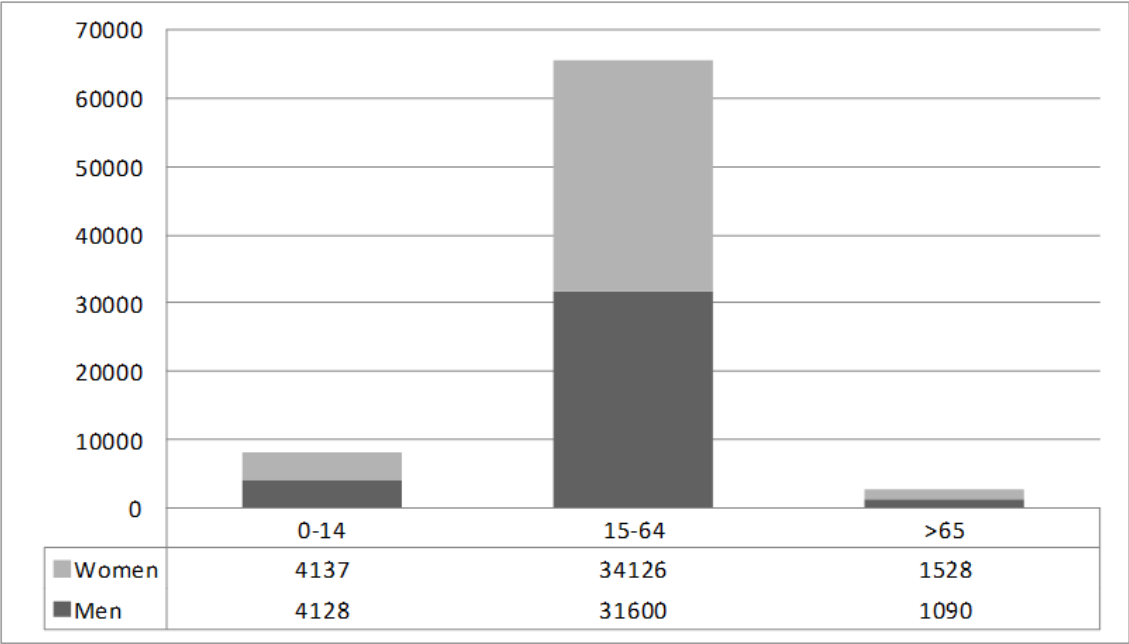


Source: INDEC 2010: National population census, households and housing

To get more into detail on the southern districts 8 and 9 mentioned earlier, figure 6 shows the percentages of foreign born residents per country of origin in the two comunas. To give an indication of the ratio in these areas, 24% percent of the people that lives in comuna 8 are foreign born. Half of these first generation migrants is originally from Bolivia (INDEC Population census 2010). Besides first generation migrants, there is a large share of second and third generation Bolivians in these areas. The concentration of Bolivians is remarkably high in the Southern neighborhoods because of its relatively low-cost housing and the social cohesion among the Bolivians. Newly arrived migrants prefer to live close to their family and friends or arrange housing through other migrants (Sassone 2007). Besides the Bolivian community in the southern districts there is also a significant part of Paraguayan inhabitants as you can see in figure 6.

The Bolivian migrant community is a very diverse group in terms in of age, year of arrival and type of migration. There are Bolivian students who are highly educated and stay for the duration of their study in Buenos Aires, Bolivians who recently migrated for a reunification with their family members, Bolivians that already lived in Buenos Aires for over 25 years and there circular migrants that only look for seasonal work. A look at the data of Argentina’s national population census 2010 that is presented in figure 7 and 8 shows that the large majority of the Bolivian migrants is between 15 -65 and that nearly half of them arrived between 2002 and 2010 (INDEC 2010). The small proportion of Bolivians above 65 years implies that most of the Bolivians return to their country of origin after they retired from work. They ratio between male and female migrants is nearly in balance, there are just slightly more female Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires.

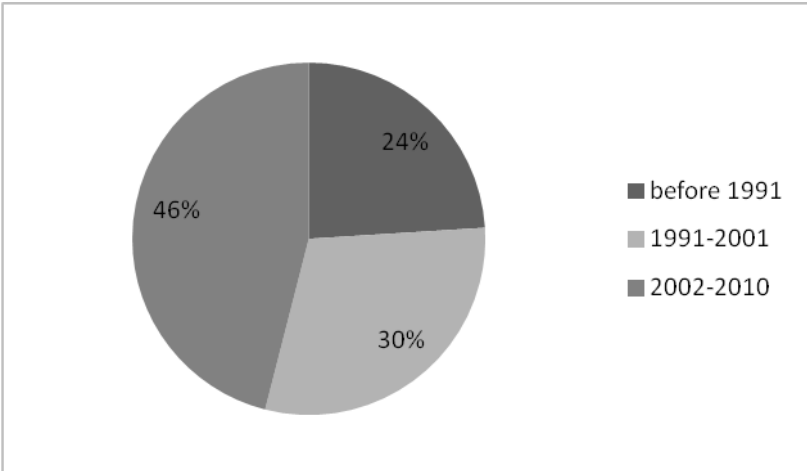
Figure 7: Division age /sex Bolivian migrants in city of Buenos Aires in the year 2010



source: INDEC 2010: National population census, households and housing

Given the fact that the number of Bolivian migrants didn't grow or decline drastically in the period of 1991 to 2010 figure 8 implies that a large part of the migrants returned to Bolivia or went elsewhere. Nearly half of the Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires arrived in a time span of eight years, many of the Bolivians migrate temporarily or on a circular base. For example young educated Bolivians come to study in Buenos Aires and return after graduation. But there is also a part of the migrants who decides to stay permanently in Argentina, 24 percent of the migrants arrived before 1991.

Figure 8 : Year of arrival in Argentina , Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires



source: INDEC 2010: National population census, households and housing

2.5 Argentinean immigration laws

At a time when immigration laws around the world are becoming increasingly restrictive, Argentina has opened its doors for South American migrants. Before 2003 Argentina's immigration policy was aligned with the majority of the world and focused on the deportation of undocumented immigrants and denying them basic social benefits such as health care and education (World Policy organization 2011). In 2003 the government of current president Kirchner adopted a new migration law that substituted the Videla Law, which was passed in 1981 and addressed the immigration issue from a perspective of national sovereignty and security.

Right to social rights, education and health care of undocumented migrants

Migration Law, Argentina (No. 25871, 2004)

Article 6 - The state, within its entire jurisdiction, will ensure equal access for immigrants and their families to the same conditions of protection, shelter and rights enjoyed by nationals, particularly in reference to social services , public good, health, education, justice labor, employment and social security.

Article 7 - Under no circumstance shall the irregular status of an immigrant prevents his or her admission as a student to an educational institution, whether public or private, national, provincial or municipal, primary, secondary, tertiary or university. The authorities of educational institutions should provide guidance and advice on the procedures necessary to remedy the effects or irregular migration.

Article 8 - Foreigners shall not be denied nor restricted access to the right to health, social care and medical care, regardless of their immigration status. The Authorities of health facilities should provide guidance and advice on the procedures necessary to remedy the effects of irregular migration.

The Migration Law of the Argentine Republic is the legal framework of migration policy. It includes high standards for the protection of migrant rights and it is the basis for the implementation of public policies aimed at their integration. Among other measures, it envisages that all foreigners have rights to health and education, regardless of their migration situation. The state guarantees the right to family reunion of migrants with their parents, spouses and children (IOM 2013). The law provides guidelines that promote not only the human rights of immigrants but also the integration between countries of the region. The migratory patterns are no longer seen from a national security standpoint but rather in terms of integrating the immigrants into the Argentinean society (Szklarz 2013).

In 2006 the government of Argentina launched a national programme of migrant regularization 'Patria Grande'. This programme facilitates the documentation of migrants from the MERCOSUR countries. The 'Mercado Comun del Sur' (MERCOSUR) is the intergovernmental organization of Latin-American countries. Initially founded for trade and economic reasons, it currently also regulates migration. Argentina is a member of this organization and Bolivia is an associate member of the organization. The cooperation between the Latin-American countries led to improved policies in the field of migration and integration (World Policy Organization 2011). The Patria Grande is a good example of the benefits of continental cooperation, through a procedure based solely on the nationality of the applicant and the lack of a criminal record migrants can obtain the regular residence in Argentina. In this way undocumented migrants can obtain residency papers and a job in the formal sector (IOM² 2012).

2.6 Bolivian migrant organizations in Argentina

Recent research done by Pizarro (2009) and Cantor (2012) discusses the organizational nature of the Bolivian immigrants in Argentina. This information is important to have a better understanding of the social and cultural environment of the research area. The studies done by Pizarro and Cantor address the characteristics and evolution of Bolivian associations in Argentina. Cantor states that immigrant organizations are very volatile, a list of them tends to be always outdated and incomplete. The first formally established Bolivian immigrant association was the 'Asociación Boliviana de Buenos Aires' founded in 1933 and dates back to the first flows of Bolivian migrants. (Pizarro 2009) But during the 1960s and the 1970s immigrants associations started to multiply rapidly and could be grouped into two types: cultural associations and slum movements.

Since the 1980s there have been attempts to create an overarching federation for the Bolivian migrant community in Argentina. However this turned out to be difficult to realize, the cultural association were not able to form a collective view on some key topics. An explanation for these failed attempts was the fragmentation of the dance organizations, the numerous associations and variety of folkloric organizations made the negotiations difficult. Nevertheless the Bolivian community reaches a milestone in 1995 with the realization of the Federación de Asociaciones Civiles Bolivianas (FACBOL), the first Bolivian migrant federation in Argentina. Objective of the FACBOL was to create an institution that brings together all the Bolivian organizations, currently the FACBOL still exists (Cantor 2012). Shortly after the creation of the FACBOL internal friction arose which led eventually to a part that separated itself from the group and started an own federation in 1998 'Federación Integrada de Entidades Bolivianas' (FIDEBOL). In 1998 the first congress of leaders of the Bolivian community was held and was attended by 180 representatives of 88 Bolivian organizations,

members of both federations attended this meeting. Currently the FIDEBOL doesn't exist anymore (Pizarro 2009).

Over the years the Bolivian community created organizations with a higher degree of formality, more institutionalized civil associations and cooperatives. According to research conducted by the IOM and the Latin American Center for Immigration Studies in 2004, the number of Bolivian organization in Argentina amounted to 161. Given that the organizations are volatile this number can change rapidly (CEMLA 2004). The big number of organizations can be explained as a reaction of the Bolivian community to the climate of hostility and discriminations, partly created by the Argentinean media and some levels of the government. Discrimination towards migrants is one of the main issues for Bolivian organizations, they have the objective to put these issues on the political agenda and try to mobilize people to improve the social position of the migrant community (Pizarro 2009). The associations have a diverse range of activities, from organizing sports events, the coordination of economic tasks (cooperatives) and cultural events such as holiday celebrations. The political representation is carried out by a small number of organizations with a higher degree of formality. The objectives and activities of migrant organizations are getting more various and the organizations are getting less homogenous. There is still internal division within the Bolivian community which leads to friction, differences between ethnic groups and the different Bolivian regions are also reflected in the migrant community (Cantor 2012).

There are several laws in Argentina concerning non-profit organizations. All non-profit organizations including Bolivian migrant organizations have to be registered at the governmental institution IGJ (Inspección General de Justicia). If you fulfill all the requirements migrant organizations can become a legal entity, which has its own rights and obligations. Part of the requirements and obligations is that an organization has to have a board of directors, an address and objectives (IGJ 2013). According to the Argentinean law N° 22.315 there are three legal statuses for non-profit organization: associations, federations and con-federations. Con-federations are formed by federation, federations are formed by associations and associations are formed by informal organizations or individual members (Sitio Social 2013). Being an informal organization has benefits and downsides, as non-registered organization you don't have to comply to the requirements which is convenient for the smaller migrant organizations. The downside is that you don't have any political or juridical rights. The legal entities can represent and defend their organization formally. Federations and associations have the possibility to cooperate with governments and request permits for organizing events. Associations are organizations in the first order, federation second order and con-federations third order. The second order and third order have more political and juridical rights and obligations because they have a formally higher status (IGJ 2013).

3 Literature review

This chapter will give an overview of the relevant literature that is applicable for this research. Both Spanish and English articles of different authors will be used to give definitions to the important themes in this research. The core concepts will eventually form the conceptual framework which will give an indication of the relations between the concepts.

3.1 Migrant organizations

First of all it is hard to give a general definition to the concept of migrant organizations. When is an organization a migrant organization? Do we regard organizations as migrant organizations because the majority of its members are foreign born, or because most of its members are descendants from immigrants? Where do we draw the line between migrant and non-migrant? Is a second generation or even third generation Bolivian migrant still considered as a Bolivian? The same counts for migrant organizations. Eventually organizations can be defined as an 'ethnic organization' rather than 'migrant organization'. In this research the term migrant organizations will be used for all cases, as long as they maintain the ethnic affection with Bolivia. This could be in the form of the objective to express the Bolivian cultural identity or have Bolivian migrants as their main target group. Through the process of interaction with others, migrant can stress the particular values, symbols and common histories that identify them as a distinct group (Jongkind 1986).

Scientists tend to focus on the larger and more institutionalised associations, particularly those that have legal personality, are engaged in formal politics or deal with the state. Not taking the small organizations into account can produce a distorted picture because small associations actually represent the most common form of immigrant sociability outside of the family (Jongkind 1986). Informal organisations pose a problem to some extent. By their very nature they are difficult to track down and leave few traces in archives. As a result most studies focus on formal organizations (Moya 2007). This research will also try to incorporate the smaller informal organizations to make the conclusion more representative for the entire migrant community.

Initially migrant organizations were spontaneously created by migrants settling in towns and cities and were essentially aimed at providing a supportive environment for new arrivals, by for example helping them to find a job or adequate housing. At first these organizations were vehicles of integration in the host country, in later stages the development of origin communities became one of their explicit objectives (Breauchemin & Schoumaker 2009). Existing organizations broadened their agenda and new associations were created to contribute to the development of sending areas. Schrover suggests that three sets of factors stimulate the formation of ethnic organisations: The

migration process, the opportunity structure in the host society and the characteristics of the immigrant community. The opportunity structure consists of external factors that influence the formation immigrant associations, for example the governmental attitude towards a migrant community (Schrover & Vermeulen 2007). These three sets of factors will be used to describe the external factors influencing the immigrant organizations contributing to the integration process.

Currently there is a broad variety of migrant organizations, Moya (2007) names seven kinds: hometown associations, religious associations, mutual aid societies, rotating credit associations, secret societies and political groups. The idea and aim behind these organizations varies completely. Immigrant organisations can be formal and well-established, but they can also be informal and unstable. Often they have to deal with internal friction and the informal organizations are often ineffective towards host authorities (Breauchemin & Schoumaker 2009). The Dutch author Schrover also makes the distinction between defensive and offensive immigrant organizations, defensive organizations are a direct response to exclusion from the host society and offensive organizations are stemming from a choice of immigrants to set themselves apart from others (Schrover & Vermeulen 2007).

