

Emptying Villages

Outmigration in Rural Bolivia and Those Who Stay Behind

Marieke Zantkuijl



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**Outmigration in Rural Bolivia and Those Who Stay
Behind**

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Marieke Zantkuijl (3460258)
Supervisor Dr. A. Zoomers
University of Utrecht
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*“Yo quisiera irme
Y no irme también
Aquí estoy a gusto
Y allá estoy más bien”*

*(I would like to go
And not go at the same time
Here I feel at home
And there I am better off)*

- Song from the movie “Un día más” (PIEB)

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Introduction

One of the important spatial flows that has shaped the global economy is the flow of people at a local, regional, and international scale. Migration is a phenomenon of huge dimensions and implications. People go in search of opportunities, real or imagined, whether their journey takes them to a nearby town, the capital city, a neighboring country, or a distant land: possibilities for better employment, personal and professional development, or out of economic necessity. Human mobility has always been an intrinsic part of human development. It plays a central role in global and local processes of social, economic and political change: it is both moulded by and helps to mould these global transformations (De Haas, 2009). Mobility – the act of moving – almost inevitably affects people’s access to social, economic and human resources. It is important to recognize people’s agency in migration decisions, because it transforms mobility into a potential force for structural change. It can play an important part in changing the social and economic conditions in both in sending and receiving localities, regions and countries.

In recent years, migration has become the focus of increased research efforts and has risen to the top of the global policy agenda. It is increasingly recognized that migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, affecting and being affected by other areas of public policy such as education, labor, trade, gender, health and security. This renewed attention for migration and mobility is reflected in the choice of theme of the 2009 UNDP’s Human Development Report with the title “Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development”. It argues for increasing mobility in order to trigger development. It indicates a strong belief in the positive relationship between migration and development, stating that increased human mobility and hence human choices and freedoms can induce development in both the areas of origin of migrants and in receiving countries or regions.

The international development discourse has increasingly focused on the inter-linkages and interaction between migration and development. Migration can be a tool for development, while development-oriented action may help to tackle the root causes of migratory flows. Migration is said to have an impressive development potential. According to a comprehensive report on the economic implication of remittances and migration, the World Bank in 2006, states that remittances are now close to triple the value of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) provided to low-income countries and comprise the second-largest source of external funding for developing countries after Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Significantly, remittances tend to be more predictable and stable than FDI or ODA. While global flows of aid amount to \$68.5 billion per year, remittances sent home by international migrants through official channels currently amount to \$93 billion per year; with informal transfers included, remittances are likely to amount to around \$300 billion per year (IDC, 2006), not even counting the remittances sent home by domestic migrants. At the same time, authors have also drawn attention to the more negative sides of migration. Mobility is said to be based on inequalities and discrimination, and engaging in migration can be seen as an elite activity for those who have the financial and human capital. Moreover, the exploitation of lower-skilled migrants is another drawback of migration (Castles, 2006).

Much has been written about migrants, about how the act of migrating often positively impacts their lives and about the relatively high yield of migration. Surprisingly little has been written about the people who do *not* migrate. Those who do not migrate are also affected by movements of people in or out of their communities, and by the resulting changes (UNESCO, 2009). This thesis is about them, about those who stay, the people in communities that are exposed to large flows of outmigration, in other words where large numbers of people are leaving.

Migration is often depicted as a desirable action, something to strive for. So are those who stay only those who cannot migrate? It is here that the question of *selectivity* arises. What determines who leaves and who does not? Is this for example gender, income, age, ownership of local assets, or previous experience with migration? De Haan and Yaqub (2009) state that “there is evidence that the poorest, least skilled, least physically capable and people without networks

tend to migrate less” (p. 40). Empirical evidence also tends to show that the ‘best and brightest’ are over-represented among migrants (De Haan, 2005; Kapur and McHale, 2005). Migrants are depicted as being more advantaged or more able to pursue opportunities and to overcome obstacles to migration than non migrants (Wang and Fan, 2006). An implication of this tendency is that those who do not migrate, those who stay behind could be perceived as those who ‘did not make it’, or the ones who ‘failed’. Furthermore, return migrants, the people who return to their communities after their migration experience, are often depicted as failures: as those who did not achieve their goals during migration, are rejected by the destination or have difficulties with finding a job or adapting to life in the place of destination (Reyes, 1997; Newbold, 2001, Wang and Fan, 2006). Or, as De Haas et al. (2009) phrase this assumption about failure and success: ‘while “winners” settle, “losers” return’ (p. 3). However, is this true? The objective of this thesis is to give those who stay behind a face and a voice, to give insight into whom they are and to see why they decide to stay in their communities. The results presented in this thesis are based on fieldwork carried out in two communities, San Juan and Escana, in rural areas of Bolivia in the department of Chuquisaca. The central research question of this thesis is therefore: *Who are the people who stay behind in the rural areas of Chuquisaca that are characterized by massive outmigration, why do they stay and how are their lives impacted by outmigration?*

In Bolivia, migration is a phenomenon of huge dimensions and implications. Many Bolivians have found their way from the countryside to the cities, move between cities, or from Bolivia to other countries such as Argentina, Chile and Spain. Consequently, remittances, the establishment of linkages between relatives and family members across large distances, and returning migrants have become part of daily life for large sections of the population. Migration patterns and destinations have changed significantly over the past decades, affecting different regions unequally. In several parts of Chuquisaca, the rural population has diminished during the last few decades, because natural population growth has not been able to compensate the growing numbers of people leaving the area, resulting in a population decline. The rural context in the Bolivian Southern Andes is characterized by a *minifundio* system, production scarcity, increasing deterioration of soil, lack of pastures, and environmental changes (Barrón and Goudsmit, 1998). Changing circumstances have triggered major shifts in livelihood strategies. Alongside changes in for example production patterns, or grown crops, migration is one of the strategies to cope with these transforming circumstances.

This thesis will argue that in Chuquisaca, it is mostly structural factors that influence migration decisions. It emphasizes that migration contributes significantly to the economic development and improved standards of living of migrants. However, the far-reaching effects of outmigration on those who stay in the community and on the community as a whole have a mostly negative impact, resulting in an extremely limited developmental impact. This study will start with a theoretical framework on the subject of migration, covering past and more recent theoretical approaches in the field. In chapter two, a description of the research methodology will be given, presenting the research questions and an explanation of the methods and tools used during the investigative part of the research. In chapter three, the geographical framework will shed light on the national, regional and local context and the relevant processes taking place in Bolivia concerning migration. Then, the fieldwork results of the research are presented in the subsequent chapters. The results can be subdivided into two sections, reflecting the two different perspectives to approach the relationship between migration and those who stay. First, a more individual perspective is applied, related to migration selectivity, focusing on who stays and why. Chapter four identifies the characteristics of those who stay and those who did not. Chapter five explores the reasons for migrating and for staying in the community. The second part of the results section employs a more collective perspective, looking at the community as a whole from a more development-oriented perspective. Here, the main question is how the lives of those who stay behind are affected by outmigration. What happens when villages cease to grow and instead become emptier? What kind of effects and consequences do the people still living in the community experience? What can be said about the development impact of massive outmigration for sending communities? After all, to say that migration *can*

bring development does not mean that it *does* in fact bring development. Chapter seven discusses some reflections about the future of the communities. It looks at the views of the villagers on the one hand and government and NGO interventions on the other hand. Finally, the conclusion discusses the results and reflects upon the findings.

1. Theoretical framework: Migration in Theory

This thesis studies the people staying behind in the community of origin and focuses on who they are and why they stay in the community. It also looks at the impact of migration on their lives and on the community as a whole. The following chapter will provide the theoretical underpinnings for the research presented in this thesis. It will provide an introduction to the definition and different types of migration, followed by an overview of some of the existing theoretical approaches and insights that are relevant for the research.

1.1 Defining migration

In general terms, migration is the more or less permanently movement across symbolic or political boundaries from one locality or country to another. Territorial movements which do not lead to any change in ties of social membership and therefore remain largely inconsequential for both the individual and for the society at the points of origin and destination, such as tourism, family visits, conducting business, or a medical treatment (UNESCO, 2009), are excluded from this broad definition.

When defining migration, various differentiations can be made. First of all, in definitions of migration often the motive of the migrant is taken into account. This leads to a distinction between *voluntary* and *forced migration* in order to distinguish between migrants who leave their countries because of political persecution, conflicts, environmental degradation or a combination of these reasons, and those who do so in search of economic or social conditions of well-being that do not exist in their place of origin. The distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration according to motive can be problematic since the differences are often not so clean-cut. Economic migrants are often regarded as voluntary migrants. However, their willingness to migrate may be disputed if migration is born out of economic necessity, forced by untenable circumstances in the place of origin. As the International Development Committee (2004) states, 'if people felt that their current place of residence provided them with adequate chances for secure lives, free of poverty, and with the prospect of improvement, then they would not feel forced to move' (p.19). While it is not entirely voluntary if people are compelled by economic circumstances to undertake long journeys and arduous, unhealthy work that they would not take part in if they had alternative means of livelihood (Rafique et al., 2006), migration out of economic necessity is not considered to be forced migration. In contrast to forced migrants, these migrants are not fleeing from life-threatening circumstances, but actively choose to migrate in order to improve their lives, thus basing their migration decision on agency.

Secondly, a distinction can be made based on the migrant's place of destination. *Internal migration* is migration that does not result in crossing country borders, or in other words internal migration is migration within the migrant's country. *International migration* on the other hand always involves crossing the national borders of the country of origin.

Thirdly, different types of migration can also be distinguished according to a combination of the duration and the intended character of migration. *Temporary migration* is the temporary movement of a person that has the intention to return to their community of origin. The objective of the journey is to obtain, in another place, certain means needed to improve their life, which are not to be found in the home community. The duration of the stay in the place of destination can vary from a short period (a few days to a few months) to longer periods of time (several months to several years), leading to a distinction between *short-term* and *long-term temporary migration*. *Permanent migration* can be defined as the act of leaving one's community without having the intention of returning in the future, resulting in a permanent change in place of residency. Consequently, in order to establish whether migration is temporary or permanent, the decisive criterion is the intention of the migrant. The distinction is not always clear. As Vargas (1998) notes, in some cases, the temporary nature of migration changes to a permanent

one; even though the migrant had the intention to return, there were factors that made his or her stay outside of the community of origin permanent.

Finally, a useful distinction between migrant households is a distinction in terms of experience. Rafique et al. (2006: 14) distinguish between continuing migrant, ex-migrant and never-migrant households. *Continuing migrant households* are households with at least one member who continues to migrate at some point in the year. An *ex-migrant household* is a household with one or more members who migrated previously but no longer do so. A *never-migrant household* is a household from which no one has ever migrated. This distinction will form the basis for the classification of different groups within those who migrate, as will be explained in the next chapter.

1.2 Theoretical Approaches to Migration

The academic debate on migration has 'tended to swing back and forth like a pendulum, from developmentalist optimism in the 1950s and 1960s, to structuralist and neo-Marxist pessimism and skepticism over the 1970s and 1980s, to more nuanced views influenced by the New Economics of Labor Migration, livelihood approaches and the transnationalism approach in migration studies in the 1990s' (De Haas, 2008: 2). In this section, the explanations for migration given by the main theoretical approaches will be explored in order to give insight into why people migrate. Furthermore, attention will be paid to the relationship between those who stay behind and those who have left.

Up until the 1970s, neo-classical developmentalist economic explanations have dominated popular and scholarly thinking on migration. Macro-economic models of neo-classical economics explained migration in terms of differences in the demand and supply of labor. It stated that limited supplies of labor compared to capital will have high wage rates causing movement of wage labor (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Feni 1961; Harris and Todaro, 1970). The underlying micro-foundations of these models is that expected wage in urban areas is the driving force of rural migrants (Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler, 2003). In general, economic theory focuses on migration as a rational choice (Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler, 2003). As Lucas (1997), explains, this means that migration decisions are made by rational self-interested individuals looking for higher paid work in other areas and migration occurs if the economic benefits in terms of expected wages at the place of destination exceed economic costs of migration. Migration thus stems from a desire for income maximization on the one hand and from differences in wages and in employment opportunity on the other hand. Another influential model was Lee's (1966) push and pull model. This famous model considered the movement of people as the result of relationship between two areas. The pressure of pull factors in a certain area and push factors in the community of origin jointly contribute to migration. These explanations of the origins of migration view individuals as rational individual decision-makers, making decisions based on personal economic gain. Since it is based on an analysis of the costs and benefits involved, people only take the decision to migrate if they expect a positive net return, usually monetary (Sjaastad, 1962).

A radically different interpretation of migration was provided during the 1960s by the historical-structural paradigm on development, which has its intellectual roots in Marxist political economy and in world systems theory (Castles and Miller, 2003). Contemporary historical-structural theory emerged as a critique on neo-classical approaches towards development, stating that individuals do not have a free choice, because they are fundamentally constrained by structural forces. People are forced to move because traditional economic structures and traditional livelihoods have been undermined as a result of their incorporation into the global political economic system (De Haas, 2007). From the 1970s to the 1990s, the migration and development debate was characterized by growing pessimism, with a strong focus on the negative consequences of migration, such as brain drain and dependency.

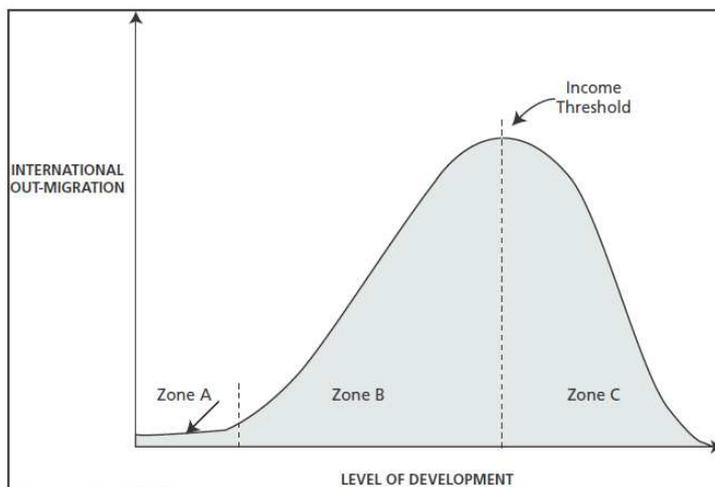
Recently, more pluralist views on migration and development have emerged, such as the new economics of labor migration and the livelihood approach. In contrast to individual choice

explanations, the New Economics of Labor Migration understands the decision to migrate as a household strategy aimed at the diversification of the household's income sources, in response to risk or local constraints in capital or other resources. The decision that a member of the household should migrate is based on the calculation of the costs of migration (e.g. foregone family agricultural labor, travel expenses, helping the migrant during periods of unemployment) and benefits of migration (e.g. regular remittances, investment in local income generation, anticipated assistance during times of particular hardship) (Linley, 2008). This approach places a more central focus on the role of remittances in the process of migration. Instead of being seen as a tool for income maximization, migration is also regarded as a risk reducing strategy, not for individual but for the household.

The livelihoods approach, though not a theory, offers a slightly different explanation for migration. Initially used in rural development contexts, it offers a conceptual framework for exploring how people achieve a means of living, and the place of migration and remittances in this (Lindley, 2008). Livelihood approaches seek to go beyond political economy approaches emphasizing social structure at the expense of people's agency and neoclassical economics emphasizing rational choice and accounting little for structural constraints (idem). The focus is on the resources or 'capitals' people possess (human, physical, financial, natural and social capital) and on how they mobilize them for their livelihood strategies. In the livelihood approach, migration is seen as a livelihood strategy, by playing a role in reducing the vulnerability of households, and by potentially enabling virtuous spirals of asset accumulation that can provide families with exit routes from poverty (Ellis, 2003).

Social network theory highlights the role of social relationships in fostering migration. Interpersonal ties, such as kinship, friendship and shared community origin, between migrants, former migrants and non migrants in origin and destination areas form migrant network are likely to stimulate migration. This is because this form of social capital lowers the costs and risks of movement and increases the expected net-returns to migration (Massey et al., 1993).

Figure 1.1: The migration hump



Source: IDC (2004), p. 20.

Furthermore, cumulative causation theory argues that migration is a dynamic and cumulative phenomenon. When migration occurs, socio-economic contexts at origin are altered in the way they lead to further migration. In this sense, the commonly observed effect of social networks raise the likelihood of the next wave of potential migrants electing to move, enhancing geographic concentration of migrant's origins (Mendola, 2007). According to Massey et al. (1993), this way the self-perpetuating nature of migration may even overcome the economic motivations that originated it.

However, migration is usually not considered as a never-ending story, but as a process which is characterized by a cautious beginning, then growth leading to a climax, and ultimately a decline resulting in a practical halt of migration. This is the so-called *life cycle of migration*. The life cycle is closely related to the rise in migrant networks and with the development of the place of origin. This is reflected in the *migration hump*, which is a temporary increase in migration linked to the degree of economic development (see figure 1.1). The migration hump indicates that at low levels of development there is little migration, but as development (with income and wealth) rises, so too does migration. Migration continues up to a threshold level, after which migration starts to decrease and the local or domestic economy begins to offer people

opportunities at home. It may seem a paradox that socio-economic development in the form of rising incomes, educational levels, and access to information tends to be initially associated with *increasing* migration. However, migration involves considerable costs and risks, and also requires knowledge, social networks and the necessary aspirations. But it is not just socio-economic development that is at the origin of migration. As De Haas (2006) points out, it is a certain level of socio-economic development combined with *relative* deprivation in the form of spatial inequalities in life opportunities, which seems to be the more fundamental cause of migration.

As De Haas indicates, '[a] fundamental paradox is that human development increases people's capabilities to be mobile over increasingly large distances but that, at the same time, people's motivations to migrate can be expected to be higher when they face relatively high social, economic or political constraints in the places where they live' (De Haas, 2009). In other words, development constraints are likely to motivate people to move to another place and country, but at the same time they need the resources to do so. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that individual or household motives for migration and migration strategies can vary over time, depending on individual and household characteristics, such as age, income, or marital status. This can be termed the *migrant life cycle*. People may migrate to receive secondary education in the place of destination at a young age, while later in life, they will engage in seasonal migration aimed at risk reduction and income generation. Thus, there are important variations, and the characteristics may change over time.

Finally, it is important to take a look at the networks and contacts people who remain behind maintain with those who left. The concept of transnationalism constitutes an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at a better understanding of the strong social and economic links between migrants' host and origin countries (Cassarino, 2004). It is now used heavily among geographers and other social scientists alike (Hardwick 2008). It attempts to bridge the false dichotomy between emigrants and immigrants, by understanding migrants as forming part of two or more dynamically intertwined worlds, who establish "multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al 1994 cited in Trevitt, 2004). As a consequence, sending and receiving societies became understood as constituting one single field of analysis. The concept of translocalism is extremely useful to analyze the sustained contact between communities of origin and destination, between the migrants that remain oriented toward their communities of origin and their relatives who stayed there. However, transnationalism implies cross-border links, with those who stay and those who left residing in two different countries, thus excluding links between those who stay and migrants within the same country, established through internal migration. Therefore, translocalism would be a more appropriate term.

Through these translocal links the community of origin receives flows of remittances, but besides financial capital migrants also bring other types of capital. Social remittances can be human (knowledge, skills, education, etc.), cultural (cultural habits, dispositions, identities etc.), or social capital (shared values and norms, trust, networks, etc.) (Bebbington, 2008; Bourdieu, 1979). Social remittances are the whole of ideas, behaviors, identities, values and customs that flow from receiving to sending communities. They are a local-level, migration-driven form of cultural diffusion (Levitt, 1998). Social remittance exchanges occur when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin; when non-migrants visit their migrant family members; or through interchanges of telephone calls, letters, or videos and are transmitted between individuals, within organizations by individuals enacting their organizational roles, or through looser, informally-organized groups and social networks (idem).

1.3 Migration as a Selective Process

The vast majority of migration contains an element of migrant selectivity and differentiation. In general, it may be said that selectivity occurs in outmigration from one place to another because there are distinct differences between the interests of the individuals who belong to various groups. The most commonly examined personal differences are related to age, gender, level of

education, professional status, marital status, land ownership and housing situation. The differences in these characteristics manifest themselves in behavioral differences with respect to staying in or leaving the community (White and Woods, 1980). It has to be noted that, as migration network theory predicts, the costs and risks of migration will fall over time due to the facilitating role established migrant communities play in the migration of other community members. In this way, migration would become less selective over time and migration experience is diffused throughout communities (see 1.3).

Then what can be said about those who do or do not migrate? Research into migration determinants in Bolivia by Molina and Yañez (2009), which fits in well with what has been found for other countries, provides three important determinants. First, being married reduced the probability of migrating. Young, single people have a higher probability of migrating. Second, higher levels of education predict a higher probability of migration, especially to relatively far-away destinations. Education levels allow for a transition from rural to urban labor markets, from low-paying jobs to higher paying jobs. From a national perspective, it may be interesting whether it is poor laborers with less than a primary education, or the educated elite who are leaving. However, in a rural community there simply may not be an educated elite. This means that while educational levels are certainly of key importance for international migrants, they may not play a less important role in temporary internal or short-distance international migration.

The third finding of Molina and Yañez (2009) is that the higher a family's level of wealth, the higher the probability of that the family members will migrate. The poorest people in rural areas often lack the resources to migrate, and those who migrate are members of better off households, in terms of ownership, assets, productivity and social networks (Mendola, 2007). While higher income levels may facilitate long-distance international migration, internal or short-distance international migration is not necessarily more likely to occur with higher levels of income. Evidence may suggest the opposite relation. As Rafique et al. (2006) note, for poor households in rural areas, wage work is very often the key means of livelihood, and it is the lack of resources, not the abundance of it, that drives people to migrate temporarily. In rural areas, land ownership is often seen as an indicator of a family's wealth. Studies that included land ownership as a predictor of migration behavior seem to confirm that negative effects of land ownership on outmigration are most common, but they also reveal that effects are commonly non-linear and are likely to differ across migration streams and between origin areas (see e.g. Gray, 2009). The causal relationship between land ownership and migration is thus not straightforward and will be studied in more detail.

Gender is also an important determinant of migration. The traditional image of a migrant was that of a single male, with women migrants only as an accompanying spouse, is no longer valid. The gendered patterns of migration are changing and have led to a *feminization of migration*. The percentage of women who migrate officially as dependent family members of other migrants or to marry someone in another country has risen steadily. Independent female migrants are, however, also increasingly part of flows of migrant workers, moving on their own to become the principal wage earners for their families (United Nations, 2004). Following this trend, the attention paid to gender roles in migration research has increased substantially. Issues such as the gender patterns of remittances, differing economic impacts on men and women, family cohesion and human trafficking of women are now more and more included in studies of migration.

When it comes to determinants, literature on determinants for non migrants is limited. In this regard, they seem to be a theoretical 'non-group'. Migrant determinants are often reversed and then applied to non migrants to explain their decision to not migrate. For example, if higher educational levels are found to increase the likelihood of migrating, non migrants are concluded to be those with low educational levels. Unfortunately, this implicitly builds on the assumption that migration is desirable and that non migrants are those that cannot overcome certain barriers to migration, resulting in them staying behind. While this may be reality in certain cases, this overlooks the fact that non migrants often make a conscious choice to not migrate.

1.4 Migration and Development

The second part of this thesis will look at the developmental impact of migration in communities of origin, from the perspective of those who stay. While it can be argued that development has always been part of the debate in migration-related research, it has only been in the last ten to fifteen years that migration has been seen as a phenomenon that can be manipulated or “managed” to promote development (Skeldon, 2008). This change of vision was the result of a series of relatively new observations in social and economic sciences. The first observation was that development in areas of origin does not diminish migration. On the contrary, it often accelerated the outflow of people, at least initially. In situations with discrepancies in economic opportunities, the population tends to move towards where the possibilities are. Consequently, when countries develop, migration tends to increase. Furthermore, the awareness increased that non migrants maintain contact and relationships with the people who left. Policy makers in social and international organizations have realized that if they could channel these links and make use of them, they would be able to promote local development in sending areas. Thus, while ‘[t]raditionally being treated as separate policy portfolios, migration and development are today increasingly viewed through the prism of the many links that exist between these two fields’ (Haxhikadrja, 2009: 16). The final report of the Conference on Migration and Development, points out that the link between migration and development works in two directions, stating that ‘migration, if well managed, can be a tool for development and development does influence migration and migration patterns’ (p. 13). In migration theory, the term “migration-development nexus” is used to demonstrate the interaction between the two concepts. While the use of the expression clearly shows the interconnectivity of migration and development, Skeldon (2008) warns for wrongfully conveying the impression of two distinct interactive phenomena that can be identified and conceptualized separately, instead of migration as an integral component of development itself.

The theoretical interpretation of the migration theme in the development debate has changed considerably. While initially the focus of the debate was on the exodus of well-educated people which constituted a considerable human capital loss or ‘brain drain’, the more recent discourse focuses on the potential for economic and social remittances for home communities. Remittances have become a new “hot item” in development studies. However, there is no consensus as to the specific effects of remittances on development. Optimists consider remittances as the most viable solution to stimulate economic growth at a national and local level by multiplier effects and improve social conditions, while pessimists see remittances as a form of dependency that could worsen the situation in communities of origin and will mainly be spent on conspicuous consumption and luxury goods (see for example De Haas, 2005; Khoudour-Casterás, 2007). Much of the literature on migration and development focuses on international long-distance (South-North) migration (e.g. GCIM, 2005; World Bank, 2006; the Human Development Report 2009). But migration is not primarily a South–North phenomenon. Most migration, and especially the migration of the poor, takes place within and between developing countries. As a consequence of this blind spot of the development debate, much South–South migration, especially temporary and circular migration, falls between the cracks, with migration unrecorded and migrants undocumented (Mendola, 2006). Case studies can help us understand the nature of the relationships and links between migration and development in a specific context, and in a specific locality.

In this thesis, the focus is on the impact of outmigration on the people at the local level in communities of origin, looking at migration from the perspective of non-migrants and taking into account the individual costs and benefits. The Global Commission on International Migration (2005) argues that remittances can help to lift the people in the communities of origin out of poverty, increase and diversify household incomes, provide an insurance against risk, and enable family members to benefit from educational and training opportunities. When remittances are used to purchase goods and services, or when they are invested in community-based projects or in ventures that demand labor, they can stimulate development in communities of origin. Other authors suggest that remittances can spur entrepreneurial activity

(e.g. Yang 2004; Page and Plaza, 2005). Different case studies have found a range of variety in the impact of remittances and migration on sending communities. According to a study of Pernia (2009), remittances in the Philippines contribute significantly to poverty alleviation. The bottom 40% of households had more to spend due to the financial capital flows coming from migration. Jokisch (2002) studied the impact of migration in the highland provinces of Canar and Azuay, Ecuador. He concludes that migration did not contribute to agricultural improvement, but that remittances were rather used for education, health, debt relief, conspicuous consumption and housing. Also, Durand and Massey (1992) report that studies concerning migration in Mexico indicate that more than 60% of the remittances are spent on basic and luxury goods, housing, health and debt repayment. Remittances can also lower agricultural production because they substitute agricultural incomes, which could lead to environmental degradation and a higher unemployment rate for landless workers (Jokisch, 2002). Remittances can therefore degrade natural capital and indirectly impact the livelihoods of other people.

