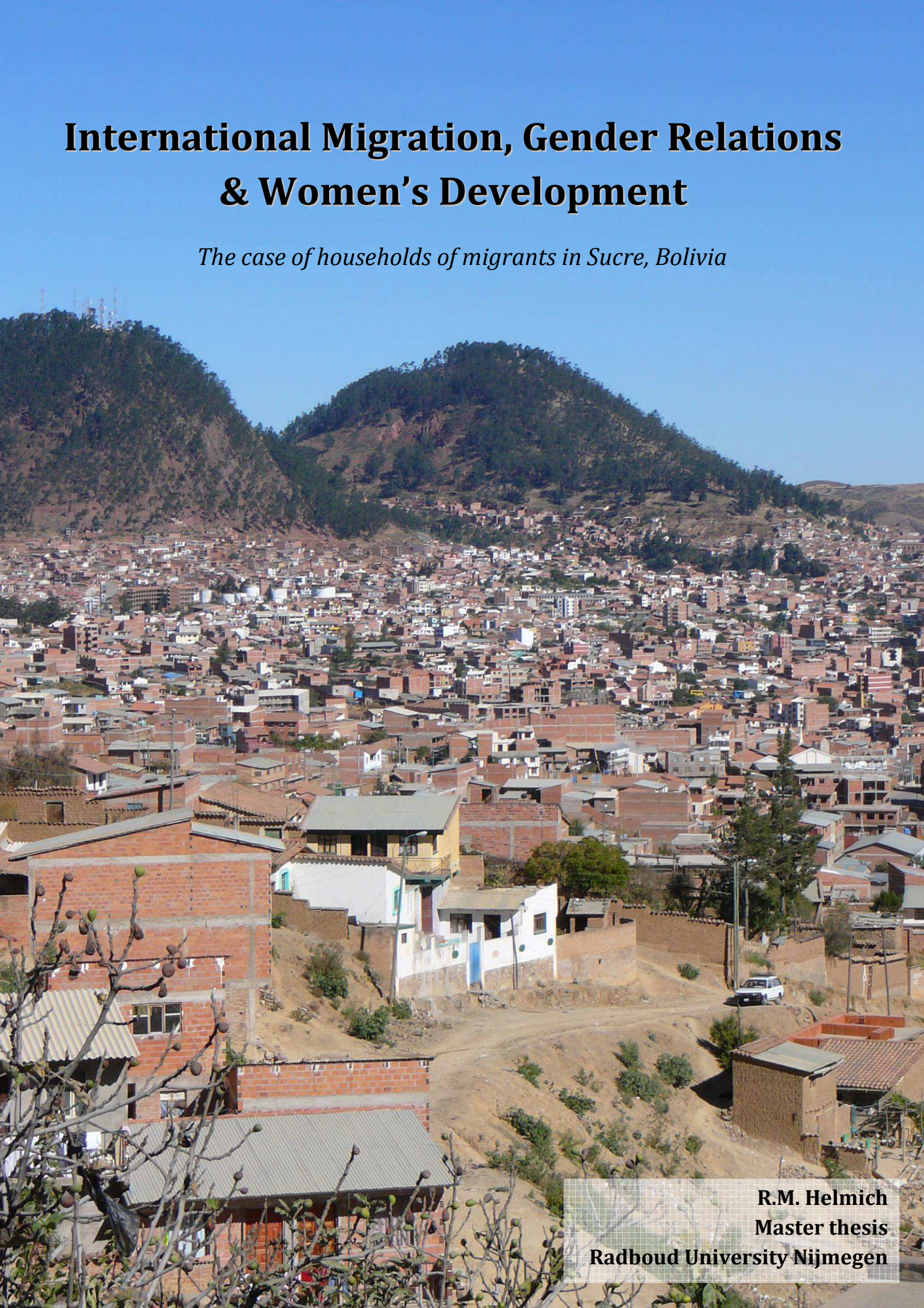
International Migration, Gender Relations & Women's Development

The case of households of migrants in Sucre, Bolivia



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Master thesis
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International Migration, Gender Relations & Women's Development

The case of households of migrants in Sucre, Bolivia

Cover photo by R.M. Helmich:
Sucre and its distinctive twin hills of Churuquella and Sika Sika,
taken from the research area (Barrio Villa Margarita)

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Foreword

Before you lies my master thesis. Whereas for you – the reader – the journey is yet to begin, for me this is where my journey ends. The time has come for me to sit back, reflect on my work and experiences, and thank the people that – in some way or another – have provided me with valuable and much appreciated support.

For this research, I travelled to Bolivia. Somewhat over a year ago, I packed my bags and said my family and friends goodbye. The time had come to finally do what I've wanted for so long: to go abroad and conduct my research. My ambition was to learn proper Spanish in a relatively short period of time, as it would enable me to engage in more personal conversations with my respondents and be of great value in my personal life. Looking back, I can say that it has not always been easy, but that it was certainly worth all the hard work and hours put into it. As for my research, gathering information also brought the necessary challenges. Contacting respondents and getting them to participate in my research proved to be a hard task. People's distrust towards my research and intentions often provided difficult obstacles and left me standing in front of many closed doors. It forced me to constantly adjust to unexpected and sometimes unpleasant situations, and to persevere when things were not going as hoped. Despite these difficulties and challenges however, I look back at my research and time in Bolivia with very warm and positive feelings. It has been a beautiful and unforgettable experience, and I have many people to thank for it.

First of all, I would like to thank all my respondents, as without their participation this research project would not have succeeded. Special thanks go out to some women, who truly opened up their hearts to me and shared some of their most private feelings and thoughts. Your stories were not only of great value to me as a researcher, but also touched me on a personal level.

Thanks to pastor Daniel of the Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana, to padre Mario of the Sagrada Familia Church and to the teachers of the Fe y Alegria school. You're help in finding and contacting people for my research has been very important.

I would also very much like to thank Roxana Dulón and Fundación PASOS, for providing me with the opportunity to come to Sucre and facilitating me in my research. Roxana; your help and hospitality were very valuable and your enthusiasm contagious. Thank you for that.

Alejandra; you've gone from being my Spanish teacher, to being a very dear friend and an indispensable help in my research. Your companionship during my field work has been of great value, as it enabled me to better understand and interpret answers, situations and customs. Thank you so much for your friendship. Also thanks to other friends and colleagues in Bolivia. Your hospitality made me feel right at home during the 9 months I lived in Sucre.

I would also like to thank some people in The Netherlands. Lothar; thank you for your input in this thesis. You have often provided me with very valuable feedback, in a constructive and pleasant manner. My thesis is better off for that. Thanks to my friends and family at home. Especially my parents and sister; for always supporting me in every possible way and for encouraging me to follow my heart. Your help was indispensable. Last but not least Juan; it has been great sharing this experience with you. Thank you so much for your infinite love and support.