A distinction can also be made between organizations that aim at enforcing or encouraging integration and those aiming to distinguish organisational members from the host society. Governments' attitudes influence the opportunities immigrants have for setting up organizations. Governments of the receiving country have the legal power to forbid, condone or stimulate the activities of immigrant organizations. Activities regarded as undesirable or even threatening will be forbidden or strongly constrained while activities that are regarded as helpful in the process of integration will be supported financially (Schrover & Vermeulen 2007).

3.2 Integration

Integration does not mean being absorbed in the receiving society, rather it means being recognized and accepted as an important and active component of local society. Migrant organizations don't see integration in the form of assimilation into the host society, where assimilation means the loss of the distinctive feature and identity and culture of the community they represent. Successful migration doesn't have to mean that the migrant loses its cultural identity. A large number of migrant belonging to the migrant organizations has the intention to return to their homeland someday, therefore migrants prefer to keep their cultural identity and culture (Caselli 2009). Engbersen et al. mention different forms of integration, the forms of integration that will be debated in this research are: structural, social-cultural and political integration. The first one, structural integration, is based the integration on the labour market and having a paid job. Having a paid job has a direct connection

to weak transnational involvement, while it has a positive effect on social-cultural integration. The direct contact with non-migrants colleagues and being part of a network besides your migrant community promotes integration. The second kind of integration, social-cultural integration exists of two components: the degree of contact with the native population and the degree an immigrant identifies with the norms and values of the host society (Engbersen et al. 2005). The third and last kind is political integration, this form of integration is visible in the way migrants are involved in political activities. For example by voting or by trying to influence politics in a different way, by joining unions and interest groups. A collective reflection of political integration is the mobilizing of immigrant groups that represent their interests (Cantor 2012). One of the strongest points of consensus in the literature on voluntary associations is that no matter the gauge of socio-economic stratification employed, and no matter the society examined, lower groups will show significantly lower rates of participation. (Engbersen et al. 2005)

3.3 Role migrant organizations on integration

Schrover argues that immigrant associations and integration are two interlinked themes. Migrant organizations are not only important for the immigrants themselves, but also for the study of their participation and integration into the host society. Studying migrant organisations enables us to make better sense of the complex and dynamic developments that take place within immigrant communities. Migrant organizations may not always be large in number, but they are still important for understanding immigration and integration processes. The extent to which immigrants cluster in organisations is critical measure of collectively expressed and collectively ascribed identity (Schrover & Vermeulen 2007).

Migrant organizations can perform an essential role in the integration process of migrants and in the management of problems connected with multi-ethnicity. They have the potential to be important for the social of migrants. And can function as a valuable intermediary between migrants and the local institution. For many organizations the main aim and the essential reason for their existence is to integrate their members into the receiving society. Almost all of the activities undertaken by the associations can ultimately be related to this general objective, although they are more directly geared to other specific goals. Leaders of the migrant community have the opportunity to collaborate with the institutions of the receiving country, they should take the initiative and create a suitable environment for the integration of the migrant community (Caselli 2009).

3.4 Transnational identity & integration

Portes describes transnationalism as ‘multi-stranded’ activities created by immigrants across national borders. Instead of a gradual process of acculturation and integration into the host society, as described by classical assimilation theory, transnationalism evoked the imagery of a permanent back-and-forth movement in which migrants lived simultaneously in two or more societies and cultures, tying them together into “deterritorialized” communities. (Portes 2007). The question whether migration has a positive or a negative impact on sending areas has become a classic. Beyond the micro level, migrants can also have an impact on their place of origin through the influence of collective organizations such as migrant associations.

Both non-governmental organizations and international organizations have already formed innovative partnerships with migrants associations in order to promote developments. Even though migrant associations do not invest directly in economic activities, they appear to contribute to the pre-conditions for economic take-off, they nonetheless invest in human resources development and extend local economic opportunities. (Breauchemin & Schoumaker 2009)

Figure 9: Forms of identification with host-society and society of origin

		Identification with country of origin	
		High	low
Identification with receiving country	high	integration	assimilation
	low	segregation	marginalisation

Source: Verkuyten 1999: 86

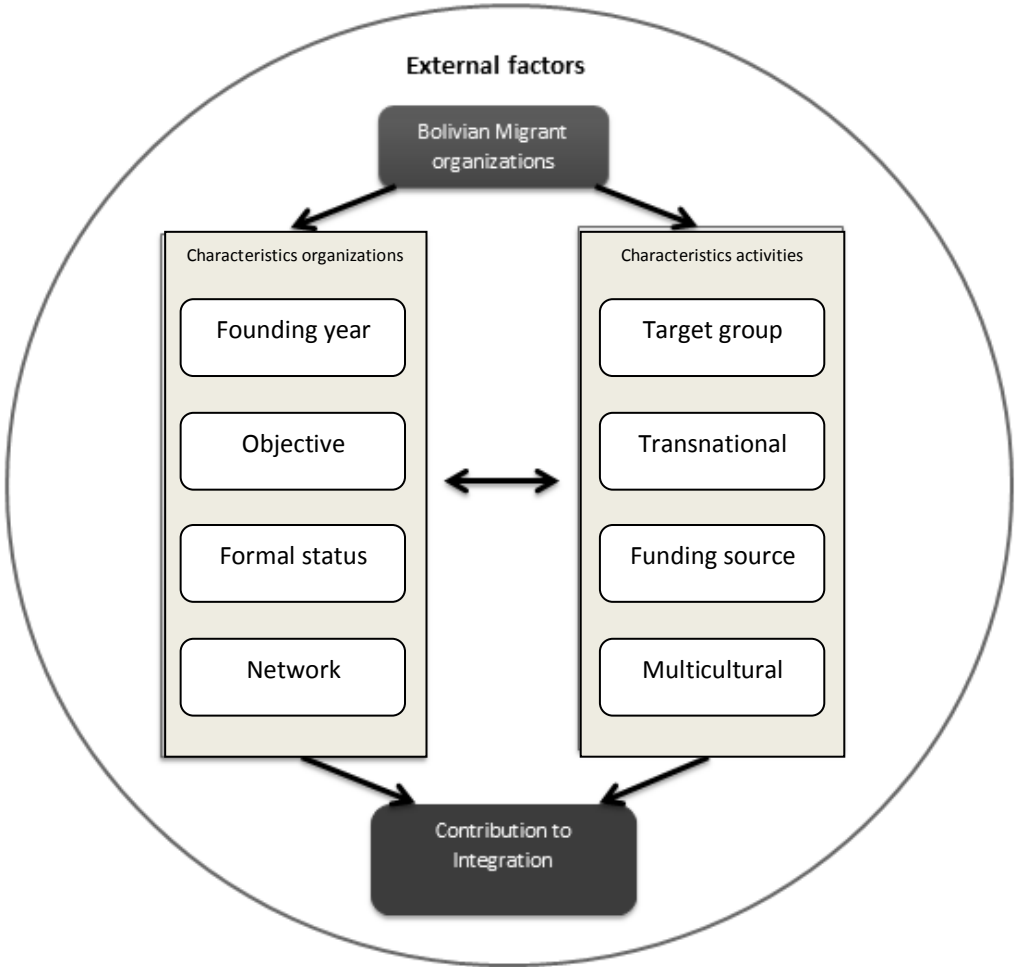
Migrants who still have a high degree of involvement and identification with their home country are called ‘transmigrants’. This manifests itself in strong transnational identities and activities with their region of origin. Assumptions state that a strong transnational ties and identification with the country of origin have negative implications for the integration in the new host society. Transnationalism implies that migrant live in two different cultures, so there is no uniform adjustment to the values of the host country. Research in the Netherlands and the US showed that strong in international ties and integration don’t exclude each other. A strong transnational identity with the country of origin does not mean a migrant can’t integrate, migrants have the ability to remain their cultural identity and participate actively in the receiving society (Portes 2007 & Engbersen et al. 2005) Figure 9 shows a two-dimensional definition of four kind of forms of identification. The strive of most migrant associations is to reach the point of integration, where identification with both host-country as the ountry of origin is high. Critics argue that migrant organizations lead to segregation, a situation where immigrants only identify themselves with their

own ethnic group. (Engbersen et. al 2005). Assimilation and marginalisation are two processes where the identification with the country of origin is low; these forms are less applicable for this research. The assimilated and marginalised part of the migrant community will not likely take place in Bolivian organizations and won't feel any affiliation with the cultural and social activities that are organized by them.

3.5 Conceptual Framework

Migrant organizations and integration are the two core concepts of this research, this thesis will try to describe the relationship between these two concepts. More specifically, what is the influence of Bolivian migrant organizations on the integration process of Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires? This relationship is visualized in the conceptual model (figure 2). The model should be interpreted from top to bottom, starting at Bolivian migrant organizations leading to contribution to integration. Three sets of factors influence the relationship: external factors surrounding the entire model, the characteristics of the organizations and the characteristics of the activities.

Figure 2: Conceptual model



External factors form the opportunity structure for migrant organization. The political and economic situation in Argentina are examples of external factors that can have major implication for the environment migrant organizations have to work in. The model visualizes this by overarching the characteristics of the organization and activities. The other two sets of factors are divided over each 4 characteristics. The operationalisation of these characteristics will be discussed in the chapter 4 and in chapter 5 the findings about these characteristics will be described systematically. The influence of the external factors is debated in the discussion.

4 Research design and Methodology

4.1 Research questions

The following central question and the sub-questions, guided the research on the contribution of the immigrant associations and the factors that influence this contribution.

Central question:

What is the contribution of migrant organizations to the integration of Bolivian migrants in the Argentinean society of Buenos Aires and which factors influence this contribution to the integration process?

Sub-questions:

1. What are the main characteristics of Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires, in terms of objectives, composition and internal organization?
2. What kind of activities do the Bolivian migrant organizations undertake?
3. To what extent do Bolivian migrant organizations have the objective to contribute to the integration of Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires?
4. Which factors influence the contribution of migrant organizations on the integration of Bolivian immigrants in Buenos Aires?

4.2 Research design

The research is based on qualitative data gathered in four months of fieldwork in Buenos Aires. Three different qualitative research methods are used to obtain the information: semi-structured interview, observation and the analysis of secondary materials. A benefit of this qualitative approach is that it gives a holistic understanding of complex issues and processes. Complex processes like integration are hard to capture in qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews and observation capture local perceptions, qualitative methods don't have the flexibility to adapt to quickly to the perception of the respondents. Semi-structured interviews ensure the main areas of the research are covered but also provide the respondent with opportunities to bring up their own ideas and thoughts (Desai & Potter 2006).

4.3 Research Methods

4.3.1 Interviews

In total 27 semi-structured interviews were conducted during the fieldwork, including 20 Bolivian migrant organization and 7 interviews with experts from different institutions. Summaries of the interview outcomes and questions can be found in the annex. To prevent a bias the organizations were selected on four criteria: their location, size, formal status and type of organization. Idea behind the selection was diversity in all four criteria. By including migrant organizations from different neighbourhoods of Buenos Aires the research can make assumptions that are applicable for the entire city instead of only for a certain neighbourhood or district. Both small and large organizations, in terms of number of members, are included to get a complete image of the influence of the migrant organizations on the integration process. The same counts for informal and formal organizations, by including both of them the research is able to point out the differences and similarities of the contribution they have on the integration process. Lastly the type of organizations, this criteria will play an important role in the analysis.

By taking into account different sorts of organizations, the research can give better insights in the contribution they have on the integration process of the Bolivian migrant in Buenos Aires. The only conditions were that the organization has to be non-profit, undertake activities in the city of Buenos Aires and the majority of its members need to have Bolivian roots. The expert interviews function as a more objective basis behind the interviews held with the migrant organizations. All of the expert have their own 'outside' perspective on the Bolivian migrant organizations and their activities. Because the experts are not part of a migrant organization they are able to formulate a more critical opinion about the contribution of migrant organizations.

The average duration of the interviews was one hour and all interviews are recorded with the permission of the respondents. Half of the interviews was conducted in an office or an building hired or owned by the organization, the other half was conducted in public areas such as a restaurant or park. During the interviews not only data was collected about the activities and characteristics of the organizations, but also about their objectives towards integration and other migrant organizations. The semi structured interviews consisted of a number of general questions to compare all the organization systematically and a few organization specific questions (Desai & Potter 2006). The semi-structured interviews are the main source of qualitative data and will be used for quotations and to create graphs. All of the interviews were held in Spanish but the quotations are translated in English.

4.3.2 Observation at Cultural and Academic events

Besides the interviews that are mentioned on the previous page, I gathered qualitative information during observations at cultural and academic events. These events are listed chronologically in table 1 together with the respondent or organization and date. Four of the cultural events are discussed extensively in the next chapter. The observations that have been made during the events give a more practical insight in the events organized by the Bolivian migrant community (Desai & Potter 2006). During the cultural events I was able to get into contact with some new respondents and ask Bolivian migrants about their experiences with migrant organizations and their activities. The academic events have been useful to gain information about current trends of the Argentinean immigration and to learn from the perspective of the local scientists.

Table 1. List of academic & cultural events

Name of the Organization	Name Informant	Date
1 st reunion supervisor CONICET	Sra. Sassone	13 February
Introduction Villa Lugano	Eugenia Santa Maria	14 February
2 nd reunion supervisor CONICET	Sra. Sassone	5 March
Manifestation 'Illegal Talleres'	La Alameda	11 March
Mesa Rondada: Migraciones internacionales	CONICET	19 March
El dia de mar Bolivia	Bolivian Consulate	23 March
Live radio interview	Radio 'Aires del Sur'	23 March
Taller de Intercambio estudiantes de posgrado	CONICET	25 March
3 th reunion supervisor CONICET	CONICET	6 April
Live radio interview	Radio 'Horizonte al Sur'	17 April
Rehearsel dance group:' Mi viejo San Martin'	Mi viejo San Simon	22 april
Bolivian Football event	Parque Roca	22 april
Bolivian 'Tinku' dance contest	Club Amnesia	22 april

4.3.3 Secondary document analysis

During the fieldwork I gained acces to several documents concerning the characteristics of the migrant organization and the activities they undertake. Among this secondary information were: books, leaflets, posters and an archive of Bolivian newspapers. The books were given by the experts during the interviews and were full of background information about Bolivian immigration in Argentina. The posters and leaflets that were given by the respondents of migrant organizations gave a good indication of how the migrant organizations are presenting themselves. Which target group do they try to reach with their marketing and what is the idea and objective the organization wants to spread? This is crucial information to get a better insight in the Bolivian migrant organizations.

On the supervising research institute CONICET I got access in the archive of the Argentinean Bolivian newspaper 'Renacer'. This archive included all two-weekly issues from the annual volumes of 2005 until 2010. The migrant organizations and events that are described in the articles of these newspapers are used to set the influence of Bolivian migrant organizations in a historically framework. Instead of the limited four months of fieldwork, the time frame is broadened and activities in a period of six years can be analysed.

4.4 Limitations

A limitation during the gathering of data was language. Although I put effort in preparing myself for the interviews and improving my Spanish there were still some difficulties with understanding the respondents of the interviews completely. The difference in culture and background made it sometimes hard to grasp the underlying meaning of the statements that were made. By rephrasing the question or by asking for a reformulation of the answer I tried to avoid this limitation.