Migration does not only have an impact in sending areas through remittances. Emigrants returning with augmented skills, social networks, and wealth are better equipped to contribute to their home economies than if they had never left can (Kapur and McHale, 2005). Grau and Aide (2007) point out that improved access to communication (e.g. cellular phones, Internet) for remote rural areas can facilitate the transfer of information between migrants and those who stay. However, on the other hand, they explain that rural communities lose human capital, particularly young adults who are attracted to education and job opportunities in urban centers. This often results in losses of traditional knowledge and socio-cultural values. In addition, the local social structure often changes as males migrate, leaving communities with children, women, and the elderly. These changes also affect the local environment. If changes in land use and local societies cause a slow-down in the local economy, local organizations will be unable to maintain infrastructure (e.g. irrigation systems, cultivation terraces). Arias (2008) has argued that continuing outmigration from the Mexican countryside has transformed vast areas into semi-empty places no longer seen by authorities as having any developmental potential, but merely as sites for implementation of welfare programs. Grau and Aide (2007) Mendola (2006) points out that migration can lead to the contraction of agriculture through labor withdrawal resulting in declining productivity, to feminization of agricultural labor and poverty among female-headed households left at home. Furthermore, the social impact of migration is considerable, with the separation of families, changing gender roles and identity struggles (Roncken and Forsberg, 2007).

Whether outmigration contributes positively to the natural, physical, social or financial capital of households in a community depends strongly on the socio-economic context. De Haas (2005: 579) therefore states that "migration impacts are [...] highly context-sensitive". Migrants will be restrained to return to and invest in the home community if it suffers from poor infrastructure, corruption, bad governance, absence of public resources, market failures and overall poor socio-economic development because of the high risks involved (De Haas, 2005). While in general the livelihoods of migrant households are improved, the livelihoods of other households in the community may negatively or positively change, or may even remain unchanged, depending on the socio-economic and ecological context.

2. Research Framework: Methodology

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in Chuquisaca, Bolivia between February and May 2010. In this chapter, an overview will be given of the research framework. First, the research questions will be explained. Then a conceptual model is presented and the operationalization of the main concepts will give a better insight into the research. Finally, the research methodology and its main limitations will be discussed.

2.1 Research objective and research questions

The aim of this research, or research objective, was the following: *To give those who stay behind in San Juan and Escana a face and a voice: to give insight into whom they are, why they stay and how their lives are affected by outmigration.* This research objective leads to the central question: *Who are the people who stay behind in San Juan and Escana, why do they stay and how are their lives impacted by outmigration?* This central question is divided into three research questions.

The first research question is *'Who are the people who stay?'* This research question will attempt to explore the characteristics of those who stay and to find out whether different groups of people who stayed can be distinguished. The personal, household and other characteristics of the different groups will be investigated.

The second research question is *'Why do people from the communities choose to stay or go?'* In order to find out why people stay, it can be very interesting to investigate why people choose to leave. This research question will look at the different reasons people from San Juan and Escana give to explain their decision to stay or leave. Three factors will be distinguished: the fostering factors that stimulate migration, the tying factors that make that people do not want to migrate, and the limiting factors that are an obstacle to migration. This research question aims at discovering how and to what extent people's decision to (not) migrate are influenced by external factors, such as the situation in the communities, remittances or local policies aimed at migration. Furthermore, it will look at the perceptions people who stay in the communities have of migration and whether this affects their choices.

The third research question, *'What is the impact of outmigration on the lives of those who stay and on the communities as a whole?'* looks at the way outmigration affects those who stay in the communities and the communities as a whole. It will explore the extent to which massive outmigration leads to an improvement or deterioration in the situation for the migrant himself and for those who stay. It will also investigate whether migration can be said to foster development in the communities. In addition, attention will be given to the nature and potential benefits of the relationships that people who stay maintain with those who have permanently left the community.

2.2 Hypotheses

It is expected that people usually migrate in their productive age, meaning that those who are most likely to stay behind in the communities are the young and the elderly people. The costs and risks of migration will decrease over time due to the facilitating role established migrant communities play in the migration of other community members. This way, migration becomes less selective over time and migration experience is diffused throughout the communities. People who have a higher degree of exposure to migration, through remittances and migrant members of the household, will be more likely to migrate themselves. A further expectation is that only a small part of the local population in their productive age will never have engaged in migration. The majority of the people who have never migrated are expected to be over 50 years of age. Outmigration will be primarily seen as a necessity rather than as an opportunity. The opportunities in the city and other places of destination as opposed to the difficult

circumstances in the villages will be the primary reason for migrants to leave the community. Long-term and permanent migration are anticipated to have a stronger impact than temporary migration. Long-term migrants cannot contribute to agricultural activities at home and this loss of labor is insufficiently compensated by the benefits of migration. On the other hand, temporary seasonal migrants contribute to agricultural activities in the community during the farming season. The departure of a large number of people from the community is expected to reduce the pressure on available food and land, creating new options for those who stay. Migrant households will achieve a better socio-economic position due to remittances received from the migrant members of the household. Moreover, return migrants will be considered as 'better-off' than non-migrants, in view of their accumulated assets (capital, house, land). Migration is expected to have a strong social impact in the communities, such as split families and changing gender roles. Finally, when it comes to development initiatives, it is expected that most government and NGO policies will be aimed at reducing migration and mitigating the negative effects induced by migration, while local organizations will focus more on heightening the potential benefits of migration.

2.3 Operationalization of Concepts

In the following section, it will be explained how the most important concepts are defined and applied in this research.

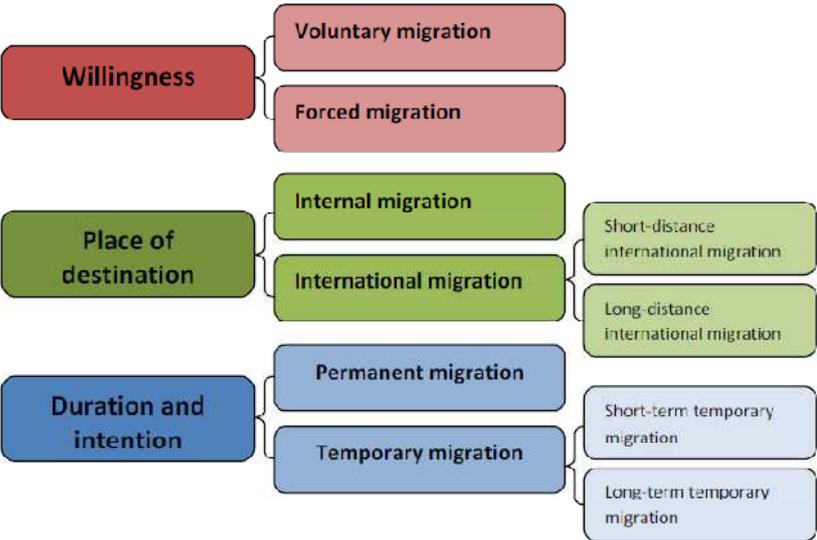
Migration

In this thesis, migration refers to the movement of people aimed at obtaining resources that are not available to them in their community. Migrants are considered to be people who make choices about when to leave and where to go, even though these choices are sometimes extremely constrained by local circumstances. Therefore, migration does not refer to refugees, displaced or others forced to leave their homes. Furthermore, tourism, family visits, trips for the purchasing of groceries or other necessities or medical treatments are also excluded from this definition.

Types of Migration

Depending on the situation and subject, different types of migration will be distinguished. First of all, a distinction will be made based on the migrant's place of destination. *Internal migration* is migration to a destination within Bolivia. *International migration* is border-crossing migration. A distinction will be made between *international short-distance migration*, involving migration to surrounding countries, and *international long-distance migration*, involving greater distances towards high income countries in the North, such as Spain. In a study with a focus on those who stay, the migration destination is not of fundamental importance; it is the *absence* of the migrant in the community of origin that is vital, irrespective of where they are. As a consequence, the distinction in terms of destination (internal versus international) is not the most important one in this research. However, since the impact and perceptions of migration can vary in relation to this variable, the place of

Figure 2.1: Operationalization of types of migration



Source: Own elaboration

destination is nonetheless interesting and has been recorded in the investigation.

Secondly, different types of migration will be distinguished according to a combination of the duration and the intended character of migration. *Temporary migration* is the movement of a person who has the intention to return to their community of origin. The duration of the stay in the place of destination can vary from a short period (a few days to a few months) to longer periods of time (several months to several years), leading to a distinction between *short-term* and *long-term temporary migration*. Both short-term and long-term migration can be *circular migration* if multiple migration experiences are chained, with a repeated pattern of temporary stays in the place of destination alternated by temporary returns to the home community. *Permanent migration* can be defined as the permanent departure from the community of origin without the intention of returning in the future.

Those who stay

The term 'those who stay' will be used to indicate the people who consider the community as their place of residency, in other words those who live there. It is very important to bear in mind that those who stay may not necessarily be only people who have never migrated. It includes all people currently living in the community. A differentiation in terms of experience will be made to distinguish the different groups within the community. The definitions used are an adaptation of the classification made by Rafique et al. (2006) (see 1.1). The first group of those who stay are the *non migrants*. These are people who have no experience with migration; they have never engaged in migration of any type. The second group is that of the *ex-migrants*. Ex-migrants are people who have migrated in the past, but refrain from doing so in the present and now live in the community permanently. While this category consists of people who may have been highly mobile during their life, now they are not migrants anymore. They expect and intend to stay in the community in the future. The third group is that of the *circular migrants*. Circular migrants are the people who migrate regularly, either at a certain point during the year (seasonal migration), or with a more or less fixed pattern of temporary stays in another locality (usually year-round), while still having the community as their main place of residence. It may seem contradictory to classify circular migrants as people who stay. However, circular migrants live in the community and migrate in order to be able to continue to live there, to *stay* there. Migration supplies them with the diversification of income needed to be able to live in the community in the absence of other sources of sufficient income, thus preventing them from having to leave the community permanently. Defining the last category, that of *return migrant*, raises several issues: To what extent can (long-term) temporary migration be considered return migration? And is an ex-migrant or a circular migrant also a return migrant? In this thesis, a return migrant will be defined as a person who has left the community for more than five consecutive years and nonetheless has decided to come back. However, if a person returns to the community after a significant time-span that is less than five years, they will be not be considered a return migrant but an ex-migrant (if they decide to stop migrating) or a circular migrant (if he has specific plans to migrate again in the future). Summarizing, four groups can be distinguished within those who stay: non migrants, ex-migrants, circular migrants and return migrants.

Those who left

The majority of those who left are people who have left the community permanently, and have no intention to return there. In this thesis, they will be called *absent migrants*. Absent migrants are the most important group of those who left. However, there is a small group with special characteristics, which could be considered as a 'half-way' group, in between those who stay and those who left. These are the people with double residency, who own a house in the community and at the same time own or rent a house at another location, usually a city in the proximity of the community. Even though they have not left the community completely, unless specified otherwise they will be considered as part of those who left, since they no longer have the community as their main place of residency.

Migration selectivity

Migration is a selective process: from a community, not all members are able or willing to migrate. A number of factors may influence the selectivity of migration, such as a person's individual characteristics (e.g. age, gender, marital status, position in the family), and other characteristics such as income access to migrant networks, and ambition may influence their migration decisions (i.e. the decision to stay or to leave).

Migration motives

Push and pull factors form the basic elements of a dynamic balance between factors that on the one hand foster migration and on the other hand hamper it. Since the traditional dichotomy of push and pull factors was not completely applicable to this study, in this thesis a distinction will be made between three different factors: limiting factors, tying factors and fostering factors. Limiting factors are the factors that impede a person from migrating, in other words they are the reasons why a person *cannot* migrate. These limiting factors may include a lack of means (e.g. financial capital) or a lack of networks (e.g. relatives that have migrated). The second set of factors, I have called "tying" factors: they "tie" a person to his or her home community and are the reasons why a person *does not want to* leave. This may include tradition, lack of need (e.g. contentment, sufficient means), improving circumstances (e.g. changing pressure on natural resources, remittances, and labor opportunities), policies and initiatives aimed at migration (e.g. from NGOs, national or local government) or ownership of local assets (e.g. land, house). Finally, fostering factors are those factors that stimulate and create options for migration, such as difficult local circumstances, sufficient means and connections to migrant networks.

Impact of migration

An important subject within this research is the impact of migration. The impact can be divided into four themes or areas. First of all, the demographic impact of migration is researched, such as the composition of the population and the balance of age and gender in the community. The productive impact translates into the impact of migration on agriculture, labor and land. The economic impact is the impact remittances have on migrant households, and on the community as a whole in terms of investments and local entrepreneurship. Finally, the socio-cultural impact is discussed, looking at the way migration impacts the community through social remittances and the effects of migration on families and those who stay. While the impact on migrants themselves will be discussed briefly, the main focus is on the impact on those who stay.

Perceptions of migration

What do the people in rural Chuquisaca think about migration themselves? Perception can be summarized in a value judgment, which can range from positive to negative. A value judgment is the value assigned to an object or process, a subjective evaluation of the rightness or wrongness of something, of its usefulness to a person's own life. When discussing perceptions of migration a distinction has to be made according to the type of migration. Each type has its own unique characteristics and consequences in the community of origin, thus the way they are perceived may distinctly differ. Furthermore, with regards to perceptions it is also important to establish to what extent the local population considers migration as a "survival" or "crisis-coping" strategy or as an "investment strategy". In the first case, migration is seen as a necessity, which sustains or even increases dependency, while in the latter it is seen as an opportunity, a strategy to accumulate assets.

Policies and Initiatives

A policy can be described as a course of action, a guiding principle, or a project or program consisting of desired objectives and the means to achieve them. This research will consider government policies, both at a national and local level, and civil society initiatives which are aimed at discouraging, promoting or dealing with the effects of migration. Civil society includes all actors that are active outside of governmental and market structures. In the context of Bolivia, relevant civil society organizations are non-governmental organizations (NGOs),

migrant organization and local organizations that operate at the grass-roots level and are well-informed about local issues. Furthermore, the initiatives of the community population, migrants and migrant organizations are also of interest in the context of policies and initiatives.

2.4 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model (see next page) visualizes the relationships between the different concepts of the research, as presented in section 2.3. It gives an overview of the key aspects of the research and connects the different elements with each other. The central element in the conceptual model is the research population: those who stay (consisting of non migrants, ex-migrants, circular migrants and return migrants). In the model, they are depicted as being 'encircled' by those who have permanently left the community (absent migrants and people with double residency), because the relationships the people in the community maintain with those who left are expected to constitute a network or an extension of the community of origin. People living in the communities make migration choices, resulting in the choice to stay or to leave (shown by the large arrow splitting into two possibilities). These choices are affected by reasons people encounter within or outside of their community to stay or to leave (migration motives). Furthermore, migration choices are expected to be influenced by the impact of migration on the community. Government, NGO and local policies and initiatives aimed at migration may play a role as well. In addition, it will be investigated whether personal and household characteristics influence migration decisions, accounting for migration selectivity.

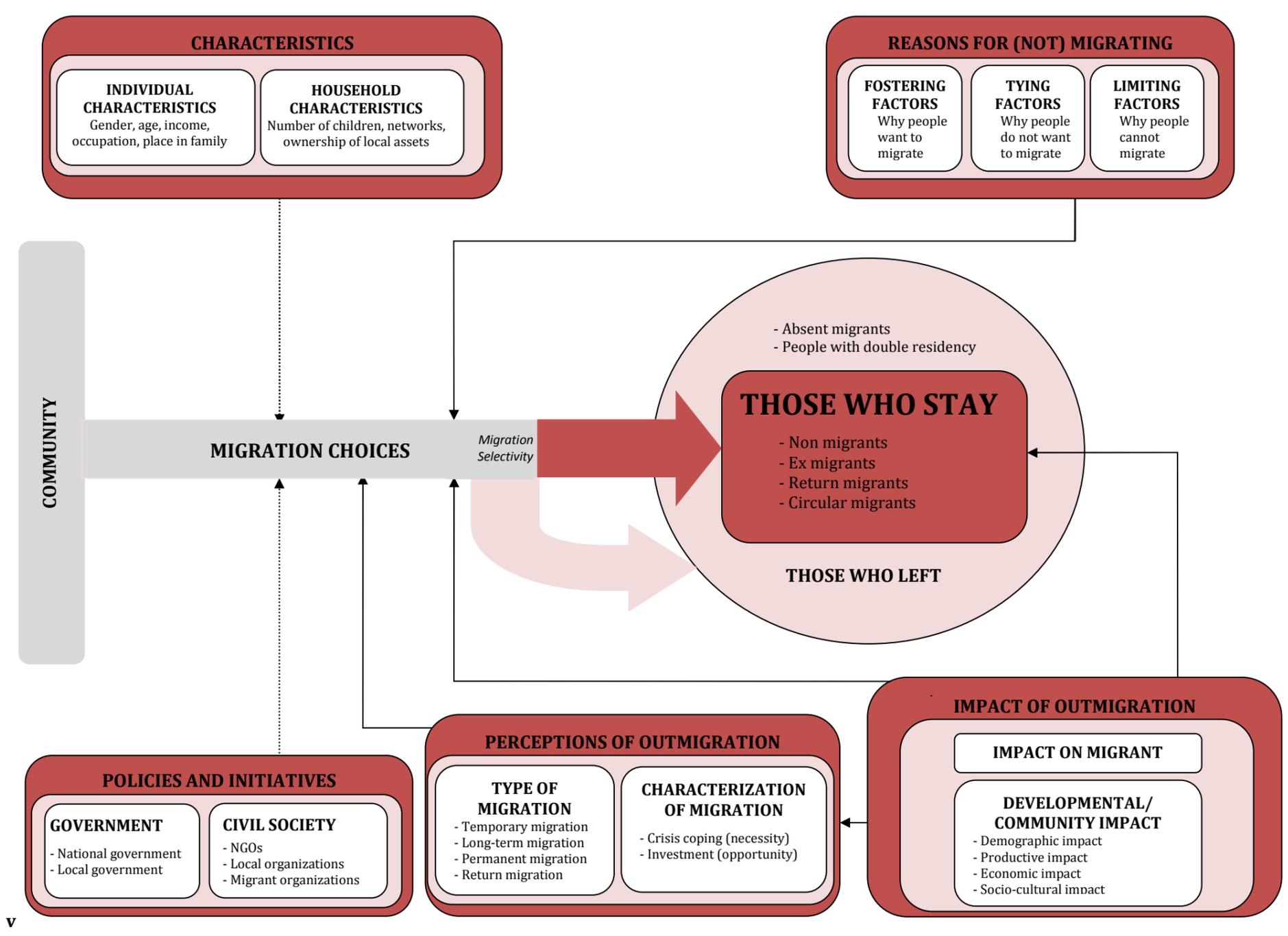
2.5 Research Methods

2.5.1 Research framework

The research on migration selectivity and the impact of migration on local development that forms the basis for this thesis took place in the framework of longitudinal research in Bolivia. This *Proyecto de Investigación sobre Estrategias de Desarrollo* (PIED Andino) is a multidisciplinary research project that was carried out from January 1995 to April 1997 in 41 communities in the departments of Chuquisaca and Potosí, areas with a relative concentration of development cooperation and NGO interventions. It aimed at giving insight into the diversity and dynamics of rural livelihood strategies and at examining the role of external interventions in improving the socio-economic conditions of the rural population. Between January and June 2010, the preparatory phase of follow-up research took place in order to explore possibilities for the realization of a new study in the same area. This would enable a comparison of the current situation with the situation described in the previous PIED Andino investigation and could facilitate the analysis of changes over a longer period of time and to evaluate the long-term impact of external interventions in the area. The current research presented in this thesis formed part of the first phase, during which the feasibility, structure and methodology for the implementation of the second phase were assessed.

2.5.2 Description of Methodology

The methodology used for the research consisted of different elements: qualitative data gathering, data analysis, and quantitative data gathering. In quantitative research the reliability of a research depends on the replicability or repeatability of the results of a study using a similar methodology. However, qualitative research produces findings arrive from the real world and therefore the researcher has a role and involvement within the research project. This makes the research unique and more difficult to replicate. Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods of data collection and data analysis, strengthened the study by combining methods and providing a strategy to improve the validity and reliability of research.



In the preparatory phase of the research project, a literature review of published literature on migration, migration in Bolivia and migration in Chuquisaca was conducted. Upon arrival in Sucre, initial research consisted of identifying relevant issues and stakeholders. The network of the partner organization PASOS and its contacts provided some suggestions about whom to interview to get a more comprehensive view of the general issues involved. The activities of a PIED Andino researcher working on the theme of migration allowed for an explorative visit to a local community in the research area, while at the same time giving insight into local customs and etiquette.

The next important step was the design of the survey and interview questions and the selection of the research area. The selection of Bolivia was based on its large migration flows, both within as from the country, its strong history of migration, the large number of Bolivian migrants and impressive numbers of rural to urban migrants. Furthermore, Chuquisaca is one of the departments with the highest outmigration rates, only surpassed by Oruro. It is predominantly rural, with strong rural-urban flows towards its capital, Sucre. Next, the research would provide follow-up information for the PIED Andino project, which meant that the choice of the research area would logically be based on the PIED communities as selected in 1995. It was decided to conduct the case study in more than one community in order to make it possible to recognize local dynamics and context-specific patterns. Of the seventeen PIED communities, five were characterized by a strong outmigration process - Wasa Ñujchu, Tuero Chico, Talahuanca, San Juan and Escana. Limiting the number of communities was thought to enhance the quality of the research because more time could be spent in each research community. This would allow for building trust and establishing useful contacts with the villagers, which are indispensable assets for a qualitative study. Moreover, without private transportation, the accessibility of most communities was rather limited. These factors led to the decision to confine the selection to two different research communities. After careful deliberation and consultation with several PIED investigators, it was decided to select San Juan and Escana. Both San Juan and Escana are communities with high numbers of outmigration, where migration is seen to have a considerable impact. These communities would provide interesting case studies as they are in fact neighboring communities, but with different characteristics regarding altitude, precipitation and crops. Furthermore, an important reason for selecting Escana was the impact of the recent introduction of the irrigation system. There were some indications that this development was having an effect on migration patterns, a phenomenon that was considered well worth investigating. The selection of San Juan and Escana thus not only allowed for the comparison and contrasting of the specific situation in two rural communities, it also allowed for comparing a community with favorable prospects (Escana), with a community with a bleaker future with fewer perspectives.

After the initial introductory phase, research moved towards the field. In one of the biweekly community meetings in San Juan, permission was requested to perform the research activities, which was approved. The questions for interviews and surveys were then tested and adapted. The first main research method consisted of a migration survey, which collected detailed information on the whereabouts, migration history and labor activities of the different household members. It recorded several household characteristics and functioned as a tool to engage in more in-depth conversations with the respondents about migration. Semi-structured interviews in both research communities constituted the second main research method. With loosely structured questions and a list of themes people were invited to talk about their experiences with and perceptions of migration. Because motives for and perception of migration may vary widely for the different household members (young-old, men-women, children-spouse/husband of migrated person), it was attempted as much as possible to interview various members of one household and to talk to different types of members per households. In some cases, the migration survey allowed the selection of several interviewees that had interesting insights into the migration issue who were then asked for permission for a more in-depth interview.

The fieldwork covered 22 days (9 in Escana, 13 in San Juan) and was conducted in a number of visits of several days. The migration survey was taken in 56 households (30 in San Juan, 26 in Escana), which included information about 421 people (236 in San

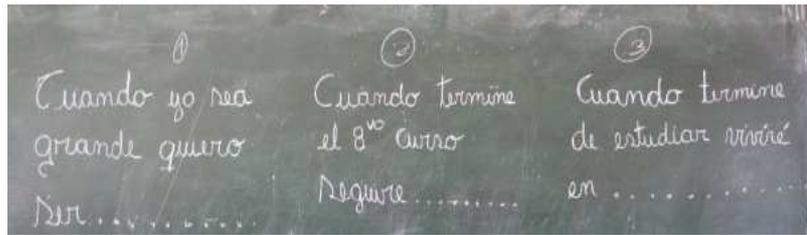


Illustration 2.1: Workshop with students of the eighth grade in San Juan

Juan and 185 in Escana). Furthermore, 38 interviews were conducted (20 in San Juan and 18 in Escana). With approximately 150 families in the two communities, this covered a substantial part of the community's population. Moreover, several key informants such as community leaders, the personnel of the local health post, the school director provided background information about local processes and traditions. Alongside this more individual or one-on-one way of data gathering, a number of workshops were organized in different settings. The teachers gave their view on the community, education and the social interaction in the community; the Mothers' Club spoke about their preoccupations and dreams for their community; and many of the primary school children were asked to express their visions for their future profession and place of residency.

Other methods in the field were participatory observation and informal talks during the prolonged stays in the communities. In fact, a considerable amount of the information was obtained while participating in everyday activities with the families that were interviewed, such as planting broccoli, harvesting potatoes and corn, playing with the children in the school playground, baking bread in a traditional oven, or eating with the host family. Most of the interviews took place in a very informal setting, usually at the respondent's house or in the field. It was harvesting time, which meant that many migrants or family members living in the city came to visit their relatives in the communities or came to help with the agricultural activities. Therefore it was possible to discuss migration with a number of migrants and people with double residency. This last group was especially interesting to talk to, since they seemed more able than others to compare life in the community with that in the city and to analyze changes taking place in the community. Through these visitors, contacts with migrant families living in Sucre could be established. Finally, in order to gather information about the context, development interventions and to learn about future prospects for the communities from a more policy-oriented perspective, thirteen semi-structured interviews with key informants from various grassroots organization, a number of local, national and international development organizations, and interviews with staff members of the municipality of Yamparavez provided an important source of information.



Illustration 2.2 and 2.3: Conducting an interview with a family in San Juan (left) and baking bread with a family in Escana (right)

The principal language spoken in both communities is Quechua, while part of the population has knowledge of Spanish as a second language. In Escana the number of people with a good

command of Spanish is considerably higher, which is why in this community the surveys and interviews were conducted in Spanish. In San Juan, the majority of the population has a very limited active knowledge of Spanish, which made it important to conduct the research activities in Quechua. Therefore, a former community leader from the village was contracted for translation and communication with the local families. As a well-known and trusted person he was able to open many doors and provide invaluable background information.

In the absence of a sampling frame, non random, purposive sampling was used to select the respondents. After exploring the communities, a simple map was drawn, which was divided into different sections with clusters of houses. In Escana, the river-bed and road divided the village into sections, while in San Juan, the hills and *quebradas* (canyons formed by erosion) subdivided the village into sections. It was attempted to balance the number of respondents from the different sections. By going from door to door, the presence of one or more household members was the decisive criteria for selection. Finding respondents to interview proved to be quite a challenge. During the day, the communities were practically abandoned and appeared to be completely empty. Houses with non-response were skipped or re-visited in the early morning or evening, when chances of finding someone at home were higher. People were very willing to cooperate and to provide the requested information once the objective of the research was explained to them. Of all the households that were approached, only two preferred not to participate.

The analysis and processing of data was an ongoing activity throughout the research process. The preliminary results were presented in a research report, which was presented to a public of interested professionals at the office of Plan International in Sucre during the last week of the research period. The results of the research project were also communicated to the stakeholders, several of the visited organizations and the key informants.