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List of abbreviations

CAINCO	Cámara de Industria, Comercio, Servicios y Turismo
CELADE	Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía (United Nations)
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (United Nations) - English acronym: ECLAC
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (United Nations)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization (United Nations)
GDP	Gross domestic product
IBCE	Instituto Boliviano de Comercio Exterior
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NEF	New Economics Foundation
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
USD	United States Dollar

1. Introduction

"In the second half of the twentieth century, international migration emerged as one of the main factors in social transformation and development in all regions of the world. Its significance looks set to increase further in the twenty-first century, as population mobility grows in volume and takes on new forms" (Castles, 2000: 269)

This observation made by Castles at the turn of the century briefly summarizes the impact international migration has had over the past decades and gives us an idea of what is yet to come. As argued by the author (2000: 269), international migration is "a cause of [...] social transformations in both migrant-sending and receiving countries". With the exception of nomadic societies, most people in traditional societies used to live in the same locality for a great deal of their lives or did not migrate at all. Castles (2000: 269) argues that nowadays however, "migration is becoming increasingly common as people move in search of security and a better livelihood". Not only migrants themselves, but also "those that do not migrate are affected as relatives, friends or descendants of migrants; or through experiences of change in their community as a result of the departure of neighbors or arrival of newcomers".

One of the areas in which significant changes can be expected as a result of international migration - and the often inherent sending and receiving of remittances - is that of gender. It is for example often assumed that the migration of women initiates processes of female emancipation and empowerment and therefore contributes to higher levels of gender equality in the concerning households. Such issues are especially interesting in the light of certain recent migratory trends, like the increasing participation of women in migration flows. Just as interesting and relevant is the impact migration has on women staying behind. Does the migration of for example husbands or other women contribute to their emancipation, empowerment and circumstances? Or does it – on the contrary – induce higher levels of gender inequality?

Whereas suchlike questions all seem crucial and highly interesting, they have received surprisingly little attention in the academic world. To a large extent, this can be explained by the economic bias that characterizes much of the discourse on development. This research will therefore deal with the abovementioned issues, looking specifically at the influence of the international migration of spouses on (transnational) gender relations in households of migrants in Sucre, Bolivia. The Bolivian society is deemed interesting, as it is not only characterized by high levels of poverty and hence a significant outmigration of citizens, but also by strong gender inequalities. The latter are for an important part the result of the patriarchal social structures and culture of machismo that exist. Within Bolivia, the city of Sucre provided the right location for this research, as it is one of the country's poorest cities and consequently characterized by considerable levels of international migration.

This chapter is organized as follows: in section 1.1 the phenomenon of international migration and its different facets will be discussed; section 1.2 will elaborate on the rationale and relevance of this study and section 1.3 will discuss the research aim and questions; last but not least, section 1.4 will give a preview of the remainder of this thesis.

1.1 International migration

Movement from place to place is a characteristic of human behavior and therefore an important part of human history. As argued by the United Nations Population Fund UNFPA (2004: 9): "Since the beginning of time, people have moved to improve economic conditions for themselves and their families".

In 1948, the right to move was globally recognized with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 13 of the Declaration states that "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" and that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country" (www.unhchr.ch/udhr). 'International migration' is defined by Castles [1] (2000: 269) as "crossing the frontiers which separate one of the world's approximately 200 states from another".

1.1.1 Causes

According to Castles (2000: 271), the phenomenon of international migration is "an integral part of globalization, which may be characterized as the *widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide inter-connectedness* in all aspects of contemporary social life". The author argues that "the key indicator of globalization is the rapid increase in *cross-border flows* of all sorts; finance, trade, ideas, pollution, media products and people".

An important explanation for international migration is the discrepancy in income-levels, employment and welfare between countries (Castles 2000; IBCE 2008; Solimano 2004). High levels of unemployment (or underemployment) and low salaries in developing countries and a demand for employees and higher salaries in the more developed countries, are said to have contributed significantly to international migration over the past decades (IBCE, 2008: 5). Other economic factors that are deemed important are "chances of secure employment, availability of capital for entrepreneurial activity, and the need to manage risk over long periods" (Castles, 2000:

[1] The work of Stephen Castles is used frequently throughout this chapter. The work of the author is considered to be authoritative within the field of migration studies and deemed important in the light of this research.

272). People often migrate in order to improve their personal or family's economic situation and increase survival chances.

Demographic differences between countries are also a cause of international migration. Differences in population growth, labor force growth and age-structure all contribute to explaining population movements (Castles, 2000: 272). Other variables that cause people to move to other countries include war, violence, ethnic discrimination, political persecution and environmental degradation. In some cases this results in the forced migration of large groups of people and also affects the very poorest, who generally lack the resources to move voluntarily.

When choosing a destination country, people are often strongly influenced by the existence of already established migrant networks and the connections they have to family, friends and compatriots living abroad. These networks and personal connections are often a valuable support factor and provide migrants - among other things - with shelter, information on job opportunities and the host country, and emotional support in difficult times (Castles 2000; IBCE 2008; Solimano 2004).

1.1.2 Global trends

Soaring migration

Over the past few decades, the world has witnessed a significant increase in the international migration of people. In the period between 1970 and 2000, the total number of international migrants more than doubled, to an estimated 175 million at the beginning of the twenty-first century (UN-INSTRAW 2005; UNDESA 2002; Castles 2000). The latest data and information available show that in 2005 191 million people lived outside their country of birth; an all-time high. This represents 3 per cent of the world's population at that time (UNDESA, 2006: 1). To put this figure into perspective; the recent number of international migrants could constitute the fifth most populated country in the world - after China, India, the United States and Indonesia (IBCE, 2008: 5). According to projections, in 2050 the world will accommodate some 230 million international migrants. The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women UN-INSTRAW [2] (2005: 4) argues that "neither economic recession nor increasingly strict border controls in the recipient countries seem to be able to reverse the constantly increasing trend toward international migration".

[2] The work of the UN-INSTRAW is used extensively throughout this chapter. The UN-INSTRAW is the most prominent and leading pioneer in research on the interrelationships between migration, remittances and gender. At the time of writing, no comparable documents were available. Therefore, the publications of the UN-INSTRAW constitute an important and valuable source of information for this research.

Growing scope and complexity

Not only the amount of international migrants has soared over the past few decades, but there are also more countries affected by international migration than in the past. Globalization processes are said to play an important part in this, as they "facilitate human mobility by providing easy access to information about life and opportunities abroad, low cost travel, and quick communication with diaspora family members" (UNFPA, 2004: 12).

Furthermore, migration patterns are far more complex than before. The United Nations Population Fund UNFPA (2004: 13) argues that "it is no longer possible to draw a simple trajectory between points of departure and arrival of migrants or to classify countries and their migration priorities into just one of these three categories; States are exhibiting the characteristics of countries of origin, transit and destination with implications in terms of how they perceive and address migration issues". Sørensen (2005: 2) agrees that migration patterns are becoming more complex. According to the author, "this complexity manifests itself in the substitution of 'old' migration destinations by new ones, a growing class diversification and informalization of migration and a feminization of particular streams".