Initially it was hard to get into contact with the Bolivian community. The websites and e-mail addresses were often outdated or out of service. The relatively new social medium 'Facebook' was eventually the way to establish the first contacts with the target group. Even the smaller migrant organizations are making use of this new communication system. Organizations update their Facebook page quite often, weekly and some organizations even daily. The response-level to requests for interviews were much higher and quicker than through other mediums. Institutions and experts were contacted "old-fashioned" through mail. Eventually it wasn't a limitation anymore to get into contact with selected migrant organizations because the Bolivian migrant community had no problems in sharing their phone and e-mail contacts. But still the study is done on a relative small-scale of 20 migrant organizations, only 10 percent of the estimated 200 Bolivian migrant organizations in the city of Buenos Aires. This leaves space for a bias, but by selecting organizations of different sizes, localities, background and status of formality the research tries to give a complete image of the organizations of the Bolivian migrant community (Desai & Potter 2006).

4.5 Operationalisation characteristics

The characteristics described in the conceptual framework are operationalised in open questions, that were used during the semi-structured interviews. This resulted in arbitrary outcomes and in some cases more open outcomes depending on the characteristic. The outcomes are incorporated in the next chapter and in some cases are presented in statistical figures.

5 Migrant organizations in Buenos Aires

Following four paragraphs will systematically analyse the data that is gathered during the four months of fieldwork in Buenos Aires. The division of the analysis arose from the sub-questions of the research. This first section of the empirical part introduces the research population and the interviews that were conducted to gather information.

5.1. Research population

The autonomous city of Buenos Aires is divided in districts (*comunas*) and the districts are subdivided in neighbourhoods (*barrios*). A majority of the Bolivians migrants and the Bolivian migrant organizations is situated in the Southern districts of the city, mainly the districts 7,8, 9 and 10 as can be seen in figure 5 in the regional framework (MAPA Buenos Aires 2013). Out of the 20 selected migrant organizations 16 were located in one of the southern districts and in one of the neighbourhoods Flores, Floresta, Liniers or Villa Crespo, as can be seen in table 2. The four interviews that were conducted in other neighbourhoods were held in public spaces or restaurants because the organization didn't own an office or building.

Table 2: List of interviews

Name organization	Category	Date	Neighbourhood
Nueva Bolivia	Media	21 March	Ricoletta
Bolivia Unida	Media	22 March	Liniers
Radio 'Aires del Sur'	Media	23 March	Liniers
Asociacion Civil Morenada "Real Oruro"	Cultural/Folkloric	28 March	Flores
Accion Civil Boliviano Reivindicacion Maritima	Political/Social	29 March	Balvanera
Equipo Pastoral Boliviano	Other	29 March	Villa Crespo
Organizacion Pachacuti	Political/Social	6 April	Liniers
ACIFEBOL	Political/Social	9 April	Floresta
Caporales mi viejo San Simon	Cultural/Folkloric	9 April	Flores
ACFORBA	Cultural/Folkloric	11 April	Flores
Federacion de AFCB	Cultural/Folkloric	11 April	Flores
Commision 'Virgin de Copacabana en Lujan'	Cultural/Folkloric	11 April	Flores
Ballet America Morena	Cultural/Folkloric	16 April	Flores
Movimiento Siglo XXI	Political/Social	17 April	Villa Lugano
Radio 'Horizonte al Sur'	Media	17 April	Villa Lugano
Liga Deportiva Latino America Senior	Sport clubs	21 April	Villa Lugano
Deportivo Boliviano JCDT	Sport clubs	22 April	Villa Lugano
Bolivia AL AIRE	Media	24 April	Constitucion
FACBOL	Political/Social	2 May	Flores
Centro Cultural Jaime Escelante	Other	2 May	Liniers

5.2 Types of organizations

To give a better oversight of the different kind of Bolivian migrant organization the twenty selected organizations are divided over five categories. The categories as mentioned in table 3 will form the basis for the rest of the analysis and conclusion. In this chapter the types of organizations will be described individually to give an indication of the broad variety of organizations within the Bolivian migrant community.

Table 3. Types of organizations and number of selected organization within category

Type of organization	Number of organizations
Cultural & Folkloric migrant organizations	6
Media migrant organizations	5
Social & Political migrant organizations	5
Sport migrant organizations	2
Other non-profit migrant organizations	2

5.2.1 Cultural & Folkloric migrant organizations

The first category of ‘cultural and folkloric’ migrant organizations is the largest in number, according to several experts¹. Organizations within this category have the main objective to express the rich Bolivian culture in parades and events, by performing a big diversity of traditional Bolivian dances in traditional colorful clothing. The Bolivian folklore has many dance styles with corresponding clothing, a few important ones that are practiced in Buenos Aires are: Tinku, Caporales and Morenada. All dance styles have their own history and region of origin, most of them have a long history and are originally from the Andes. To give an example the dance ‘Caporales’ is derived from the Spanish word ‘caporal’ which means ‘ranch owner’ It dates back form colonial times where Africans that were brought to Bolivia were working on ranches. The dance costume includes a whip and refers back to the time of landowners². The organizations within this category can be subdivided over four types: federations, associations dance schools and fraternities. A further explanation on the activities undertaken by the organization in this category will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

¹ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

² Founder and member dance fraternity ‘Caporales mi Viejo San Simon, Mr. Aragon 9 April 2013 - Plaza Irlanda in Buenos Aires

5.2.2 Media migrant organizations

The second category that will be discussed is the Bolivian non-profit media. The category consists of three types of media: radio stations, newspapers and television-programs. These three media channels form an important source of information for the Bolivian community and because of the reach of the media forms an interesting group for the research. The content of this 'Bolivian' media is totally adjusted to the demand of the migrant community and are found and managed by Bolivian migrants³.

To begin with the Bolivian radio stations; according to several respondents there are between 20 and 30 different radio stations that are specifically directed at the Bolivian migrant community⁴ stations are often informal and broadcast programs in the Southern outskirts of the city. The reach of these stations is just a few kilometers but is sufficient to get in contact with the residents of the neighbourhood. It enables them to reach their specific target group. Because the organization broadcasts from within the neighborhoods with high percentages of migrants, they are able to adjust the music and information on the people who live in the neighborhood. The majority of the people in the neighborhood knows the local radio station and tunes in to listen to the local news or their favorite program.

The second important media channel of the Bolivian migrant community is the newspaper. In the city of Buenos Aires there are several Bolivian newspapers that are published monthly or two-weekly. The newspaper 'Renacer' is the biggest in terms of numbers but is not included in this research because the organization cannot be considered completely non-profit. However the archive of Renacer is used to get an idea of the Bolivian community of past 6 years. Two other Bolivian newspapers are selected for this research. These two organizations are non-profit and the newspapers they publish are for free, advertisement and sponsoring makes this possible. For the Bolivian television program the idea is about the same as for the radio and newspapers, a specific target group that informs the Bolivian migrant community with news from both Argentina and Bolivia⁵.

³ Director Bolivian newspaper 'Bolivia Unida', Mr. Cervantes 22 March 2013, office Bolivia Unida – In Liniers Buenos Aires

⁴ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

⁵ Board member Bolivian newspaper 'Nueva Bolivia', Mr. Freitas , 21 March – restaurant , Ricoletta in Buenos Aires

5.2.3 Social & Political migrant organizations

The Bolivian migrant organizations within this category are more socially and politically active than other migrant organizations and have the objective to improve the social conditions of the Bolivian migrant community. Besides this objective they have the aim to unite the community and stand up for the rights of the Bolivian community and defend these rights collectively. Through organizations migrants can bundle their forces to protest against the inequality in Argentina⁶. The main target group of the social and political migrant organizations is the vulnerable migrant community in Buenos Aires from which the large majority lives in the outskirts of the city and partly in informal settlements. The respondent of the Bolivian consulate takes the view that the organizations within this category are very important for the Bolivian migrant community. Social and political active organizations defend the rights of the Bolivians in Argentina by unifying individual migrant in formally registered associations and federations⁷. Two out of the five organizations within this category defend the rights right of a specific vulnerable target group. Two other organizations within the social and political category are among the largest and most influential migrant organizations of Buenos Aires. The FACBOL (Federation of Bolivian civil associations) because of its long existence and political status and ACIFEBOL because of its large membership base (2000 paying members).

5.2.4 Sport migrant organizations

The category sport clubs consists of football teams and leagues. During the fieldwork two organizations were selected and interviewed. As in many of the other Latin-American countries football plays an important role in the sport culture of Bolivia. Organizational problems of football leagues in Bolivia are also reflected in the organizational structure of Bolivian football leagues in Argentina⁸. Observations that were made during a weekly event in a public park confirm the lack of organization. Another organization that was interviewed showed a higher degree of formality and organization. Deportivo Boliviano JDCT was a more ambitious group of young Bolivian migrants that took football more serious and were strictly led by a Bolivian coordinator and an Argentinean coach.

⁶ Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

⁷ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

⁸ Representative Liga Deportiva Latina America Senior, Mr. Morales, 22 April, public park Roca in Buenos Aires

One of the reasons behind the founding of sport migrant organizations is the fact that Bolivians are discriminated at sport events. On the football pitch they are insulted and sometimes even physically tackled by other players because they are Bolivian, which makes it harder for a Bolivian migrant to play in a regular football team. There are strict rules against discrimination in and of the sport fields but in practice discrimination and unequal treatment still exists. During recent professional matches in the highest league of the Argentinean competition there were discriminating chants against the more indigenous players. Because of the prevalent discrimination Bolivians migrants started to organize football events and teams for themselves⁹.

5.2.5 Other non-profit migrant organizations

Finally the last category is formed by two other non-profit Bolivian organization that didn't fit it in with any of the other categories. The first of these two organization is a religious migrant movement, Equipo Pastoral Boliviano, that tries to create a platform for Bolivian migrant that want to express their religion in a different way. The second organization 'Centro Educativo Jaime Escelante' is an educational centre for low-skilled migrants. The objective of this school for migrant is to give the low-skilled migrants a better position on the Argentinean labor market by teaching them new skills, most of the time technical skills. Both are focused at Bolivian migrant but don't fit in the other four categories but are taking into account in the empirical analysis.

⁹ Director Deportivo Boliviano JCDT, Mr. Choque, 22 April 2013 - football field Villa Lugano in Buenos aires

5.3 Characteristics migrant organizations

This chapter will describe the characteristics of the Bolivian migrant organizations and describes the remarkable distinctions between the organizations. Figures are made to visualize the differences between the main characteristics of the twenty selected migrant organizations. Source for the analysis are the interviews with the migrant organization, all twenty migrant organization are included in all of the figures.

5.3.1 Formality

The level of formality is an interesting characteristic to begin with. In the Argentinean law there is made a distinction between organizations of the first order (associations), second order (federations) and third order (confederations). Because there doesn't exist a Bolivian confederation the research consists out of informal organization, associations and federations. The degree of formality gives organizations a juridical entity and gives them political rights that informal organizations don't have. Federations have associations as members and association have smaller organizations as members. Most of these smaller organizations are informal and aren't registered at the Argentinean government, and thus don't have any political rights. The lack of these rights and representation was the reason to establish associations. An organization of the first order (association) is able to represent its member organizations politically and organize legal events besides this the Bolivian associations are able to cooperate with the local and state government in Argentina (Sitio Social 2013). The association tries to create equal chances for the informal Bolivian organizations by giving them political back-up¹⁰. In compare with associations federations are less practical and more bureaucratic. Political participation is the main activity of a federation, planning and organizing events isn't their task. The fact that a federation is an organization in the second order, gives them more political and legal rights¹¹.

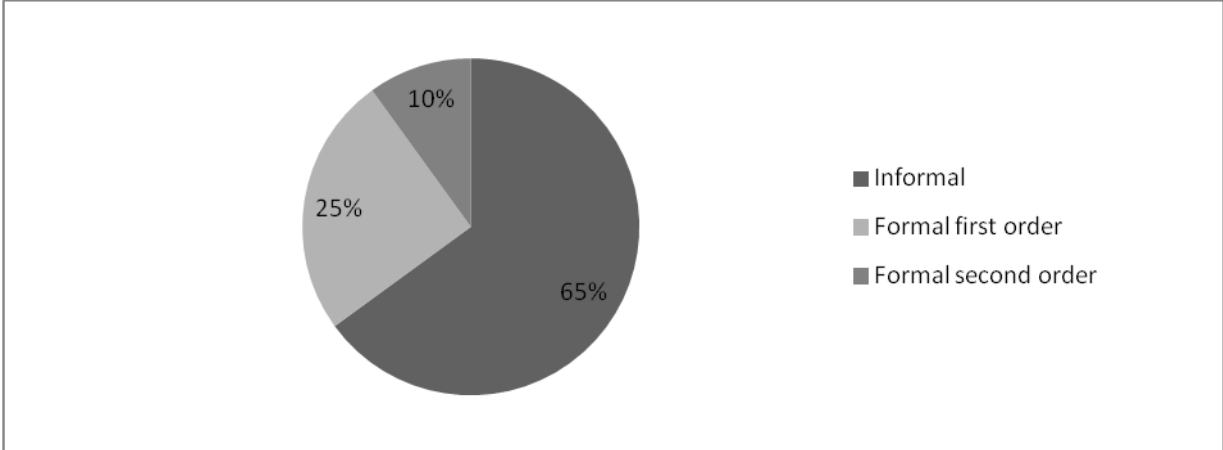
Among the 20 selected Bolivian migrant organizations five are informal. Reason behind this is because the organization is small and doesn't need to organize bigger formal events or because the organization is part of a formal association. Informal organization are often smaller in number and don't have a board of directors like the formal organizations need to have according the law. Instead of decision made by a board of directors, decisions are made collectively by the members. Good examples of small informal organizations are the numerous dance fraternities that are affiliated to

¹⁰ Board member ACFORBA , Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013 - Flores is Buenos Aires

¹¹ Board member Federacion AFCB, Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013 - Flores Buenos Aires

the dance and folklore association (ACFORBA). Fraternities don't have the need to be formal because they are small and have a low budget, besides this they take part in events in events organized by the ACFORBA¹². Only two organizations are formal in the second order of the Argentinean law, the oldest Bolivian federation FACBOL and ACFORBA. A majority of 65% of the interviewed organization has the formality in the first order.