2.5.3 Main limitations of the methodology

One of the main limitations of the research was the limited time frame and scope of the research project. The limited timeframe placed on this project – thirteen weeks from commencement to submission of final report to the host organization – means that a very compressed and focused approach is required for the research and consultations. Because of this it has to be acknowledged that this is by no means a comprehensive synthesis of the complex issue of migration in the research area. A comprehensive review of the theme requires a much more detailed and thorough approach than possible here. Furthermore, the strength of qualitative research lies in its validity and depth, but its weakness is that the views of a few people are often taken to represent a much larger population. Quantitative survey research, on the other hand, can be more representative, but is less suitable for studying perceptions and the impact of migration. The combination of qualitative and quantitative allowed for different kind of analyses. However, the results in this thesis should above all be seen as a context-specific case study, whose results cannot be generalized.

Limitations to objectivity have to be acknowledged as well, such as a seasonal bias. Especially with regards to migration issues this is important because the season the investigation is conducted in may affect the results of research covering only a short period of time. Another limitation is the subjectivity of researcher, or the cultural bias. Even when attempting utmost cultural sensitivity, the researcher will not be able to be completely neutral and objective as a result of cultural baggage and upbringing. The researcher will also have to make value judgments about the relative importance or size of relevant processes and findings, based on the available data and other information. Finally, language barriers have also influenced the findings. When working with a translator, however skilled he may be, part of the information is lost, misinterpreted or simply regarded as not sufficiently important for translation.

3. Geographical Framework: Migration in Bolivia

3.1 National Level: Bolivia

3.1.1 Geographical and demographic context

The Plurinational State of Bolivia is a land-locked country in the heart of South America. Bolivia presents a sharp contrast between high, bleak mountains and plateaus in the west and lush, tropical rain forests in the east. The Andes is very wide in Bolivia. Two cordilleras, the western one tracing the border with Chile and the eastern running north and south across the centre of the country, are divided by a high plateau (*altiplano*), most of it 3,660 meters above sea level—barren, windswept, and segmented by mountain spurs (Heemstra, 2006). Despite the harsh conditions this *altiplano* is historically the population centre of Bolivia. Sucre is home to the judicial branch of the government, making it the constitutional capital, while the president and congress are stationed in La Paz, the administrative capital. Its 9.8 million inhabitants are mostly of Quechua (30%) and Aymara (25%) descent. 30 percent of the population are *mestizos* (of mixed European and indigenous descent), and people of European descent account for the remaining 15 percent. While over half of Bolivia's population is indigenous, the minority of European or mixed ancestry maintain economic, political, and social hegemony. Bolivia can be divided into three distinct regions: the highlands (*altiplano*), the valley region and the lowlands. These three regions have very different climates and vegetation and they have attracted different kind of people. From pre-Columbian times till now, Aymara people have dominated the highlands, while the Quechua-speaking population dominate the Valley region. The lowland region was originally sparsely inhabited by a number of small rainforest tribes, but now has a relatively large population of European descent (Andersen, 2002). The predominant native languages are Quechua and Aymara, which, together with Spanish, are Bolivia's official languages. 95 percent of the population is Roman Catholic, although many people of indigenous descent retain the substance of their pre-Christian beliefs.

3.1.2 Socio-economic context

Bolivia is one of the poorest countries in South America. Like much of Latin America, Bolivia pursued state-led economic policies during the 1970s and early 1980s. In the mid-1980s, however, external shocks, the collapse of tin prices, and higher interest rates combined with hyperinflation forced Bolivian governments to adopt austerity measures (Ribaldo, 2007). Although Bolivia is rich in natural and mineral resources - tin, silver, large reserves of natural gas, crude oil - its industry is limited to mining and smelting, petroleum refining, food processing, and small-scale manufacturing (CIA Factbook). Its main trading partners are Brazil, Argentina, the United States, and Peru. Due to increased competition from South East Asian countries, Bolivia's tin industry has received heavy blows and several tin mines have closed. However, economic prospects are not as bleak as one might expect. While many nations' economies around the world have suffered heavy blows due to the economic crisis, the Bolivian economy is set to grow this year by between 2.5 and 3.5 percent, one of the highest anywhere in the Americas. Bolivia's economic performance even resulted in praise from IMF's director of Western hemisphere countries for what he called its "very responsible" macroeconomic policies (BBC, 2009). This economic growth has been largely attributed to a change in policies of the Morales government. In 2005, the government passed a controversial hydrocarbons law that imposed significantly higher royalties and required foreign firms then operating under risk-sharing contracts to surrender all production to the state energy company (UN-OHRLS, 2009). Furthermore, the government has issued changes in its attitude towards coca cultivation, promoting a "coca yes, cocaine no" policy. A large part of the Bolivian population makes its living from the production of coca. In the past, government eradication programs and the United States "war on drugs" have heavily impacted those areas that rely on coca-growing. President Morales, a former coca grower union leader himself, has shifted the focus of Bolivia's counter-narcotics efforts from coca eradication to the pursuit of criminal gangs that produce cocaine. His

government is now promoting the legal commercial use of coca leaves.¹ Other new priorities and economic opportunities can be found in industrialization, and the exploitation of Bolivia's lithium reserves. 50 percent of the world's lithium reserves are found in Bolivia. Used in mobile phones and computers, this mineral is expected to become even more popular in the future as lithium batteries are increasingly used in the production of fuel efficient electric cars.

3.1.3 Political administrative context

Bolivia, named after independence fighter Simon Bolivar, broke away from Spanish rule in 1825. Much of its subsequent history has consisted of a series of nearly 200 coups and countercoups (CIA, 2009). Democratic civilian rule was established in 1982. In December 2005, the leader of the party *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) Evo Morales was elected president, making him the country's first indigenous president. Since then, his policies have focused on changing the country's traditional political class and empowering the nation's poor, indigenous majority. His recent reelection with a 63 percent landslide victory seemed to confirm that popular support for his social and political reforms - cash payments for school attendance, constitutional reform, pension for the elderly, nationalization of natural resources, expansion of access to health care - is widespread. In 1994, Bolivia instituted an ambitious decentralization program that transferred funds and new responsibilities to municipal governments, and which mandated participatory budgeting and supervision by local organizations. With the adoption of the *Ley de Participación Popular* (LPP) and with the *Ley de Descentralización Administrativa* (LDA) of 1995, Bolivia has gained fame with its popular participation policy (Bogaardt, 2009). The LPP institutionalized participation and provided local government with its own budget. The LDA transferred power from the central government to the municipal level. This constituted a redefinition of local politics and relations between central and local actors. The LPP introduced important transformations. It created 311 municipalities, of which 187 were new. This meant that now the whole territory was subdivided into municipalities, both urban and rural areas. The Law further stipulated the full transfer of significant responsibilities and sources of revenue to municipal authorities. 20% of all national state revenues were to be transferred to the local governments based on the number of inhabitants of each municipality. Moreover, civil society was redefined and institutionalized through the legal recognition of rural and urban grassroots organisation.

3.1.4 Migration in Bolivia

In Bolivia, migration is a phenomenon of huge dimensions and implications. The country has an emigration rate of 4.3 percent, which translates into 1.05 emigrants per 1,000 people, giving it a ranking of 105 in the Human Development Index (2009). The major continent of destination for migrants from Bolivia is Latin America and the Caribbean with 70.5 percent of Bolivian emigrants living there. As a result of migration, an extremely large part of the Bolivian population lives outside the country's borders. Data about the number of Bolivians living abroad are often conflicting. At the end of 2004, the National Migration Service (SENAMIG) published the number of 1,366,821 Bolivians living in other countries. Two years later and unofficially, the director of SENAMIG estimated that between 2.3 and 3.3 million people with the Bolivian nationality lived outside the borders. Of these migrants, 1 to 1.5 are said to live in Argentina, almost a million in the United States, 600,000 in Brazil and 200,000 in Spain (IBCE, 2008). A 2007 study by Bolivia's ombudsman's office found that 19.4 percent of all people born in Bolivia live outside of the country. If these estimations are true, it would imply that between one fifth to one third of the country's total population lives abroad.

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Bolivia. Bolivian migration goes way back, even to patterns of migration and trade in Pre-classical Inca-culture. The high emigration numbers of the

¹ The government is currently supporting a private firm's plan to produce a coca-based soft drink, which might result in a joint venture with the company. Coca growers suggested the name for the new drink currently under investigation: "Coca Colla" (*Bolivian Government*, 2010).

Bolivian population are explainable with the *habitus migratorio Andino*; people that live in the Andean traditionally are used to migrate (Boogaardt, 2009). International migration has been directed at different countries of destination. In the 1940s many Bolivians migrated to Argentina to work in the mines, while in the 1970s Bolivians migrated to Buenos Aires to occupy jobs in construction and textile sector. During the 1980s, Venezuela offered employment to migrants when oil was discovered within the country's borders. Since 1985, internal migration in Bolivia became more pronounced, due to closures of several mines in Potosí and Oruro as a result of privatization. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, the United States attracted an increasing flow of Bolivians. This changed after the after the terrorist attack on of 9/11, when the increased difficulty of entering the United States resulted in increased migration flows to Spain.

Figure 3.1: Topographical map of Bolivia



In spite of being a phenomenon of greater amplitude, which has profoundly modified the structure and territorial dynamic of Bolivia in the last twenty years, internal migration is not investigated as one might expect (Mazurek, 2007). While Bolivia was predominantly rural in 1976 (38% urban), it became predominantly urban by 2001 (62% urban) (Molina, 2009).

In Latin America rural-urban migration is predominantly directed

towards the primate city. This primate city is mostly the capital city and is disproportionate much bigger than the rest of the cities of that country. The primate city therefore experiences over-urbanization (Boogaardt, 2009). Whereas in other countries the capital city has been the magnet for migration, in Bolivia the move has been spread across several urban areas, mostly department capitals. (Levy, 2001; Mazurek, 2007). Internal migration flows are directed to La Paz and the satellite city of El Alto, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz (see figure 1). The emigration departments are located at the *altiplano*; Chuquisaca, Oruro and Potosí (Roncken and Forsberg, 2007). Often, it is a gradual migration; people first migrate from the rural areas to provincial capitals, then to departmental capitals and sometimes, as final step, to the exterior (Roncken and Forsberg, 2007). While rural-urban migration is important, it is now long distance urban-urban migration that represents the highest proportion of movement in Bolivia (Mazurek, 2007). Migration in Bolivia is characterized by high level of internal differentiation and dynamism, in which internal migration, seasonal migration, international migration and return migration occur simultaneously. Multi-residency is a common phenomenon in Bolivia, which allows people to have formal employment in the city while maintaining a link with their community of origin and agricultural activities.

In economic terms, migration has a huge impact on Bolivia. Total remittances, most of which stem from international migration, were estimated by the Central Bank at nearly 1.09 billion dollars in 2008, equivalent to 8 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This was higher than the 1.02 billion dollars sent home in 2007, despite the deepening of the global economic crisis during that year. The Central Bank reported that a majority of 40 percent of the remittances come from Spain, 22 percent from the United States and 17 percent from Argentina, and account for 79 percent of all money transfers. However, other financial institutions like the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) say that official remittance figures underestimate the magnitude of transfers by 20 to 30 percent. The Central Bank reported that Bolivia's exports totaled 6 billion dollars in 2008. But while remittances were officially only one-sixth of that amount, they are actually the country's second largest source of foreign exchange, only surpassed by natural gas, which brought in 3.13 billion dollars last year (CEDLA, 2009).

3.2 Regional level: Chuquisaca

3.2.1 Socio-economic overview

The department of Chuquisaca is situated in the southeast of Bolivia, bordering on Paraguay (see figure 3.2). It is 1.25 times bigger than the Netherlands with a size of 51,524 km², constituting 4.7 percent of national territory. The department capital is Sucre, situated in the north. With a population of almost 550,000 inhabitants, Chuquisaca is divided into 10 provinces and 118 cantons. With the department of Potosí, Chuquisaca is the department with the highest incidence of poverty. Bolivia's Human Development Index is 0.687, and while for Sucre this is 0.688, the rest of Chuquisaca's municipalities have a HDI of only 0.486 (UNDP, 2004). Public services, like education and health are often absent or far away and poorly equipped, and therefore of low access to rural families (Nijenhuis, 2002). Agriculture is the main source of employment and the majority of the farming population consists of *minifundistas* (subsistence farmers).

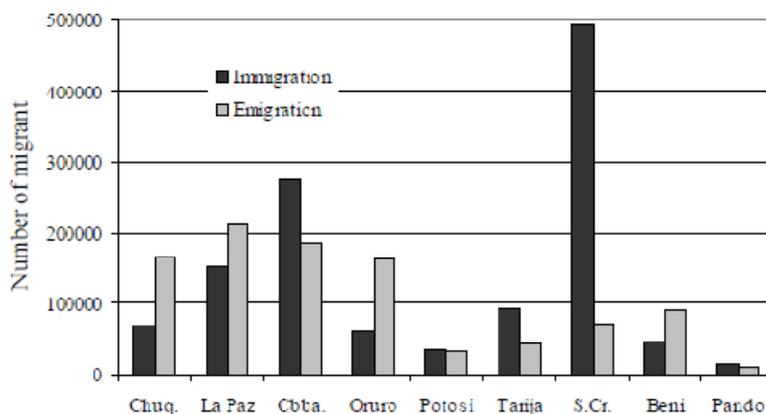
Figure 3.2: Map of Chuquisaca



3.2.2 Migration in Chuquisaca

In Bolivia, five departments show a migration outflow of the population, of which Chuquisaca has the largest net outflow: Chuquisaca (-17.63 percent), Potosí (-7.59 percent), Oruro (-25.8 percent), Beni (-12.23 percent) and La Paz (-2.55 percent) (see figure 3.3). Statistics from the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) show that the decline in population numbers mostly takes place in the rural areas of the department of Chuquisaca. Between 1992 and 2001, six municipalities show a significant decline in population. In this same period, average annual overall population growth in the department of Chuquisaca was 1.71%. At the same time, the annual urban growth rate was 4.23 percent, while the rural areas were only characterized by a 0.25 percent growth rate. Projections from INE for the 2000 to 2010 population numbers indicate a number of nine municipalities that will have a net overall decline in population over this ten year period. This can be considered a remarkable development when taking into

Figure 3.3: Migration balances of Chuquisaca compared to the other Bolivian departments



Source: Boogaardt, 2009

account natural population growth. Between 1983 and 1996, 18% of the population of the communities that were involved in the PIED Andino research left, or in other words, 41% of all the families in the 17 research communities had a member that left indefinitely in that period (Barron and Goudsmit, 1996). Permanent migration is thus an important phenomenon in the region.

3.3 The Local Context: San Juan and Escana

3.3.1 The community of San Juan



Illustration 3.1: Drawing of San Juan by a 13-year old boy from the community



Illustration 3.2 The valley of the community of San Juan

Situated in the north of Chuquisaca, the community of San Juan is a part of the municipality of Yamparaez, one of the 28 municipalities of the department. Yamparaez is a municipality with high poverty rates: 65 % of the population is living in moderate poverty, while 28% is considered to be extremely poor (UNDP, 2004). The community used to be a *hacienda*, a large estate, which was dismantled after the Agrarian Reform of 1953. At that moment, the villagers received title of the lands they were cultivating, and established the *sindicato*² and a small school. In 1970 the name 'Mauro Nuñez' was added to the community's name in order to differentiate it from other San Juans in the neighborhood. In 1987, a group of 30 families decided to separate themselves from the community as a result of a conflict over the construction of a new church. Naming their new community Ura San Juan, they constituted their own *sindicato* and named their own mayor (Guerrero 1997). It has formed a separate community ever since.

San Juan is situated at 3,000 meters above sea level and is surrounded by hills. It is an extremely dispersed community; the houses are situated at great distance from each other and the community is stretched out over several kilometers, despite its small number of inhabitants. Most houses are built near the location of the agricultural plots where families cultivate their crops. The central *pampa* (the low and reasonably flat part) in the centre of the community is the place where most families have their plots, but the hills around the *pampa* are also used for cultivation and some families have constructed their houses higher up against the steeper slopes. In Ura San Juan, the population is more concentrated. There are no official records of the number of inhabitants of the community. Estimations show that in 1983, 200 families were living in the community, of which 30 separated from the community and another part has left the community permanently. In 1997, investigators of the PIED Andino project estimated that the village had a population of about 720 people, divided over 152 families (Guerrero, 1997). Between 1997 and 2010, the number of families living in San Juan has diminished even further. The president of the *sindicato*, Máximo Saavedra, indicates that nowadays 125 families are affiliated to the *sindicato*, of which 80 to 90 are considered to be active members with residence in the village. The rest has migrated permanently from the community.

² Local organization to which all married men are affiliated. The *sindicato* is the main social organization in the community, with authority in the most important social and agricultural matters in the community. Decisions are taken in biweekly meetings to which participation is required.

The main productive activity is agriculture, with the principal crops being potatoes, wheat and corn, next to which some farmers also cultivate certain types of beans and peas. The use of traditional tools and input is common, such as plowing with animals, organic fertilizers and self-produced seeds, along with several introduced methods such as pesticides. All crops are grown without irrigation, since there are no sources of water in the community except the limited rainfall during the rainy season. The soil is of low quality and erosion is a serious problem due to deforestation.

To provide the community with some form of irrigation, the municipality and the program 'Evo Cuple' have recently finished the construction of several *atajados* (water reservoirs) for the collection of water in the community. The project initially contemplated more than 25 reservoirs, but in the end only 16 were constructed. The rest of the selected beneficiaries hope that the project will be extended.

The general health situation in the community is bad, but there are some signs of improvement, according to the nurse working at the local health post (see box 1). There is a complete lack of latrines and sanitary services in the community, such as a space to bathe or wash. People are prone to diseases and the majority has parasites, especially the children. Malnutrition is a serious danger due to the lack of vegetables, fruits and diversity in food patterns. However, school food program which provides warm meals for students and the government incentive for the regular weighing and food advise of under-five children seem to be paying off.

The distance of San Juan to the city of Sucre is less than 40 kilometers, which can be bridged by public transport leaving once a day from the community, taking about 3 hours to arrive at the large peasant market, the favorite destination of most villagers where the shopping for vegetables and daily necessities is done. The access road is unpaved, but considerably stable and accessible the whole year. It suffers from severe rains during the wet season, but is well-maintained by the municipality.

3.3.2 The community of Escana

Escana is a neighboring community of San Juan despite the difference in altitude. At a distance of 50 kilometers from Sucre, Escana is located in a valley at about 2,600 meters above sea level. The valley has a temperate climate with average temperatures of about 17 degrees Celsius (PDM, 2007). Like San Juan, it is part of the municipality of Yamparaez. In socio-cultural terms, Escana is very similar to San Juan. The vast majority of people (97 percent) from the community auto-identify themselves as indigenous Quechua (*idem*, 2007). While the majority of people has a good command of Spanish, the language of communication between community members in everyday life is Quechua.

Box 3.1: Basic services in San Juan

With regards to basic services, the majority of villagers have electricity in their houses, co-financed by the municipality, the Electric Company of Sucre and the community itself. Almost all households benefit from the drink water system installed by CARE in 1984. The local school is the central school for several communities in the area. Since a few years, pupils from the surrounding villages can use school transport to get to school, a service paid by the municipality. The local health post, built by the Project Cardinal Maurer, is responsible for the health care of three communities, San Juan, Pulqui and Concepción. The infrastructure of the post is modern and in good conditions, but it struggles with a lack of space and beds for patients who need emergency care. A university-schooled nurse and a recently arrived doctor who will be completing a three year residency in the new program of Intercultural Community and Family Health (SAFCI) are manning the health care. The post is equipped with a motorcycle, a communication system and has good contacts with the nearest hospital in Yamparaez. The location of the post is not well-chosen; it is difficult to reach for elderly people that have difficulty walking and in the rainy season, the river impedes the entrance of the ambulance which cannot reach the health post.



Illustration 3.3 (above): Location of Escana with respect to San Juan
 Illustration 3.4 (above right): Difference in altitude

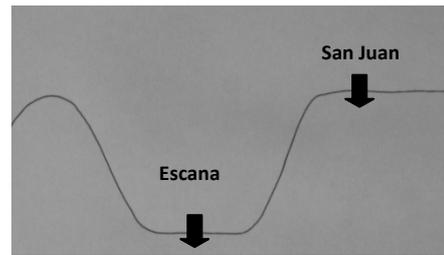


Illustration 3.5 (below): Center of Escana

There are three main differences between the two communities. First of all, the local school in Escana, in contrast to that of San Juan, offers levels of secondary education. Furthermore, in Escana there are ample options for irrigation. During the nineties, the *Proyecto Escana* (Escana Project) constructed a *represa* (barrage or artificial lake) in a ravine at a short distance of San Juan, on a flat highland on the edge of the valley. After finishing the construction of the dam and a comprehensive irrigation system, it was not until the year 2006 that the barrage actually started functioning. Even though the site of the barrage is close to the San Juan, the community does not benefit from the lake in any way. It is the population of Escana down in the valley that is the beneficiary of the possibilities created for irrigation. The barrage has brought about radical changes, even if the surface currently being irrigated represents only about 30 percent of its total potential, according to Simar Cava, an agricultural engineer from the NGO ProAgro working in Escana. ‘Dry’ agriculture has been replaced by irrigation which has resulted in an increase in



Illustration 3.6: The artificial lake that provides Escana with water for irrigation

productivity. The introduction of oregano as a crop has been extremely successful. People can harvest up to three or even four times a year, a fact that is stimulating more people to experiment with new crops. The third difference is the presence of local and development organizations and initiatives. The *Asociación de los Regantes del Valle de Escana* (ARVE), which unites the families with access to irrigation, has evolved into an important organization with an open attitude towards development interventions. Several non-governmental organizations have been active in Escana, supplying technical assistance, seeds and fertilizers and capacity-building - Fundación

PASOS, ProAgro and UNEC. The latter organization has been provided excellent commercialization options for Escana’s farmers, by buying 100 percent of the oregano harvest for a steady and fair price, thus providing a guaranteed market for the farmers. Oregano has now replaced corn and wheat as the principal crop in the community, while potato and chickpeas continue to be grown in the community. The cultivation of fruit trees for commercialization, such as figs and peach has diminished.

3.3.3 Migration in San Juan and Escana

The magnitude of migration in San Juan and Escana is impressive. With only one exception in both villages, all families have at least one member that has left the community permanently. The majority of minors (0-18 years old) still live in the communities, where they attend school. However, of the adult sons and daughters born in San Juan and Escana in the age of 18 to 55 years old with parents living in the community, no less than 82 percent of the women and 69 percent of the men have permanently migrated from the community (see table 3.1). A striking 94 percent of the women and 88 percent of the men is currently not present in the communities due to (permanent or temporary) migration. This implies that almost an entire generation of young people has left the community to build new lives in other destinations.

Table 3.1: Where are they now? Current place of residency of absent migrants who left the communities (N=186)

Age	Women				Men			
	Place of residency (%)		Current location (%)		Place of residency (%)		Current location (%)	
	Community	Other	Community	Other	Community	Other	Community	Other
0-17	69%	31%	69%	31%	75%	25%	75%	25%
18-25	18%	82%	6%	94%	31%	69%	12%	88%
26-40	0%	100%	0%	100%	3%	97%	2%	98%

Source: Elaboration based on own data.

In San Juan, initial migration flows are said to have had their roots in the severe drought of the year 1983, when El Niño caused massive economic loss and damage to agriculture in Bolivia. In the community, the harvest was completely destroyed. Alain Pumar, the director of the NGO NorSud explains that it was during that time that many people from the most affected zones went to the lowlands of Santa Cruz, to Chaco, or to the west of the country to find work. Other people looked for economic opportunities in Argentina. Argentina was doing very well back then and the differences in salaries were huge. Large numbers of people left, mostly men, with Santa Cruz as the principal place of destination. It was during this period that strong connections and relationships were established between that area and the community of San Juan. In Escana, early migration flows started in the 1970s, with a small number of men migrating temporarily to the sugar cane fields in Santa Cruz. After the severe drought of the 1980s, migration became a more common phenomenon, with larger numbers of people leaving to go to Argentina (principally Salta, Mendoza, Cordoba and Buenos Aires), Sucre and Santa Cruz, paving the way for strong migrant networks in the community’s favored places of destination.

Generally, the older generation lives in the community and engages in circular temporary migration to nearby places for several weeks or months during the dry season. The younger generation generally migrates for longer periods of time, for several months or years, or prefers to migrate permanently from the community, preferably to faraway cities.

4. Migrant Selectivity: Who stays and who goes?

In this chapter, we begin with the explanation of the research results. The composition and characteristics of the communities' population will be analyzed in order to see who stays (non migrants, ex migrants and circular migrants), who comes back (return migrants) and who leaves (absent migrants). Who do these groups represent? Which groups are present in the communities and why? Are there similarities within groups and differences between groups to be discovered?

4.1 Composition of the Local Population

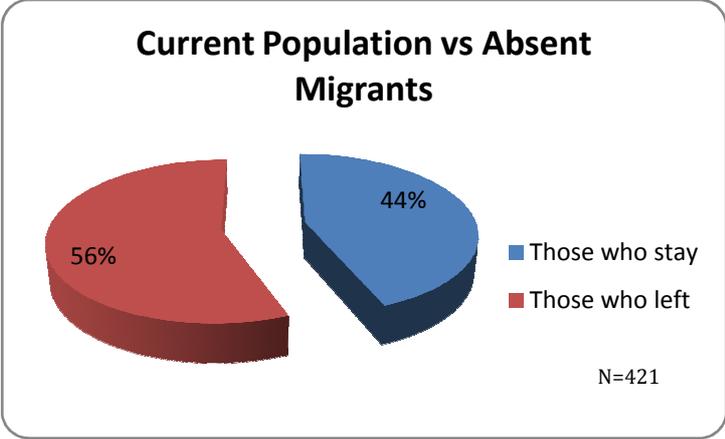
During the research, the information about migration was recorded for each household, collecting the data of all the members of the family, even when they no longer lived in the community. Before the fieldwork, the expectation was that analysis could be made on a household level, distinguishing between non migrant and migrant households. However, this was not the case; it was found that the distinction between non migrant and migrant households was untenable due to two factors. First, there are hardly any households that consist of only non migrant members, and secondly, almost all households have members with different migration experiences, frequencies and patterns. Therefore, analysis in this chapter will be based on information about individual household members (unless specified otherwise), and a distinction will be made between five different groups. In addition, minors who are still attending school will be excluded from the analysis unless specified otherwise, based on the assumption that this group is generally not yet in a position to take drastic migration decisions. When discussing the local population, this will therefore indicate the non-school population, meaning those not attending school in the community. Furthermore, to avoid an overload of information, data will only be presented separately for the communities in the case of clear differences. When the data show a similar trend, the combined totals of the two communities will be presented.