Increasing South–North migration

Although migration between developing countries – so-called 'South-South migration' – continues to exist, increasing numbers of people are moving from developing to developed countries. This is labeled as 'South-North migration'. According to a study conducted by the UNFPA (2004: 12), today around "60 per cent of migrants live in the more developed regions, where migrants make up almost one in every 10 persons. By contrast, migrants make up nearly one in every 70 persons in developing regions". [3]

South-North migration is expected to increase further into the future. As argued by the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 2), "international migration must be analyzed within the context of global transformations and trends, including increasing inequality between the global North and South". It is argued that this growing inequality can be explained by "the effects of neo-liberal economic policies and structural adjustment programmes implemented in most poor countries over the past few decades, which led to an increase in marginalization and unemployment, and the growth of an informal economy". Furthermore, South-North migration is stimulated by the structural changes that take place in developed countries, "such as the deregulation of certain labor sectors in order to facilitate the integration of poorly paid workers who lack social and legal protection".

[3] This substantial difference can also be explained by the disparity in fertility rates between the developed and developing regions of the world. Because of this disparity, migrants' contribution to population growth is greater in the North than it is in the South. The UNFPA (2004: 12) states that "migrants represent 3 per cent of the overall population growth of the less developed regions, but 56 per cent of the overall population increase in the more developed regions [...]".

Increasing participation of women

According to data provided by Zlotnik (2003), the number of female migrants and their proportion compared to male migrants have increased significantly over the past decades. In 1960 for example, an estimated 35 million women lived outside their country of birth, which represented 46.6 per cent of all global migrants at that time. By 2000, the number of migrant women more than doubled to some 85 million, accounting for 48.6 per cent of all migrants in the world. The author argues that "the majority of female migrants, like the majority of all migrants, are currently living in developed countries [...]. In those countries, women often outnumber men among international migrants". In some countries the proportion of women in the overall migrant population amounts to 70 or even 80 per cent (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 4). Besides an increase in female migration in general, we have also witnessed an increase in female labor migration over the past few decades. The UN-INSTRAW (2005: 5) states that "what is new […] is the economic role assumed by migrant women during the migration process. Women are increasingly migrating on their own as main economic providers and heads of households while fewer are migrating as 'dependents' of their husbands".

Female labor migration has been increasingly utilized as a survival strategy by poor and marginalized households in developing countries. While the economic and social situation in many developing countries have continued to deteriorate over the past few decades, the service economies of societies of the global North have experienced a considerable boost. This has caused a growing demand for "an inexpensive and vulnerable labor force, a requirement which is perfectly met by migrant women" (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 7-8). Furthermore, countries in the developed regions of the world are said to experience "a crisis in the current reproductive model due to population ageing, the incorporation of women into the work force and the lack of public services to care for dependent individuals", like children or the elderly. Although women in the developed world are increasingly participating in the formal labor market, they often continue to bear the responsibility for reproductive tasks in the domestic sphere. This leads to sharp increases in workloads on these women. The lack of public services and cutbacks in social policies often further exacerbate the problem (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: 4). The UN-INSTRAW (2005: 9) argues that "to confront this situation, those households with more resources contract women, who are probably migrants, in order to externalize part of the work. […] Subsequently, work that was previously performed at no cost by women in developed countries is now being purchased from the global market". The authors speak of a "transfer of care in global capitalism" and the creation of "global care chains". The latter are said to be formed by "importing love and care from poor to wealthy countries" (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: 5). Even though most women migrate for economic reasons, it must be kept in mind there are also other motives for migration. It has for example often been reported that women move abroad in order to escape domestic violence and abuse or to become psychologically and/or financially independent from the men in their lives.

Considering some of the driving forces behind the increasing participation of women in migratory flows, it is no surprise that female labor migrants in destination countries engage primarily in 'feminine' professions that are tied to traditional gender roles, such as domestic servants, care-givers and sex workers. These 'feminine' professions are generally characterized by informality, irregularity, low wages and low social status, exploitation and poor working conditions (UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006). According to the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 5), "female migration takes places within a structural framework that *uses* and *reproduces* gender roles and inequalities at the global level".

1.1.3 International migration in Latin America

As stated by Pellegrino (2000: 395), "the history of Latin America has been deeply marked by international migration". The immigration of people from other continents has had a considerable impact on Latin America's demography over the past five centuries. The first to come and settle here, were colonizers. The colonization process initiated the forced migration of African slaves. Ultimately, in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, large groups of Europeans and Asians migrated to Latin America.

Over the past six decades, "Latin America has made the transition from a region of immigration to one of emigration". Migratory movements within Latin America and to the developed world now exceed immigration from other continents (Pellegrino, 2000: 395). Intra-regional migration increased particularly during the period between 1970 and 1990 (González Alvarado & Sánchez: 101). Martínez Pizarro and Villa (2005: 5) argue that migration between Latin American countries is "a trend deeply rooted in the historical economic and social heterogeneity of the countries in the region". People generally move to countries with more employment opportunities and a better standard of living. The authors also point out that periods of economic booming or recession and socio-political developments can exert a strong influence on the direction and intensity of intra-regional migration flows.

Over the last two decades of the twentieth century, we have seen a relative stabilization of intra-regional migration. Immigration from other continents has also declined significantly. This has caused migration to regions outside of Latin America – especially the more developed regions – to take prominence. South-North migration flows originating in Latin America have various destinations, of which the Unites States is the most notable one; almost 75 per cent of all Latin American migrants in the global North currently reside in the United States. Other destinations – like Canada, Europe and Japan – however, have become increasingly popular among Latinos in recent years (Martínez Pizarro and Villa, 2005: 9). South-North migration is said to have numerous implications for the countries of Latin America, the most notable ones being the loss of qualified human resources and the inflow of significant amounts of capital in the form of migrant worker remittances (González Alvarado & Sánchez: 101).

According to census data provided by CELADE (Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía) - the population division of the United Nations CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe) - the number of international migrants in the region has increased considerably from an estimated 21 million in 2000 to almost 25 million in 2005. This means that 13 per cent of all international migrants in the world that year were born in Latin America or the Caribbean (CEPAL I, 2006: 14).

As mentioned before, migration to regions outside of Latin America - especially developed regions - increased over the past decades. According to estimates of the United Nations Population Division, 78 per cent of all international migrants between 1960 and 2005 moved to a developed country. This resulted in two thirds of the global stock of international migrants living in one of the developed regions of the world in 2005 (CEPAL I, 2006: 13). This trend has also occurred in the Latin American context. Figure 1 gives us an idea of approximately how many people from this region lived in developed countries outside of their own region in 2000. It should be reminded however, that it reflects rough estimates and that not all destinations are included in the figure.