Figure 11: Formal status Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires



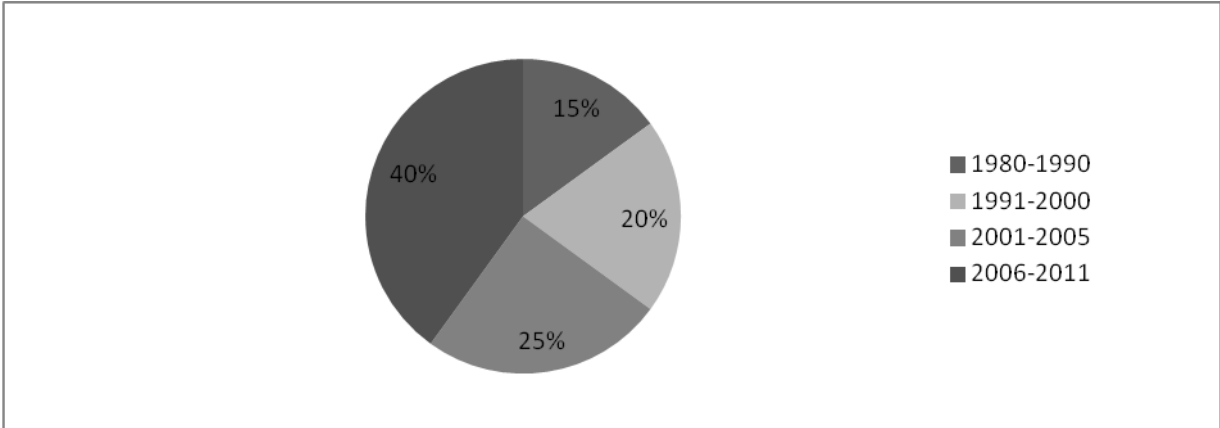
5.3.2 Year of establishment

Experts and literature state that the Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires are volatile¹³, new organizations disappear only a few years after their establishment (Cantor 2012). Among the twenty organizations that were selected for this research this volatility trend is not clearly visible. Out of the twenty organizations eight are founded relatively recently, but a large share of the organizations has been active for one and in some case three decades. These organizations proved to be stable over time and fulfill a prevalent need from the Bolivian migrant community. A closer look at the different categories of organizations exhibits that organizations within the categories media and sport are often established in the time period 2001 till 2011. The more formal organizations within the categories dance & folkloric and cultural & political are generally established before 2001. The informal dance fraternities and small social movements are mostly formed more recently.

¹² Board member ACFORBA , Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013 - Flores is Buenos Aires

¹³ Representative of the IOM (International Organisation for Migration) 12 March 2013 - Regional Office IOM in Buenos Aires

Figure 12.: Year of establishment Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires



5.3.3 Characteristics of the board

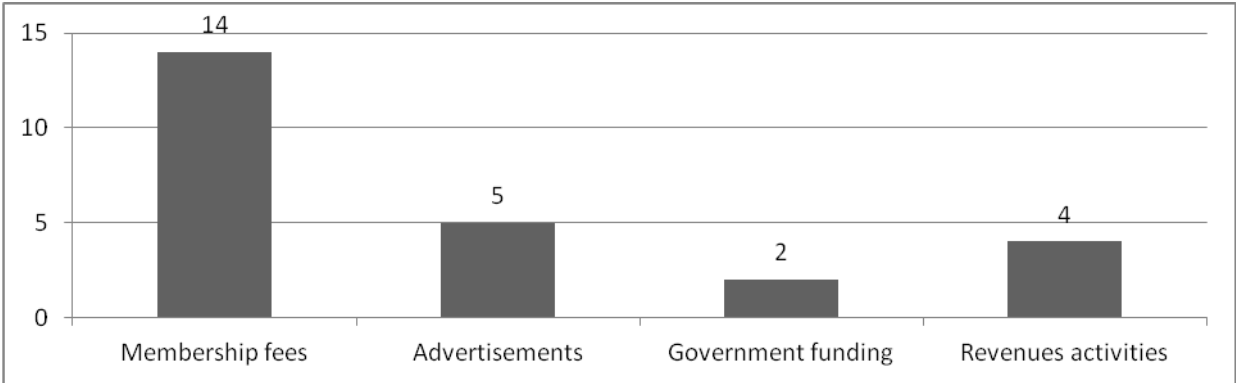
Decades of migration between Bolivia and Argentina resulted in diversity within the migrant communities in terms of age, educational level, region of origin and years of residence in Argentina. However the respondents of the interviews showed some remarkable similarities. A large majority of the respondents was between forty and sixty years old, born in Bolivia, highly educated and lived around 15 -20 years in Buenos Aires. With only a few exceptions all respondents of the migrant organizations fitted in this profile. The only essential difference they have is their region of origin, some of them are from rural areas in Bolivia others are from the main cities or the capital. However the migrant organizations are still very diverse. These observations have to be taken into account by doing the analysis.

The fact that the large majority of the respondents fits in with the profile of an older well-educated first generation migrant is due to the fact that all of the respondents were co-founder or board-member of the migrant organization. To set up a formal organization the migrant needs to have a network and knowledge of the Argentinean laws on this subject. A board-member or founder of an organization has to invest time and in some cases money in the organization, which implies he has a steady income and probably is highly educated. In general it can be stated that the board members of the migrant organizations have followed university level education in Bolivia or Argentina and have a high-skilled job. Among the respondents were advocates, doctors, architects and university students. Contrary to the board-members, the target group and members of the migrant organizations are often low-skilled, but this depends on the type of organization. Bolivian migrants within this target group are most vulnerable and therefore the most likely group to have integration issues. This will be further discussed in following chapters of the empirical analysis.

5.3.4 Source of funding

Four different types of sources are used by the Bolivian migrant organizations to pay for their activities, some organizations are funded by one sources and others by a combination of sources. As shown in figure 13 the most utilized source of income for the Bolivian migrant organizations is private donations and membership fees. In 80% of the selected migrant organizations the members had to pay a fee for being part of the organization or participating in the events that are organized. For example, members of a dance fraternity pay for the hired rehearsal rooms and the costumes they wear during their performances¹⁴. Member of a football team need to pay for the shirts and balls they need¹⁵. In general you can say the budgets of the organizations were fairly low and thus the membership fees were relatively low. The height of the individual monthly membership fees in the selected organizations were between 7 and 50 Argentinean peso (between 1 and 7 euro).

Figure 13: Funding sources Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires



The exact height of membership fees and organizational budget are hard to determine because this differs per month and time of the year. For the larger organizations with owned office, budgets are higher and the membership fees are more regulated. The social organization ACIFEBOL for example owned an office and a radio studio, to maintain these fixed cost they had 2000 members with membership cards, they had to pay a monthly fee of 10 peso (around 1,5 euro). Besides these individual membership fees the migrant organizations also had to pay fees for being member of an association or federation. The costs of the associations and federations were relatively low in

¹⁴ Founder and member dance fraternity ‘Caporales mi Viejo San Simon, Mr. Aragon 9 April 2013 - Plaza Irlanda in Buenos Aires

¹⁵ Director Deportivo Boliviano JCDT, Mr. Choque, 22 April 2013 - football field Villa Lugano in Buenos aires

compare with other migrant organizations. Association and federations only need a budget to organize meetings and cover administrative costs¹⁶.

Among the six organizations that didn't use membership fees to finance their activities are all five Bolivian media organizations. These five organizations use advertisement as their main source of income. During the radio and television programs and in the Bolivian newspapers there is time and space for advertisement. Because the selected media channels have such a specific target group it is a perfect way for businesses and organizations to reach the Bolivian migrant group. Especially for budget companies in the southern part of the city and for businesses that focus on the Bolivian migrant community it is perfect channel to advertise for their product or event. Given that the organizations are non-profit they only need the budget to cover the production costs, advertisement is therefore relatively cheap. Only 10 percent of the organizations received funding from the Argentinean government to organize their activities. Both these organizations were in the cultural & folkloric category and they received money from the government of Buenos Aires to organize the parade in October. The height of government funding is low and could only be used for practical things like fances. The last source of income 'revenues from activities' is utilized by 20 percent of the Bolivian migrant organizations. Some of the organizations organize fairs and there was one dance group that earned money with their performances. In principle funding is relatively low because it is only intended to cover the costs.

5.3.5 Activities

To give a better idea of the activities that are undertaken by the migrant organizations this paragraph will discuss the activities organized by the Bolivian migrant community using the categories of organizations that were mentioned before in this chapter. To give some examples of activities each category has a box where the observations of an attended event are described. These observations will give a more practical insight of the events organized by the Bolivian migrant community.

Cultural & Folkloric organizations

As described before there are three types of organizations within this category, each with its own particular activities: federations, associations and fraternities. The latter is the most informal migrant organization and the most numerous. Fraternities are groups that generally exist of young migrants between 18-30, Bolivian and non-Bolivian. The dance groups have 10 till 50 members of both

¹⁶ Board member FACBOL, Mr. Velaso, 2 May 2013 - office FACBOL , Flores in Buenos Aires

genders and organize weekly meetings to rehearse and discuss upcoming events¹⁷. The majority of the fraternities has a Facebook page but nothing more, the rehearsals and meetings are in houses, parks and hired rooms. Main activity of the fraternities is giving demonstrations on the street and joining public parades.

The folkloric and cultural associations and federation function completely different in compare with the fraternities. These types of migrant organizations fulfill the more formal part of the folkloric events of the Bolivian community. An association is legally registered as an organization in the first order and a federation is registered as an organization in the second order according to the Argentinean law N° 22.315. The Bolivian dance association (ACFORBA) plays a more coordinating role at the organization of dance and cultural events. A federation has even more competences and is able to represent their member associations politically and legally.

Description observation cultural event: Tinku dance competition

Location and date: Flores-Club Amnesia 22 April

On invitation of one of my respondents I paid a visit to a Bolivian dance event in the centre of the neighbourhood Flores. This event held at the nightclub Amnesia was part of a dance competition between ten Bolivian dance fraternities that practise the traditional 'Tinku' dance. There was an entrance fee of 15 Argentinean peso (2 euro) to finance the expenses, the event was organized without commercial motives. The competition organised by Sr. Orlando existed of ten performances by the different dance groups accompanied by Bolivian musicians. The female and male participants were dressed in colourful traditional costumes and waived with the Wiphala flag that represents the native Andes population. Every Sunday a similar competition is organized displaying the various Bolivian dance styles and music, dances as Caporales and Morenada are also represented. The audience of approximately 300 people existed mainly of young first or second generation Bolivians, male and female. During the break there was a possibility to drink, eat and dance. The event was organized to give the fraternities a possibility to show their dance routines and measure themselves with comparative dance groups.

The main event of the Bolivian Cultural & Folkloric migrant organizations is the annual event that is held in October 'Entrada Folklorica Playo de Mayo'. At this event the entire Bolivian folklore community gathers in the city centre of Buenos Aires to demonstrate the traditional Bolivian dances in a big parade which runs along some of the central points of the city. Tinku, Caporales, Morenada

¹⁷ Board member ACFORBA , Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013, Flores is Buenos Aires

and other dances are displayed in a colourful parade of numerous fraternities and other dance organizations. Around 10.000 dancers display the Bolivian folklore to the people of Buenos Aires¹⁸. Federations and associations play a key role in the organization of this event by taking care of the logistics, permits and dealing with the government of Buenos Aires and Argentina.

*“The big parade held in October is the perfect opportunity to display the folkloric richness and diversity of Bolivia to the Argentineans. Because of its central location it attracts an audience of approximately 250.000 people with different ethnic backgrounds”*¹⁹.

There are other folkloric events throughout the year especially in the weekend, like the event discussed in the box. Besides the fraternities that perform mainly on the street there are Bolivian dance schools. These schools often have their own building to give rehearsals and have a broader age range. It is possible to start classes at four years old, in the beginning the school gets paid for these lessons. The goal of the lessons is to perform not only traditional Bolivian dances but also classical ballet. The performances are given in universities and theatres at intercultural events, in some cases schools get paid for their performances²⁰.

Media organizations

The category of media organizations has the main activity to spread information through their medium, the Bolivian migrant community does this through radio, newspapers and television. Bolivian radio stations have weekly schedules with the division of programs, the programs are divided over different target groups and organizations. During the programs Bolivian and other Latin-American music is played but the majority of the time is intended for discussion and information. Information and discussion about upcoming events of the Bolivian migrant community, politics in Argentina and Bolivia, football, Bolivian and Argentinean news and daily issues in the neighborhood. In this way migrants are not only informed about the situation and events in Argentina but also about the news in their country of origin. During commercial breaks there are advertisements for local companies, bus tickets to Bolivia and other business that is directly related to the neighborhood or target group²¹.

¹⁸ Director ‘Asociacion Civil Morenada Real Oruro’, Mr. Fernandez Fuentes 28 March, restaurant Flores in Buenos Aires

¹⁹ Director ‘Asociacion Civil Morenada Real Oruro’, Mr. Fernandez Fuentes 28 March 2013, restaurant Flores in Buenos Aires

²⁰ Director ‘Ballet America Morena’, Mr. Cardenas, 16 April 2013, restaurant Flores in Buenos Aires

²¹ Representative ‘Bolivia AL AIRE’, Mr. Edwin, 24 April 2013, office Bolivia AL AIRE in Buenos Aires

Description observations cultural event: Visit and interview radio program 'Horizonte al Sur'

Location and date: Villa Lugano 17 April

Invited by the respondent of organization 'Movimiento Siglo XXI' I paid a visit to a local informal radio station in Villa Lugano, during the visit I conducted an interview that was live on the radio. The program named 'Horizonte al Sur' was a weekly two hour program broadcasted on the radio station 'Gigante fm'. The program was led by two Bolivian migrants from approximately 50 years old and was recorded in small but professional looking studio. All work was done voluntarily and the airtime for the programs was for free. During the program different topics were discussed such as the research and politics in Bolivia, Argentina and the Netherlands. It was obvious the program leaders were supporting the current Bolivian president Evo Morales, given that they even handed out his posters and flyers at the end of the visit. The program was continuously in contact with the audience through messages on a mobile phone, text messages about meetings of the Bolivian community or comments on earlier discussions. At the peak the program had an audience just over 2000 people. The large majority of the audience is migrant living in Villa Lugano, next to this there is a small proportion following the radio program on internet.

The newspapers report on issues and events that are important for the migrant community. Like the radio stations the newspapers discuss the situation in Argentina but also in Bolivia, migrants are still connected to their country of origin by family or because of the desire to return. Topics as migration and integration are also interesting for the target group and an interview with a successful Bolivian migrant can be published to inspire the readers. Advertisements in the newspapers can focused on the migrant community which makes it more interesting for companies but also for the promotion of events of other migrant organizations²². The activities of the television program function in the same way, adjusting to the target group. The weekly program tries to be present at the events and gatherings of the Bolivian migrant community so they can show recordings on the television.

Social & Political organizations

The activities that are undertaken by organizations in this category have a broad variety and range, from manifestations to presenting political proposals. Social and political organizations are more actively involved in the political processes of Bolivian and Argentinean authorities. Some of the organizations defend the rights of specific target group within the Bolivian migrant community.

²² Director Bolivian newspaper 'Bolivia Unida', Mr. Cervantes 22 March 2013, office Bolivia Unida – In Liniers Buenos Alres

'Movimiento Siglo XXI' defends the rights of the inhabitants of an informal neighbourhood in the south of the city 'Villa 20' and organization 'Pachacuti' stands up for the rights of the minority Quechua population in Argentina. The organization gives them the opportunity to combine their forces and demand solutions for their specific issues.

Other organizations try to represent a broader range of vulnerable Bolivian migrants, two organizations (FACBOL & ACIFEBOL) became large and influential and represent up to 2000 members. Both organizations have the objective to improve the social conditions for the Bolivian migrants but do this on their own way, the FACBOL is as a federation more bureaucratically active whereas the ACIFEBOL tries to solve problems on a more practical way. The last organization in this category has a slightly different approach and objective and will be discussed in the following box.