In order to gain better insight into the magnitude of outmigration from San Juan and Escana, it is first of all important to analyze the proportion of people that have permanently left the community in relation to the people that continue to live in the community, in other words the proportion of those who left versus those who stayed. Taking into account all the interviewed respondents and their family members recorded in the migrant surveys during the investigation, it can be deduced that 56 percent of those born in San Juan and Escana have permanently left the communities (see table and figure 4.1). This number can even be assumed to be higher, given the fact that it only represents the migrants that still have family members living in the community and does not include the families that have left the community permanently as a whole. This implies that only 44 percent of the people is still living in the two communities.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of local population in relation to absent migrants

Table 4.1: Those who stay vs. Those who left

	Total	Total (%)
Those who stay	185	44%
Those who left	236	56%
Total	421	100%



Source: Elaboration on the basis of collected data

4.2 Those who stay: Who are they?

As mentioned, the people living in the communities can by no means simply be described as people who do not migrate at all. In fact, they are a heterogeneous mix with different migration experiences and patterns. During the research it became clear that those who stay can be grouped into different categories: non migrants, ex migrants, return migrants and circular migrants. In figure 4.2, the composition of the communities' population is visualized. These divisions give an idea of who is meant by the local population and gives insight into the relative and absolute size of each group in the communities.

The largest group is made up of people who have migrated in the past but presently do not migrate anymore (ex migrants). People who have never migrated (non migrants) and people who currently migrate regularly (circular migrants) both make up about a quarter of the communities' population. People who have left the community for a period of more than five years but have decided to return (return migrants) only make up a small part of the population. On the whole, San Juan's population can be said to contain more circular migrants, less non migrants, more ex migrants and less return migrants than the community of Escana. The structural differences in local circumstances that lie at the basis of these variations will be further discussed in the next chapter. First, the characteristics of each subgroup will be described in the next section.

Figure 4.2: Composition of the communities' population according to different types of migrants

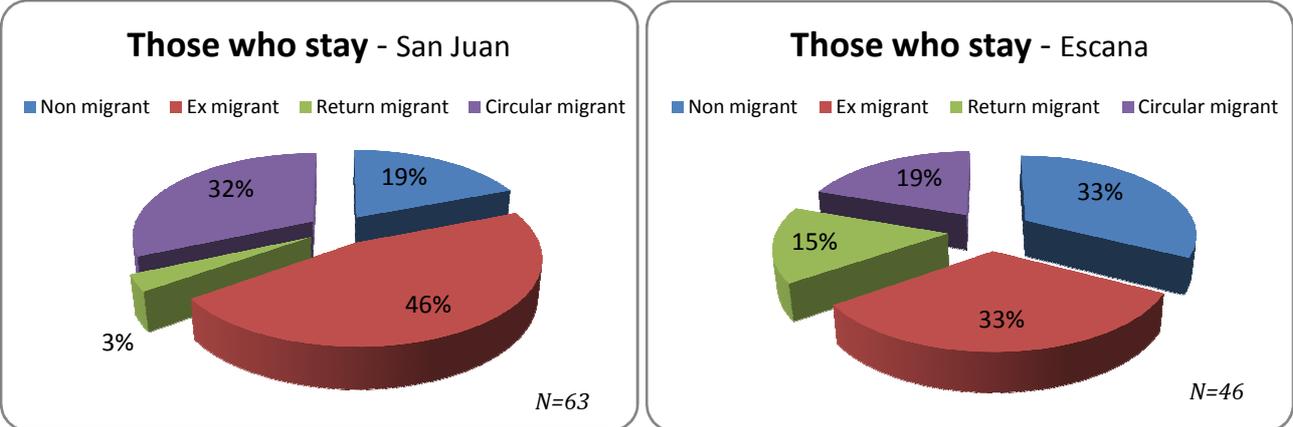
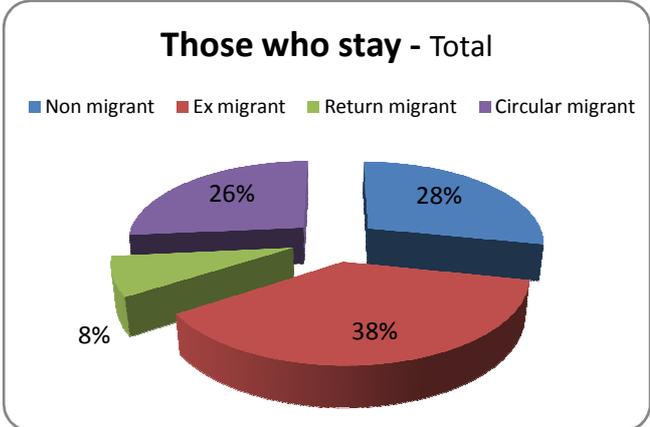


Table 4.2 Population composition in different groups of those who stay

	San Juan		Escana	
	No	%	No	%
Non migrant	12	19%	15	33%
Ex migrant	29	46%	15	33%
Return migrant	2	3%	7	15%
Circular migrant	20	32%	9	20%
Total	63	100%	46	100

Source: Collected data



Source: Elaboration on basis of collected data

4.2.1 Non migrants

Non migrants are people without any migration experience. When analyzing the group of non migrants at the household level, we can see that 19 households in San Juan (63 percent) and 18

households in Escana (69 percent) have at least one non migrant member. However, a household can only be considered a non migrant household if all members are non migrants. In both communities, not a single family consists only of people who have never migrated in their life; in all households at least one member migrates regularly, has left the community or has migrated in the past. Six households in which none of the children engages in migration can be identified. Nevertheless, all the children in these six households, without exception, are minors who are still in school.

Table 4.3 Household analysis of non migrants (N=56)

	Households	
	San Juan	Escana
Households with non migrant members	19	18
All children non migrant	2	4
All members non migrant	0	0

Source: Elaboration on the basis of collected data

Table and figure 4.2 are based on the information of all people not attending school in the communities. However, when the school population is included, the relative weight of non migrants as part of all those who stay changes significantly: from 19 to 49 percent in San Juan, and from 33 to 62 in Escana (see table 4.4). When analyzing at an individual level, it becomes clear that minors who still attend primary or secondary school in the communities are the large majority of non migrants: they form 74 percent of all non migrants (78 percent in San Juan, 70 percent in Escana). In table 4.4, the composition of the local population is shown for the whole community on the one hand (including minors attending school), and for the non-school population on the other hand (excluding minors attending school).

Table 4.4: Composition of local population with and without minors attending school in the communities

	Non-school population				All those who stay			
	San Juan		Escana		San Juan		Escana	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Non migrant	12	19%	15	33%	54	49%	50	62%
Ex migrant	29	46%	15	33%	32	29%	15	19%
Return migrant	2	3%	7	15%	2	2%	7	9%
Circular migrant	20	32%	9	20%	22	20%	9	11%
Total	63	100%	46	100%	110	100%	81	100%

Source: Elaboration on the basis of collected data

The group of non migrants is unequally balanced according to age (see table 4.5). 71 percent of all non migrants is 17 years old or younger. Only 6 percent is between 18 and 44 years old, while 22 percent is more than 45 years of age. This last category shows significant imbalances between men and women. No less than 75 percent of all non migrants between 45 and 85 years old is female (see table 4.6). Elderly women who were not allowed to migrate during their lives are overrepresented within this group of non migrant: when they were young, their help was needed at home, while as a married woman many of them did not receive permission from their husband to leave the community. The educational levels of the elderly non migrant women are extremely low. In San Juan, only one out of the seven women has had one year of primary school, while the rest has received no education at all. In Escana, none of the eleven women has finished primary school. Most of the non migrants between approximately 40 and 60 are married women who have a husband who migrates regularly (circular migrant), while they are in charge of the household and the care of the children.

Table 4.5: Individual non migrants in San Juan and Escana as a percentage per gender

Individual non migrants					
	Total		Total (%)		
Age	Men	Women	Age	Men	Women
0-17	37	33	0-17	86%	60%
18-44	2	4	18-44	5%	7%
45-85	4	18	45-85	9%	33%
Total	43	55	Total	100%	100%

Source: Elaboration based on collected data.

Table 4.6: Individual non migrants in San Juan and Escana as a percentage of the different age categories

Individual non migrants						
	Total		%			Total
Age	Men	Women	Age	Men	Women	All
0-17	37	33	0-17	53%	47%	100%
18-44	2	4	18-44	33%	67%	100%
45-85	4	18	45-85	25%	75%	100%
Total	43	55	Total	44%	56%	100%

Source: Elaboration based on collected data

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Furthermore, another group that is often identified as non migrants by the people in the community are the last-born of the family. This is closely related to the care of the parents and the family inheritance. The youngest of the siblings has a higher likelihood of remaining in the community, especially the youngest son because he is considered to be more physically capable of heavy agricultural tasks. Due to the large flows of outmigration, it is very likely that the youngest (son) is last to leave the community and consequently it is considered his responsibility to take care of the parents and assist with the agricultural activities on the family's land, which he is then most likely to inherit. Most of the younger non migrant couples (30-50 years old) who live in the community have inherited land from their parents, which allowed them to provide for themselves and stay in the community.

4.2.2 Ex-migrants

Ex-migrants are those people who have experience with migrating in the past, but do not migrate regularly in the present. Looking at table 4.7, two observations can be made. First of all, 79 percent of all ex migrants between 18 and 44 are women. Men and women generally start migrating after (high) school. It is common to migrate for a longer period of time (one to three years). Young couples often migrate together before or just after marriage to save for their future life or for a specific savings goal. In many cases, this is the only migration experience women between 30 and 50 have before they have children. As is shown in table 4.8, 58 percent of the female ex-migrants has migrated only once in her life, while for men the percentage lies at 15. In contrast, 80 percent of all male ex migrants has migrated very often in the past, matched by only 29 percent of the women.

Table 4.7: Ex migrants in San Juan and Escana

Ex migrants						
	Total		%			Total
Age	Men	Women	Age	Men	Women	All
0-17	0	0	0-17	0%	0%	100%
18-44	3	11	18-44	21%	79%	100%
45-85	17	13	45-85	57%	43%	100%

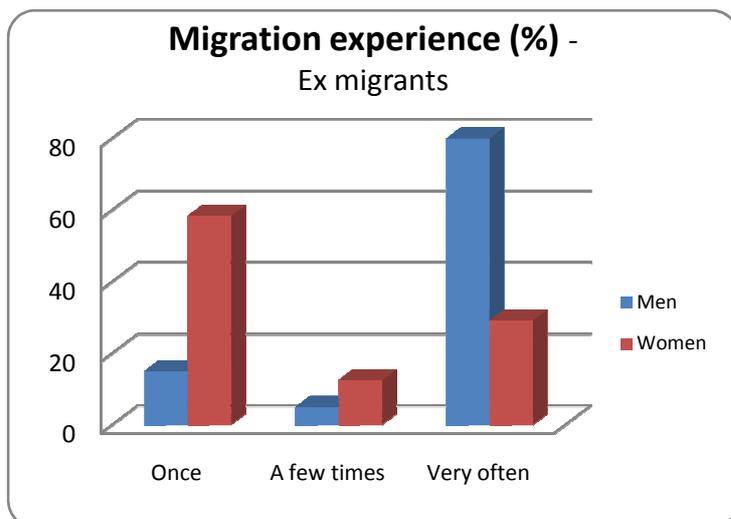
Source: Elaboration based on collected data

Table 4.8: Migration experience of ex migrants

	San Juan		Escana		Total		Total %	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes, once	2	7	1	7	3	14	15%	58%
Yes, a few times	1	2	0	1	1	3	5%	13%
Yes, very often	11	6	5	1	16	7	80%	29%
Total	14	15	6	9	20	24	100%	100%

Source: Elaboration based on collected data

Figure 4.3: Migration experiences of ex migrants (N=44)



Source: Elaboration on basis of collected data

Furthermore, the majority of ex migrants are elderly men and women, mostly over 60 years of age, who have stopped migrating because of health reasons. A lack of necessity due to remittances sent by adult children who have left the community can also be a reason to stop the migration process, since they can eliminate the immediate economic need to migrate.

4.2.3 Return migrants

In San Juan, the number of return migrants is extremely low with 3 percent (see figure 4.2), indicating that when people leave for a long period of time (more than five years) the likelihood of a return to the community is almost zero. Only two return migrants could be identified in the community: one 37-year old migrant who returned to the community after almost twenty years in Argentina, and one 42-year old man who returned to the community after 6 years in Santa Cruz, to take care of his elderly father, whose health was deteriorating. This latter reason is also named as the principal reason for returning by 3 out of 7 return migrants in Escana. In Escana, 15 percent of the local population is made up by return migrants. The new opportunities offered by the irrigation system formed the most important reason to return for the remaining two return migrants, who returned with their wives. All return migrants are between 34 and 56 years old and are married.

4.2.4 Circular migrants

Table 4.9: Circular migrants in San Juan and Escana

Circular migrants					
	Total		%		
Age	Men	Women	Age	Men	Women
0-17	1	0	0-17	5%	0%
18-44	9	1	18-44	43%	5%
45-85	7	3	45-85	33%	14%
Total	17	4	Total	100%	

Source: Elaboration based on collected data

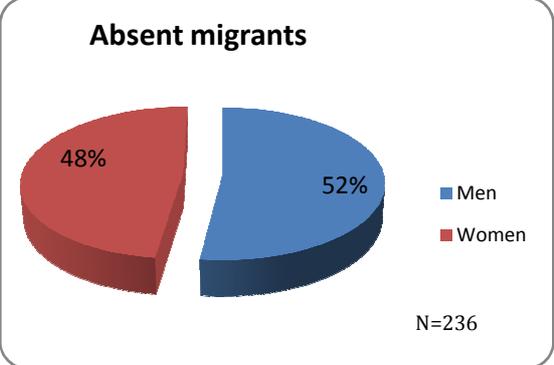
Circular migrants are the people who migrate regularly, either at a certain point during the year (seasonal migration), or with a more or less fixed pattern of temporary stays in another place (usually year-round), while still having the community as their main place of residence. It may seem contradictory to classify circular migrants as people who stay. However, circular migrants live in the community and migrate in order to be able to continue to live there, to *stay* there. The absolute majority of the circular migrants are men. Women participate in circular migration only in 15 percent of the cases; the other 81 percent of all circular migrants is male (see table 4.9).

These male circular migrants are generally between 30 and 50 years old and can be classified as heads of a family with young children.

4.3 Those who left: Who are they?

According to a 61-year old woman from San Juan, “in the past, the young people left for a short while, but now they leave indefinitely”. As shown in figure 4.4, 56 percent of the people from the community have left permanently. These *absent migrants* do not intend to return to the community in the future. The collected data shows that it is mostly the largest group of absent migrants are youngsters who leave the community soon after finishing school. Currently, the most common age for young people to leave the community is between 18 and 23 in Escana and as early as 14 to 18 in San Juan. In most cases, the permanent departure is preceded by one or several temporary migration experiences.

Figure 4.4: Gender division of absent migrants



Source: Elaboration on the basis of collected data

When married, absent migrants usually leave the community with their whole nuclear family, even though the migration cycle may have started with the temporary migration of only one member of the family. For absent migrants, the balance between the genders is quite equal; men and women alike engage in permanent outmigration without significant differences between the genders (see figure 4.4). Most of them move to the city, with Sucre as the primary choice. When analyzing the current migration patterns of those who have left the communities, it is interesting to see that absent migrants tend to migrate less regularly than the people still living in the community; only 9 percent of the male and 7 percent of the female absent migrants indicate that they migrate regularly, while in the community 28 percent of the population migrates regularly (see table 4.10). For 74 percent (91 male and 59 percent female) the principal reason for not migrating regularly is the lack of necessity (against 4 percent of women and men in the communities). Leaving the community permanently therefore appears to considerably increase income or broadening the options for income diversification, resulting in a decreasing necessity for circular migration afterwards. It appears that the first ‘migration step’ from the community towards the city, where salaries are higher and there is more diversification in labor opportunities, yields considerable advantages.

Table 4.10: Double residency as a percentage per gender

Double residency					
	Total		Total (%)		
Age	Men	Women	Age	Men	Women
0-17	0	0	0-17	0%	0%
18-44	5	5	18-44	45%	38%
45-85	6	8	45-85	54%	61%
Total	11	13	Total	100%	100%

Source: Elaboration based on collected data.

The second group of those who left consists of people with double residency, which represents almost 10 percent of all the people who left the community permanently. This group consists of 24 people, all of whom have dual residency in the community and the city of Sucre. 13 percent of the double residents rent accommodation in Sucre, while 87 percent owns a house or a room in the city. The motives for having double residency differ significantly according to gender. Men tend to have double residency because of work-related activities. Most of them comment that

they have a more or less regular (though informal) job, for example in the construction sector for a few days a week or month (or when necessity to make extra money arises). This obligates them to travel to Sucre regularly and to have some form of accommodation during their stay in the city. Most women on the other hand indicated that the principal reason for having double residency was the education of their children, which is said to be of higher quality in the city. Therefore, the children live and study in Sucre, while one or both parents travel between Sucre and the community. Other women commented that when their husband passed away, or when their children became adults and left the community permanently, they started migrating again. For them, the main reason to travel between the community and the city is the combination of engaging in some kind of commercial activity, and being closer to their children, who now often have their families. While double residency implies a continued presence in the community of origin, all 24 people indicate that the majority of their time is spent in the city rather than in the community.

4.4 So who stays and who goes?

“Those who remain are the very young, the elderly and the women. Most men leave”. This is the most common answer to the question about who stays and who leaves. In general, it seems to be not far from the truth, even though reality is slightly more complex.

The vast majority of people currently living in the community have one or multiple experiences with migration. Only 7 percent of the men and 27 percent of the women have never migrated. While the data thus shows that most people from San Juan and Escana have experience with migration in some phase of their lives, at the same time it becomes clear that the participation rate of adult, married women is lower than men in the same age, and significantly lower compared to their sons and daughters. The daily management of the domestic unit is considered as the most important role of a married woman, which is geared towards reproductive responsibilities. Next to the higher portion of mothers who have no migration experience, 21 percent have only migrated once in their lives, which is considerably higher than men with 7 percent. Still, little over half of the women have had remunerated work in other places a few or many times. The chance of women having migration experience diminishes with age; elderly women now living in the community are less likely to have migrated than younger women now in their forties or fifties. As we have seen, among younger generation absent migrants there are hardly any gender differences; men and women alike migrate.

From the above, it can be concluded that large variations exist between men and women, and between different age groups. While migration patterns indeed vary widely depending on age, sex and marital status, it would be too simple to conclude that these elements are the determinant factors for migration in the two communities. It is simply impossible to separate the different factors from each other. It would therefore be more accurate to state that it is not the individual factors but a person's life (cycle) phase that heavily influences migration decisions. A focus on life phase makes it possible to consider gender, age-related and marital status-related roles and expectations impressed on a person by society, culture and by choice. In each stage of their lives, people choose from a different set of options available to them. With each change in a person's situation comes a different package of responsibilities, expectations, opportunities and restrictions. The life phase a person is in therefore determines the availability of labor and capital, access to knowledge, networks and information. As Hoang (2009) explains, being a man or a woman influences one's perceptions of their rights, obligations and legitimate behavior in relation to other people, as well as the way migration is strategized within the household. This also applies to being young or adult, and being married or single. The roles and expectations linked to a person's life phase shape people's perceptions of legitimate behavior as well as subjective evaluations of their options, needs and interests. Differences in these perceptions have direct consequences for the choices they make. *“Young women migrate until they get married and have children. Then they have work in the house and in the field and their husbands do not want them to go anymore”*, says a 51 year old woman from Escana. Many

women just comment “with a husband and children you just cannot [migrate]” and that “if the family has a few animals it is impossible for a woman to migrate because she has to take care of them constantly”. Differences in social position within the household also affect the possibilities a person has in decision making. This has to do with power and agency, in other words the ability to exercise agency in their migratory decisions. According to Kabeer (1999), agency not only refers to people’s capacity to define their own life choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition of others, but also to the capacity of an actor to override the agency of others. In other words, it is not just age, gender or marital status that determines migration decisions; it is their combination which creates a role with matching obligations and possibilities, which may or may not include migration as a common or even accepted option.

Figure 4.5 gives a summary of the groups by giving an overview of descriptions of profiles per type of migrant. The descriptions are classified by color and show, in descending order from top to bottom, the most common profiles for each group of those who stay and leave. It should of course be noted that these profiles are a generalized and simplified classification of reality which is not always clear-cut.

Figure 4.5: Most common migrant profiles

Permanent migrant	Migrant	Non migrant	Ex migrant	Return migrant
Young adults, men and women, leaving the community after finishing school	Male head of the family with underaged children	Minors still attending the local primary or high school	Elderly men (and women) who have migrated in the past but can no longer do so because of health issues	Adult men who had migrated permanently but have returned because of new possibilities in the community (Escana)
Families that follow other family members that have migrated in the past to places that offer opportunities	Male head of the family with adult children that have migrated, and a non migrant wife	Elderly women, who had to help out at home when young, and did not want to or was not allowed to migrate once married	Elderly men and women who receive remittances from migrant children or whose children do not allow them to migrate anymore	People who moved back to the community to take care of elderly parents still living in the community
Couples/families that choose to settle in the place where previous temporary migration experiences have taken place	Young or recently married couples who engage in long-term temporary migration for a certain specific savings goal	Men (or women) who have inherited land and continued to live in the community while other siblings left permanently	Young married mothers who has gained some migration experience before marrying with small underaged children and a migrating husband	Families who left while still having properties and relatives in the community

Source: Elaboration based on research

In this chapter, the characteristics of those who stay and those who left have been investigated in order to discover who migrates and who does not. While this explains who are more likely to stay or leave, it does not give insight into *why* people choose to leave their communities. These migration motives will be the explored in the next chapter.

5. Migration Motives: Why do people (not) migrate?

The question that will to be explored in this chapter is: Why do people (not) migrate? In this context, different force fields are at work. Certain factors stimulate people to leave and thus stimulate migration: the so-called fostering factors. Other factors make people want to stay in their communities (tying factors) or can be considered obstacles to migration (limiting factors). First it is interesting to take a look at the drivers behind this outmigration. What motivates migrants to migrate? Furthermore, we will take a look at the reasons people express for *not* migrating, exploring the different tying and limiting factors. All this information will provide insight into what drives migrants to migrate, what drives others to stay, and what people migrate towards or away from.

5.1 Reasons for Migrating: Fostering Factors

To discover the reasons people have for migrating, we will take a look at what those living in the community mention when they are asked the questions *Why do you migrate?*, *Why do people migrate from the community?* or *Why did your family members migrate?* It thus foremost reflects the perspective of those who stay. However, as we have seen, the majority of people living in the community are people who either migrate regularly or have migrated in the past and are able to explain current or past reasons for migrating. The reasons that emerged from the interviews, with only very few exceptions, can be summarized in six phrases that start with “There is no...”. These elements can be interpreted as structural constraints in the communities.

5.1.1 Structural constraints

5.1.1.1 “There is no Water”: Lack of Sources for Irrigation

One reason to migrate mentioned in all conversations in San Juan is the lack of water and consequently the lack of options for irrigation in the community. In the municipality of Yamparaez, the absence of water is considerable, with low percentages of humidity and absolute lack of superfluous water. The number of water resources is very limited and most of the existing sources are temporary, in other words, they only contain water after rainfall. The few existing water sources that exist are fed by rivers, canyons and wells. Next to the restricted number of water sources, rainfall is extremely scarce, even during the rainy season. San Juan and Escana have an average annual precipitation of around 200 to 300 mm. All this means that there is a total water deficit; winters (from April to November) are almost completely dry and the summer rains (from December to March) are extremely limited (PDM Yamparaez 2007-2011). This is why one of the largest climatological problems in San Juan is drought. While the climate has always been arid, the community members of San Juan indicate that the last ten years have been extremely dry.



Illustration 5.1: One of the recently constructed atajados in San Juan

When the *atajados* that were recently constructed with government help (see 3.3.1) will have filled up with rain water, the families can use the water to irrigate their plots of lands or parts of it. The time needed for the *atajados* to fill up is estimated at about two to three years, while at the moment, most of the constructed barrages are still empty. This may explain why hardly anyone mentions them as a source of water. The population is still not convinced that the barrages will actually render the promised benefits, with most of the families claiming that it will probably help, but they are too small and will not provide sufficient water to irrigate all of their fields. The lack of water is the principal limiting factor for increasing agricultural production in the community.

Even though in Escana almost all families have at least a small quantity of land with irrigation (*a riego*), most of them also own larger quantities of land without the possibility to irrigate. Furthermore, irrigation is not without costs. Families are not allowed to irrigate whenever they want. A schedule is made by ARVE, the association for irrigation, which stipulates whose turn it is to make use of the irrigation system. In addition, irrigation is not without its costs; families have to pay for the water and need the infrastructure (e.g. tubes) to lead the water to their crops. These costs can be a reason to irrigate only a part of their lands, cultivating the rest *a secano*.

5.1.1.2 “There is no Harvest”: Lack of Production and Climate Change

“There is no rain, there is no harvest, the land produces very little”, is what is to be heard in practically all households. Even though the lack of production as a reason for migrating is more applicable to San Juan than to Escana, also in the latter community it is frequently mentioned as a reason. The majority of community members commented that they had seen a dramatic decline in agricultural and livestock production, due to important climatic changes. They indicate that after the drought of 1982-83 these changes were much more obvious, especially the variations in precipitation and higher temperatures. Not only has the amount of rain changed, also the intensity of the rains has altered noticeably. “25 or 30 years ago, there were higher levels of rain and consequently higher levels of production. Before, the rains were softer, there was more humidity. Then the harvests were good and there were pastures for the animals. Nowadays we have heavy showers, downpours and hailstorms”, comments a farmer from San Juan (71 years old).



Illustration 5.2: Signs of drought in Escana

Another reason for the dramatic decrease in the yield of the production of crop *a secano* is that many families are cultivating less surface due to increased risks because of climatic changes, particularly in the *lomas*. Much of the land in these higher and declining slopes is being abandoned for agricultural purposes. “The droughts are more severe now, it is impossible to work in the higher parts” and “people used to cultivate every part of the land up to the tops of the hills, now they do it only in the lower parts because of the drought”, commented two women (51 and 56 years old) from Escana and San Juan. The consequence of the deterioration of the production is a decline in income, and the loss of certain products such as wheat and potato, which are essential in the daily diet of local families. In addition, the livestock is suffering severely from these changes. The animals have larger distances to cross to find sufficient food. The quality of the animals has diminished due to a lack of adequate nutritional food, which has a debilitating effect. “Before, it rained a lot, there was more than enough grass to eat. The animals did not need so much space. Now they need to walk very far. The quality is bad because they need to eat more. This is why the cows are so weak. Only in the *lomas* there are some animals that can survive”, comments a woman from San Juan (67 years old). The period during which the weather allows to sow and harvest is shortening every year. Furthermore, the minimum quantity of land that is necessary to satisfy the basic necessities of a family is rising. Migration, both temporary as permanent, has

been a strategy to adapt to these changing circumstances. *“And thus when there was production, we had means of a decent living. People were not interested in migrating. But time went by and things change. Now they are in Santa Cruz, Chapare or they work in Sucre”*, says a 51-year old man from San Juan.