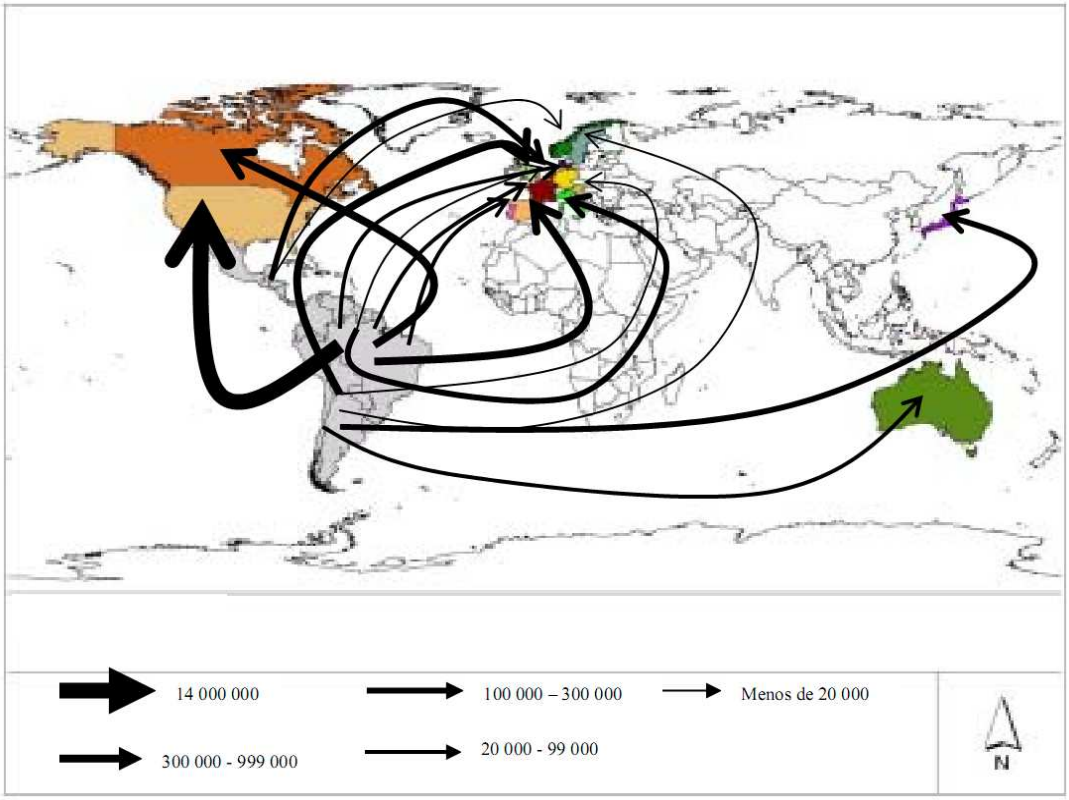


Figure 1: Numbers of Latin Americans and Caribbeans living in developed countries outside the region in 2000

Source: CEPAL I 2006

The United States has proven to be the most important destination country for Latin American and Caribbean migrants over the past decades. In 2005, the number of 'latinos' in this country accumulated to 18 million, which represents about 72 per cent of all international migrants of Latin American origin at that time. Migration to other countries outside the region involved around 4 million people in 2005. Canada, Europe (especially Spain), Israel, Australia and Japan were the most important destinations. Since a few years, Spain is the second most important destination country. In 2005, an estimated 1.2 million Latin American and Caribbean migrants lived here. The majority of these immigrants come from South America and are women (IBCE, 2008: 6). It is important to also consider intra-regional differences, as for example many Central Americans migrate to the United States, whereas people from South America generally opt for Europe (Fajnzylber & Humberto López, 2007: 9).

According to Martínez Pizarro and Villa (2005: 2), migration to countries outside the region has not only increased and destinations have not only diversified, but the participation of women in these migratory flows has also grown significantly. The authors argue that women have been "pioneers" in South-North migration flows, especially to Spain. Whereas before men often used to initiate migration processes - and women generally followed as 'dependents' from men - today it is the other way around. Women have been - and still are - the ones dominating migration flows towards the global North. This has important implications, as these women can for example experience changes in their position within their households and the society as a whole. As argued before, this is a central theme of this research and will therefore be elaborated on throughout this thesis.

Bolivia has proven to be no exception within the Latin American context. In a country where opportunities are scarce and poverty abound, international migration has converted into a necessity and important livelihood strategy for many households. This has caused 2.5 million Bolivians to migrate abroad in search of a better life, which comes down to a fourth of the national population. In the year 2006 alone, more than 190.000 people migrated (IBCE, 2008: 2). In section 3.2.1, more detailed information will be provided concerning the extent and characteristics of international migration in Bolivia.

1.1.4 Effects of international migration

The creation of transnational social networks

An important effect - and trait - of the current phenomenon of international migration is the creation of transnational communities. 'Transnationalism' implies that migrants can integrate in their host societies without jeopardizing or breaking their relations with their communities of origin. The UN-INSTRAW (2006: 7) argues that "migrants continue to actively participate in the social, economic and political life of their societies of origin.

A transnational lifestyle thus implies life in a cross-border territory and participation in networks or interactions that transcend the borders of any one country". A transnational lifestyle and transnational relations are characteristic for the current globalized world and said to be "facilitated by new communication and information technologies". Because the costs of the telephone, Internet and airfares have decreased significantly, it is easier for migrants to stay in permanent contact with people in their countries of origin. This enables migrant women - who are often still viewed as the 'pillar' of the family and the individuals responsible for nurturing and maintaining family ties - to ensure that emotional ties with their children and other family members remain intact (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 11).

Within the transnational social networks created by international migration, there is a constant flow of resources of all sorts. The most tangible one is the flow of money, but goods and gifts are also exchanged. Furthermore, information is passed on. This may concern information on the situation in the country of origin or destination, but also information regarding migration opportunities. Ideas and images are also transmitted between the migrants and their households and communities back home, which can result in new or changed ways of thinking. According to the UN-INSTRAW (2005: 11), the bi-directional flows circulating within transnational social networks can "influence and transform social identities, households and power relationships […]". Transnational social networks can also influence and facilitate future migration processes, for example by the information provided on migration opportunities and the financing of the journeys of new migrants (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: 7).

Economic effects: Remittances

According to a study of the UNFPA (2004: 30), "a logical consequence of the migration of workers is a reverse flow of remittances to support dependent relatives, repayment of loans, investment and other purposes". Fajnzylber and Humberto López (2007: 9) argue that "migration and remittances are two sides of the same coin and, in fact, remittances would not occur if those sending them had not migrated in the first place".

Remittances – defined by the UN-INSTRAW (2005: 1) as "money earned by migrants working abroad that is sent back home" – are the most tangible and visible flow between migrants and their communities of origin. Although remittances can also be sent in-kind, in this research the term will be used for monetary transfers only. According to the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 12), "remittances represent long distance social ties of solidarity, reciprocity and obligation that connect migrant men and women with their relatives and friends across national borders". It must be noted however, that remittances can also have an intranational character. Furthermore, one should be careful not to automatically consider migration and remittance-sending as a one-way process. It involves sacrifices and personal investments in both the country of destination and origin, as also the people that stay behind contribute to making the migration project succeed.

The UNFPA (2004: 29) argues that "while the average size of an international remittance may be quite modest, when added up, the hundreds of thousands of transfers occurring every month reflect significant amounts of capital being transferred [...] to the developing world". Remittances are – after foreign direct investments – the largest source of external funding for countries in the developing world and their volume continues to grow. In 2005, developing countries received approximately 126 billion US dollars (USD) worth of remittances, which accounted for nearly twice the amount of official development assistance and about 75 per cent of total foreign direct investment (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 13). It is probable that the estimated amount of remittances doubles when informal transfers are also taken into account.