Description observation cultural event: El dia de mar Bolivia

Location and date: Parque Rivadavia , monument Simon Bolivar 23 March

On invitation of the founder I paid a visit to the annual event organized by 'Accion Civil Boliviano de Reivindicacion Maritima'. This political organization organized this event for the 20th time in a row in collaboration with the Bolivian consulate. Around 1000 people attended the event, among them four ambassadors (Venezuela, Cuba, Peru and Bolivia) and representatives of the Argentinean government. Among the spectators different Bolivian migrant organizations and Argentinean NGOs were represented. The objective of the event is to remind the political conflict between Chili and Bolivia, during a military confrontation that occurred in 1879 Bolivia lost land and their direct access to the sea. Bolivia still claims this land and sees the absence of a port as one the reason of their economic underdevelopment. This annual event is held on the 23th of March, not only in Bolivia but also in Buenos Aires. The organization tries to involve the Argentinean society by supporting the political conflict between England and Argentina about the Falkland Islands. With the slogan: 'Sea for Bolivia, Falkland Islands for Argentina' the migrant organization tries to link both issues. The idea behind this is the unity of the Latin-American continent, brother countries that support each other for the good cause. Other Latin-American countries support Bolivia in regaining direct access to sea, this is represented by the four ambassadors that attended the event. After more than 100 years the political conflict is still important for the Bolivians, President Evo Morales fueled the discussion by stating that he wants to take the case to the International court of justice in Den Haag. During the event there were several speeches and a musical demonstration, after a minute of silence present organizations showed their support with a garland of flowers.

Sport organizations

Sport organizations have a rather clear and unambiguous activity of organizing sport events, the two selected organizations in this research organize football events. Although it is not the main objective to organize multi-cultural events, the activities attract multicultural spectators and players. A major critique on the activities organized by the Bolivian migrant community is inadequate organization. The weekly event described in the box on the next page illustrates this disorganization and lack of overall coordination. However the other organization disapproves this rather unorganized event and tries to display another side of the Bolivian migrant community.

Description observation cultural event: Bolivian football event

Location and date: Parque Roca (Close to Villa Lugano) 22 April

On advice of the respondent of the organization Ballet America Morena I paid a visit to the weekly football event held in the public park 'Parque Roca'. For many Bolivians Sunday is the only free day of the week and the migrant community gathers in this park to organize football leagues and games. It was a large scale event with around ten football pitches spread over the park, next to the football there were areas to buy drinks and food. All over the park there are busses and cars that sell alcoholic drinks and food, most of these vehicles have Bolivian flags or banners of a football club or league on their car. The terrain was littered with trash and was visited by hundreds of mainly Bolivian visitors and players. To give estimation there were around 3000 people gathered in park on Sunday 22 April. Clubs and leagues that participated at this event were all informal and were not registered at the Argentinean government. Both genders are included and each age group has its own competition, there are leagues for youth, adolescents, adults and seniors. There was no overall coordination and because of the numerous leagues and teams the event appeared chaotic. One of the visitors comments that this social gathering of the Bolivian migrant community is not only about football, it is about enjoying the free day and gather with friends and family. Part of this gathering is to play football and consume traditional Bolivian dishes. Because the park is a public place nobody needs to pay for the location. There is no collaboration with the government about this event and the event doesn't have a permit but the government of Buenos Aires tolerates the weekly gathering of the Bolivian community.

5.3.6 Target group

Target group Cultural & Folkloric migrant organizations

Similar to the folkloric culture in Bolivia the dance organizations in Buenos Aires often consist of young members. Fraternities try to reach a target group of young Bolivians between 18 and 30, among this target group is a high percentage of students who are studying at one of the numerous universities in Buenos Aires. The new migration laws give migrants the rights on education without taking into account their migration status. These regulations attracted young migrants from all the Mercosur countries²³.

“ A large number our Bolivian members is student and resides on a temporary basis in Buenos Aires, enjoying their right on free education. Because of their intention to return to their region of origin they remain to have close ties with the Bolivian culture and like to express this to the Argentinean society in Buenos Aires ” ²⁴.

As discussed later on in this chapter the dance organizations also attract non-Bolivian members. As long as they are interested in the Bolivian folklore they are able to participate in the activities organized in this category. The annual big parade and the demonstrations in public places are good opportunities to generate more interest in Bolivian folklore and reach the target group. In this way youth with different cultural background get involved in the dance fraternities. People above thirty still can be part of dance-organization by fulfilling coordinating tasks. Board members of the associations and federations are often older. Dance schools have a broader target group, although the maximum age of 30 remains the same the minimum is stretched to 4 years old.

Target group Media organizations

Bolivian newspapers and radio stations have a very specific target group given their reach and audience. Newspapers are distributed in the southern neighborhoods and districts of Buenos Aires with high percentages of Bolivian migrants. The radio stations have a limited reach due to technical limitations and are also situated in the southern areas where the large majority of their audience lives. These less affluent neighborhoods are often very multicultural and next to the Bolivian migrant community other migrant groups are represented. The locally oriented news that is brought by Bolivian media channels is also interesting for migrants with other nationalities and this broadens the

²³ Board member Bolivian newspaper ‘Nueva Bolivia’, Mr. Freitas , 21 March – restaurant , Ricoletta in Buenos Aires

²⁴ Founder and member dance fraternity ‘Caporales mi Viejo San Simon, Mr. Aragon 9 April 2013 - Plaza Irlanda in Buenos Aires

target group of the media organizations. But in principal the Bolivian migrants are their main target group²⁵. Radio stations try to reach the entire Bolivian migrant community in the neighborhood by adapting their weekly schedule to different target groups. For example, a program made by migrant youth to reach young Bolivians or a program about football to reach an audience that is interested in sport. By including different topic and age categories the radio stations try to reach all the people of their geographical target group. A weekly time schedule makes it possible to tune at your favorite radio programme²⁶.

Target group Social & Political organization

Organizations within this category have a different kind of target group. Contrary to the previous category that has a geographically oriented target group the category of social and political organizations focuses on Bolivians that have a vulnerable social and economic position or have specific ethnic background. Social organizations try to defend and demand the rights of the disadvantaged Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires. Some of the selected organizations do this in a practical ways other organizations try to reach political developments.

“Most of our members are low-skilled migrants that often work in the informal sector, migrant with these features are more likely to have a vulnerable position in the Argentinean society. People with a better economic position don’t need our support ”²⁷.

The organization ‘Pachacutti’ determines its target group on ethnic grounds by politically representing the indigenous Quechua population in Argentina. Another organization in this category does have a geographically oriented target group and represent the social and economic vulnerable people of the informal neighbourhood ‘Villa 20’. Although the targets groups in this category are diverse they have one similarity, the target group includes the vulnerable Bolivian migrants.

Target group Sport organizations

The Bolivian sport organizations have broad target group that includes all people that are interested in football, as players or as audience. The weekly events held in the public park Roca includes players of both genders and all age categories. Although the majority of the teams consists of Bolivians, players from all nationalities are welcomed to join a team. Discrimination towards migrants has been

²⁵ Director Bolivian newspaper ‘Bolivia Unida’, Mr. Cervantes 22 March 2013, office Bolivia Unida – In Liniers Buenos Aires

²⁶ Board member ‘Horizonte al Sur’ , Mr. Zarate, 23 March 2013, radio studio Villa Lugano in Buenos Aires

²⁷ Director ACIFEBOL, Mr. Ayala Amoraga, 9 April 2013, office ACIFEBOL Floresta in Buenos Aires

one of the motifs to start a Bolivian football event or team. Objective behind the organization of the Bolivian football event is to ban discrimination, therefore is the discrimination towards other ethnicities ruled out. The target group of Deportivo Boliviano JCDT is more specific than the broad target group of the event in the park. The event in the park is held for all migrants, including leagues for both genders and all ages. Deportivo Boliviano JDCT exists of young talented males between 13 and 30 years old and has the goal to train them and eventually become a professional team in Argentina.

Multiculturalism within target group

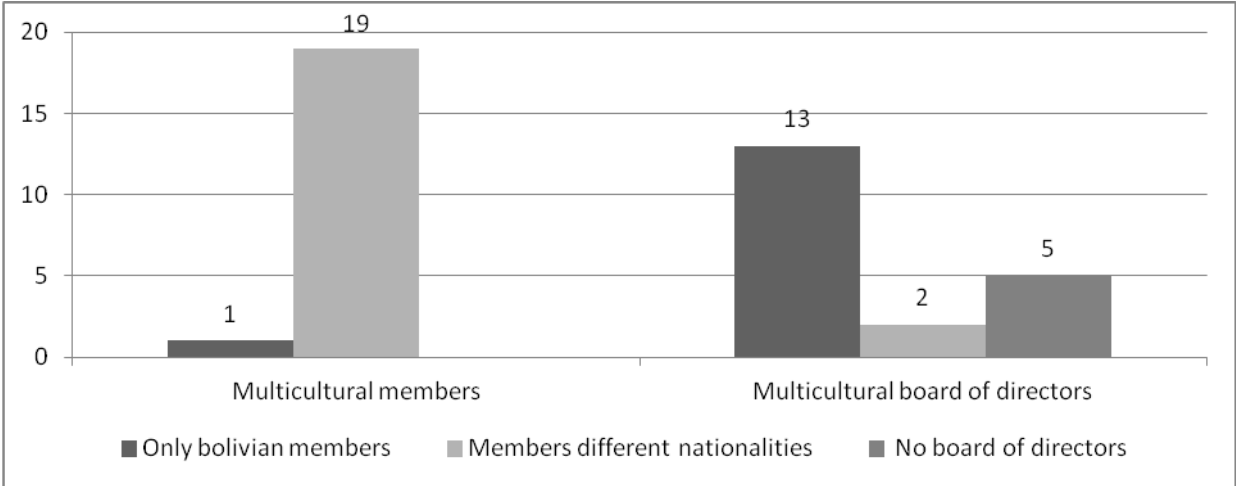
The interviews showed some remarkable results in the field of multiculturalism within the Bolivian migrant organizations (figure 14). From the 20 organizations, 19 claimed to have members with different national backgrounds, in many cases not only members with the Argentinean nationality but also migrants from other Latin-American countries such as Peru and Paraguay. The federation of folklore and cultural associations estimated that their membership base amounted for 40 percent of first generation Bolivian migrants and 40 percent of second generation Bolivian migrant, the other 20 percent is mainly Argentinean²⁸. One of their member organizations 'caporales mi viejo San Simon' confirms this proportional distribution.

Other respondents find it hard to give estimations of percentages from the different nationalities in their organizations. One of the largest social organizations of the city claim to be anti-discrimination and to be open for all kind of nationalities, as long as they are interested in the services the organization has to offer²⁹. Most Bolivian organization are initially founded by first generation migrants that want to improve the situation of the Bolivian migrant community or gather with other Bolivians and undertake activities together. These migrant organizations existed out of family, friends and relatives. Later on these organizations became bigger and the divide between Bolivian and non-Bolivian became less visible. Currently organizations are open for everybody although the organizations are originally for Bolivian migrants.

²⁸ Board member Federacion AFCB, Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013, Flores Buenos Aires

²⁹ Founder and member dance fraternity 'Caporales mi Viejo San Simon, Mr. Aragon 9 April 2013 - Plaza Irlanda in Buenos Aires

Figure 14.: Multiculturalism within migrant organizations



Contrary to the membership base of the organizations the board of directors didn't turn out to be multicultural. A significant majority of the interviewed organizations has a board of directors with only first or second generation Bolivian migrants. As already mentioned earlier the board members fit in a certain profile, part of this profile is that they are between forty and sixty years old and are born in Bolivia. This is also reflected in figure 14 which shows that there are only two organizations with board members with different nationalities. An explanation for this is that although almost all organizations have multicultural members the organizations are originally only for Bolivians. Other nationalities are welcome but the focus is still on Bolivians so the organization should be directed by Bolivians.

5.3.7 Collaboration Bolivian migrant organizations

During the first interviews with migrant organizations and experts questions were asked about other migrant organizations; Does your organization collaborate or have contact with any Bolivian migrant organizations? Which are important and influential Bolivian migrant organizations in the city of Buenos Aires? These questions were not only useful to gain new contacts but also to see how the network of the migrant organizations functions and see which organizations are highly regarded among other organizations and institutions. The mutual relationships between the organizations can be derived from the way migrant organization and institutions refer to each other. Table 4 gives an indication of the network by listing which organization refers to which.

As can be seen from table 4 the FACBOL (Federación de Asociaciones Civiles Bolivianas) is the migrant organization that is most referred to among the experts and other migrant organizations. Although none of the other organization is part of the federation and the references are not only positive, 5 organizations and 3 experts refer to the oldest Bolivian federation of Buenos Aires. Most

organizations are referred by just one organization and four organizations were only found through Facebook. Remarkable is that the folkloric organizations often have more than one reference and most of the time are these references of other folkloric organizations. This observation indicates that the network within this type of organizations is tighter than in other cases. An explanation for a tighter network could be that organizations within this category collaborate more often to organize folkloric events together, a second explanation is the federation and association for folkloric organizations (ACFORBA & Federacion de AFCB) that induces collaboration of its members.