5.1.1.3 “There is no Land”: Lack of Inherited Land and Minifundio

Even though many factors induce migration, one of the most important ones is the scarcity of land. The *minifundio* is a social and economic reality in the highlands of Bolivia. *Minifundio* implies that the available plots of land are of such a small size that it is made impossible for the farmer to obtain a production that is sufficient for commercialization, which indirectly obligates him to subsistence farming and thus impedes sufficient cash earnings. The inhabitants of San Juan and Escana state that the lack of land is one of the principal causes for rural to urban migration. The common system of inheritance in the communities is that the owner of the land divides the land equally between all sons and daughters, which results in progressively smaller plots. Currently, the communities have come to a point where dividing the land even between a limited number of children would mean that they would inherit a plot of land of a size that condemns them to insufficient production. This scarcity of land means that a future in agriculture being out of the question, many young people chose to migrate. *“We have a joke here”*, tells a 63-year old man from San Juan. *“Four older brothers that have migrated come back to the community after the death of their parents to claim the piece of land they are entitled to. The youngest brother that is still living there just smiles and hands them a small bag with sand and says, ‘there it is!’ Unfortunately, this is the way it is. The plots have become too small”*. Furthermore, due to the strong decline in fertility of land which is caused by erosion, diminishing crop rotation and shorter periods of fallowness because of land scarcity, the amount of land needed to obtain sufficient for subsistence agriculture are growing. In Escana, the introduction of the irrigation system has reduced the amount of land needed to survive because of higher yields and multiple harvests. Families with as little as 3 hectares can have sufficient production to provide for themselves and have a certain quantity of crops for commercialization if they invest smartly in supplies and fertilizers. However, farmers in San Juan indicate that they would need around about 10 hectares of land to live well from agriculture, while the average family owns only 4.2 hectares³. Of course it is also the quality of the land that is important. *“To have 10 hectares where you cannot produce what you need or not produce sufficient quantities is like having nothing”*, says Simar Cava of ProAgro, a Bolivian non-governmental organization that works in several communities in Yamparaez, including Escana.



Illustration 5.3: The central pampa in San Juan

5.1.1.4 “There is no Money”: Lack of Local Economy and Currency Flow

An important change in the local economy in the communities is the growing dependency on (cash) money. This increasing monetarization implies two things: a rising number of money transactions and a growing search for monetary income as opposed to income in kind. There is a notable change towards a more cash-based economy in which money is gaining importance. In the past, two types of transactions complemented each other in obtaining consumption products, access to services and wage labor: those transactions mediated by money, and those that were mediated through the practice of *trueque* (exchange of goods) and *ayni* (reciprocity). In the communities, traders from the city brought products such as sugar, rice, pasta and salt to

³ Number base don own data gathered during the investigation.

exchange them for corn, while people from the nearby valleys exchanged fruits and vegetables for potatoes with the communities at higher altitudes. Nowadays, only few families take part in this kind of exchange. Furthermore, the practice of *ayni* was a system of reciprocal exchange of labor between families for agricultural work and construction of houses. It consisted of help from a group of people to a certain person or family, on the condition that in times of need, they would receive that same assistance. Or in other words, it was a system of work-for-work, not work-for-money, rotating under the heading of “*today for you, tomorrow for me*”. This reciprocity that offered access to labor, has now diminished and is only applied in a very limited way. As a community member (male, 73) of San Juan indicates: “*Ayni almost doesn’t exist anymore, only sometimes between friends and neighbors*”. Nowadays, labor is contracted per day, in the form of *peones* (wage laborers) that are hired for one or more days during the busy periods of sowing and harvesting.

At the same time, earnings from agricultural activities have decreased significantly. Reason for this decline is that the output and volumes of corn and potato, which are the principal cash crops to sell, have diminished considerably due to higher occurrence of plagues and crop diseases. People have ceased to cultivate large extensions of land as a result of permanent drought and the lack of labor. The earnings coming from livestock activities have also declined. People in the communities tend to have fewer animals, due to the reduced availability of appropriate grazing lands and family members, especially young people, who dedicate themselves to the care of the animals. The lack of dung has affected the fertility of the soils, particularly in the steeper areas on the slopes of the surrounding mountains (*lomas*), where conditions are even more difficult and large parts are no longer used for the cultivation of agricultural products.

The diminishing earnings from agricultural and livestock activities has resulted in the intensification of non-agricultural activities. Migration is an important source of monetary income and has augmented considerably in the communities over the last decades. The large migration flows have to do with a cultural process that has taken its roots in the communities though the generation of migrant networks, but are also closely related to the growing need for cash income to cover the basic necessities of local families (Guerrero, 2010).

It is important to mention that indirectly, migration itself generates higher monetarization and cash needs. As migrants adapt to new places where they arrived, they adopt new customs and get accustomed to new consumption patterns, urban life-styles, higher quality basic services and new technology. “*It is a different life. People in the countryside are more accustomed to life that is free (as in gratis), to work for free, not for money, to have enough to eat and to be fine without actually having money. However, in the city you have a salary, you have enough to provide for oneself and to have a little bit left for something else. But the people in the countryside have only enough to eat. All they need is that the harvest is sufficient. But is it the young people; what they see in the city changes them*”, comments a 62 years old man in Escana, who implies that migration causes changes in the consumption mentality of people who have migrated, in what they consider basic necessities. Most of the products that correspond to these new consumption patterns are not available in the communities, nor are they obtainable through the system of *trueque*, and consequently increase cash flow needs.

5.1.1.5 “There is no School”: Lack of Educational Opportunities

In both San Juan and Escana, there is a school, which is a *central*⁴. There are however considerable differences between the two schools. In San Juan, the school is endowed with a good infrastructure and 12 classrooms with the necessary basic furniture. The school has eight teachers, who live in rooms on the school premises. As mentioned, all the teachers are from Sucre and spend Wednesday nights and weekends in the city to be with their families, as does the director of the school. This leaves the school unattended and robberies have occurred in

⁴ A *central* is a slightly bigger school than the surrounding schools, which caters to the educational needs of a number of surrounding communities that often do not offer all grades.

these instances. The total number of pupils is 109, inhabitants of San Juan and the neighboring communities of Pulqui and La Concepción. The school offers classes from *pre-básico* (kindergarten) to eighth grade of primary school. The lack of opportunity to continue to secondary education is an important motivation for migration among the young in San Juan. At the same time, it is a cause of the low educational levels of the community's population. The economic means necessary to cover the costs of secondary education (boarding school, books, and clothes) are an insurmountable obstacle for many families in the community. A small survey among the pupils in fifth, sixth and eighth grade indicated that all of the children would like to continue studying after finishing primary school; 17% indicates only that they want to continue studying, 22% wants to study until finishing high school (*bachiller*), while no less than 57% indicate that their preferred future profession is a profession that requires higher education, such as teacher, nurse, agricultural engineer or doctor. Unfortunately, teachers estimate that only about half of these children will actually finish high school and only about one tenth will finish professional education. Costs, lack of motivation and their families' cash needs will drive most young people to abandon school prematurely. The 14-year old Edwin acknowledges this reality when he writes: "*When I finish the eighth grade, I will continue studying in secondary school, but it is better to say "I would like to" study. We do not have so much money in my family and there are many other families that cannot let their children study because of a lack of money"*. However, every year there are pupils who leave the community to continue studying; about 60 percent, estimates the director of the school. The most popular option for secondary education is in the smallest population centers Yamparaez (1-1,5 hours by public transport) or in Ckochis (1,5-2 hours), and the city of Sucre (2-3 hours), where multiple options for following secondary and higher education of superior quality. During their studies in Yamparaez, the majority of students live in an *internado* (boarding school), while in Sucre, students often live with relatives, rent a room, or stay in the house or room their parents have bought or constructed.⁵

In Escana, the local school has newer and more extensive facilities, and in contrast to San Juan it does offer secondary education (since 2001). Here, the large majority of pupils finishes high school before leaving the community in order to work or continue their studies elsewhere. The most popular option for studying after high school is Sucre. A difficulty with entering university is the entrance exam, which is considered to be extremely difficult by the local professors, since the level of expertise required to pass the exam is considerably higher than the level offered at the local schools. However, a larger percentage of young people from Escana succeed in obtaining some level of higher education than those of San Juan. Despite the difference in educational levels that are offered and obtained, a commonality between San Juan and Escana is thus that in both communities, the lack of further educational opportunities is mentioned as an important reason for the migration of the younger section of the population.

5.1.1.6 "There is no Work": Lack of Employment Opportunities

The large majority of families that live in San Juan work in subsistence agriculture. With scarce resources they produce for their own consumption, and in case of a surplus of crops, it is sold at the farmer market in Sucre. In Escana, a larger part of the population produces sufficient quantities of crops to sell part of the production, all of them families that have access to land with irrigation. Opportunities for employment in non-agricultural activities are practically totally absent in both communities. The only sources of paid employment are the jobs at the school, the health post and the school transport (in San Juan). However, the teachers are all from Sucre, where they have their houses and families. One of both nurses and the doctor at the health post are from outside the communities. The owner of the bus used for school transport in San Juan is the leader of the *sindicato*⁶. The villages are very small and the presence of

⁵ A modest number of families from San Juan and a larger number of families from Escana owns a small house or a room in the city, in many cases especially constructed or rented for the purpose of allowing their children to live there while studying in Sucre. Often, this house is constructed with funds coming from migration.

⁶ The *sindicato* is an immensely important local organization that unites most families with land in the community, in which most of the key issues regarding the community are decided upon.

businesses, large or small, is close to zero. The only local businesses present are a few *tiendas* (very small shops), installed in people's own houses, offering minimal selection of products. The one real business, a small factory that produces bricks in San Juan, has recently been started by one of the few return migrants, who returned to the community after spending 18 years in Argentina (see box 6.1). In short, San Juan and Escana are void of businesses that could offer employment, with an absence of even some basic initiatives such as a mechanic or hairdresser that one might expect in a village.

Unemployment has been a constant during the last decades. Above all in San Juan, agricultural activities tend to produce insufficient harvests. *"The harvest is only enough for our own consumption, and not enough to make money from selling it. We cannot provide for ourselves this way"*, says a 41 year old woman from San Juan. To provide for one's family, people sell their labor as wage laborers if they can, but in the region, the need for extra labor is logically higher in times of harvest and sowing, when the majority is occupied with agricultural activities on their own land.

While it can be difficult, empirical evidence shows that the migrants who move to a city to look for work are generally successful in finding it. Even though most jobs are in the informal sector, they are reasonably well-paid compared to urban workers in Bolivia in general, and particularly when compared to rural workers; more than four times better paid (Anderson, 2002; Grau and Aide, 2007).

5.1.2 Other fostering factors

The six before-mentioned factors are contextual factors, uncovering structural constraints in the local communities. While some constraints are the result of a lack of basic services, most of the constraints are, directly or indirectly, caused by environmental and agricultural factors, such as soil degradation, deforestation, fragmentation of land and climatic changes. The obvious interpretation could be that (the perception of) a declining and degrading environment and worsening local situation encourages community members to migrate. This is in a way consistent with the theory in stating that negative environmental conditions is a push factor that will promote outmigration. This argumentation could be useful in explaining current San Juan and Escana permanent outmigration patterns of the youngest generation. However, it does not explain why migrants choose to migrate temporarily, but continue to live in the community. The negative contextual conditions are mostly the outcome of structural factors, which cannot be expected to improve in the near future. This would likely stimulate people to leave their communities and settle elsewhere permanently, which is not the case with the older generations. The link between the mentioned contextual factors and short-term migration could thus better be interpreted by seeing migration as a strategy for income diversification in the face of economic risks and lack of credit in the origin area. Environmental degradation and production decline can be considered as economic risks and thus these risks need to be dealt with. Diversification of income can be a useful risk-reducing strategy, which is achieved through migration. However, it still does not provide the whole picture and explain migration motivations. What are the other fostering factors that stimulate outmigration?

Discrepancies between the situation in the community and elsewhere, real or perceived, are at the basis of migration. Migrants compare the available or perceived opportunities in the community of origin and the potential destinations. Every one of the six statements of "Here, there is no..." as discussed in the previous section can be mirrored by a "There, there is..."



Illustration 5.5: Leather workmanship in San Juan

describing the situation in the place of destination. However, the phrasing of the main reasons to migrate, formulated as to emphasize the lack of something, is significant. It shows that the population perceives the push factors as being more important than the pull factors in the place of destination. Expected benefits from migration are being weighed against the benefits of remaining in the community of origin. It is not necessarily the local circumstances that drive people away: it is the relative deprivation they experience when making a comparison with other destinations that motivates people to leave their homes.

As described in chapter 1, communities often go through a migration cycle. Growing discrepancies or unforeseen circumstances lead to the initial departure of several members of the community. Slowly but steadily, the creation of a network and migration experience lead to lowering transaction costs, stimulating more and more members of the community to explore labor opportunities outside of the community. At the household level, the likelihood of long-distance internal and international migration increases with the number of closely befriended migrants from the community present in specific destinations. Stories about the place of destination, the opportunities and high wages convince those still living in the community that a better future is waiting for them elsewhere. Many of the households interviewed in San Juan and Escana indicate that extended community-level networks could provide them with access to contacts in various destination areas if they asked. These networks and links that migrants from the community have established in places of destination prove to be extremely effective in finding housing and employment for new migrants. *"Sometimes they call the community and let the people know that their employer needs somebody or several people. Sometimes they have to be there in two days. Then they go and that is how they find work there too"*. In most places of destination, the villagers from the communities flock together, in a way "conquering" certain neighborhoods in order to benefit from each other's contacts, to share information and find security in the face of the new and unknown. It also became clear that the choice of the place of destination is strongly influenced by contacts with migrants already present there and the existence of effective migrant networks. *"Look, if you have the choice between a place where you find people you know and who can help you and a place where you don't know anybody and have no contacts, you would be crazy to choose that last option"*, comments a 53 year old men from San Juan that has migrated to Argentina several times. While a shared community of origin provides a strong linkage between the villagers, the presence of family members in place of destination is an even stronger determinant for potential migrants in the choice of their destination. There are many cases in which all the migrant members of a family have reunited in a single place of destination. This happens in particular when it is not such a common destination, with a limited migrant network of community members, such as Cochabamba or Brazil. Often, horizontal family members (brothers and sisters) have gradual migration patterns. One family member starts a business in another place or country, usually after learning the trait as an assistant or apprentice, and then starts "calling on" his family members to cooperate and expand the business. *"My oldest son worked in a tailor shop for three years, and my other son came later and worked there for one and a half year. Then they opened their own tailor shop. My other two sons and my daughter joined them too. Now they have expanded the business and they all live together in Brazil. My husband and I are considering moving there too"*, said a proud mother of 59 from Escana.

With a growing number of absent migrants and links between those who stay and those who have left, a tradition and culture of migration is born, which function as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy whereby migration becomes the norm instead of the exception. In the end, migration flows will dry up and cease when the majority of young people and economically active people have left. In both San Juan and Escana, migration has been a livelihood strategy for years, making it one of the most viable strategies for economic gain. The youth have become geared to outmigration, to the neglect of education and the search for occupational opportunities in their own society. Scholars in several sending countries report that young people increasingly "mark time" in adolescence, while waiting for their opportunity to move and live abroad (Arias 2008; Lungo and Kandel 1999; Lopez Castro 2007 in Portes, 2009: 26). Furthermore, information

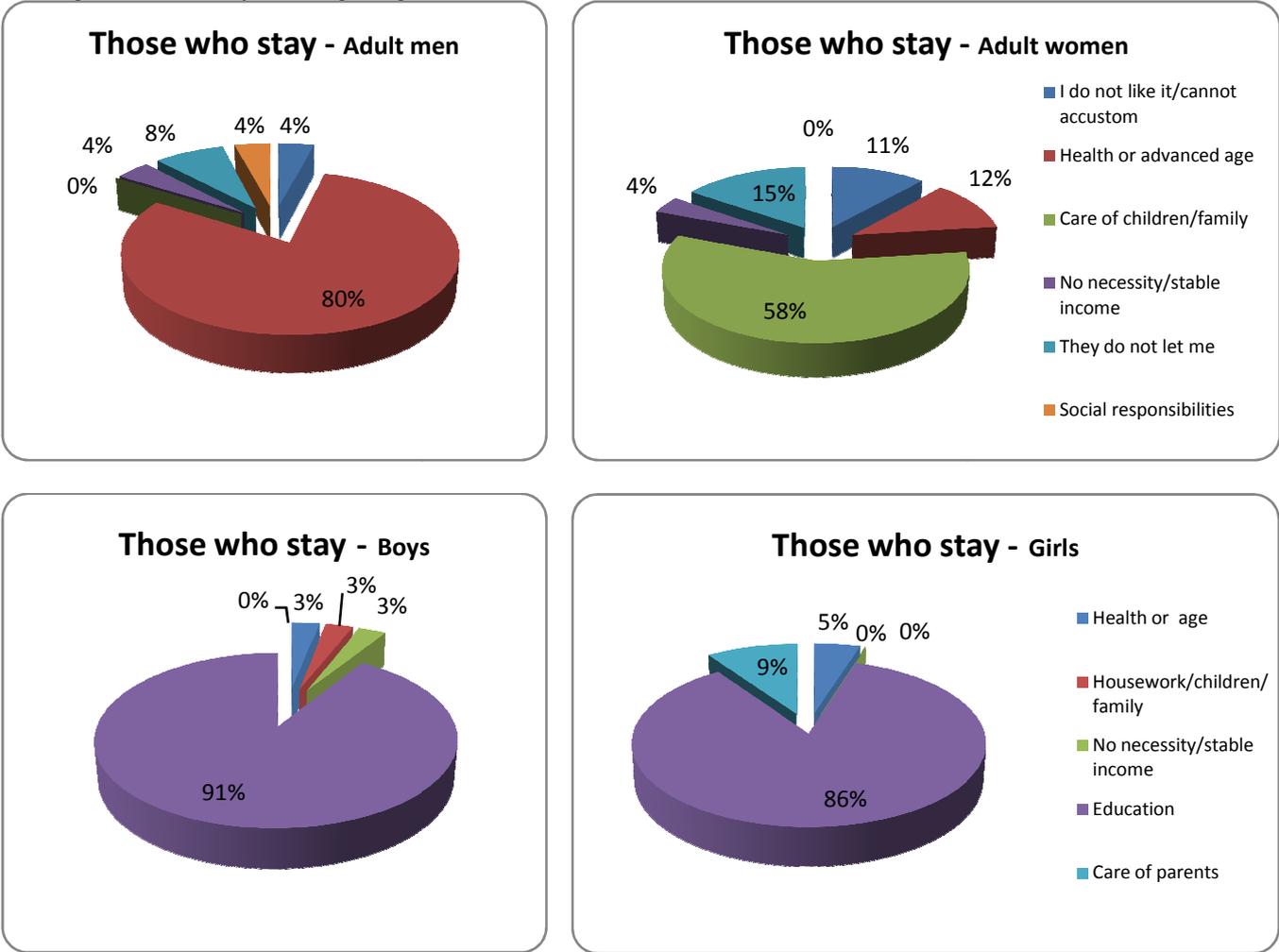
about positive experiences with migration is increasingly being diffused throughout the community. A person with positive experience is more likely to repeat the migration process. Moreover, stories about discovering new horizons, new customs, new technology and a new way of living can be extremely appealing, especially to the younger generation and may convince others to engage in the process as well.

5.2 Reasons for not migrating: Tying and Limiting Factors

As we have seen in the previous section, there are strong push factors in the two communities, which are the reason that many people have decided to try their luck and to find better life standards in other places. Seen the lack of opportunities and structural constraints some may even consider it surprising that not all people have left the villages. There are indeed families that continue to live in San Juan and Escana. Why do they decide to stay, to not leave the community? In this section, this question is explored in order to discover the principal reasons that are mentioned by people in the communities for not migrating. A distinction will be made between tying factors (why people *do not want to leave*) and limiting factors (why people *cannot leave*).

In figure 5.1, the main motivations for not migrating are presented. These answers to the question ‘*What is the main reason for not migrating regularly?*’ apply to the people who indicated San Juan or Escana as their place of residence and do not migrate regularly. In the next sections about tying and limiting factors, these results will be discussed.

Figure 5.1: Reasons for not migrating



Source: Elaboration of own data.

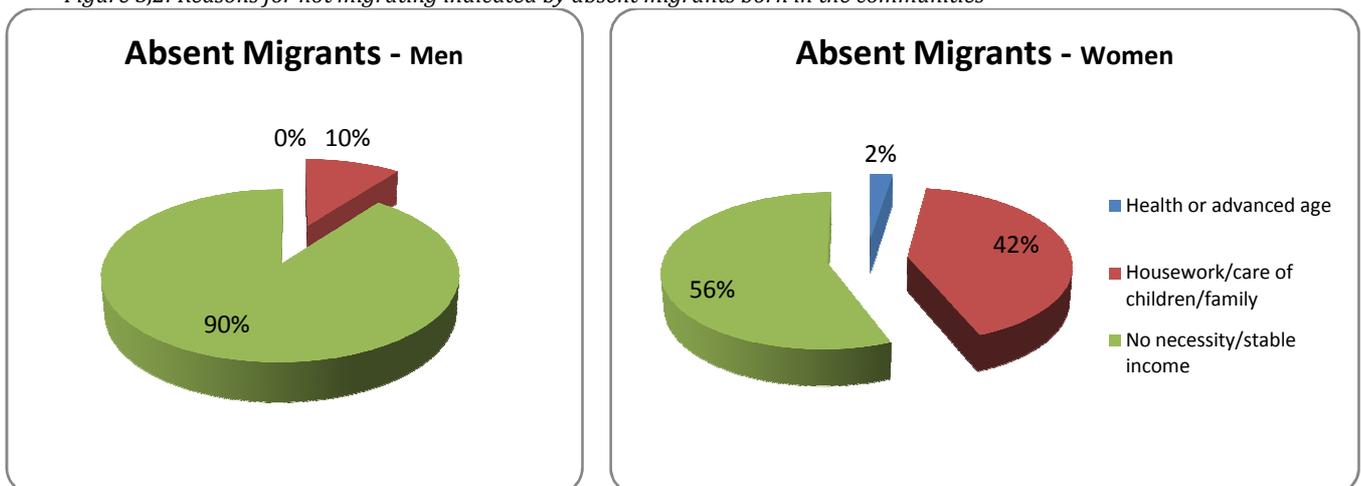
5.2.1 Tying factors: Why people do not want to migrate

5.2.1.1 Lack of necessity

The way in which migration is classified has a strong impact on local perceptions of migration. This is why it is essential to find out how the population itself characterizes the process of migration. In their opinion, is it a strategy for investment and therefore an *opportunity*, or is it viewed as a strategy to cope with crises (lack of opportunity, lack of income) and therefore migration is regarded as a *necessity*? The first interpretation of the phenomenon would lead to more favorable perceptions of migration, because the decision to migrate is a positive, free decision, while the second interpretation produces the perception that a person has to migrate, that it is the circumstances that obligates them to leave, against their will.

Some respondents commented that they were eager about migrating for the first time, excited by the idea of discovering new work, getting to know new places and new people and opening up a new range of possibilities. *“In my village it was already clear that I was going to do the same thing as my father before me: work in agriculture. There were no other options. In the city there are more options and that is what I liked”* said a migrant that now lives in Sucre and works as a taxi driver. However, all of the people that were interviewed, without exception, remarked that first and foremost, the decision to leave was motivated by necessity, and therefore was not a free choice. *“Why do I leave? It is out of obligation, it is not of my own free will. I do not want to leave my land, my family. I want to think about how to improve the situation here in the future, but in the meantime I have to leave to earn a living”*, says a man from Escana (45 year old).

Figure 5,2: Reasons for not migrating indicated by absent migrants born in the communities



Source: Elaboration based on own data

This confirms the trend seen in the reasons mentioned for migrating, which are mostly structural constraints encountered in the community, and in the answers of the interviewees. As pointed out, a majority of children born in San Juan and Escana has permanently left the communities. They have gone in search of better options and opportunities. As can be seen in figure 7, the moment the necessity to migrate is eliminated because the migrant finds a more or less fixed or stable source of income, most people cease to migrate almost immediately. When we look at reasons for not migrating in this group of migrants, “it is not necessary anymore” is the main answer explaining why they do not migrate anymore, named by no less than 90 percent of the men and by 56 percent of the women (see figure 5.2), against 4 percent for both men and women living in the community (see figure 5.1). For them, migration is not necessarily a way of life; it is a temporary strategic step taken in order to gain access to a place with new, more structural, opportunities.

5.2.1.2 Emotional barriers

Emotional reasons may also be considered as obstacles to migration. Particularly elderly members of the family, who generally have received little or no formal education, are less well equipped for the transition to a rural way of life to an urban way of life; leaving their communities behind and adapting to a new life is considerably more difficult for them than for the younger members of the family (Anderson, 2002). Various elder people do not have any desire whatsoever to move to the city. 8 percent of the women and 6 percent of the men indicate "I cannot accustom in another place" as the principal reason to not migrate. *"There are too many people in the city, I feel trapped there and am afraid to leave the house"*, a woman from Escana describes the situation in Sucre. As a farmer from Escana comments, *"I do not like the city: there is too much smoke and traffic. Here there is fresh air and I can be at ease"*. Other people comment on the insecurity of the city. *"I have been stabbed during a mugging once and I know lots of people who have had money stolen from them. I prefer not to live there"*, says a 45 year old man from San Juan. In various cases, adult sons and daughters who have migrated permanently and have established a home for themselves in the place of destination have expressed the desire to have their parents come and live with them. However, this proposal is not always greeted with enthusiasm by the parents. *"Discovering the unknown does not appeal to me anymore, I would like to stay where I am at home"*, says a 64 year old woman from San Juan. The differences in climate are named as a factor for not wanting to leave the community; Santa Cruz with its humid tropical climate is described as being difficult to get used to, while Argentina is classified as being too cold. Furthermore, the people dread the loss of their independence. *"My children want to bring me to Santa Cruz but I do not want to. What am I going to do there? My house and my land are here"*, exclaims a 75 year old woman from Escana. A 78 year old fellow villager agrees: *"I cannot get accustomed there, they only speak Spanish, it is too hot and there are lots of mosquitoes. I am staying here!"*

5.2.1.3 Negative or lack of previous migration experiences

The decision to stay is also based in previous experiences with migration. As seen in chapter 3, the majority of people from San Juan and Escana have migrated at least once or more, and consequently they can rely on their own judgment and experience when taking the decision to leave or to stay. In general, women seem to be more positive about their experiences in other places. It is especially the men that have worked as wage laborers in the *zafra* (sugar cane harvest), or in the harvest of fruit and crops such as cotton or peach in particular, who describe the work as a migrant as extremely hard. *"The work is brutal; you have to work like an animal. In the city it is better, but in the field we suffer a lot."* Most Bolivian workers in other countries have no social protections or benefits, the working conditions are precarious, with extremely large working hours and strict controls on quantities and effort (see box 5.1). Life consists of little more than work, with only Sundays as a day of rest. *"Life is sad over there. They use us like a new tool, they can fire us without any reservation if you don't work hard enough. You have to know how to suffer when you migrate."* A man who has always migrated temporarily to Argentina to work in the harvesting of fruit wants the youth of his community to be better prepared when they migrate for the first time. *"It is hard! The young people think it is very easy. Yes, it is easy to find a job, but then you have to follow the rules and obey, if not, they will fire you in a second."* Most migrant workers sacrifice any sort of non-essential expenses like recreation, comfortable or private living space, eating out or buying new clothes, and live on the bare minimum in order to save up and send money back home. Particularly when migrating temporarily when time to save is limited, the primary target of saving money is never far from the migrant's mind. This can affect the activities people are willing to do in order to earn extra income. Some say that *"people do everything for money, even things they would not do otherwise"*, as a 44 year old man from Escana comments. Furthermore, being an undocumented migrant can cause stress and uncertainty. This happens especially in Spain, where visa regulations are strict. People usually intend to stay for several years and return with sufficient funds to invest in Bolivia, but are not officially allowed to remain in the country for such a long period. *"My daughter and her husband*

were in Spain for three years. The whole time they had to hide, stay inside as much as possible and be very careful, as they were afraid of being deported. It was a very difficult experience because they were illegal”, says a 70-year old woman from San Juan. Finally, racism against migrants can also cause negative experiences. Even though Bolivian migrants are generally regarded as hard-working and trustworthy, the presence of large numbers of migrants is not always embraced in the place of destination. As a young man from Escana explains, “there is a lot of racism in Argentina towards migrants. That is why I do not want to go back there anymore. Next time I will go to Santa Cruz. I have my dignity”. While negative experiences can be an obstacle to migration, a lack of migration experience can also be regarded as a tying factor. Leaving the community that one knows and understands, and arriving in a new place with new activities, people and rules can be a frightening prospect. Particularly women without previous migration experience tend to admit that, if they have the choice, they would prefer not to go because of the anxiety the unknown would bring. “Here I am at home, and I know how things work. Why would I want to go to a place where things are different and I don’t know anyone? I think I would not like it.”