Of all the regions in the world, Latin America and the Caribbean received the largest amount of remittances in recent years. In 2004, the region received around 35 per cent of all migrant remittances sent to the developing world, which came down to some 44 billion USD (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 13-14) (see figure 2 for the distribution of remittances per country and section 3.2.1 for more information on remittances to Bolivia). In 1980, this number amounted to around 1.1 billion USD, showing an astounding increase over the past decades. Since 1980 remittances to Latin America have more or less doubled every five years (CEPAL I, 2006: 25).

Figure 2: Remittances per country in the Latin American and Caribbean region (in USD million), 2004

Source: IADB 2005

Although generally each transfer consists of relatively small amounts of money, they are said to often make a world of difference in poor households in developing countries. According to the UNFPA (2004: 30), "remittance transfers are having a profound effect on the quality of life of millions of poor households in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East".

On a macroeconomic level, remittances have numerous positive impacts on the recipient countries. They are for example said to increase national income, foreign currency reserves and savings, to lead to a drop in unemployment rates and to produce a multiplier effect on local economies through an increased demand for goods and services. Nevertheless, remittances can also have negative macroeconomic impacts. They can for example increase the demand for imports, cause inflation and a rise in the costs of land and housing and widen social gaps in the country of origin. The 'brain drain', which is caused by the international migration of skilled professionals, often leads to a considerable loss of human capital, which ultimately impedes development processes at the local and national level (Castles 2000; UNFPA 2004; UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006; NEF 2006).

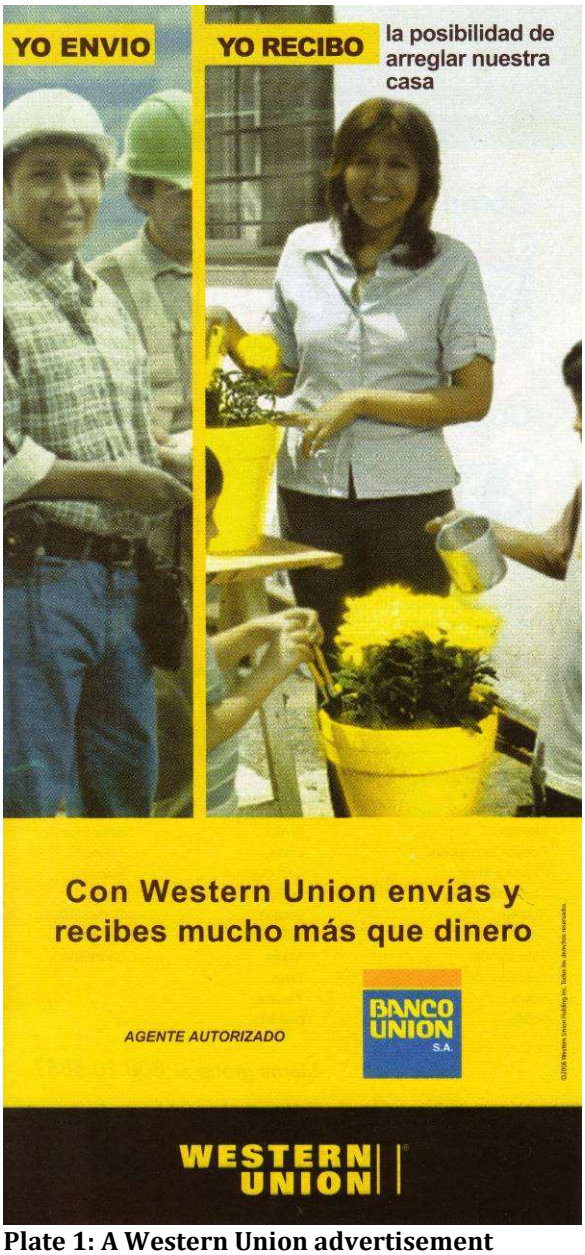


Plate 1: A Western Union advertisement

Despite some of the abovementioned negative macroeconomic effects of remittances, authors generally agree that in the developing world they are often of vital importance for the survival of low-income and poor households. It is important to remember however, that remittances usually do not flow to the poorest households, because they often lack the resources needed for migration. According to the UN-INSTRAW (2005: 22), "the money sent by migrants to their homes is more than an act of individual altruism; remittances represent a family strategy to diversify the sources of income and to secure additional funds through migration". They often constitute an important safety net for receiving households and improve their well-being by bringing in capital for subsistence needs such as food, water, housing, education and health-care. Remittances can therefore contribute to an

important extent to the achievement of some of the Millennium Development Goals. Remittances are also said to increase savings and investments, which can stimulate local and national economies (Alipui 2005; Cortés 2007; UNFPA 2004; UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006; Waller Meyers 1998).

Besides positive effects, it is often argued that remittances can also have negative effects on communities and households in countries of origin. Remittances are for example said to cause or increase dependency. Especially low-income and poor households tend to rely to a very large extent - or completely - on this rather precarious and irregular source of income for their daily survival, making them extremely vulnerable to changes or fluctuations in remittance flows. Remittances can also be used as long-distance control mechanisms, restricting the autonomy and freedom of those depending on them. Furthermore, remittances tend to increase levels of economic and social inequality between recipient and non-recipient households in the communities of origin. Recipient households often experience considerable improvements in their household economy and an increase in their socio-economic status, whereas non-recipient households generally do not. In addition, international migration often leads to a strong reduction of the local workforce and can cause young people in the communities of origin to focus all hope on migration and lose the ambition to build a life in their home communities. Furthermore, remittances are said to sometimes discourage recipient individuals or households to look for other productive activities and to disturb the local economy, as they are primarily used for consumption purposes and relatively little for productive investments. The enormous amounts of capital being transferred by migrants to developing countries every month, are also said to sometimes form a disincentive for governments to actively formulate and implement policies aimed at reducing poverty and inequality within their national borders (CEPAL II 2006; Cortés 2007; NEF 2006; UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006; Waller Meyers 1998).

As demonstrated above, remittances can have very diverse and complex consequences. According to the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 14), "the impacts of remittances […] depend on several variables, such as the characteristics of migrants and their households, the ways in which money is utilized, and the local context and economic environment".