Table 4: References migrant organizations

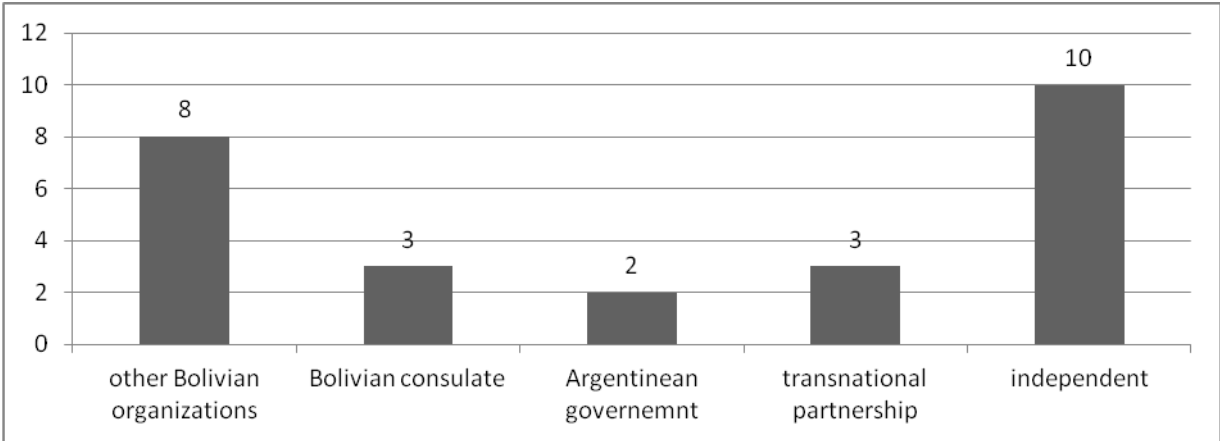
Times Referred	Name organization	Referred by
Political & Social organizations		
8	FACBOL	IOM, Bolivian Consulate, ACIFBOL, Asociacion Civil Morenada, Federacion AFCB, CONICET, Nueva Bolivia, Deportivo Boliviano JCDT
3	ACIFEBOL	Caporales San Simon, ACFORBA, Nueva Bolivia
2	Accion Civil Boliviano Reivindicacion Maritima	Bolivian Consulate, ACIFEBOL
1	Organizacion Pachacuti	Bolivian Consulate
1	Movimiento Siglo XXI	Bolivian consulate
Cultural and Folkloric organizations		
3	ACFORBA	Caporales San Simon, Aso. Civil Morenada, Federacion AFCB
2	Federacion de AFCB	ACFORBA, Virgin de Copacabana
2	Comision 'Virgin de Copacabana en Lujan'	ACFORBA, Federacion de AFCB
2	Ballet America Morena	ACIFEBOL, Caporales San Simon
2	Asociacion Civil Morenada "Real Oruro"	ACFORBA, Caporales San Simon
1	Caporales mi viejo San Simon	ACFORBA
Media organizations		
1	Radio 'Horizonte al Sur'	Movimiento XXI
1	Bolivia Unida	ACIFEBOL
1	Radio 'Aires del Sur'	Bolivia Unida
0	Bolivia AL AIRE	x
0	Nueva Bolivia	x
Sport organizations		
0	Deportivo Boliviano JCDT	x
1	Liga Deportiva Latino America Senior	Ballet America Morena
Other organizations		
1	Centro Cultural Jaime Escelante	Caporales San Simon
0	Equipo Pastoral Boliviano	x

Another remark could be made about the migrant organizations in the category media. Two out of the five organizations were never mentioned, the remaining three organizations only have one reference. This is particular considering that an organization like Bolivia Al AIRE reaches an audience

of 7000 people³⁰. The lack of references can be partly due to the fact that there is a more competitive mentality within this category. Newspapers and radio stations want to reach an as large as possible audience, promoting the competitor is not beneficial for their own good. On the other side, all media migrant organizations are non-profit and want to achieve their objectives which are not directed at self-interest. A reason why other migrant organizations don't refer to media organizations could be that they see media more as company than as a non-profit organization. Side remark in this category is that the Bolivian newspaper 'Renacer' is not part of the network analysis although a couple of migrant organizations referred to this newspaper.

The input from the Bolivian consulate is also an interesting facet of the network analysis. The respondent of the Bolivian consulate has because of his position a good overview of all the types of Bolivian migrant organizations. Taking this into account it is important to analyse what the respondent refers as important Bolivian organizations. To begin with he criticises the organizations within the category media, he argues these organizations are too much politically orientated. Most of the newspapers and radio stations openly support the current Bolivian president Evo Morales, the respondent comments that media should be more politically neutral. The respondent refers to organizations which are collaborating with the consulate, three social/political active organizations and the FACBOL³¹. These organizations can be seen as extensions of the consulate and are actors contributing to integration according the respondent, this will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Figure 15: Partnerships with other actors



³⁰ Representative 'Bolivia AL AIRE', Mr. Edwin, 24 April 2013, office Bolivia AL AIRE in Buenos Aires

³¹ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

Figure 15 shows that there are several different connections between different organizations and other Bolivian and Argentinean actors. Nevertheless half of the respondents states that their organization works independently without any partnerships with any of the actors named in figure 6. Among these organizations are the five Bolivian media organizations, the respondents of the Bolivian newspapers comment that they work independently to keep the journalistic objectivity. The Bolivian media channels report on the activities organized by the Bolivian community but don't take part in the organization of events. Some organizations argue that they rather keep their activities small-scale and therefore don't collaborate with other actors³².

A significant part of the organizations is part of an association, federation or collaborates with another Bolivian non-profit organization. Partnerships within the category cultural & folkloric organizations are more common than in the other categories. As already mentioned before this feature of the dance organizations can be partly explained by the organization of the parade in October. Because of the difference in the levels of formality according to the Argentinean law only the two federations can have a direct partnership with the Argentinean government. Another remark that can be made about the partnerships of the migrant organization is the connection they have with the consulate. A number of organizations has connections with the Bolivian consulate and three organizations even organize activities together with this governmental institution as can be seen from figure 6. In contrast to these organizations there is also a group of organizations which disapproves the work of the Bolivian consulate³³. The low number organizations that have a transnational partnership with an organization in Bolivia will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.8 Transnational activities

One of the most remarkable outcomes of the analysis on partnerships is that only three of the twenty organizations have transnational links with Bolivia. Although the Bolivian migrant community in Buenos Aires is still aware of their cultural background and has strong ties with their country of origin the organizational links between both countries are not as strong. The three organizations that have transnational links consist of two organizations who have counterparts in Bolivia, the dance group 'San Simon' and the organization 'Pachacuti' that has a branch that defend the rights of the Quechua population in Bolivia. The educational centre 'Jaime Escelante' is the only migrant organization that tries to make a contribution to the development of Bolivia by donating money to

³² Co-founder 'Equipo Pastoral Boliviano', Sr. Arevalo, 29 March 2013 – Restaurant Villa Crespo in Buenos Aires

³³ Director ACIFEBOL, Mr. Ayala Amoraga, 9 April 2013, office ACIFEBOL Floresta in Buenos Aires

emergency relief campaigns. The Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires don't have any contact with Bolivian authorities, even the larger established federations or associations don't have any links with the Bolivian government. Respondents argue that the Bolivian government hasn't any time to maintain contacts with migrant organizations in Argentina, it is no primary policy objective and there is no money available³⁴.

The so called home town associations (HTAs) are a common phenomenon in South-North migration and form significant part of the migrant organizations. These organizations founded by African, Asian and Latin-American migrant in Europe or the United States of American have the objective to contribute to the development of their region of origin. In Buenos Aires there aren't any identified HTAs or organizations that have the objective to develop their region of origin. Different respondents blame this absence to the lack of economic resources in the Bolivian migrant community. Unlike migrants in Europe the Bolivian migrants in Argentina don't have the financial means to set up collective projects in their hometown or region of origin³⁵. A share of the migrant themselves face difficulties with fulfilling their basic needs financially. Another explanation could be the unfavourable exchange rate between the Bolivian and Argentinean peso, which makes it less efficient to invest money in a Bolivian project³⁶.

5.3.9 Use of Facebook

The new social media channel Facebook is popular among the Bolivian migrant community in Buenos Aires. In compare to the normal website it has many benefits for the non-profit organizations. The use of the site is cost-free and it is easier to share articles and events. Especially among the younger it is becoming increasingly popular among the Bolivian migrants, not only under the younger generations. "Facebook is an easy way to reach your target group. An update is quickly made and it is easy to share interesting events or news. In the old web-site organizations had to invest a lot of time and money to create something that was visited less-regularly"³⁷. Figure 16 displays that 65 percent of the selected Bolivian migrant organizations have a Facebook-page, the large majority of these pages is updated weekly. In some cases Facebook-pages are updated a couple of times per day.

³⁴ Director Bolivian newspaper 'Bolivia Unida', Mr. Cervantes 22 March 2013, office Bolivia Unida – In Liniers Buenos Aires

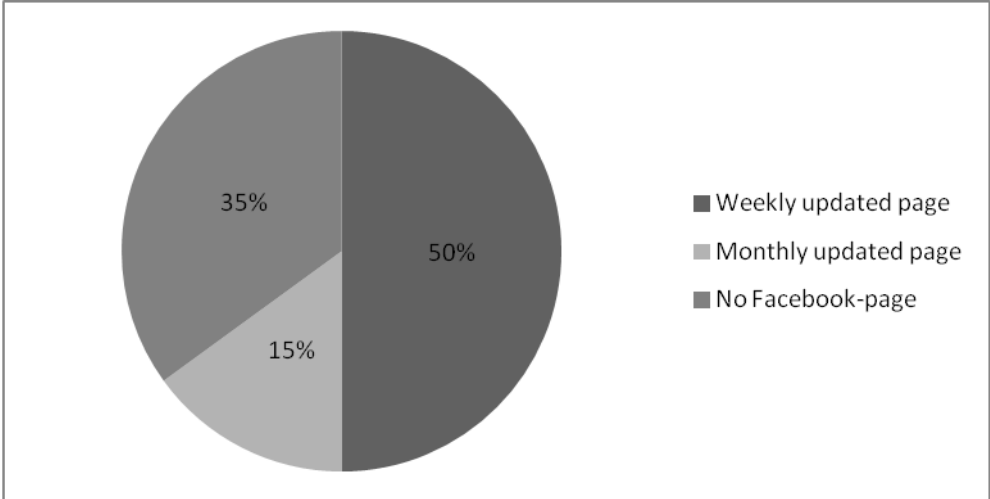
³⁵ Board member FACBOL, Mr. Velaso, 2 May 2013, office FACBOL , Flores in Buenos Aires

³⁶ Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

³⁷ Board member Bolivian newspaper 'Nueva Bolivia', Mr. Freitas , 21 March – restaurant , Ricoletta in Buenos Aires

Organizations don't only publish their own articles and events on the social media but also share articles and events from other organizations. Through Facebook organizations can be connected with their members easily but also keep in touch with other Bolivian migrant organizations. Only 35 percent of the selected organizations doesn't have a Facebook page. For the investigation it was an easy way to get in contact with the organizations and ask for information, the same applies for people who are interested in joining or donating to the organization.

Figure 16: The use of a Facebook-page by migrant organizations



5.4 Influence on integration

5.4.1 Introduction integration

The social and cultural differences between the 'European' inhabitants of Buenos Aires and the more indigenous Bolivian migrants have led to discrimination. The Bolivian migrant community stand out not only in terms of physical appearance but also in term of culture. Bolivians find it often important to celebrate their national holydays and display their folklore. For the *Porteños* (inhabitants Buenos Aires) this seems very exotically, in the southern regions of Argentina the differences are less le clear because the cultures seems more similar.

"Bolivians have to deal with discrimination. The majority of the Porteños have European roots and often feel superior towards the indigenous population of Argentina and other neighbouring countries. This leads to an unequal treatment of migrants by for example finding a job"³⁸.

The integration of the European migrants of past century was very different from the integration of the Bolivian migrants. Mainly because there was no discrimination against the Europeans, the migrants were welcomed by the government and the society. Besides this the economic circumstances were more favourable, Argentina needed labour force to strengthen the economy. Due to this welcoming environment the European migrant mixed well with the Argentinean society. Currently the circumstances are very different. To give an example the Argentinean primary schools; early migrant youth used to go to school with Argentinean youth of all levels in the society. This has changed due to the introduction of private education. The private education was for children of doctors and architects, middle class and lower class went to public education. The mixing of different social classes decreased because of this development. Besides this there is also a geographical distance between the Bolivian migrants and the Argentineans. As already mentioned before there is a high concentration of Bolivians in the southern outskirts of Buenos Aires, this also means the migrant youth with go to public primary school with mostly other migrant youth. Circumstances like this don't have a positive influence on the integration ³⁹.

The attitude and discrimination against the Bolivian migrants induced the formation of migrant organizations, in a way they secluded themselves from the Argentinean society. Migrants didn't feel welcomed into their new host society and by organizing social and cultural events for themselves

³⁸ Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

³⁹ Employee CEMLA, Ms. Bernasconi, 26 March 2013, CEMLA office Puerte Madero in Buenos Aires

they try to create their own community within the society⁴⁰. Past decade things have changed for the Bolivian migrant community in Buenos Aires. In compare with ten years ago both the social and economic position of the Bolivians improved according to the large majority of the respondents. From economic point of view the community gets a stronger position in three major sectors: the fruit& vegetable sector, the construction sector and the garment industry. In contrast to the image of ten years ago Bolivian migrants didn't own businesses, they worked for a boss and often illegally. Nowadays more and more Bolivians are starting their own businesses, mainly in the fruits and vegetables sector (interview IOM). The whole chain is dominated by Bolivians, they cultivate the crops in the province of Buenos Aires, provide the logistics and sell the fruits and vegetables in shops in the city. Argentineans often find work in one of these sectors inferior to work in other sectors like banking, this gives the Bolivian community a chance on a better economic position in the Argentinean economy. By investing and making profits in these sectors migrants get the chance out of poverty⁴¹.

Besides this improved economic circumstances for the Bolivian community the social position has improved as well. Eighty percent of the respondents comments that discrimination towards Bolivians has decreased past decade, the other twenty percent comments that discrimination remained the same. This decrease expresses itself in less verbal insults and a better position on the labour market⁴². Weather this can be attributed to the migrant organizations or external factors will be discussed in following chapter.

5.4.2 Contribution of Bolivian migrant organizations to the integration process

All of the interviewed migrant organizations have the same opinion about their contribution to the integration of Bolivians in the Argentinean society. They generally share the same thought, that they have a positive influence on the integration process but in very different ways. None of the organizations stated that contributing to integration was their main objective, but most of the organizations claimed to contribute to integration as an additional advantage of their activities. Because the migrant organizations are so diverse it is better to describe their contribution according to the different categories that are made in the section 6.2.

Contribution of Folkloric & Cultural organizations

⁴⁰ Board member FACBOL, Mr. Velaso, 2 May 2013, office FACBOI , Flores in Buenos Aires

⁴¹ Representative INTA, Mr. Aboitiz, 19 April 2013, restaurant in Buenos Aires

⁴² Board member Bolivian newspaper 'Nueva Bolivia', Mr. Freitas , 21 March – restaurant , Ricoletta in Buenos Aires

This type of migrant organization that mainly exists of Bolivian dance groups contributes to the integration by visualizing the rich culture of Bolivia in dance and cultural events on the street. By displaying their folklore they try to highlight the positive sides of the Bolivian community and improve the image of Bolivian migrants for the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. There still exists a negative stereotype of the Bolivian community among the Argentines. The negative stereotype has a negative impact on the immigration by putting a label on the entire all the Bolivians.

The large scale parade organized in October shows the cultural diversity and richness of the Bolivia. An increasing number of dancers and spectators are part of this event, among the spectators a big number of Argentines that are interested in the Bolivian folklore. The majority of the spectators has positive reactions on the event, but there is also a small share that is critical towards the parade. They critics argue that events like this shouldn't be held in Argentina but in Bolivia and especially not in the city centre of Buenos Aires disruption the daily life of many *Porteños*⁴³. On the other side are many Argentines that do appreciate the parade organized by the Bolivian community. Instead of the negative assumptions (unhygienic and alcoholic) they will link Bolivia to folkloric richness⁴⁴. But not only a share of the spectators is Argentinean, around twenty percent of the dancers has no Bolivian roots. This implicates that the performances of Bolivian dance groups stirred the interest of Argentines and other nationalities in Buenos Aires.

*"Our dance fraternity has Paraguayan and Argentinean members and because our organization is like a second family we learn about each other's culture and daily problems, this gives us a better understanding of the different cultures in Buenos Aires"*⁴⁵.