Many ex-migrants comment that, hand in hand with the knowledge of the bad circumstances a migrant can end up in, comes the realization of how good life is in the community (versus the place of destination) and how good life is in the countryside (versus the city). This makes them appreciate their own luck and makes them less eager to repeat the migration process. “In the countryside they make you work very hard. Here in Escana you are at home, and it is easier to enjoy life. If we do not feel like working, we do not work. If there is a lot of work, we work hard for a while, and then we can rest with our family. In the city there is a lot of smoke and traffic. Here, there is fresh air and it is nice and quiet”, says a 48 year old woman from Escana who has experience with working in Argentina.

Box 5.1: The life of migrants in Santa Cruz

- La zafra

“Some contractors came to enlist men and women to work in Santa Cruz. They told us that we could earn more money there in the *zafra*. They would provide quarters to live and basic services like water and electricity. They gave us a date for a few weeks later. That day they came to pick us up in a truck. With about 50 to 60 people we were in the back of the open truck for a day and a night. They brought us to a campsite, far away from the world. We all slept in one big tent, which had a lot of beds but nothing else. There was running water, but no electricity. At 4 o’clock in the morning they came to pick us up in a truck to take us to the fields, at about an hour’s drive away. So at 2 o’clock in the morning we got up in order to cook, in order to have some food for the day. It was always extremely hot, an intense humid heat. At times the food would not last until the afternoon because of the high temperatures and then we would have nothing to eat the whole day. At 7 o’clock at night we finished work. That was the moment they would weigh how much everybody had harvested. We lost a lot of time standing in line waiting, usually up to 3 hours. Especially the women would suffer because of carrying the weight of the full bags. At 10 o’clock at night, the truck brought us back ‘home’, where we would arrive at 11 o’clock and start to cook. Sometimes we would fall asleep while eating because we were so tired. And this we did 6 days a week, only on Sundays we had a day off. It was hard.”

- Migrant (man from San Juan, 37 years old)

5.2.2 Limiting factors: Why people cannot migrate

5.2.2.1 Education

There seem to be very few limiting factors when it comes to migration. For minors born in the communities, logically the main motivation to not migrate permanently is *education*; 91 percent of the boys and 86 of the girls under 18 do not migrate for this reason. From 4 years old children are expected to go to school. Normally, they finish primary school at the age of 13-15 years old. This does not mean that minors do not migrate. Most young people start migrating temporarily at a young age, sometimes as young as 12, and go in search of work with their older brothers or fathers during school holidays. They usually sell their labor in agriculture or work at the market in the city (errands or carrying groceries) to earn some extra income for the family or cover the costs of their own education. For adults born in the community, education can also be a reason for not migrating regularly. Most commonly, these are students in higher education that are living either in boarding school or in the city.

5.2.2.2 Economic barriers

Surprisingly, only two people mentioned economic obstacles as a reason to not migrate. They commented that the costs of migrating are too high. In both cases the preferred place of destination was the city of Buenos Aires in Argentina, where expenses are relatively higher than in the countryside. This may indicate that the subject of money or expenses is not a subject people like to talk about; it could be embarrassing for people to admit that they lack funds. However, from other conversations it became clear that this was not the case. A more suitable explanation is that economic obstacles are simply not a reason for not migrating. The closeness of the city of Sucre facilitates migration in economic terms, because of the low transport costs (6 Bs.). Migrants often use the cheapest form of transport available, such as trucks that take people for a small amount of money and the principal places of destination (Sucre, Santa Cruz and Argentina) are relatively easily accessible without elevated costs. While even these low transport costs can make an impact on the limited budget of a rural family in the communities, in almost all cases it is not perceived as a limiting factor. Travelling to Spain on the other hand, involves a journey with high costs, such as transport, visa, and living costs abroad. Often it is the relatives that have already found their way to Spain and have obtained employment who pay the migration costs for other family members. In the case that a person does not have the necessary contacts or lack the necessary funds, they could turn to one of the various *prestamistas* (moneylenders) that offer credit at staggering interest rates.

5.2.2.3 Gender roles

If the limiting factors for family heads living in San Juan and Escana are analyzed, it becomes clear that the motives for not migrating are very different according to gender. For women, the principal reason mentioned is that “they have a lot of work at home” (57 percent), while the men indicate that the main explanation for not migrating is for health reasons or advanced age (48 percent). This difference in focus clearly shows the traditional labor division assigns as a gender role and responsibilities to men and women. The work in and around the house, the care of the children, the preparation of food, buying daily necessities, and take care of the animals are regarded as the responsibilities of women. It is the responsibility of the men to assure the monetary income of a family until the moment that he is physically unable to do so anymore. It is only at this point that many men cease to migrate and often, the inability to “fulfill this task” (*cumplir esa deber*) bothers them. As a 66 year-old man from Escana says, “*I wish I could provide for my family, but my health does not allow it. Now my wife has a lot more work and we have to depend on our children to help us. I don’t like it at all.*” Already with children, tasks are assigned differently according to gender, which influences their reasons to not migrate. After leaving school, boys sometimes have to help at home and therefore do not leave (about 3 percent). The main tasks include animal herding and assisting their parents in agricultural tasks during the peak seasons. Girls more often stay at home to take care of their parents in case of illness or advanced age or an absent parent (9 percent), especially in case of the younger girls of the family when older brothers and sisters have left the community. In 3 percent of the cases, both with boys as with girls, the children do not migrate because of health reasons (handicap or fragile health).

5.2.2.4 Lack of permission

3 percent of the boys and 5 percent of the girls in the community are not allowed to migrate because of their young age (3 against 5 percent). The lack of permission to migrate does not only apply to minors. Some adult women living in the communities comment that their husband does not allow them to migrate temporarily, “*because it is a man’s job*” or “*because somebody has to take care of the children and them*”, comment most of them. Or, as a 52 year old man from Escana says, “*I want to eat when I get home from the field. Who will prepare the food if my wife is not here?*” It can also be about not losing face and not liking to admit that it is necessary for the woman to sell her labor to cover the costs of the household, which conflicts with gender role expectations and could be interpreted as a failure of the man of the household. In case of the

older generation, elderly people sometimes indicate that it is their children that withhold them from migrating regularly. Their offspring now considers it their duty to take care of their parents, which involves assuring that they do not have to migrate anymore. While some enjoy being freed of this burden, some elderly people with multiple migration experiences that have always enjoyed travelling complain. As a 74 year old woman from San Juan comments: *"I used to travel every month to numerous places to sell clothes and baskets. I liked it and was good at it. I used to come home with lots of money. But now, since a couple of years, my children tell me to stop doing it, because it is not necessary anymore. They will provide for us now. But I still want to go."*

6. The Impact of Migration on the Communities

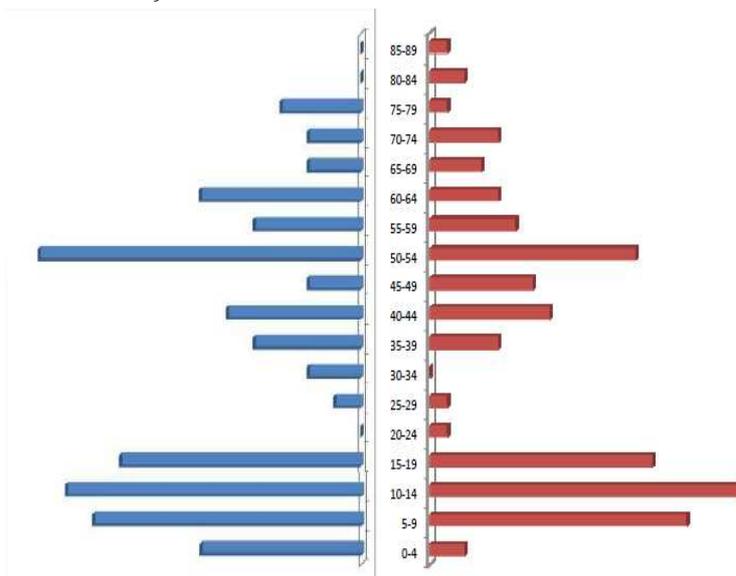
Migration not only affects the lives of individual migrants that have decided to leave their communities and their nuclear families. Life in the community of origin changes drastically because of the elevated numbers of emigrants that are leaving. In this chapter, the third research question *‘What is the impact of outmigration on the lives of those who stay and on the communities as a whole?’* will be answered. Are the positive claims made about migration and development true? Can migration be the motor of local rural development in sending communities? In the following section the impact of migration is presented, and light is shed on the developmental impact of migration in San Juan and Escana.

6.1 Demographic impact

6.1.1 Changing population structure

In figure 6.2, we see the combined population pyramid of San Juan and Escana. It shows the percentages of the total population that indicates San Juan and Escana as their permanent place

Figure 6.1 Population pyramid of San Juan and Escana (red = female, blue= male)



Source: Elaboration based on collected data.

clear signals of population ageing in San Juan and Escana. The people confirm it, saying that *“everybody is leaving, only the old people stay”* and *“only those that cannot travel stay, all others leave”*. We also see that the percentage of women is higher than the percentage of men living in the community, with 56 percent of the population being women, and 44 percent men. A striking difference between the two communities is seen in the percentage of young people between the ages of 15 to 19, as a result of secondary education options in the community. Whereas 8 and 9 percent of the boys and girls in this age group respectively live in San Juan, this is 17 and 18 percent in Escana.

It is clear that migration has given rise to impressive imbalances between the different age groups in the communities. While declining birth rates⁷ do influence population growth, they do

⁷ As a result of better access to and knowledge about birth control methods, lowering birth rates have impacted population growth. Families with eight to ten children are still found, but according to the nurses in the communities most women now use some form of contraceptive, reducing the number of children.

not affect population composition as migration does. It is however important to differentiate between the different types of migration and their impact. Temporary migration does not affect the demography of the communities, even though with youngsters, temporary migration may well lead to more permanent migration in the long run, through the building of social networks and contacts. On the other hand, permanent migration strongly affects the age composition of a community, by removing large segments of age groups from the villages, and consequently their knowledge and input.

6.1.2 Social (in)activity

The inactivity in the communities due to this depopulation is remarkable. It is a combination of the presence of children adults and elderly, with an almost complete absence of young adults. In Escana, the young adults that are present are either still in high school, are those visiting from their journeys to Santa Cruz or Argentina, or are those that are staying in the community temporarily while planning their next journey. In San Juan, it is even less likely to see young



Illustration 6.1: Empty streets in Escana

people, for all at that age have left permanently. During the week, there is activity during the day with the children going to and coming from the school. However, most adults are in the field, where they start work in the early hours, rest and have lunch at midday (brought along by women and children) and return to their homes in the afternoon. During the weekends, there are no school activities and a large number of people travel to Sucre for the weekend. Thus most of the time, the lack of activity leaves the village almost like a ghost town (*pueblo fantasma*) (Dulon, 2008). The minimal number of people on the streets is enhanced the habit of constructing the houses in a closed fashion around a small central court (*patio*) which does not allow for interaction between neighbors without entering the house or for observation of household activity, as opposed to the open *patio* found in other countries or in warmer areas. “*There are no people anymore, just silence*”, a 72 year old man from Escana describes the situation. Twice a year, this situation is reversed temporarily: during carnival and the celebration of

the local patron’s day. These are the most common occasions for migrants to return to their communities and celebrate with their families. Most people in the community recognize these times of returning migrants, exuberant celebrations and family reunion as extremely happy periods which they enjoy intensely. “*For me, it is the happiest time of the year. But when the festivities end and everybody leaves, the whole community cries. We are so sad to lose our young and our relatives again*”, says a 63 year old woman from Escana.

6.2 Impact on Agriculture and Production

6.2.1 Agricultural productivity and land

In an agricultural community characterized by low productivity and a lack of available land, massive outmigration could theoretically result in improving or alleviating existing circumstances. If more migrants leave, the production needed to feed all inhabitants lowers, which results in diminishing pressures on land through a reduction in agricultural activities (grazing, firewood collection), and an increase in the availability of land. When land is used less intensively, this could enhance the quality of the soil and ecosystem by giving it more time for natural recovery. This can have important consequences for sustainable development, especially in mountain areas that are particularly fragile and have a disproportionate importance in terms of watershed protection and biodiversity conservation (Gray and Aide, 2007). Theoretically,

migration thus leads to the disintensification of land use in fragile ecosystems with low productivity.

What are the actual effects in the two communities? To determine whether the effects of outmigration on land availability and quality are positive or negative, it is necessary to look at the different possible scenarios in the case of a migrant leaving the communities. First of all, the migrant that is leaving the community permanently could sell his land. This would be an important condition to increased availability of land. However, only a very small minority of the migrants actually sells his land when migrating permanently; about 5 percent according to villagers estimates.

The second option is that the land is left in the hand of a villager that works the land "*a partida*" - a system in which the person that cultivates the land receives 50 percent of the production, while the other 50 percent goes to the owner of the land. This is becoming more common, but still is the minority of cases, since the practical execution of the division of the production can cause trouble. This option is hardly used in Escana, but is still common in San Juan, with about 5 to 10 percent of the cases.

The third option is to leave the land untilled, without anybody cultivating it. The number of cases in which the land is left without care is growing; this happens in about 20 percent of the cases estimate people from the communities. This is a preoccupying development to many of the villagers, especially in San Juan, where the plots are larger because of the lack of irrigation and thus larger quantities of land are 'lost' to farmers in the communities that would be interested in cultivating the land. While leaving a plot fallow for a while could in theory give the soil time to recuperate and enhance fertility, in these arid, high altitude communities the quality of untilled plots can deteriorate rapidly due to erosion, especially with steep plots. "*The rain is going to take the fertile soil if the land is not cultivated*", indicates a 36 year old farmer from Escana.

Formally, the *sindicato* has the options to intervene. One of the principles of the organization is that villagers have to fulfill their obligations to the organization to retain ownership of their lands. If a member breaks the rules several times, if he no longer attends meetings or fails to cooperate in terms of communal labor because he has migrated permanently, the *sindicato* could take away his lands. In practice, it has never used this privilege with people that have migrated, mostly out of fear for the reaction of the owners. Nevertheless, many villagers indicated that they would agree with the measure to expropriate the land of migrants that have left a long time ago and never return to the community, or of those who consistently break the rules. "*The community does not want them to leave their lands just like that. The sindicato says it will take the land away and will cultivate it, but those are only words; they should carry it out*", exclaims an angry 71-year old farmer from San Juan. "*They [the migrants] have to accommodate the community's wishes and sell their lands if they do not cultivate them anymore*". If the organization would take this responsibility, this could augment the availability of land in the community and counter the negative effects on soil fertility. There is a difference of opinion about what should happen to the expropriated fields. Some argue that young families without plots should be given the land, while others argue that it should be offered for sale or be cultivated communally. This can be considered as a potential source for conflict in the community.

The fourth option is that the land is left in the hands of a family member to cultivate. This is by far the most common choice, especially in Escana. The idea is that the land benefits the family members while the migrant is gone, but that the migrant could return to the community in the future and regain control of the land. In practice, if a migrant decides not to return, he often gives the land to the family member that is cultivating it or this person is given the option to buy it. If a migrant does not return to the community and does not make any arrangements for the land, in many cases ownership becomes murky after many years, and eventually the land is considered to be owned by the person who was left in charge to cultivate it. This option ensures that ownership of the land usually stays within the community and is often passed on to family members.

Finally, the fifth option is that people leave the community while continuing to own and cultivate their land. This is the preferred option for those with double residency, who own a house and land in the community but also have a place to live in another locality. For obvious practical reasons, the migrants that prefer this option are most often those that live in Sucre, for whom it is relatively easy to make frequent short visits to the community. While some migrants from San Juan have double residency, this option has become immensely popular in Escana over the last few years, caused by the new opportunities offered by the irrigation system (in section 7.1 this topic will be explored further).

Is it true that migration leads to the disintensification of land use? In San Juan, we can establish that there is indeed a reduction in agricultural activities. It is however not a decline in demand due to outmigration that is instigating this reduction, but above all it is a consequence of a lack of labor (see 6.2.2). Moreover, when more family members are leaving, those who stay behind usually choose to cultivate less land, which is then used more intensively. This over-cultivation is not healthy for the quality of the soil as it leads to soil exhaustion. As mentioned before, erosion and changes in climatic circumstances are making it more and more difficult to generate sufficient production. At the same time, land that is not used is not automatically recovering, on the contrary. As we have seen, the reverse is true according to people from San Juan.

In Escana, the irrigation system has made it possible to gain higher production even while cultivating reduced amounts of agricultural land. Here, agricultural activities seem to have intensified, not the opposite. Because of the topography - the agricultural lands are protected against wind and rain thanks to their position in the valley - there is less erosion that could affect the quality of the soil. Furthermore, people invest more in fertilizers, which are bought from other communities in the valley that are located at lower altitudes and have more livestock. As a result of rising demand of organic fertilizers, the price of for example sheep dung has gone up considerably. In 2007, a bag of fertilizer cost about 5 to 7 bolivianos; nowadays the price is around 20 bolivianos. In this way, the communities that produce the fertilizer are also benefiting indirectly from Escana's rise in production. Because of all this, the risk of soil exhaustion or erosion in Escana is lower than in San Juan, which means there are more possibilities for land that has been abandoned or was unused for a long time due to permanent migration. It can be used for rotating crops and offers the opportunity to leave other plots fallow to recuperate.

Furthermore, the massive outmigration has caused changes in the system of inheritance for land. In the past, brothers and sisters would inherit an equal share of the land, which would usually be sufficient for subsistence farming. Nowadays it has become near impossible to continue this tradition. The most common way of inheritance is that all sons and daughters



Illustration 6.2: Farmer planting broccoli in Escana

receive an equal piece of land initially. Afterwards, the children that do not live in the community anymore or have no interest in the land negotiate with those who do. Then they make a deal amongst each other and either give or sell their inheritance to the sister or brother that stays in the community. In Escana it has even gone further. Some adults have decided to divide their land only between those children that still live in the community. *“The sons and daughters that stay, they decide amongst each other”*, says a woman of 53 years old from Escana). However, children are increasingly uninterested in inheriting plots of land in the communities. This disinterest in a future life in the community mostly manifests itself in the children of people with double residency who live in Sucre and identify themselves more with city life. There is also a growing number of elderly couples who indicate that all of their adult children have left the community and that they do not want to come back, even if they would inherit the land. Consequently, they do not know what will happen to their

land in the future. *“The land has been in our family for many, many years, but now we have no one to leave it to. They have all gone”*, says a sad 81 year old woman from San Juan.

Lastly, migration has had an impact on livestock. The herding of animals is very labor intensive. It is usually the children that can help with the tasks surrounding the care for the animals, while the parents tend to other duties. When the younger members of the family leave, often the parents are obligated to sell some of their livestock. *“There are now less and less animals. In a way they are leaving too, with the people”*, comments a woman from Escana. The data collected show that the number of animals a family has is related to the number of children still having the community as their place of residence. The more members of a family still live at home, the more animals it can afford to have.

6.2.2 Lack of (wage) labor

Outmigration also has an impact on the available supply of wage laborers. A consequence directly related to long-term and permanent migration that almost all farmers in both communities identified is the lack of hired labor in times of sowing and harvesting. It is then that the absence of children, husbands and wives causes difficulties. *“To sow or harvest on a large scale there is no labor available, there are no people that want to work. In the past, one or more family members that were not needed for harvesting their own family’s production came to this area from other communities to earn some money in this period, to offer help, but they have left now. The jornalero is not coming anymore”*. Nowadays, families that wish to hire wage laborers need to travel to other communities in search of extra hands and even then it is not certain that they will find any. The scarcity of hired labor has increased the prices that are paid per *jornal* (working day). *“Before, I paid 25 bolivianos per day, now I am paying up to 50”*, says a villager from San Juan who contracts several wage laborers a year. The limited supply of young, physically strong people looking to sell their labor are not sufficient to cover the demand for wage laborers in the region. *“We would much rather produce the same amount of crops and sell the surplus than lowering production, but we cannot do so because the lack of labor does not allow us to produce larger quantities”*, explains a 63 year old farmer from San Juan.

Not for everybody it is an option to hire labor, and others have to depend on free labor from family members. In particular in San Juan, with many family members leaving, less time and energy can be dedicated to the work on the land and investment in the fertility of the soil decreases, resulting in a declining productivity. Often the elderly people are not able to cultivate all of the land they have or are not physically capable, and thus depend on their sons and daughters that may visit during harvest and sowing season. In Escana, where production is higher and irrigation is allowing for multiple oregano harvests a year, the lack of labor has a less negative impact, since the farmers do not directly depend on the rainy season and harvests are spread around the year. Furthermore, oregano is a commercial crop and with UNEC as a guaranteed buyer, farmers that cultivate this crop are more likely to invest in labor because of the certainty and low costs of commercialization. Outside of the peaks in agricultural activity, young people from other communities come to Escana to earn a little extra. However, during the sowing and harvesting period, here too the lack of labor is a pressing problem. A few farmers that produce enough surplus for commercialization are able to hire a tractor that was bought by a family with several migrant members, in order to considerably reduce the time needed to sow or harvest, at a rate of about 150 *bolivianos* per hour. In San Juan, this option is only used by families with double residency that earn a living in the city.

6.3 Economic impact

Migrants constitute a steady outflow of human capital from the communities of origin. On the other hand, migration causes three return flows in the opposite direction, back towards the community: remittances from permanent and temporary or circular migrants, and return migrants. In this section, the effects of these return flows on investment activities in the communities of origin are examined. The literature suggests that migrant remittances and return migration are an important source of local investment in rural areas. While remittances

represent the flow of financial capital from destination to sending areas, return migrants represent the flow of human capital as well as financial capital back to migrant-sending areas. In other words, return migrants may not have more wealth than migrants, but they are physically present to enable the investment (Zhao, 2001). Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) argue that it is especially during the return phase, when a migrant returns to his home community (permanently or temporarily), that the sending community can profit. Research confirms that when migrants return to their home villages, they tend to invest their savings accumulated during their migration experience (see for example De Haas, 2005; Zhao, 2001; Cassarino, 2004). It is also interesting to examine whether (return) migrants contribute to the development of non-farm activities in migrant sending areas. Optimists consider remittances as the most viable solution to stimulate economic growth and improve social conditions, while pessimists see remittances as a form of dependency that could worsen the situation in communities of origin.

In San Juan and Escana, the economic impact of remittances sent by permanent migrants is extremely limited. Most of these flows of capital are from migrant children to their (elderly) parents. The amounts of remittances received are surprisingly small in comparison to the annual income from agricultural activities: migrants send an average of between 100 and 200 dollars a year. Many families with migrant children do not receive remittances, only about 50 percent, and not all remittances are in the form of money. On average, migrants that migrated to Santa Cruz or Argentina visit their relatives once or twice a year. They then often bring goods and items, such as food, clothes, or mobile phones. These products are bought outside of the community and do not generate a multiplier effect for the local economy. The large majority of people that receive remittances explain that almost all of the money received is used for daily necessities such as food, clothes and the costs of basic services. In a way, this is not surprising. The community has such low living standard that money flowing in would be used for the purchase of goods for which funds are strained or scarce, in the order of priority. If funds are extremely scarce at any time, basic necessities will be a first priority.

It does however imply that this kind of remittances generates virtually no noteworthy impact at all, except an improvement in food security and quality. *"The money is finished just like that, it only suffices to buy very little"*, comments a family from Escana about remittances, *"it is enough for some food, nothing more"*. Furthermore, many parents or elderly people are disillusioned by what they receive from their children. *"My children send me very little, because they now have their own families to take care of"*, or as an 82 year elderly man, who never received any remittances since his five children have left, commented: *"My children wanted to send me money, I am sure they have just forgotten to do so"*. The money sent is not characterized by stability in terms of the amount and the frequency. Evidence seems to confirm a remittance decay. Remittance receivers indicate receiving fewer remittances when the permanent migrant has been away from the community for a long time. Migrants that get married and have children, also tend to send fewer remittances to their relatives in the community of origin. The living costs of a family are higher than those of a single person, especially in the city. *"In the city people have small houses, but they spend more, and they need more food, clothes and coca, so they need more money when they live there"*.

When it comes to remittances, the consumption versus investment paradox is a well-discussed theme. One of the principal criticisms is that remittances are mostly used for the consumption of basic necessities and not for productive investment. In other words, the fact that receivers of remittances have a low savings rate and do not use the money to invest in micro businesses or other entrepreneurial activities does not fuel



Illustration 6.3: Abandoned house in San Juan

long-term, durable local development. However, it does seem inconsistent to criticize the use of remittances when the central reason why people migrate is to cover precisely those basic needs of their families.

Temporary migrants usually have more active ties with their communities. Typically, a circular migrant is a married man with a wife and children living in the community. As the objective of temporary migrants often is to be able to stay in the community, they have higher drive and incentives to invest all or a larger part of the money earned during migration in the community itself. These investments are most likely to be of a productive nature. At the household level, some minor changes are visible in migrant families. In San Juan for example, two migrant households have chosen to invest in small-scale irrigation systems to start a tiny garden in their patio or next to their houses, where they grow some vegetables, wheat or fruit trees. Other families indicate that they have plans for improvements or initiatives but are waiting for the migrant to return with money in order to execute them. Often however, the money earned in one migration cycle does not cover the costs of the projected investment. *“Remittances do not really help; you need too much money to develop the good ideas you have”*, says a 54-year old woman from San Juan, with a migrant husband and many good ideas for business initiatives. She already started a vegetable garden and is thinking of constructing a well that will enable her to water a larger plot of land for cash crops, or to start a small chicken farm. At the household level, improvements are thus most noticeable in families with circular migrants, whose earnings make possible small changes, one step at a time. In Escana, there is more investment in agriculture, such as seeds and fertilizers as the hope of increasing production has increased immensely with the introduction of the irrigation system. However, investment in extra-agricultural activities is completely lacking.