Social effects

The social effects of international migration amongst others consist of changes in family composition and family separation. Especially the effects of female migration seem to receive abundant attention in the academic world and societies of origin. According to the UN-INSTRAW (2005 & 2006), children of migrants are paying the price for the transfer of care in global capitalism. It is argued that care is a valuable resource and that children are paying the highest price for female migration, after their mothers themselves, who maintain and manage their households from a distance. Children and young adults are said to often exhibit difficulties and problems due to the care deficits

that they experience, such as poor academic performance, school abandonment, behavioral problems and an increase in crime, drug use and teen pregnancies (IBCE 2008; Markova 2007; UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006). Female migration is often perceived as "family abandonment that gives rise to the disintegration of the home and has nothing less than catastrophic effects on the children". When men migrate however, "[…] their departure is justified because they are fulfilling their paternal responsibility as family provider, and their absence is not perceived as traumatic for the children" (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: II). Consequently, migrant women usually receive more blame and criticism than migrant men. This social blame that society places on female migrants is "based on their failure to comply with the expectations that traditional gender norms assign to wives and mothers. Criticism along these lines comes from a variety of sectors, both within and outside of the communities of origin, including government and religious authorities who relentlessly promote a family-centric discourse that attributes all social ills to the disintegration of families" (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: 10). The authors continue that, "since migrant women themselves have also internalized the gender norms that define their role as constantly serving their children and spouses and making them wholly responsible for the well-being of their households, family separation is a source of strong feelings of guilt for these women". International migration is also said to often cause marital problems or separation. Furthermore, it can lead to the abandonment of old people, who lose their family and often their social support in case multiple relatives migrate abroad (Markova 2007; UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006).

Effects on gender relations

As mentioned before, one of the areas in which significant changes can be expected as a result of international migration - and the often inherent sending and receiving of remittances - is that of gender. It is often assumed that especially female migration plays an important role in the transformation of gender relations and that it can promote gender equality.

According to the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 9), "the fact that female migrants can become breadwinners […] constitutes an abrupt break with traditional gender roles. This applies even in cases where the woman worked prior to migrating or when the husband of the migrant continues to contribute to the family budget, since remittances sent by the migrant often become the main source of income for the household". The authors continue; "by shifting a woman's reproductive role to that of an economic provider, power relations in the household must be rewritten and can take different forms". A woman's negotiating and decision-making power within the household - economic or otherwise - may for example increase, which can also benefit other women. In some cases migrant women reinforce their negotiating and decision-making power by remitting their money to other women - often female relatives like mothers, daughters or sisters - instead of to their spouses. This way they prevent it from being misspent by

men and/or make sure that it is used and invested in accordance with their wishes. Furthermore, the sending of remittances by migrant women is also said to improve their economic status at home and in their host society. Their personal autonomy may also grow while abroad, where they are not under the direct control of their spouses, fathers and/or other men (UN-INSTRAW 2005 & 2006).

It must be noted however, that the levels of empowerment among female labor migrants can differ significantly, depending on factors like the characteristics of their spouses and families and personal characteristics. The contribution of the migration of women to increased levels of gender equality may sometimes be quite limited. Based on the results of a case study conducted in the Dominican Republic, the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 9) remarks that "when women migrate, neither men or women expect the men to modify their roles and assume more responsibility in the management of the household and childcare". A common response is said to be "to restructure the household so that another woman can take over the social reproduction duties of the female migrant", which often leads to a significant increase in the responsibilities and workloads of women in the communities of origin. When men migrate however, relatively little changes, as often the same women remain the ones responsible for household social reproduction activities. From the case study it has also been shown that not all female migrants experience an increase in their personal autonomy, due to rather strong social control by other migrants in the destination country and family or household members at home.

In the case of male migration, female remittance-recipients are often also expected to experience changes, as they usually "assume more responsibilities and acquire greater autonomy in deciding how remittances are to be used" (UN-INSTRAW, 2005: 35-36). According to the UN-INSTRAW (2006: 16), "the receipt and administration of remittances can increase the power and status of female recipients […]". Nevertheless, migration may also have negative effects for women staying behind, as they for example often experience an increase in workloads and remittances can be used by male migrants as mechanisms of power, dependency and long distance control (UN-INSTRAW, 2006: 16).

1.2 Rationale and relevance of the study

When deciding upon a topic for my final research project as a university student, it quickly became apparent to me that I wished to focus my attention on the topic of international migration. For my masters in Human Geography, I chose the Globalization & Development variant, in which migration processes receive abundant attention as they form a characteristic part of the globalizing world we currently live in and are increasingly becoming significant for development issues. Migration itself however, encompasses many dimensions, which therefore required further demarcation. For that reason, the remittances and gender perspectives - that sparked other personal interests - formed the complementary dimensions to this investigation.

While researching literature on these topics, I quickly became aware that there was limited knowledge available on the specific relation between migration, remittances and gender relations. One of the few exceptions dealing with these combined issues is the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW). The UN-INSTRAW describes itself as "the leading United Nations Institute devoted to research, training and knowledge management in partnership with governments, the United Nations System, civil society and academia to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment" (www.un-instraw.org). Their research efforts focus on different gender issues, of which the interrelationships between migration, remittances, gender and development is one. As mentioned before, the UN-INSTRAW is the most prominent and leading pioneer in this area of investigation and constitutes a very important and valuable source of information for this research.

In line with my own findings, the UN-INSTRAW (2005) points out that the migratory phenomenon and its different aspects have received a lot attention over the past decades; in the academic world as well as in development circles. One of the most studied aspects of migration in recent years has been remittances. The abundant attention for remittances can mainly be explained by their magnitude and the possible contribution they have to development. Remittances have not only caught the attention of academics – who often debate about their developmental impact - but also that of governments and international organizations, who attempt to design and implement initiatives that maximize the contribution remittances may have to poverty reduction and development in the communities and countries of origin.

However, the UN-INSTRAW has also pointed out the shortcomings of current research on migration and – hence - remittances. The institute stresses the fact that there exists a void in the current body of knowledge regarding these topics, as the gender perspective is insufficiently being addressed, despite its importance and relevance for – among other things – processes of development. The UN-INSTRAW (2005: 20) explains these shortcomings by the "economist bias that characterizes much of the discourse on development", due to which much of the conducted research on the impact of migration has been carried out from a purely economic perspective. This has led many to neglect other important issues, like the changes that can be produced in gender relations as a result of migration processes.

In their 2005 publication 'Crossing Borders: Remittances, Gender and Development', the UN-INSTRAW discussed for the first time the interrelationships between migration, remittances, gender and development. The general assumption that migration and remittances can contribute to gender equality – which is deemed an important aspect of development – was an important incentive for the study and considered to be a topic that needed further examination. In 2006, the UN-INSTRAW published their first case study on the subject - conducted in the Dominican Republic - which together with their previous publication provided the academic and development world with some

interesting preliminary insights. However, a lot still remains unknown about the effects of international migration on gender relations. It is this void in the current body of knowledge that has provided the rationale for this research. By conducting a study in the Bolivian city of Sucre, I intend to contribute to the scarce knowledge that currently exists regarding this specific topic. This type of research is deemed particularly relevant in the light of recent developments in migration, such as the soaring of international migration and the increasing participation of women in transnational migratory flows. Ever more women are leaving their loved ones behind in order to assure their survival into the future, taking great risks and presumably generating significant changes in gender relations and households and communities of origin.