Youth with different ethnic backgrounds form groups which improves the intercultural understanding between the different groups of within the Argentinean society. Some of the dance organizations participate in international dance competitions and events. In these competitions that are held in Argentina but also in other Latin-American countries dance groups represent their country by performing traditional dances. Dancing is for many Latin-American countries an important way to show their folkloric traditions. Bolivian dancing schools and fraternities participate in these intercultural events to display the Bolivian culture but also learn about the folklore of Latin-American

⁴³ Director 'Asociacion Civil Morenada Real Oruro', Mr. Fernandez Fuentes 28 March 2013, restaurant Flores in Buenos Aires

⁴⁴ Board member FACBOL, Mr. Velaso, 2 May 2013, office FACBOL , Flores in Buenos Aires

⁴⁵ Founder and member dance fraternity 'Caporales mi Viejo San Simon, Mr. Aragon 9 April 2013 - Plaza Irlanda in Buenos Aires

brother countries like Chile, Peru and Argentina. These events often promote the idea of a more unified Latin-America and have a contribution to social integration. (Interview America Morena)

Contribution of Media organizations

Bolivian non-profit television, radio and newspapers try to contribute to the integration process by informing migrant about their rights and possibilities in the Argentinean society. Migrants often have free access to one of the information sources, newspaper are distributed for free on places where Bolivian migrants meet and most migrants poses a radio or television⁴⁶. Therefore media is an efficient way to reach the most vulnerable migrant group in the less affluent neighbourhoods. The migrant organizations selected in the investigation didn't have the objective to

be profitable but do their work with a less self-centred motive. Through their media channel the organizations try to improve the situation of the Bolivian community. With campaigns and programmes the journalists try to create awareness among the migrants, awareness about issues within the Bolivian community such as alcoholism and domestic violence. These problems are still prevalent within the Bolivian community in Buenos Aires, with campaigns media channels try to tackle these problems⁴⁷.

Besides the prevention of the social problems the Bolivian media organizations try to create awareness about the rights Bolivian immigrants have in Argentina. All inhabitants of Argentina including all migrant have the right on free health care and education, but not the entire Bolivian community knows about these rights or has problems with getting access to these rights. Migrants often have problems with the bureaucratic system of the Argentinean government institutions or are not documented properly⁴⁸. The media channels try to assist them in finding their way to these services and claim the rights they legally have by providing information. The Bolivian media contributes to integration by providing information to the migrants that helps them integrating successfully in the Argentinean society.

The media is also used as a podium for other migrant organizations and for Bolivians with an opinion. Different media channels are used to inform the audience about events that are held by the Bolivian community and invite the audience for upcoming events. Newspapers and radio stations are open

⁴⁶ Board member Bolivian newspaper 'Nueva Bolivia', Mr. Freitas , 21 March – restaurant , Ricoletta in Buenos Aires

⁴⁷ Board member 'Horizonte al Sur' , Mr. Zarate, 23 March 2013, radio studio Villa Lugano in Buenos Aires

⁴⁸ Representative CAREF, Ms. Maria Jose, 10 April 2013, CAREF office Flores in Buenos Aires

for discussions as well, the non-profit Bolivian media organizations are often small and there is space for direct feedback of the audience. People with an opinion or advice about for example integration problems and discrimination can use the media organizations to share their opinion⁴⁹. In this way this category functions as a podium for the Bolivian migrant community and contributes to the discussion about integration.

Contribution of sport organizations

The contribution to integration of sport clubs is partly similar to the contribution of dance organizations. A part of the members and audience is multicultural which improves intercultural understanding. The idea is that sport brings people closer together by the creating interaction between different groups. Argentineans youth that plays football together with Bolivian youth creates a form of social integration, as long as there are no sentiments like “we” (Bolivians) against “them” (Argentineans). The mixing of nationalities over different teams is crucial, and this happens on the different intercultural sport events organized by the Bolivian community⁵⁰.

There are however big differences between the selected organizations in this category. The respondent of Deportivo Boliviano JDCT claims that the weekly football event organized in *parque Roca* has a negative influence on the integration of Bolivians in Argentina. He argues the event puts an emphasis on the negative stereotypes on the Bolivian migrant community. During the rather unorganized event people litter the public park with trash and drink alcohol, which corresponds with the negative stereotypes of unhygienic and alcoholic. This confirms the image and has a negative influence of the integration of Bolivian migrant. (Interview Deportivo Boliviano JDCT) The other organization however claims to have a positive contribution to integration by showing a more positive and serious side of the Bolivian migrant community. The team doesn't litter the public space where they play football and doesn't drink alcohol during events. When the organization plays with and against Argentinean teams they try to give a good representation of the Bolivian community. The contribution of sport organizations is debatable and depends on the type of organization.

Contribution political & social organizations

Political and social organizations give the integration process a positive influence by improving the social position of the migrant community. They try to do this by providing basic needs to Bolivian

⁴⁹ Board member ‘Horizonte al Sur’, Mr. Zarate, 23 March 2013, radio studio Villa Lugano in Buenos Aires

⁵⁰ Representative Liga Deportiva Latina America Senior, Mr. Morales, 22 April, public park Roca in Buenos Aires

migrant in need, organization in this category have the objective to give equal chances to participate in the Argentinean society. There is still a share of migrants who lives in the poverty of one of the informal settlement in the Southern districts of Buenos Aires, a part of the Bolivian community that doesn't have sufficient housing and resources. Without access to decent living conditions it is nearly impossible to integrate successfully⁵¹.

Political and social migrant organizations defend the rights of the vulnerable migrant group, by bidding together they try to form a block and demand the rights they earn. It is easier to act as a group than as an individual, social and political migrant organizations often have a common problem or goal to strive for⁵². By initiating campaign for a mobile-consulate a social organization made the step smaller for the Bolivian migrant to get documentation, which is a barrier to formal employment a successful integration⁵³. Some organizations assist migrants in a more practical way other migrant organization do it in a more formal way but the objective remains the same: creating equal chances for the Bolivian migrants by defending their rights and provide basis needs. Political and social organizations contribute to integration by providing them basic needs and form a collective voice to speak up for their rights.

⁵¹ Founder Movimiento Siglo XXI, Mr. Zarate, 17 April 2013, Villa 20 in Buenos Aires

⁵² Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

⁵³ Founder Movimiento Siglo XXI, Mr. Zarate, 17 April 2013, Villa 20 in Buenos Aires

6 Discussion

6.1 Theoretic discussion

To begin this discussion there are many resemblances between the observations that are made during the fieldwork and the theory that is written in the literature. Beauchemin and Schoumaker in 2009 discuss the functions of the migrant organizations. Stated is that initially migrant organizations have the function to provide a supportive environment for the newly-arrived migrants, in later stages there is more variety in the activities and the migrant organization provides more the interaction between a group with common values symbols and history. This is the case for many of the Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires, for example the annual 'Día del Mar' where the Bolivian community share their common values and history by remembering the political conflict with Chile. Besides this there is a broad variety with the Bolivian migrant organizations, illustrative are the differences between the different categories.

Furthermore Schrover (2007) names three sets of factors that stimulate the functioning of migrant organizations: the migration process, opportunity structure in the receiving country and characteristics of the migrant community. The latter two have been recognized as two external effects that have been beneficial for the contribution of migrant organizations on the integration process. The author also makes the distinction between defensive and offensive migrant organizations. Past decade the Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires moved from defensive towards offensive, this development is caused by favourable policies and the reduced discrimination of the migrant population of Argentina.

The article written by Portes and Moya sketch a situation that is less similar to the situation of Bolivian migrant in Buenos Aires. Both articles written about migrant communities from the global south established in Europe and the US, don't reflect the situation of South-South (Bolivia- Argentina) migration. It makes sense that there are some differences because both articles are written with the objective to describe the transnational activities. This research has another perspective and looks the the activities of migrant organizations with relation to integration. The types of organization listed by Moya (2007) are much more oriented at the development of the region of origin, such as HTAs, and less on leisure activities (Folklore and Sport organization). Portes describes the concept transnationalism and transnational identity. To some extent the theory is applicable on the Bolivian migrants, they still have strong transnational identity which is reflected by their desire to follow Bolivian news and express their folklore. But the part where transnational links are resulting in

economic investment in the region of origin isn't applicable on the Bolivian – Argentinean migration corridor. This may be the case with Mexican migrants in the US and African migrants in Europe but Bolivians in Argentina often don't have the financial resources to set up collective projects to invest in their region of origin. There may be similarities between South-North and South-South migration but in this case the transnational links in terms of investment and remittances are less strong than in other cases.

The situation that is sketched by the Argentinean authors Pizarro and Cantor give a representative picture of Bolivian migrant community in Argentina. Pizarro (2009) describes the fragmentation of the Bolivian migrant community and Cantor (2012) describes the broad range of activities undertaken, both of these observations are also made during the fieldwork for this research. Caselli (2009) makes some useful statements by claiming that migrant organizations often have integration as one of their main motivations for existence but their activities are often only indirectly linked to the social inclusion of their members. This is the case of many activities of the Bolivian migrant community, they have more concrete objectives but stimulate the integration process at the same time. Furthermore he states integration does not mean being absorbed in the receiving society, rather it means being recognized and accepted as an important and active component of local society (Caselli 2009). This successful integration doesn't mean a migrant loses its own cultural identity. The Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires think in the same line, the cultural identity is maintained by celebrating the Bolivian folklore and traditions.

Altogether the literature was accurate in describing the functions of migrant organizations and the describing factors that influence the functioning of migrant organizations. But in some cases the Western literature was applicable on the South-South migration between Argentina and Bolivia. The strong transnational links and HTAs associations are more of a phenomenon in Europe and the United States. To get a more detailed outline of the situation in Argentina the local authors are more useful. They were able to give a better image of the fragmented and diverse Bolivian migrant community and their organizations.

6.2 Critical remarks

So far only the positive influences on integration of the migrant organizations are described in the previous chapter, main source of information were the interviews with the migrant organizations. To give a more complete image of the reality the more objective perspective of the experts is used to include a more critical opinion about the contribution of migrant organizations.

Closed migrant organizations

The institutions are more critical about the positive influence of migrant organizations on the integration process of Bolivians in the Argentinean society. The first critical remark is that the organizations are too closed for outsiders and this retains the integration process, the closed nature of some organizations can induce segregation. Because the Bolivian migrant community has their own sport, folklore, media and social organizations they create their own society within the city without mixing with the Argentineans. Bolivian migrant organizations contribute to segregation because in some cases they only allow members if they have Bolivian roots⁵⁴. Migrant organizations respond to this argument by stating that the organizations are not as closed as they used to be. The major part of the current Bolivian community is second or third generation migrant and this makes the divide between Bolivian and non-Bolivian less clear. The mixing of cultures becomes unavoidable. Nearly all migrant organizations, except one, claim that they don't refuse members because of their nationality or background and have members from different nationalities in their organization. (see figure 5)

But is it still a fact that around 80% of the members of Bolivian dance groups and football teams have Bolivian roots⁵⁵. This high concentration of Bolivians wouldn't exist if the Bolivian community was less organized and the migrants would be better mixed with Argentineans. On the other side an absence of Bolivian dance and sport organization could imply that Bolivian migrant stop dancing and sporting instead of joining Argentinean organizations. The organizations fill in a need for Bolivian folklore and sport in Buenos Aires that could not be replaced by Argentinean organizations. Important for integration is that these Bolivian organizations actively be part of the Argentinean society instead of separating and closing itself from the Argentinean society. Many organizations show this willingness by opening up to all nationalities and because of the blurring lines between Bolivian and non-Bolivian most of organizations contribute to the integration of the Bolivian community into the Argentinean society.

⁵⁴ Representative CAREF, Ms. Maria Jose, 10 April 2013, CAREF office Flores in Buenos Aires

⁵⁵ Board member Federacion AFCB, Mr. Calderon 11 April 2013 - Flores Buenos Aires

Fragmentation

Another often made critical remark on the Bolivian migrant organizations is that they are too fragmented. Estimations of the number of formal Bolivian migrant organizations vary between 150 and 200, besides these formal organizations there are hundreds of informal organizations⁵⁶. The absence of good collaboration and a large-scale federation or confederation is according to several respondents the reason why the Bolivian community hasn't many big achievements in Argentina. (Interview San Simon) The two selected federations only represent 10 and 12 members and the small organizations and associations are numerous. What is the reason behind this fragmentation of the Bolivian community?

First of all the fragmentation of is a direct reflection of the situation Bolivia, a country with a lack of unity. Bolivia is a country with numerous different ethnic groups and diverse regions, tension between these different groups causes tension. (Interview San Simon) Regions have their own folklore and dance traditions which are also separately practised in Buenos Aires and ethnic groups form their own political organization like 'Pachacuti' that represents the indigenous Quechua population. The large majority of the organization is not affiliated with a specific region or ethnicity and tries to include all Bolivians, like the newspaper Bolivia Unida that has the objective to include all Bolivian migrants⁵⁷.

The variety of objectives and activities of the organizations is another reason for the fragmentation, this variety is clearly visible in the categories of this research. For example; there is no need for a football club to cooperate with a religious organization. Another explanation is the geographical orientation of some of the organizations, they can be targeting the Bolivian community of specific district or neighbourhood of Buenos Aires. An example is the organization 'Movimiento Siglo XXI' that focuses on the inhabitants of Villa 20. The final reason for the lack of unity within the migrant community is the Argentinean government that doesn't want the Bolivian community to become too influential. A well organized migrant community of 1,5 million Bolivian only in the province of Buenos Aires can form a threat for the existing power structure of Argentina⁵⁸.

The fragmentation has negative implications for the contribution to integration. Currently a lot of small organizations are just a name, a logo and in some cases a website. There are just a few

⁵⁶ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

⁵⁷ Director Bolivian newspaper 'Bolivia Unida', Mr. Cervantes 22 March 2013, office Bolivia Unida – In Liniers Buenos Alres

⁵⁸ Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

organizations with a physical office where migrant can come and address their problems. An office is crucial for a migrant organization to contribute to the needs of migrant and to integration⁵⁹. Better overall coordination and the realization of large-scale events promote the integration of Bolivian migrants in a more efficient way. Unity can lead to better political and social representation of the Bolivian community and a better coordination of events. On the other hand small scale organization can cover more specific themes and can tackle issues more individually.

6.3 External factors

The question whether the improving economic and social position of the Bolivian migrant can be attributed to the contribution of migrant organization is still debatable. It is not only hard to measure integration but it also is depending on a variety of factors. To make the research more complete a couple of external factors are added. A part of the factors is discussed before in the regional thematic background but this section links the factors to their contribution of integration and the information from the respondents.

Political situation

All of the respondents of the selected migrant organizations were positive about the current presidents of Bolivia and Argentina, respectively Evo Morales and Cristina Kirchner, both leaders with a left-wing political ideology and are favourable for the Bolivian migrant in Argentina. The introduction of the progressive migration laws in 2003, passed by the previous Argentinean president (husband of Kirchner), and the political rapprochement of the MERCOSUR countries were favourable developments for the Bolivian migrant community. One of the major advantages of the new laws were the rights migrant were given, including the facilitation of the legal document and working permits. Although the respondents argue that the state government creates a beneficial political environment for Bolivian migrants and organizations, the city government that is led by the more right-wing oriented mayor Macri is less favourable for the Bolivian migrant community. This creates this situation where laws are in favour of the migrant organizations but practical issues like permits are still a barrier⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Director ACIFEBOL, Mr. Ayala Amoraga, 9 April 2013, office ACIFEBOL Floresta in Buenos Aires

⁶⁰ Employee CTA, Ms. Carolina, 10 May, office CTA in Buenos Aires

Changing profile incoming migrant

The profile of the Bolivian migrant changed dramatically over the past 10 years, the migration corridor between Bolivian and Argentina can be characterised by a number of peaks and different trends. The trend of past 10 years is that incoming migrant often are young and relatively highly educated at the moment they arrive in Argentina. This trend can be explained by the right on free education⁶¹. Nationals of the most Latin-American countries have the right to study for free at Argentinean public universities. This is one of major reason for young Bolivians to migrate to Argentina and follow their study at one of the highly recommended universities of Buenos Aires. A Part of these Bolivian students returns to Bolivia after their study and another part decides to stay in Buenos Aires because of better career options and higher living standards. Besides this trend there is also a part of the older Bolivian migrants that returns to their country of origin because of the slightly improving economic situation⁶².