It has been argued that if migrant work is lucrative enough household members remaining behind may entirely forgo productive activities and live primarily on remittances receipts (Mendola, 2005). There is no danger of this happening in the communities, the remittances are obviously not comprehensive enough to halt other activities and live off remittances alone. Furthermore, in a study about the impact of migration in Cochabamba, Yarnall and Price (2010) argue that investment in the renovation and especially the construction of houses can be considered a clear sign of local remittance investment. According to them, ‘remittance-funded homes are not only a major capital investment by migrant households but they are a symbol of success and an indicator that a migrant intends to either return or maintain physical connection with the community’ (p. 120). In the investigated communities, the opposite trend is happening. The number of abandoned houses and structures is increasing, and no new constructions are built in the community. In a few cases there are small expansions and upgrades of existing houses in Escana, but the only truly visible sign of migrant remittances is the house of a migrant with double residency that has painted his house, which stands out in an adobe village. In San Juan construction is stagnant, with a complete lack of construction or renovation activities.

It is useful to examine whether the receipt of migrant remittances leads to local entrepreneurial investments, because of their implications for longer-run growth of income and other aspects of well-being in migrant source households. Accumulated migrant earnings can allow for investments that would not have otherwise been made, due to credit constraints. Migration has offered some business opportunities for the lucky few: in Escana, a car bought by a migrant can be rented for bringing products to market and will bring people to the city in case of emergencies (for the exorbitantly high prices of 200 bolivianos). In San Juan, it is the return migrant Juan that has started a brick business (see box 6.1). Unfortunately, these are the exception rather than the rule. Remittances are contributing extremely little to the creation of micro-entrepreneurship in the two communities. As shown in chapter 4, return migration is almost non-existent in San Juan and still limited in Escana. There was hardly a person who was interviewed that did not comment on the limited flow of migrants coming back to the community. People feel that return migration could really be a driver behind change and improvement. *“If even 5 people would come back with a good idea and some money, things could*

Box 6.1 Local investment in San Juan

Let us take a look at the case of Juan, the only example of a return migrant that has started a business in the village. After living in Argentina for 16 years working in brick production, he decided to start a small brick factory there with a friend. Two years ago, just when business started to grow, there was a flood and the water washed away all their land and tools. Juan just managed to escape alive. That experience made him think about what he really wanted. He saw it as a sign and decided to go back to San Juan to do what he did best: a brick factory. With money he inherited he bought a terrain with good quality earth, installed an oven and bought the necessary tools. Because he only started recently, the greatest challenge is to find a market for his products. Until now, he only sells in Sucre, since "in San Juan, nobody is building anything". For the moment, he is doing all the work by himself, but his dream is to generate employment in the community, so that the young people do not have to leave. He is motivated to do everything necessary to make his factory into a success.



change", says a hopeful farmer from Escana. People do however not speak very highly of migrants that have come back after a long stay outside of the community, especially if they are unattached and do not have their own family. *"Their money goes like water"*. They are said to have no intention of working in agriculture anymore and would rather enjoy life with the money they have earned. *"Sometimes, just sometimes they come back after many years. Here they are, they have no ideas, they have no initiatives or plans. Here they are, they have fun and then the money is just gone"*, says a 63 year old man from Escana. *"With little they come back, and then they dedicate themselves to drinking"*, agrees his neighbor of 71. Because permanent migrants are not returning to their community, the money earned during their migration experiences is not returning either. This does not necessarily mean that earnings generated by migration are not invested in income-generating activities; it simply means that the community is not the place where migrants choose to invest. It is the city that attracts almost all permanent migrant capital, with migrants' main priorities being plots of land and houses, followed by investment in transport and vehicles (e.g. cars, taxis, minivans, or trucks) as a close second.

Migrant groups in the places of destination can form voluntary associations to achieve specified social and philanthropic purposes. Known under different terms such as transnational organizations' (Riccio, 2005), 'Home Town Associations (HTAs)' (Orozco, 2003), 'diaspora organizations', 'migrant organizations' (Portes, 2008), they can support community development

projects in the home country, most often without government support in either the country of origin or of residence. Donations by HTAs are often as much or more than the municipal budget for public works of the municipalities from which the members are drawn, particularly in towns with small populations (Orozco 2003). Riccio (2005) finds that in Senegal, village associations and transnational organizations of migrants abroad can end up competing for the construction of public services at home. In Escana and San Juan, the community is not at risk as being overflowed by competing associations; in fact there are no collective remittance initiatives sent by migrant associations or migrant organizations that could permit the financing of large-scale development projects, such as infrastructural or educational projects. Neither are there any financial institutions or social grassroots organizations that offer options for linking remittances and investment opportunities.

Even though remittances flow into the communities, the willingness of migrants to invest in the development of their communities is limited. The reduced numbers of people, the limited economic dynamism, the distance from the city, the bad condition of the roads and the lack of perspective are all structural factors that contribute to a preference for investing in the city. *"Why would I invest in the community if I have more advantages when investing in the city? Maybe in the community there could be a market for my product, but there is a better market in Sucre. Maybe the people would buy it in the community, but here I can sell a lot more"*. This confirms that

people must have something to return to, to invest in. If there are no opportunities for investment they will not consider returning to the community. In short, according to all people interviewed in San Juan and Escana, the level of investment in local development is minimal.

6.4 Socio-cultural impact

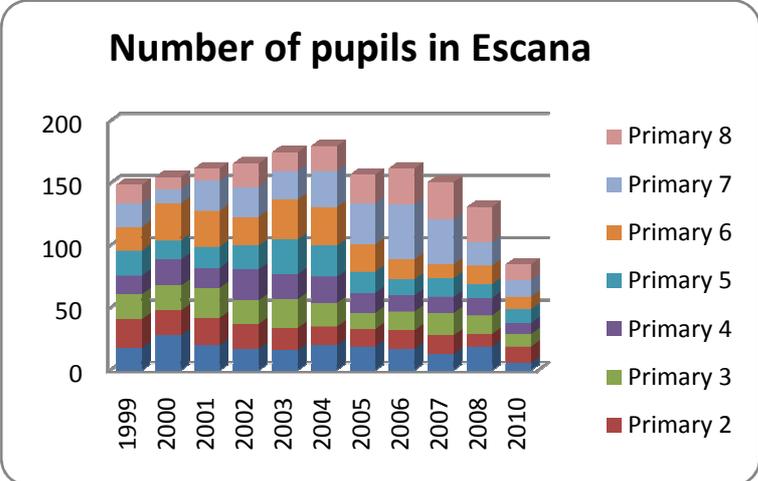
6.4.1 Education

In both communities, outmigration is strongly affecting the local school and the quality and duration of the education children receive. In San Juan, school abandonment is high which, combined with improving family planning, results in classes that are becoming smaller every year. Over the last few years, the school has already been forced to fire several teachers and the staff fears that more jobs will be lost, since the number of fulltime jobs that is financed by the government is based on the number of students. As a result, it is more than likely that in the future a system of *multigrados* - multiple, parallel courses taught by a single teacher - will be established to handle the scarcity of students. Despite the 500 boliviano fine that the community has introduced for preliminary school abandonment, the number of children leaving is rising. In most cases, it is the parents that decide to leave the community with the whole family and take their children out of school. In other cases, the migration of the father or another older family members results in the end of the education of one of the minors of the family, because more hands are needed to cope with the extra workload at home. *“If my husband leaves, I do the work I always do in the house, plus all of his tasks. I had to take my son out of school to help me at home. Now I can deal with all the work”*, explains a 48-year old woman from San Juan. Children in San Juan start migrating at a very young age. Usually they first migrate during school holidays when they accompany their father or brothers to work temporarily in agriculture, or accompany older sisters to do housework in the city. At a later age, the migration becomes more long-term or even permanent. *“From the sixth or seventh grade on they start to leave school. Then they are considered to be old enough to help with the family income”*, says Marta Ignacio de Garcia, the director of the school in San Juan. The director estimates that about half of the children that have finished eighth grade last year will continue to study and that most of them will leave high school before they finish.



Illustration 6.4: The second course of the primary school in San Juan currently only counts 8 pupils.

Figure 6.3: Development of school population in Escana



Source: Data of the PIED Andino research

In Escana the situation is slightly different. Since 2001, the school offers secondary education. Furthermore, there is a boarding school, which facilitates migration of parents while children are still of school age. Almost all children staying at the boarding school have one or two parents that are working in other places like Santa Cruz and Argentina. We can distinguish the same trend of a diminishing number of pupils (see figure 6.3) as in San Juan. This is not only

due to migration and better family planning, but also to reports of discrimination of students from Escana versus students from neighboring communities. Many parents therefore prefer to send their children to Yotala, Yamparaez or Sucre, where there are also *internados*. The school has already had to fire one teacher. In order to combat the trend, teachers are trying to convince parents with migration plans to abandon them. A striking difference with San Juan is the age at which most young people leave the community for long-term or permanent migration. Even though children also start migrating temporarily at an early age, the possibility of following secondary education assures that most young people first enter and often finish high school before migrating. They thus leave at a much later age and have obtained higher levels of education than those from San Juan.

Due to migration, many children now live in one-parent families in which the parent has to divide his or her attention between the extra tasks and the children. According to the teachers this can affect their school performance negatively. Other children stay with their grandparents in the absence of both parents, which often results in less control over the children. The grandparents often complain that the children do not accept their authority in raising them or telling them what to do. *“Our grandchildren do not listen to us, they do not even pay attention to what we say”*, states a grandmother from Escana who looks after her son’s children while he and his wife are working in Argentina. The teachers argue that children that live with their grandparents perform less well at school, since the grandparents often have a limited level of schooling and are not able to assist the children with their homework. In some cases, the



Illustration 6.5: Playing school girls in Escana

grandparents also tend to give less importance to school, giving more value to hard work. According to the teachers, it is also more difficult to involve them in school activities, teacher-parent contacts or school meetings. Another situation in which migration affects education is when children leave the community for reasons of continuing their education elsewhere. The distance limits the parents’ control over and knowledge of their study progress. *“Sometimes they fool us or lie to us. They say that they are studying but they are not. How can we know if they are so far away?”* says a preoccupied mother in San Juan.

The school staff in both Escana and San Juan indicated to have initiated a dialogue with parents about migration, attempting to open the discussion about the reasons behind migration. They consider this necessary as they see that pupils want to continue studying and have aspirations and dreams for the future. In order to stop migration, they want to stimulate parents and pupils alike to stop thinking only of leaving. *“But it is the economic factor that drives people away; it is the need for resources that makes people leave, so it is impossible to change their minds”*, according to one of the teachers in San Juan. Seeing that people cannot be persuaded to stay, they are now of the opinion that it would be best if students were to receive training in practical skills that would help them improve their situation when migrating. This way the migrants would have a profession that could increase their market value. A workshop where the pupils could learn how to work metal or mechanics would be the best in their eyes.

6.4.2 Social remittances

Social remittances are the whole of ideas, behaviors, identities, values and customs that flow from receiving to sending communities. They are a local-level, migration-driven form of cultural

diffusion (Levitt, 1998). Social remittance exchanges occur when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin. The more the situation in the new place of residence differs from the situation in the home community, the more impact social remittances may have in the home community. It is not necessarily international migrants that have different ideas. Working in a rural area in Argentina may be more like life in the communities than working in the city Santa Cruz in the East of Bolivia, where life, climate and culture are significantly different than in the valley region of Chuquisaca.

The impact social remittances have in San Juan and Escana differs according to type and duration of migration. Among youngsters that migrate temporarily there are none or just some superficial changes. They return with more money, a different taste in music, hair style and fashion. *"They want modern music, modern clothes and modern mobiles with video and music and the boys suddenly have long hair"*. The children in the community say that they love the new way of dancing the migrants have learned and they want to be taught, while the older generation generally does not appreciate the new music. As an older man from Escana says, *"It is not music, just noise!"*

One immediately noticeable and most often mentioned change in migrants has to do with language. Migration leads to a wider dispersion and adoption of Spanish. *"When they leave, they hardly speak any Spanish, but when they come back, they speak Spanish perfectly. This is good"*. Research carried out in Escana by Heijnen (2010) shows that parents and children alike think that speaking and writing Spanish are two of the most important skills that children should learn before migrating to the city or abroad. This is triggered by migrants telling stories of how they have to deal with discrimination and can easily be cheated if their Spanish is not good enough. *"In the city everybody understands Quechua, but still people that speak Quechua are discriminated"*. A related fact is that the majority of people say that children from communities are too timid, are afraid to speak up or talk very softly. A large part of this timidity is caused by the insufficient dominion of the Spanish language.⁸ Consequently, the need for being able to speak and write in Spanish is increasingly seen as an advantage and a necessary skill for migrants. This explains resistance to the current proposal for a new educational reform in which schools are stimulated to revive Quechua as a teaching language at the expense of Spanish.

However, there is a less positive side to this development. People from the community find that the improvement of Spanish skills often goes hand in hand with a migrant's diminishing ability and willingness to speak Quechua. Many young migrants outright refuse to speak Quechua when visiting the community, which the people that still live there consider to be a preoccupying trend. *"They do not want to talk or learn Quechua anymore. They see Spanish as a sign of progress and Quechua as a backward language"*, is the explanation of a 63 year old man from Escana. Children of migrants that are receiving schooling in Sucre often have not learned to speak Quechua at all. This makes the communication with relatives from the community more difficult, especially with grandparents that hardly speak Spanish. Furthermore, it is also the migrant's new accent that hampers communication. The majority of people in the community refer to the change in accent or style of speaking as one of the most obvious changes in migrants. *"Their way of talking has changed a lot. They want to sound like people from Santa Cruz or Argentina. Sometimes I don't even understand my grandson anymore. He talks like an Argentinean, very fast and with a weird accent"*.

Migrants with double residency often see more profound changes and differences as well. People's priorities change when they migrate. *"Having money changes them. People come back more individualistic, more materialistic"*. Living in the city is also said to change a migrant's perception of time and the way he values it. *"It is like there is less time in the city and the people are always in a hurry"*. It is the meetings of the *sindicato* where the differences in mentality

⁸ At school, currently Quechua is used as a teaching language. From the fifth grade on Spanish becomes the official language, with Quechua only used to explain concepts or words unknown to the children. Then Quechua is given as a subject in school, for one hour a week.

manifest themselves most clearly. An example given several times by different people is the way migrants behave themselves during these reunions. *“Those who come from the city say that we take way too long in meetings. They say that we have to go faster. They have new ideas, new attitudes”*. The older generation living in the community says that young migrants have lost respect for the traditional knowledge and skills that used to be highly valued in the community. *“They do not want to work on the land anymore. They are not accustomed to working hard anymore. They don’t know anything about agriculture. And even if they want to help with the animals, they don’t even know how to care for them”*, comments a 65-year old farmer from Escana. *“The girls don’t know how to weave or spin anymore”*, adds a woman from San Juan. Their work ethics are transforming as well according to the people staying behind, particularly the few migrants that are lucky enough to find a job in the formal sector. *“They have a different mentality, with specific working hours, and from Monday to Friday. The weekends are only for enjoying themselves”*, says a 35-year old man from Escana.

Part of those who have stayed interpret the changes and new input as negative. *“They change. They become ‘half-refined’, arrogant, conceited, and presumptuous. They do not want to speak Quechua anymore, have urban thoughts and a city mentality. They do not participate in matters of the community anymore and have very strange habits”*. They talk about forgetting their roots and lack of respect. Migrants on the other hand accuse people in the community of being traditional and having an adversity to new things. *“They do not want any kind of change”*. Social exchanges may simply be exterior or superficial, or they can include topics like democracy, health, gender, equality, community organization or human rights. This sometimes leads to discussions because of clashing world views. *“They believe lots of things. They are mistaken!”* claims a 87 year old man from San Juan passionately. Others interpret the changes and exchanges more positively, as something they can learn from. *“They are more civilized and clean, here we always walk around dirty”*. *“They seem more intelligent”*, or *“they know more about how the world works”*, are often heard comments. Migrants also acknowledge personal changes brought about by their experiences in the city or abroad. Some of the acquired skills or traits most mentioned and valued are newly found assertiveness, being able to shake off their timidity, and the development of a more resilient character. They indicate that it has led to an increase in self-respect. As a man from Escana currently working in Sucre describes it: *“I have learned that I can be respectful without being subservient”*. A 43-year old female migrant from San Juan comments: *“I have been fired several times because I was falsely accused of doing something wrong. It took me three jobs to learn to stand up for myself. Now I don’t accept just anything anymore. You have to fight for yourself. That is what I will teach my children and other people”*.

According to Usher (2005) migrants can help foster innovation, trigger learning processes or facilitate the transfer of knowledge and technology to their [communities] of origin. As many migrants work in agriculture in the places of destination, the knowledge and skills acquired may serve a purpose in their home communities. However, this transfer seems rather limited, especially in the case of San Juan. The crops that are cultivated and harvested in the places of destination, such as cotton, sugar cane in Santa Cruz and fruit in Santa Cruz and Argentina, are crops that do not grow in the community itself. The agricultural techniques used in these places is usually based on an elaborate and advanced system of irrigation, that is costly and not available in the community. In Escana, where fruit trees are common, knowledge from agriculture is used on a small scale. Since irrigation is available, migrants can sometimes apply what they have learned and thus try new things. A few families have for example invested in a drop system for tomatoes, which automatically applies water to tomato plants. Nevertheless, it is the wealthier families that are investing in new techniques and it is not clear whether it is migration or migrant knowledge that is the driver behind this innovation.

The newly acquired knowledge does of course benefit migrants, in a way that their experience may provide more chances for certain future employment. Unfortunately, it is not necessarily useful in their home communities; construction skills may give a migrant more opportunities in Sucre, but they are not providing more employment options in the community itself.

Furthermore, this increases the probability that a migrant that returned to the community will leave yet again. The knowledge is acquired outside of the community, thus this phenomenon cannot be labeled brain drain, but for the community it is certainly a lost opportunity for brain gain.

6.4.3 Social organization and cohesion

In a healthy, well-functioning community, the encounter between the members of the community as social actors results in social dynamics that can be a motor for local development initiatives. Unfortunately, the loss of a large segment of a community's population affects a community in its social heart; the loss of the young, the best educated and enterprising part of a community's population results in a loss of vitality, of innovation, of initiative and the loss of the capacity to change, to evolve. This may lead to stagnation in community dynamics and a passive attitude towards change. *"Normally in a community, the younger generation living there would eventually come up with new proposals of how to do things differently; in San Juan it is exactly this generation that is missing"*, says a 45-year old man with double residency in both San Juan and Sucre. *"The older people living in the community are not open to new things or ideas as most young people are"*, confirms a 53-year old woman from Escana who has worked in Sucre several times. *"Migration is robbing the soul of the community"*, adds her 78-year old neighbor. Maximo Saavedra, community leader of San Juan, agrees. According to him, people are not sufficiently participating or involved in community affairs. *"If they stay very quiet, nothing is going to happen. The people do not talk, they do not think. They have to be more active!"* He believes that an important cause of the lack of initiative in the people living in the community is a lack of capacity. Most of the elderly people in the communities are not able to read or write. Even though alphabetization programs are offered, many people do not want to participate because of a lack of time and the amount of work they have, especially women responsible for the care of livestock. *"It is up to these people to change something now that many of the rest is gone. But if you have no education you only know how to work the land the traditional way, and to do things as they were always done"*, he states.

A local organization with a vital social role is the *sindicato*. The majority of migrants that leave the community continue to be member of the *sindicato*. Being a member implies that a person has to fulfill his obligations towards the community. The three most important obligations are attending the organization's meetings, participating in communal labor and paying a financial contribution. The *sindicatos* in San Juan and Escana have adapted themselves to the migratory reality, with flexible rules for migrants. Many migrants cannot attend the two-weekly meetings. Absence from the meetings can be compensated by paying a fine of about 30 to 40 bolivianos. There is also the option of 'buying off' the days of communal labor for a fine between 30 and 50 bolivianos per day that a person is required to work. These are both popular options, especially when the communal labor is only a few days of work. If the work accumulates or there is a large project with a large number of communal work days, most migrants choose to visit during holidays and actually work the required days.

The implication of these rules is that the *sindicato* is now an organization of which a large part of its members do not live in the community anymore, do not participate actively in the decision-making and have the option to compensate their non-participation with money. Among the villagers living in the communities, this is creating the impression that it is them who have to carry the weight of the bulk of the communal responsibilities. *"If there is the necessity to put in money, the people from the city pay. But they do not accept to put in manpower. That is why it is always us people that live here that have to do all the (manual) work. It is hard"*, says a man of 59 years old from Escana. It is noticeable that the absence of so many members that could bring new ideas, initiatives and input to the organization that takes the most important decisions about the future of the community, is affecting the social dynamics of the community. *"It is getting less and less every time, because in the past, for any communal task the people became active. But now they do not want to anymore. They are tired. Maybe part of it is weakness. The people do not want to be active anymore, but when there is necessity to do something together they*

should motivate and stimulate each other to get it done. They should do something in order to keep their land”, comments a 71-year old man who has lived in San Juan his whole life.

The communities are characterized by limited social activity. As mentioned, during the day and weekends, the communities appear to be almost empty. There are no parks or central *plaza* in the communities that could stimulate social interaction in a leisurely, relaxed manner as people gather there in the afternoon or at night. Neither is there much activity or street life at night. The meetings of the *sindicato* make people gather, meet and discuss, but it is only the male family heads that are invited. These meetings do have an important social function, as do other public places in the village. As for the social activity at night, in Escana, once a week there is a soccer tournament at night, where boys and girls teams play soccer matches. Many young people come to watch while most adults come to socialize. Children tend to gather at the playground next the school; the closed gate outside of school hours does little to stop them from entering.

The lack of social dynamics is more marked in San Juan since it is an extremely dispersed community. The community is spread out over a large area, with great distances between the different houses. The physical center of the village is formed by the school and the Catholic church. These institutions could be places of social encounters and activity. However, outside of school hours the school is deserted, with the teachers leaving the premises completely deserted and locked during the weekend. The church is not an active, buzzing community center either; there is no priest in the village and it is only very rarely that services are held. At night, most people do not have much reason or desire to leave their houses.

Migration is not the direct cause of the lack of social organization. Patterns of contact and linkages between the families within a community and communal structures develop over time. However, migration can result in a deteriorating social organization, cohesion and activity, especially in communities that have historically had a relatively weak social fabric.

6.4.4 Family disintegration and changing social roles

The experience of migrating can be traumatic, both for the migrant as for those who stay behind. Almost all of the temporary migration, whether short-term or long-term, involves split households with one or occasionally more members, usually men, migrating, and others, usually women and children, staying behind. Household and their livelihoods are then stretched across space (Samuels, 2001). Managing livelihoods back home in the absence of the migrant is particularly challenging because the person migrating is often the main wage earner. The experience varies according to the wealth of the household and its size and structure (Rafique et al., 2006). The negative income effects of migration can be more easily absorbed by households with many adult members than by households with only young children. The implications for those managing livelihoods back home depend on the duration of migration. Short-term circular migration has less emotional, practical and psychological impact than long-term or permanent migration.

However, staying behind in the absence of a husband or wife, father or mother, son or daughter is always challenging. Because the number of adults responsible for day-to-day household management temporarily declines, often by half, there is a completely different dynamic to ensuring food is adequate, arranging

Box 6.2 Story of a mother

“My daughter of 22 left two weeks ago. She was studying to be a nurse and was almost done with her studies. Then a friend of hers told her that in Buenos Aires they could earn 200 dollar a week. She didn’t know anything about the work there, but she decided to leave. I was very much against it. We were very close. My other three children have left a long time ago; my husband works in the city and is only here once every two weeks. I haven’t heard from her since she left and I have no idea where she is or whether she is fine. When she left she said: “Don’t cry mama, I will be back”, but I don’t know if this will be the case. Since she left, I cannot sleep. I cry and asked God ‘Where is my girl?’ I cannot eat, I am so worried, I do not feel like cooking. It is hard being alone when you feel so desperate.”

- A 49 year old mother from Escana

the cash that is needed, doing reproductive work, including travelling away from the homestead, and responding to any sickness among those staying behind (Rafique et al., 2006). Women staying behind experience anxiety and fear regarding the health and well-being of family members and the person who has migrated. *"I worry about my children. They go when they are still so young. They leave school early, they can get ill, or they are careless or the girls can get pregnant at a young age"*, says a preoccupied mother from San Juan. A woman that has stayed behind while her husband migrates is more vulnerable to depression, low self-esteem, a double workload of housework and her new role of sole head of the household. Migration of a husband can also place women in difficult or potentially dangerous situations. *"When a woman is gone and the man is alone, he will manage. But when a woman is alone, she is more defenseless. There are men who commit excesses, or sexual, physical or psychological abuse in these situations. I know of many, many cases. Or men leave temporarily, but then start another family somewhere else. I always say that it is the woman that carries all the weight of migration"*, states Efraín Alfaro, manager of the Unit for the Defense of Children and Adolescents and the Legal Integral Service of the municipality of Yamparaez.

Fathers that stay behind with their children because their wife has migrated are also affected by their new double role and depression and feelings of guilt can occur. They can experience insecurity regarding their children's needs and the anxiety in raising them without their mother. *"Men also run the risk of stigmatization because of their perceived inability to provide for their family as a man is supposed to do. This often results in a tendency for alcoholism, maltreatment and even abandonment of the children"*, explains the municipal manager that has worked in the local communities for years. Teachers indicate that children and adolescents cope with feelings of abandonment, rebellion, aggressiveness and insecurity when one of their parents or both have migrated. The absence of parental control, affection and values may result in apathy towards their environment, low school performance, low self-esteem and loss of identity.

The disintegration and separation of a family thus produces a preoccupying situation that causes great personal pain. Parents with children that have migrated permanently express ambivalent feelings. On the one hand, they feel frustration because their children were not able to find opportunities in their home community. *"I feel a deep sadness and frustration because I could give them a more stable situation with possibilities"*. They feel sad for the loneliness far away from their children and are worried about the well-being of their sons and daughters that have to live in a strange and different reality. Elderly people often express anxiety about the future. To die alone or never see their children again are the two main fears mentioned. *"It is really hard to overcome the pain of the absence of loved ones, whether they have left temporarily or permanently. All of my four children are living abroad. I am already old and my husband is past 80 too, and now we have nobody left"*, remarks a 78-year old woman from Escana. On the other hand, parents of migrants feel a certain pride because of their children's ability to find a job and build a new and better life elsewhere. *"I am sad that they left us alone, but I am happy that my sons have left this difficult situation without perspective"*. Migrants and their relatives attempt to bridge the distance and compensate for the direct contact by means of communication. More than 60 percent of the people living in the community indicate that they have regular contact - at least twice a month - with their migrant relatives.

Given the fact that the family constitutes an initiation into societal life, it represents an essential element of social capital (Wilson, 1993). In this light, it is possible to state that a collateral cost of migration is the deterioration of social capital. *"More than anything, the suffering caused by migration is produced by abandonment and loss. Children often do not understand why their parents have left them and start to feel resentment towards them. The money sent back by the parents can mitigate the lack of love; it can never be a substitute. The majority of those children are neglected"*, comments a mother whose husband is working in Argentina.

At the same time, migration is instigating positive changes, such as changes in gender relations. Several women commented that the absence of their husbands can have advantages as well.