Except for contributing to the limited knowledge that currently exists regarding the influence of international migration on gender relations, this research also has an important societal relevance. As mentioned before, it is quite often assumed that especially the international migration of women leads to higher levels of gender equality in the households concerned. It may therefore contribute to the development of societies, as gender equality is seen as an important aspect of development. This also comes to the fore in the Millennium Development Goals; one of which is to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women. If international migration indeed contributes to higher levels of gender equality – through processes of female emancipation and empowerment and the improvement of women's circumstances in countries of origin and/or destination – it gives an import impulse to development. This is a particularly important issue in certain societies, like Bolivia. As argued in the introduction of this chapter, the Bolivian society is not only characterized by a significant outmigration of citizens, but also by patriarchal social structures and a culture of machismo. This patriarchalism and machismo entail strong gender inequalities; women generally hold very different – more disadvantaged and marginalized - positions within households and society than men. If international migration can indeed contribute to higher levels of gender equality, it will contribute to an important extent to the improvement of women's plight, to the solution of a deeply rooted social problem and – consequently - to the development of Bolivia.

1.3 Research aim and questions

The aim of this research is to provide insight into the influence of international migration on gender relations, in order to contribute to the relatively scarce knowledge that currently exists regarding this topic.

This research will be conducted among households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre and will specifically focus on cases in which one of the spouses – either male or female - has migrated, hereby leaving other household members behind.

The central question structuring this research is the following:

How does the international migration of a spouse influence (transnational) gender relations in households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre?

As will be explained in section 3.1.2, migrants – although living abroad and therefore being physically absent – are considered to still be an important part of the households under study. Gender relations therefore often also have a transnational character, as indicated in the central question.

To answer the research question above, focus will be on two themes; the distribution of tasks and time and decision-making powers. Of particular interest is if the international migration of a spouse contributes to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development in the households included in this research. Households of male and female migrant will consistently be compared.

The research question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

1. What are the characteristics of the households under study and what changes have occurred due to the migration of the spouse?
2. What are the characteristics of migrants and their migration?
3. What are the characteristics of remittances sent by spouses and how are they utilized?
4. What are the implications of the migration of a spouse for the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women in the households under study?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. The following chapter (chapter 2) provides the theoretical basis for this research. The concept of gender will be discussed, as will the concepts of patriarchalism and machismo. The latter constitute a crucial part of the Latin American context concerning gender relations and therefore deserve ample attention in the light of this research. The chapter will conclude with a theoretical framework that provides an overview of the interrelationships between the different concepts and their relevance for this research. Chapter 3 will elaborate on the research methodology and context. The national context as well as the local context will be discussed. In chapter 4 and 5, the empirical results of this study will be presented. Chapter 4 will provide the answers to the first three sub-questions posed in the previous section and chapter 5 will discuss the results concerning the fourth and last sub-question. In the conclusion (chapter 6) the central question of this research will be answered.

2. Theoretical chapter

This chapter provides insight into the key concepts used in this research. First of all, the concept of gender is discussed. Focus will be on gender relations and I will elaborate on my position as a researcher on the subject. In the second section, attention is paid to the Latin American context concerning gender. Both the concepts of patriarchalism and machismo are discussed. As argued in chapter 1, the Bolivian society - like other Latin American societies - is characterized by patriarchal social structures and a culture of machismo. As will be explained in section 2.2, both concepts have important implications for gender relations. Furthermore, patriarchalism and machismo are expected to exert a significant influence on the degree and nature of changes in gender relations brought about by international migration. It is deemed important to have a proper understanding of what both concepts imply, in order to understand and/or explain gender relations and the possible changes that occur in the households under study as a result of the international migration of a spouse. This chapter will conclude with a theoretical framework, in which the different concepts central to this research are integrated and positioned in relation to one another and their relevance for this research is illustrated and explained once again.

2.1 The concept of gender

Gender plays an important role in our daily lives and culture. Nonetheless, the concept of gender is often misunderstood and not well defined. It is frequently confused with 'sex', which refers to "the biological characteristics that categorize someone as either female or male" (Reeves & Baden, 2000: 30). These characteristics for example include internal and external organs, chromosomes, hormone levels and genitalia (www.humboldt.edu). Gender however, implies something else.

Gender is defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization FAO (2005: 13) as "the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material". It is said that "gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially". According to the New Zealand Ministry of Women's Affairs (1996: 4), gender includes the ways in which biological differences between men and women, "whether real or perceived, have been valued, used and relied upon to classify women and men and to assign roles and expectations to them".

It is often thought that gender refers and applies to women only. However, as argued by the FAO (2005: 13), gender issues do not solely focus on women but also on "the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labor, interests and needs". Gender is said to be "a central organizing principle of societies" and to often govern "processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution". Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that

gender is learned through socialization processes, that it is context and time specific and that it is – above all - subject to negotiation and change.

Gender relations are defined by Bravo-Baumann (2000) as "the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities, and the identities of men and women in relation to one another" (quoted from FAO, 2005: 13). Reeves & Baden (2000: 18) go a step further by stating that they are "hierarchical relations of power between women and men that tend to disadvantage women". Gender relations become visible in - for example - decision-making processes and the division of labor and resources, and affect - among others - family well-being. Gender relations are not always between women and men, but may also be among women or among men. An example of the latter are the "hierarchies of masculinity" that exist among men (Connell, 2005: 54). Gender roles are considered to be an integral part of gender relations. They are a set of behavioral norms in a certain social group or society, which are based on gender stereotypes (www.humboldt.edu). In many societies it is assumed that men perform the masculine role and women the feminine role. These socially constructed differences between men and women are a determining factor in gender relations. Furthermore, gender roles - and the expectations surrounding them - are often seen as hindering the status and equal rights of women.

In this research, gender will be interpreted as a social construct, instead of something that is determined biologically. Furthermore, both social structures and human agency are deemed important when analyzing and reflecting upon gender relations. Social structures form an important part of the context in which humans act and can therefore exert a significant influence on individuals, gender relations and the changes brought about by international migration in this respect. The Bolivian society is characterized by patriarchal social structures and a culture of machismo; topics that will be discussed in the following section. As mentioned before, human agency is also deemed important when analyzing and reflecting upon gender relations. People are considered to be capable individuals to act upon themselves in making choices and decisions concerning - for example - their behavior and actions. I therefore agree with Connell (2005: 4) when he states that "people construct themselves as masculine or feminine" and that "we claim a place in the gender order – or respond to the place we have been given – by the way we conduct ourselves in everyday life". Gender relations - and eventually also social structures - can be negotiated and changed by individuals. As stated by Norlander (2003: 5-6), "women and men have the possibility to, through actions, both reproduce and transcend gender relations". There is room for resistance and strategies of change. Women can for example change their positions and relations to men through "emancipatory actions". International migration is often assumed to be able to play an important role in this regard. In this research, ample attention will be paid to the human agency of the household members under study.

2.2 Gender in Latin America

As argued before, Latin American societies are characterized by patriarchal social structures and a culture of machismo. Both concepts have important implications for gender relations and are expected to exert a significant influence on the impact international migration has on these relations.