The changing characteristics of the Bolivian migrant population have an impact on integration process. Young highly-educated Bolivians from Bolivia major cities have an higher chance to integrate successfully into the Argentinean society than older low educated Bolivians from the rural areas of Bolivia. The young migrants add more value to the Argentinean economy and are more adapted to live in city. This is an external effect that can have a positive influence on the integration process of Bolivian migrant in the Argentinean society.

⁶¹ Representative of the Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires, 12 march 2013 – Bolivian Consulate in Buenos Aires

⁶² Representative of the IOM (International Organisation for Migration) 12 March 2013 - Regional Office IOM in Buenos Aires

7 Conclusion

This final chapter will discuss the conclusion of the empirical analysis in two different ways; first by giving a summary of the conclusion in the form of an answer to the sub-questions and the central question of the research and secondly by discussing the findings in relation to the literature that is discussed in chapter 3. In this section the differences and similarities of the findings and the literature will be discussed. To finish the conclusion and research there will be given recommendations to the Argentinean authorities and the Bolivian migrant community.

7.1 Answers to research questions

Sub-question 1. What are the main characteristics of Bolivian migrant organizations in Buenos Aires, in term of context, composition and internal organization?

To start with the Bolivian migrant organizations can be divided in five categories. Each of these categories has its own characteristics and objectives. There is a broad diversity of Bolivian migrant organizations and activities in Buenos Aires. To get a better overview the organizations are divided over the following five categories according to the composition, objectives and the activities of the organizations.

1. Cultural & Folkloric organizations
2. Media organizations (Newspapers, Radiostations and Television programmes)
3. Sport clubs and leagues
4. Political and social organizations
5. Other non-profit organizations

The size of the migrant organizations varies from large social organizations with 2000 registered members to dance fraternities with a minimum of 30 members. In most cases the organizations are funded by its members or by private donations, a small number of organizations use other sources to fund their activities. Another distinction that can be made is the level of formality; the Argentinean law makes the distinction between three kind of legal orders, next to this there are informal organizations. In general Bolivian organizations can be characterized as volatile, a list of Bolivian organizations made 2003 is after ten years almost completely outdated. Although the members of the Bolivian migrant organizations are very multicultural, the board of direction consists in 95 percent of the cases out of Bolivians.

The formal organizations need to have a board of directors by law, informal organizations often make decisions collectively. Some of the organizations have their own office but most of the organizations don't and are working from home or hired spaces. Half of the organizations has a partnership with another Bolivian organization in Buenos Aires but just a small number of formal organizations has connections with the Argentinean authorities or the Bolivian consulate.

Sub-question 2. What kind of activities do the Bolivian migrant organizations undertake?

The activities migrant organizations undertake are very diverse and can be linked to the categories that are discussed at sub-question 1. The activities undertaken by the Cultural & Folkloric organizations are the most visible. The strong cultural – identity is expressed in folklore and dance throughout the year, next to the big dance parade in October there are dance performances and competitions every weekend. The numerous dance fraternities and schools like to display the Bolivian folklore on the street, on intercultural events and in the theatre. Other important gatherings for the Bolivian community are football events. The large-scale sport event organized on every Sunday in the public park is an important gathering for the Bolivian community, not only to enjoy football but also enjoy the only free day of the week with fellow migrants. Besides this rather informal and unorganized event there are more formal football clubs that try to promote the Bolivian community. Radio and other media also play an important role in the daily life of the Bolivian community, there are several newspapers and radio programmes that are broadcasted in the outskirts of the city. The category of political and social organizations that exist out of more formal organizations works more closely together with the Bolivian consulate to undertake activities. These activities range from organizing manifestation, facilitating a mobile consulate to document undocumented migrants and to hand –in political proposals.

Remarkable is the absence of HTAs, there is just one of the twenty migrant organizations that undertakes activities with the objective to contribute to the development of the country of origin. The transnational activities are very limited although the transnational identity is still present among the Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires. Explanation for the absence is the lack of financial resources within the migrant community. Nonetheless it is remarkable that transnational links between migrant organizations in Buenos Aires and Bolivia are very weak.

Subquestion 3. To what extent do Bolivian migrant organizations have the objective to contribute to the integration of Bolivians in Buenos Aires?

All interviewed migrant organizations claim to have the aim to contribute to the integration process. Often this isn't their main objective but more of an additional objective. The way the organizations make their contribution to integration differs per organizations. The respondents of the migrant organization think they contribute to migration in the following way; the contributions are divided over the categories that are central in this research:

1. Folklore organizations improve the integration process by visualizing the rich culture of Bolivia in dance and cultural events on the street. In this way they try to highlight the positive sides of the Bolivian culture and improve the image of Bolivian migrants for the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. There still exists a negative stereotype of the Bolivian community among the Argentines, by changing this stereotype organizations try to influence the integration process positively.
2. Bolivian media organizations (television, radio and newspapers) try to contribute to the integration process by informing migrants about their rights and possibilities in the Argentinean society. Because migrants often have free access to one of the information sources, media is the best way to reach the most vulnerable migrant group in the less affluent neighbourhoods. Information gives the migrants a chance on a better social position in the Argentinean society and thus a chance on successful integration.
3. Sport clubs contribute to the integration process by organizing multicultural sport events. For example by organizing football tournament with Argentines and Bolivians, there is created interaction between both groups. The idea is that sport brings people closer together and improves the integration by creating better intercultural understanding.
4. Political and social organizations give the integration process a positive influence by improving the social position of the migrant community. By providing basic needs and defending the rights of the vulnerable migrant group, organizations in this category try to give Bolivians equal chances to participate in the Argentinean society. Without access to decent living conditions it is nearly impossible to integrate successfully. By binding together they try to form a block and demand the rights they earn.

Sub-question 4: Which factors influence the contribution of migrant organizations on the integration of Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires?

The type of organization is the most important determinant of the way migrant organizations contribute to integration. Differences between the types of contribution are listed in the previous sub-question. All the categories approach integration from another point of few. Important in any

category is the level of multiculturalism, by mixing different cultures together they will learn to understand each other in a better way, intercultural understanding. Besides this, the willingness to change the negative stereotype around the Bolivian community is from mayor importance.

Next to the internal factors of the Bolivian migrant community there are several external factors that influence the contribution of migrant organizations on the integration of Bolivian migrants. The Argentinean political environment was favourable for not only the Bolivian migrants but also for the migrant organizations. The social policies introduced by the current president and her predecessor have been beneficial for the Bolivian migrant community and other migrant community. The introduction of the new migration law in 2004 facilitated the documentation and right of the migrants. Another important external factor was the changing composition of the Bolivian migrant community.

Central question: What is the contribution of migrant organizations on the integration of Bolivians in Buenos Aires and which factors influence this contribution?

It is hard to give a general answer to the central question because there is a big variety between the categories of organizations. All migrant organizations contribute on their own way to the integration of Bolivians in the Argentinean society. This research distinguished four different types of contribution which are discussed at sub-question 3. The type of organization is the most important factor that influences the contribution to the integration process. As mentioned above all organizations contribute on their own way. The experts are less unanimous about the positive contribution of the migrant organization. The Bolivian community is still fragmented and in some cases closed for non-Bolivians. Organizations used to be closed for non-Bolivians which contributed to segregation; nowadays migrant organizations are more open and contribute to integration.

In general multiculturalism within the migrant organization is one of the most important factors. The fact that nineteen of the twenty organizations have members with different ethnic backgrounds tells something about the current openness o the Bolivian migrant organizations. Furthermore the respondents see improving social and economic standards for the Bolivian migrants and all the organizations claim to have the objective to contribute to migration in their own specific way, some organizations more directly than other. This mentality shows the willingness of the Bolivians migrant community to make steps towards a more successful integration in the Argentinean society. This willingness together with the positive external factors of the beneficial political climate and the changing composition of the Bolivian migrant community give hope for a better future of the Bolivian migrant in Buenos Aires.

7.2 Recommendations

The outcomes of this research result in two recommendations, one to the Argentinean authorities and one to the Bolivian migrant community. The first recommendation is for the Bolivian migrant community. Important persons and leaders within the migrant community have to come together to decrease the fragmentation and to create more unity between the numerous migrant organizations. Currently there isn't enough coordination and collaboration between the different migrant organizations. The Bolivian consulate in Buenos Aires can play a key-role in creating more unity. The consulate has the connections and authority to function as a middleman between the different groups. A first step to better collaboration within the migrant community is organizing a conference for all the existing Bolivian migrant organizations of Buenos Aires. Here they can discuss issues and make an agreements and promote a better communication with each other. More unity among the migrant organizations has a positive influence on their efficiency and output. By working more together migrant organizations will get a bigger reach and more political support to realize their goals. This includes a more comprehensive approach to ensure the social inclusion of Bolivian migrants in Buenos Aires. The migrant organizations in Buenos Aires can fulfil a coordinating roll for other the rest of Bolivian community in Argentina.

A second recommendation is for the national Argentinean government and the government of Buenos Aires. If the current government of Cristina Kirchner identifies the importance of a successful integration they should invest in the new generation of young Bolivians. Not only the first generations Bolivians that just arrived in Buenos Aires but also second generation migrants that are born and raised in Argentina but still identify themselves with Bolivia. A successful integration doesn't have to imply the loss of their Bolivian cultural identity, migrants can maintain their cultural identity and participate actively in the Argentinean society. By giving migrants a chance to integrate structurally Argentina makes more use of the potential of this young and highly educated generation. In comparison to earlier generation the new generation of Bolivian migrants has the potential to add value to the Argentinean economy, not only the vegetables and fruits, construction and garment sector but also in others sectors. Stimulation of the integration process of the young generation Bolivian can be achieved by paying more attention to the intercultural events organized by the migrant organizations. For example a football or dance events where youth of different cultures meets each other improves the intercultural understanding among Argentines, Bolivians and Paraguayans. This will contribute to the integration of migrant youth and involves them to add their value to the Argentinean society. Critical is that the government only invests in activities that genuinely have the objective to contribute to integration. A good coordination between the national and local government is beneficial.

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Annex 2. Interview questions

Características de las asociaciones

1. ¿Cuándo fue fundada la organización?
2. ¿Cuántos miembros tiene la organización?
3. ¿Los miembros tienen que pagar una cuota de membresía?
4. ¿Cuál es el grupo objetivo de la organización?
Mujeres/Hombres?
Solo Bolivianos/Multicultural
Edad?
Nivel de educación
5. ¿Su organización es principalmente de inmigrantes que acaban de llegar a Buenos Aires, o incluso de los inmigrantes que han estado durante mucho tiempo o han nacido aquí?
6. ¿Cuál es el presupuesto anual de la organización?
7. ¿Cómo se financia la asociación?
Donaciones/sector privado/publico
8. ¿La organización tiene un estatus formal?
9. ¿La organización tiene una oficina y los empleados, o solo voluntarios?
10. ¿Como esta estructurada la actual comision directiva?
11. ¿La comisión directiva consiste de personas que viven más tiempo en Buenos Aires?
12. ¿La organización cooperar con otros actores argentino?
Privados/publicos/otras organizaciones
13. ¿La asociación cooperar con otros actores boliviano?
Privados/publicos/otras organizaciones

Características de las actividades

14. ¿Qué tipo de actividades se organizan las asociaciones?
Deportes/politica/religion/integracion/cultural/salud/economia/otros
15. ¿Con qué frecuencia la organización lleva a cabo estas actividades? Donde?
16. ¿La organización tiene también actividades en Bolivia?
17. ¿Cómo se financian estas actividades?
Por la organización/actores publicos/privados
18. ¿Cuál es el objetivo de estas actividades?
Promover Integracion/ayudar/preservar la identidad cultural

Preguntas entrevista

- ¿Puede describir la comunidad boliviana en Buenos Aires? Es un grupo diverso?
- Es difícil para mí entender qué tipo de Organizaciones Bolivia existe. ¿Puede usted explicar a mí? ¿Cuáles son las Organizaciones más importantes?
- ¿Qué tipo de problemas tienen los inmigrantes?
- ¿Qué ha cambiado en comparación con 10 o 20 años en el pasado?
- ¿Cuál es el propósito de su organización?
- ¿Cuáles son los obstáculos en la organización?
- ¿Tiene la organización una colaboración de las autoridades bolivianas?
- ¿Tiene el objetivo de obtener ganancias?
- ¿Su organización qué contribuir a la integración de los bolivianos en la sociedad argentina?
- De qué manera? Ayuda a la organización en la búsqueda de trabajo y contactos en la sociedad argentina?
- ¿Cree usted que la organización contribuye a una participación política más activa de los inmigrantes en la sociedad argentina?
- ¿Tiene algún comentario o recomendación que puedan ayudarme con mi investigación?
- ¿Tiene algunos contactos útiles para mí, que me puede ayudar con mi investigación? Otras organizaciones bolivianas?

Annex 3. List of Interviews

Name organization	Categorie organization	Date
Nueva Bolivia	Media	21 March
Bolivia Unida	Media	22 March
Radio 'Aires del Sur'	Media	23 March
Asociacion Civil Morenada "Real Oruro"	Cultural/ Folklorical	28 March
Accion Civil Boliviano de Reivindicacion Maritima	Political/Social	29 March
Equipo Pastoral Boliviano	Other	29 March
Organizacion Pachacuti	Political/Social	6 April
ACIFEBOL	Political/Social	9 April
Caporales mi viejo San Simon	Cultural/ Folklorical	9 April
ACFORBA	Cultural/ Folklorical	11 April
Federacion de AFCB	Cultural/ Folklorical	11 April
Commision 'Virgin de Copacabana en Lujan'	Cultural/ Folklorical	11 April
Ballet America Morena	Cultural/ Folklorical	16 April
Movimiento Siglo XXI	Political/Social	17 April
Radio 'Horizonte al Sur'	Media	17 April
Liga Deportiva Latino America Senior	Sport clubs	21 April
Deportivo Boliviano JCDD	Sport clubs	22 April
Bolivia AL AIRE	Media	24 April
FACBOL	Political/Social	2 May
Centro Cultural Jaime Escelante	Other	2 May
Name institution	Name informant	Date
IOM	Institution	12 March
Bolivian Consulate	Institution	14 March
CEMLA	Institution	26 March
CAREF	Institution	10 April
INTA	Institution	16 April
IGJ	Institution	17 April
CTA	Instituion	10 May