Women can experience emancipation through greater autonomy where the power balance within the household had been skewed towards men. Mothers or even sisters that did not have the authority to take decisions about different matters explained that they now have more liberty in decision-making with regards to the household, the children and the use of remittances. Slowly but steadily, women's participation in community issues seems to be growing and some men even predict that this will increase even more in the future. *"If the men are gone, someone has to do the job, and there are women who can do it as well"*, says a 54 year old farmer from Escana. In both communities, a few women have been allowed to enter the *sindicato*, even though this privilege was traditionally reserved only for men. Furthermore, the growing dependence and reliance on support from others via kin and other social relations is said to have positive effects as well. *"In a way, it creates more solidarity between people in the same situation, because we have no other choice but to help each other out"*, comments a woman of 47 from San Juan.

7. Reflections about the future: What are the options?

Migration has become part of daily routines and life in San Juan and Escana. In this chapter, the implication of migration for the future will be explored. Is it possible to create alternatives? What would be these alternatives? Is it possible to halt migration? Is this desirable? First of all, the views and visions of the villagers themselves will be explored. What do they consider the solution to their situation? What are their priorities? Then we will take a look at policy makers and external initiatives that focus on migration. What are these initiatives and do they work? And what can the communities themselves contribute?

7.1 Views on solutions: The villagers

In San Juan, the population's expectations for the future are bleak. During the investigation, people were asked to think about the future of their community, looking at ideas, expectations, priorities and dreams of the villagers. What will it be like in 10 years? Will the situation improve or deteriorate? In their answers, three possible scenarios for the future can be distinguished. First, almost all people agree that, if the situation will continue the way it is now, nothing will change in migration pattern. The young will continue to leave the community permanently and it will become emptier. Many people expressed concerns about the community's capacity of survival. *"Maybe San Juan will not exist anymore in ten years", they say, "it will disappear if the people continue to leave"*. The grand exodus of the young that leave permanently at the moment they finish their primary education cannot be stopped without fundamental changes, all agree. *"If not, the community will be empty in ten years"*.

However, the provisional plans for the construction of an international airport close to Yamparaez have awakened hopes in the community. As a second scenario there are those who refer to the new possibilities that the opening of an airport and the investment it involves would create. The expectations include the employment in construction in the initial phase, and jobs in the service sector when the airport opens. The people are confident that finally, this will lead to the return to the community of migrants that have left San Juan permanently. *"When the airport is here and there will be jobs, people will surely come back"*, comments a hopeful 64-year old farmer.

The third and final scenario appears to be the hope and dreams of all villagers. Without exception, people claim that with external interventions, with projects, life in the community could change for the better drastically. *"With projects the situation can be improved"* and *"with projects, the situation will be good in ten years. If there will be help, the people will come back"* are often expressed comments. The strong belief in a possible external solution is also expressed by a 83-year old woman: *"San Juan will disappear, they are not coming back. There are so few people here now. What are we going to do? You cannot change that, we cannot change that. Only with projects it can be changed, that is the only way to do it"*. So what kind of interventions, what type of project is needed? What, according to the people living in San Juan, will have to change for people to no longer leave the community? The majority is positively convinced that there are two elements that form the recipe for change in the current patterns and bring development to the community. Without any exception, men and women alike collectively express water to be the highest priority. *"With water we could harvest up to three times a year. If there is production, they [the migrants] could come back. If there is water, there are crops, there is hope"*, as a 63-year old man describes the core. People agree that a permanent irrigation system would change San Juan from a community with subsistence agriculture into a community where people could grow sufficiently for their own consumption, while at the same time a certain quantity of crops would be left for commercialization in the market. *"We have to find water and irrigation projects. Then we could cultivate other crops such as oregano, peach, amaranto and linseed. Those are the products you can sell at a profit"*. Another positive effect of this change would be an enhancing food security and elimination of malnutrition. If vegetables and fruit could be grown in the

community and added to the available food, this could lead to healthier diets. But more than anything, villagers are hoping for the return of their friends and families that have left the community. *“If there is water, they will come back. If there is water, they will come to sow. Only with water they will come, nobody wants to come back to a place without water”*.

As second priority in external interventions, particularly women indicate the necessity of education. The participants of the *Club de Madres* (Mothers’ Club), a group of mothers with children in school age, which meets every two weeks, are convinced that with secondary education possibilities in San Juan, young people would no longer leave the community at such an early age. If they would have a high school diploma, the necessity to leave for the city will decrease because they have more options and the capacity to come up with alternatives, argue the mothers. The construction of a boarding school (*internado*) would also significantly contribute to halting migration, as students do not have to leave the community to continue their education elsewhere. Finally, having secondary education and a boarding school would benefit the quality of the education since the mothers estimate that if they would still live in the community, students would be more likely to actually finish school and not leave school prematurely in order to work, which often happens when they study in the city.



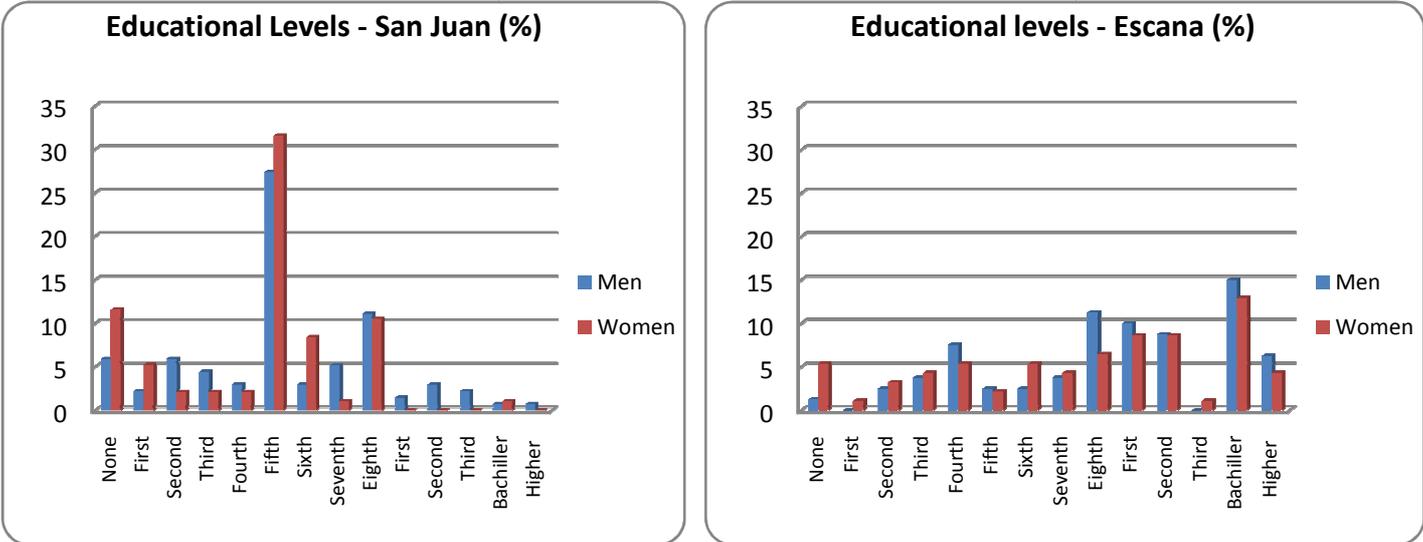
Illustration 7,1: Meeting of the Club de Madres in San Juan

Summarizing, the population of San Juan considers water and education to be the two essential missing elements to transform the community from a locality where people are principally leaving into a community that attracts return migrants, where there is hope in the future, where agricultural production provide sufficient income for productive investment and where young people can finish their high school education to have better options. Consequently, it is not surprising that the example most people refer to is their neighboring community Escana. Comparison of the two communities offers an interesting opportunity to test this hypothesis that water and education would eliminate reasons to migrate. As we have seen, in Escana, the barrage that started functioning in 2006 is providing the water for a comprehensive irrigation system, which has significantly transformed the agricultural patterns in the community, raising productivity, facilitating the introduction of new cash crops and allowing multiple harvests a year. Furthermore, the local school offers secondary courses, allowing students to obtain a high school diploma.

If villagers from San Juan are right with their prediction, then outmigration from Escana should be lower than that in San Juan. However, when studying migration patterns in Escana, it becomes clear that outmigration is equally high here. Of the people between 18 and 40 years old that are born in Escana, 90 percent has left the community permanently. As seen in chapter 4, the main reasons indicated for migrating are practically identical to the reasons mentioned by the inhabitants of San Juan (with the exception of lack of irrigation). While the recent introduction of water has not changed the number of migrants that are leaving, it has caused an interesting phenomenon: a number of absent migrants, who had left the community

permanently, are now returning to the community to benefit from the more favorable circumstances. They are investing in seeds, fertilizers and are succeeding in gaining higher profits. While this tendency could easily be interpreted as a confirmation that the introduction of irrigation could slow or even reverse migration flows, this is not the case. Absent migrants are returning, but they are doing so in order to produce, not to live in the community. Slowly but steadily, Escana is transforming itself into a production community, where people work but do not stay. A new division is created between the city and the community: the community is for sowing, for being in the countryside and for harvesting; the city is for living, for working, for education and for investment. In this context, Sucre is of crucial importance as “the city of the second house” (Le Grand, 1997). It is estimated that already one fifth of Escana’s population currently has double residency, with a house in both Sucre and the community (Dulón, 2010).

Figure 7.1: Educational levels in San Juan and Escana (first to eighth = primary education; first to bachiller = secondary education; higher = higher education)



Source: Elaboration based on collected data

Looking at the influence of education, figure 7.1 shows the differences in educational levels in San Juan and Escana. As a result of the presence of secondary education in the community, the levels of received education are significantly higher in Escana. Nevertheless, this has not affected patterns of outmigration. A good education, while it undeniably causes a broadening of a person’s opportunities when migrating, does not affect the structural causes of migration. In other words, a higher level of education is an advantage for those who leave, but it does not seem to change the fact that they indeed choose to leave. Therefore, the young people in Escana who finish high school leave with better tools and knowledge to construct a life outside of their home community. The principal effect of the presence of secondary education is that the majority of adolescents permanently leave the community at a later age. Summarizing, it is neither water nor education that can convince the population to stay in the communities. Unfortunately, the situation is more complex than the villagers of San Juan estimate it.

In Escana, a small group of people is optimistic about the future. They expect that the introduction of irrigation and investment in new opportunities will improve the community’s living standards. “Now that we have water, life in the community will be better”, says a 69 year old woman. “Now I can produce enough for my family and sell what is left. This will change things”, comments a 46 year old father of four children. However, the majority describes a bleaker scenario for the future. Even though they recognize the potential for agriculture with irrigation, they predict that a growing number of people will see the community as a basis for production to finance a life in the city. Thus fear about the survival of the community as a community where people are born and continue to live is widespread. “People will only come here to take away their

crop, but there won't be any people living here anymore. In ten years, it will be empty", a 46 year old woman describes her views for the future. Even though the quantity of land needed to produce sufficiently has diminished with irrigation, the fact that it is impossible to further divide the land will continue to expulse youngsters from the community.

It appears that only changes that eliminate the totality of reasons mentioned by the villagers in both communities as causes for migration could be successful in offering better opportunities in the communities, sufficient to eliminate the necessity to leave. The *minifundio* continues to be an essential cause for migration. The hope that irrigation will result in employment, investment and the creation of local businesses seems to be unrealistic. In the area of non-agricultural activities and local entrepreneurship, there is no dynamism whatsoever. Furthermore, without the willingness to invest in the community itself, migration will continue to offer a viable strategy to deal with the many push factors caused by unfavorable conditions in the community.

7.2 So what are the options: Interventions and initiatives

7.2.1 Own initiative

It is remarkable that only three people (a woman with a migrant husband, a return migrant and a couple with double residency) raise the theme of the communities' own responsibility when discussing the options for the future. *"The future of the community depends on the community itself; if we work hard the situation can improve, but if we don't, nothing will change"*, says the 45-year old woman from Escana whose husband works in Sucre. A clear tendency among those who stay in the community is to insist in the inevitability of the failure of local initiatives, arguing that the lack of human capital, knowledge and funds makes the success of local initiatives highly unlikely. Only with external interventions and funding will change be possible. This attitude seems to be a lack of confidence in the capacities of the villagers, the benefits of social organization and shows a growing dependency on external interventions.

At the same time, it can be considered a paradox. Trust in government institutions is extremely low. The municipal government is accused of corruption and malfunctioning, and sometimes with good reason it appears. Promises of funds and projects are often broken. The school transport has not yet been paid this year, *bonos* that should be paid to elderly people, pregnant women or women that come to weigh their children in special government programs, do not receive the money they are entitled to. *"We do not receive any help from above [municipality and government]"*, claims the director of the school in San Juan. However, when it comes to investments, projects or initiatives, local government is seen as the first and often the only actor the communities appeal to. If local government does not cooperate, declines a request for funds or simply does not fulfill obligations it officially has to fulfill, the most common response in the community is resignation. Even though the claim of corruption is often justified, the expectation of corruption is often enough to withhold the population from making demands for funds. Furthermore, financial illiteracy - having insufficient insight into financial issues - appears to have led to the idea that only large sums of money can make a difference in the community. A few years ago, the *Club de Madres* in San Juan received three sewing machines from the municipality. After receiving sewing classes, all members are now able to produce good quality clothing and cloths. When the potential for selling the items in order to make a profit was pointed out to them, the mothers insisted that large injections of capital would be needed to make this initiative work. The idea of starting off small and then reinvesting small amounts of money does was rejected as not viable. Their condition for starting the business was that the municipality should fund all the initial start-up costs (wool, more sewing machines, accommodation and storage room) and preferably provide transport as well; an unrealistic demand that was rejected by the municipality. Initiatives and funding depends to a large extent on local leadership. If an active leader with capabilities for networking and communication is chosen, the chances of obtaining funds are present. However, because of migration, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find good candidates for leadership.

Absent migrants who have left the community permanently accuse people in the communities of being too passive and conservative. *“People are used to producing only what they need. Even though agriculture is hard work, people can choose when they work or rest. They enjoy the calm life and do not want to do extra work that is necessary to make their lives better.”*, states a 43 year old woman from Escana who has migrated to Sucre 15 years ago but still visits the community regularly. In San Juan, the only families that have invested in obtaining a small source of water to grow fruit trees or a small vegetable garden are families with a migrant father or migrant children who send remittances. A couple from San Juan with double residency explains that people living in the community too easily put the blame of their poverty on local circumstances. Even without irrigation, the couple argues, it is possible to grow fruit trees: *“Almost all families have water taps in their homes. This is sufficient to grow fruit trees. We have had these three trees for many years. It just a lot of work, because you have to water it, and protect the trees against the cattle and children that secretly pick the fruit, and people do not like so much work. It doesn’t have to do with a lack of water; it has to do with attitude. If I lived here permanently, I would plant fruit trees everywhere”*. The experience of entering a new world, a new job and a new environment, with the accompanying new ideas and values comes as a revelation to many migrants. *“Their new skills and new ways of looking at things give them more confidence. They see new perspectives and become more creative”*, says a 30 year old female migrant from Escana who now lives in Sucre. Their new experiences teach them to look at things differently, which can result in a different attitude. And it is exactly this attitude that could benefit local development according to the migrants. *“I think migrants become more enterprising because they learn about resilience and the power of own initiative. They start to believe that they can do things too, and do things differently”*, explains a 45 year old woman from Escana. *“They [those who stay in the community] could do better, it is mostly a question of working hard for what you really want. Maybe us migrants should tell them that more clearly,* states a 51 year old woman from Escana.

7.2.2 Government and NGO interventions

What is the municipal government’s view and policy on migration issues? In the interviews conducted with local government officials of the Municipality of Yamparaez, where San Juan and Escana are located, all actors emphasized the complete lack of national policies regarding migration. According to one official, *“the new government has been working on so many new policies; they have not yet come round to the issue of migration”*. The municipality considers migration policy as a relatively new area, and the lack of national direction and directives complicates matters at the local level. The top official of the municipality points out that migration has become an important policy area in Yamparaez which is characterized by high outmigration, but that knowledge about how to deal with migratory flows was limited when the new local government entered four years ago. While temporary migration is seen as positive because it allows for diversification of income, the effects of permanent migration are classified as destructive. During the last few years, the policy of the municipality has been to attack the causes of migration in order to slow down migratory flows. The Promotor in Defense of Women and Children phrases the municipality’s approach to migration as follows:

“You have to offer alternatives to stop migration. Yes, it is possible to stop migration! You have to provide people with ways to generate income. It is necessary to have municipal and government policies, but it is not spoken about, that is the problem. Nobody talks about migration. It is a big void: there are no official proposals, initiatives, or policies. It is indispensable to have real plans directed at those places where most outmigration takes place”.

The strategy to halt migration is translated into a special focus on productive investment in the communities, in order to eliminate the local population’s necessity to leave. Irrigation is seen as the principal motor behind increasing agricultural production. Between 2007 and 2009, productive infrastructure has been one of the most important investment posts in the municipal budget, with a tendency for irrigation projects: *atajados*, micro irrigation and small artificial lakes (Dulón and Weenink, 2010). The municipality has purchased its own machinery (e.g. tractors) to be able to implement the projects itself and thus eliminate the high rental costs. This

Table 7.2: Distribution of municipal funds (% of total budget municipality of Yamparaez)

Community	2007	2008	2009
Escana	5,14%	2,77%	3,28%
San Juan	0,91%	0,66%	12,18%

Source: Adaptation of Dulón and Weenink, 2010, p. 32.

of the sixteen *atajados* corresponded with more than 12 percent of the municipal budget (see table 7.1).

From a budgetary point of view, the municipality of Yamparaez is severely preoccupied by the increasing exodus and depopulation. Under the new decentralization laws (see 3.1.3), new responsibilities and competencies have been transferred to municipalities, which are directly receiving funds of central government in order to execute these new tasks. The amount of funds received depends on the number of inhabitants of the municipality. The last national census was held in 2001, with the new census planned either at the end of 2010 or in 2011. The declining population numbers can potentially have a serious negative impact on the working budget for the next ten years. Based on preliminary non-official headcounts by NGOs, the municipality of Yamparaez is expecting a major decrease in inhabitants. Various civil servants indicated that the municipality will attempt to request migrants originally from the area to return before the census, so that they may be counted as inhabitants of their home communities, thus trying to mitigate the impact of outmigration on the budget.

The municipal government attempts to maintain strong relationships with non-governmental organizations. These external institutions (e.g. ProAgro, Plan International, Realidades) are expected to coordinate their activities with local government in order to ensure a more or less equal investment in the different communities of the municipality (interview with the top policy officer, 26 April 2010). The NGOs' view on migration differs significantly from that of the municipality. All of the interviewed NGOs that were active in Yamparaez indicated that in the past, their policy was aimed at halting migration by attempting to improve the situation in the communities. However, the realization grew that elevating the tough conditions in the communities to a level where people would no longer migrate was impossible. *"Too much would have to happen to improve the conditions so that would choose to stay. It was unrealistic. People will continue to leave"*, commented a project officer from Plan International (interview, 17 May 2010). This realization resulted in a clear policy shift towards two new strategies. On the one hand, capacity-building became the main focus, based on the idea that if people cannot be convinced to stay, at least they can be given better tools and skills that will help to increase their chances on the labor market. Most NGOs therefore provide vocational training in alternative educational centers, where classes are taught in sewing, mechanics, or wood-working. A second focus has been to provide opportunities for irrigation, to improve the situation for those who stay behind and to stimulate return migration. Several irrigation projects have proven to be an enormous success, such as the ProAgro water harvesting project in Mojocoya, which formed the basis for the organization's current work in Escana. By constructing small artificial lakes for each family, agricultural production increased considerably and within a few years local development was boosted because of the local population's investments in the community. One of the *promotores* of ProAgro explains the success by saying:

"You have to offer them the right conditions. Mostly that is water. Water is the start, without water they will not be able to do anything; with water they can have animals, with water they can cultivate. This is the most important element. Then you have to give them technical assistance in the productive area. But the part of instruction and information should never stop, not until they see the results and understand what is meant. There always has to be an accompanying process of capacity-building. As a reference you could take a pilot group, so that others can copy their example, so that they can explain to others how to do it, what the advantages are, what successes they have had and what should be changed" (interview, 21 April 2010).

can be considered a sign of its commitment to productive investment. Despite its smaller size, Escana has received a considerable amount of municipal investment over the last few years in comparison to San Juan, with the exception of 2009, when the construction

Four NGOs commented on the role that the proximity of the city of Sucre played in North Chuisaca (Plan, ProAgro, NorSud and Realidades). In Escana and San Juan, community members tend to describe the proximity of the city, with its wide range of opportunities and options, as a blessing, as good luck. But the organizations question whether the easy escape that the city offers the community is actually a blessing. *“Because the city is so close and the conditions there are better, people always compare the local situation to the city. It is impossible for the villages to compete with the city”*, says the director of NorSud. Plan and ProAgro, organizations that are both active in other parts of the country indicate that North Chuquisaca compares negatively to other parts of Chuquisaca, where *“people cannot escape so easily to a big city and are therefore more motivated to invest and make the best of the local situation. When the option to leave becomes so unproblematic, who will want to come back to change the situation in the community?”* (ProAgro, interview 21 April). While from the migrant’s point of view migration resolves the immediate needs a migrant may have, nothing may structurally change in the place of origin. On the contrary, with the large exodus of migrants, the situation in the community deteriorates. Therefore, the NGOs argue that a context that does not permit an easy departure to a nearby city is more inviting to the local population to invest in the improvement of the situation and that the proximity of the city to San Juan and Escana could in that regard be considered a curse rather than a blessing.

Discussion and Conclusions

Migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, which has become part of the daily reality in Bolivia and many other countries. This thesis has focused on what happens in communities that are emptying. With two detailed case studies in rural communities in Bolivia that are characterized by large flows of migrants, it strived to giving insight into migration selectivity, motivations for migration and the impact of migration. Instead of mainly focusing on migrants and remittances, its focus is on those who stay: the people who continue to live in the community.

If migration becomes associated with opportunities and improving one's life, then those who do not migrate can become synonymous for those who are 'left behind'. In this study, the aim was to give the people who stay a face and a voice. The first research question aimed at finding out who they are, the people who stay. Far from being non migrants who cannot migrate because of obstacles or circumstances, the people who stay turned out to be a heterogeneous collection of people, who in most cases made a conscious choice to stay in the community. The majority had firsthand knowledge of migration through (multiple) migration experience, and a number of those who stay migrate regularly. Generally, adult men who live in the community engage in circular temporary migration to nearby places for several weeks or months during the dry season. Women are more likely to stay. It is mostly the young - boys and girls alike - who prefer to leave the community permanently. Furthermore, the four groups that were distinguished within those who stay - non migrants, ex migrants, return migrants and circular migrants - were seen to maintain active contact and links to those who left - absent migrants and people with double residency.

So why do people from the two communities choose to stay or to leave? The most important fostering factors stimulating migration were found to be structural contextual characteristics of the place of origin. A constant lack of water and climatic changes result in difficult agricultural circumstances and a lack of production, with little circulation of money in the local economy due to the breakdown of traditional non-money exchanges and increased cash needs; the extreme fragmentarization of land makes it impossible to provide all children with sufficient land to provide for their families; finally, the lack of options for secondary and higher education and the lack of employment foster migration, since education and employment have to be pursued outside the community of origin. It is however not the absolute lack of something that drives people away. It is the relative lack of something in the community in comparison with the place of destination that is decisive. On the other hand, those who stay have good reasons to stay. While some may not receive permission to migrate, cannot leave because they attend school, or have responsibilities and duties to fulfill towards their family, others prefer to stay in the community because of the familiarity of life and their love for their own way of life. Migration is an action people engage in for pleasure; above all, it is originates from economic necessity. Therefore, a lack of necessity can results in the choice to stay. People's agency in actively taking migration decisions should not be underestimated.

In order to test the rather optimistic hypotheses about the development potential of migration, the third research question looked at the impact of massive outmigration on the communities and the people who stay. The high potential for development that is recognized by many scholars was found to be mostly realized for the migrant and his (nuclear) family. While migration can be a difficult experience, generally migrants succeed in changing their levels of well-being positively. The sending communities on the other hand can see their development potential decrease due to massive outmigration. With the departure of a disproportional number of young people, they are drained of their human resources. If outmigration continues at the current rate, San Juan and Escana will eventually no longer be able to function as healthy societies. Already, the demographic composition of the community is severely affected by outmigration as the area is slowly depopulating, which can lead to a structural loss of dynamism and vitality. Basic service delivery may be in danger of disappearing because of declining

population numbers. Education for those who stay is suffering from outmigration. The high prices for and lack of (wage) labor affects agricultural production, and the communities have to cope with deteriorating land quality and an increasing number of unused plots. Migration stimulates the inflow of new ideas values, techniques and skills into the community with visiting and returning migrants. However, skills acquired during migration can hardly be transferred to the communities because they do not match local needs. Most importantly, flows of remittances into the communities are extremely limited and are mainly used for food, clothes and basic services. Migrants choose the city as the preferred place of investment, since the proximity to the city makes investment there more interesting. The distinction between circular and permanent outmigration is extremely relevant here. The impact of circular migration is found to be considerably less profound than permanent outmigration. Portes' (2008) findings that circular labor migration can have positive development effects but that permanent outmigration leads to the emptying of sending places was indeed confirmed by this research. Permanent migrants also have a stronger negative influence on the communities by weakening local productive systems, extracting human capital and creating a tradition or culture of migration, which then becomes associated with the main path to upward mobility.

However, there are options. Remittances of circular migrants are seen to have caused modest improvements in the communities. As long as the outflow of human capital from the community causes a reverse stream of capital (human, financial or otherwise) towards the community, the negative consequences can be mitigated and new opportunities can be created. It may therefore be argued that not the fact that so many people *leave* is the problem; it is the fact that so few of them *return* that is the root of the problems. Instead of investing money and energy into slowing down migration flows, it might be more effective to increase efforts to create reverse flows back to the communities; flows that go beyond the first necessary investments in food and daily necessities. This study shows the importance of linking development in receiving areas to development in sending areas. Small-scale initiatives to eliminate partial causes of migration, such as irrigation systems or improved education, although improving living standards in the communities, do not slow down migration. Only a comprehensive change that eliminates the totality of reasons people mention for migrating could be successful in offering better opportunities in local communities and could be sufficient to diminish the necessity to leave. The greatest challenge in the future is to find ways to promote the use of migration benefits that generate development, for individual migrants as well as the communities of origin. Measures regarding migration should be aimed at preparing (potential) migrants for their migration experience by offering them the tools to improve their chances on the labor market. Another essential element is the promotion of strong connections between migrants and their communities of origin. There is a tendency to focus too much on remittances. Remittances are not a panacea for all developmental problems in sending communities. It should certainly not be considered as a substitute for government intervention, the provision of basic services or the creation of favorable investment conditions. In fact, the reverse can be said to be true. If the situation in the communities becomes more attractive because of increased opportunities, employment and services, government investment will attract more remittance investment by community members.

Communities should not disregard their own responsibilities in actively finding new solutions for the changing circumstances they encounter. Getting return and absent migrants involved in the development of their home community; mitigating the effects of outmigration in the community by creating new rules (e.g. regarding land); establishing more active ties and links with those who leave and inviting migrants to return; becoming more involved and proactive towards local government and organizations; demand capacity-building; recognizing and realizing the value of small local initiatives and broaden the search for funds beyond local government institutions; these are all options open to the communities to take matters into their own hands. Most importantly, they will have to look inwards for solutions, in order to become less and not more dependent on external interventions.

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