This chapter provides valuable information on the concepts of patriarchalism and machismo. This enables us to gain insight into the context of the households under study, as well as to better understand and/or explain the gender relations that exist and the possible changes that occur as a result of the international migration of a spouse. Section 2.2.1 will discuss the most important characteristics of patriarchal societies. Section 2.2.2 provides insight into the culture of machismo, mainly focusing on the ideology of machismo and stereotypical machista behaviors. Section 2.2.3 elaborates on the practical consequences of both concepts for gender relations. This gives us an idea of the impact patriarchalism and machismo can have on the daily lives of men and women in Latin America.

2.2.1 Patriarchal societies

According to Reeves and Baden (2000: 28), patriarchal societies are characterized by "systemic societal structures that institutionalize male physical, social and economic power over women". The authors argue that "some feminists use the concept of patriarchy to explain the systematic subordination of women by both overarching and localized structures".

Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002: 3) use the term 'patriarchalism' to refer to a hierarchical social structure which is based on an ensemble of ideas, prejudices, symbols, customs and laws concerning women, due to which the male half of society has been enabled to dominate and oppress the female half of society. They argue that patriarchal structures can be characterized as 'machista' and that they are profoundly discriminatory towards women.

The roots of patriarchalism are mainly located in family structure. According to Castells (2006: 193), the patriarchal family is "the cornerstone of patriarchalism". The patriarchal family is "a model of family based on the stable exercise of authority/domination over the whole family by the adult male head of the family" (Castells, 2006: 196). Castells (2006: 192-193) argues that, "for this authority to be exercised, patriarchalism must permeate the entire organization of society, from production and consumption to politics, law and culture". The influence of family structure on individuals as well as society as a whole is considered to be substantial, since families constitute "the basic socialization mechanism" in most societies (Castells, 2006: 196). Children learn from their parents and family members, and often reproduce their behavior and roles, which contributes to patriarchalism being transmitted from

generation to generation. Castells (2006: 193) states that "without the patriarchal family, patriarchalism would be seen as sheer domination, and thus eventually be overrun by the uprising of the 'half of heaven' historically kept under submission", hereby referring to women.

Besides family structure, there are also other mechanisms and institutions that contribute to the preservation of patriarchalism. According to Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002: 10-11), patriarchal ideas and conducts are for example often transmitted and promoted through religion, education, media and advertisement. Wage discrimination based on sex also contributes to the preservation of patriarchalism, as women are continuously being put in a disadvantaged position that augments their dependency on men and creates discrepancies in male and female power.

Castells (2006: 193) argues that "the patriarchal family […] is being challenged at this turn of the millennium by the inseparably related processes of the transformation of women's work and the transformation of women's consciousness". Women's work is increasingly shifting from *unpaid* work in the domestic sphere towards *paid* work in the labor market. According to the author, this undermines "the legitimacy of men's domination as providers of the family" and contributes to "women's bargaining power *vis-à-vis* men". This 'crisis' in the patriarchal family seems to occur in most countries and will have important ramifications for the patriarchal character of many societies (Castells, 2006: 196).

It is probable that international migration also contributes to the decline of the patriarchal family. This especially seems to be likely in the case of female migration, as migrant women usually fulfill a new role as the primary breadwinner of the family (see section 1.1.4). In chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis, attention will be paid to the extent in which the international migration of a spouse induces a decline in the patriarchal character of the households under study and – hence - contributes to higher levels of gender equality.

2.2.2 The culture of machismo

'Machismo' is a term that is often associated with Latin America. Although machismo also exists in other societies around the world, Stevens (1973: 91) argues that "the fully developed syndrome occurs only in Latin America". The wording of the author indicates that she considers the culture of machismo and machista behavior to be undesirable.

It must be noted that, while patriarchalism concerns society wide structures, machismo is an attitude and a type of behavior that is displayed individually and/or collectively (Garcia-Celay and Navarro, 2002: 4).

When exploring academic literature and more popular sources, it becomes obvious that different groups of people adopt their own meaning of the word machismo. This - together with the fact that machismo encompasses many different aspects - creates

difficulties in defining the concept. However, as stated by Chant & Craske (2003: 14), it often refers "in broad terms to a 'cult of exaggerated masculinity'", and "characterizations of machismo have overwhelmingly concurred that among its central tenets lies the assertion of power and control over women, and over other men" (see for example also Stevens 1973 and Basham 1976).

The typical macho male can be characterized as dominant and authoritarian. He sees himself as superior to women and beliefs that men have the right to control them. The macho man generally views male dominance over females as something natural.

Furthermore, the typical macho male is said to be proud. Stevens (1998: 126) argues that this pride is "better translated as arrogance". According to the author, "today's Latin American male exhibits an overbearing attitude towards anyone in a position inferior to his, demanding services and subservience from subordinates", especially women. The macho is also expected to display absolute self-confidence and is said to be intransigent and stubborn (Basham 1976 & Stevens 1998). The macho is very persistent in imposing his own views upon others and having his own way. According to Stevens (1998: 127), "stubbornness traps them into adopting inflexible positions. Once committed to a particular point of view or line of conduct, men refuse to modify or retreat from it".

Very important to macho males is their independence. As stated by Stevens (1998: 129), "at the core of machista behavior there is said to be the obstinate, unshakable, obsessive purpose of proving by all means that one is free with respect to the woman and that she is absolutely submissive to him". Macho men have their own lives outside of the domestic sphere and often spend their time away from 'domesticating influences', like their wives and children. In doing so, they often show little consideration to the wishes and feelings of others, especially females.

People that are 'machista' belief that "the natural place of the woman is in the home" (Basham, 1976: 128). Because of this gender ideology, men in machista societies are often exempted from tasks in the domestic sphere. Traditionally, machismo has assigned only the most valued and honorable tasks to males, which has contributed to their social status. Furthermore, the typical macho is "a man who makes all the important decisions regarding his family" (www.skidmore.edu), including decisions concerning migration.

In the culture of machismo, there appears to be a "strong emphasis on male strength" (Chant and Craske, 2003: 15). According to Basham (1976: 127), "the macho man […] never evinces fear". He is expected to be brave and capable of guarding and defending what is his (Basham, 1976: 133). Furthermore, a real macho is not supposed to show his weaknesses and emotions. Stevens (1998: 127) argues that the Latin American male "is forced to act or pretend to act aggressively at all times", due to the prevailing machismo ideology. The author also argues that "the only safe kind of aggression available to men of all classes is that which they aim at women", resulting in high levels of physical,

psychological and sexual violence against women in machista societies. This kind of 'machista violence' is also used in order to maintain control and power over women.

To machista men, it is of great importance to prove one's masculinity. According to Stevens (1998: 127), a macho generally feels the need to prove that "the supposed essence of his manhood – his sexual potency – is intact". One way of doing this is to show off one's fertility by bringing many children into the world. Another way to fend of possible doubts about one's potency and manliness is to openly boast about sexual prowess, amorous conquests or extramarital sinfulness, particularly to other men. Receiving other men's approval, respect and admiration is often of great importance to the macho and contributes to the aforementioned hierarchies of masculinity (Stevens 1998).

Insensitivity towards women is also said to be a trait of the macho. Stevens (1998: 128) argues that "the true macho is expected to show callousness towards women except, of course, his mother. This is the cause of women's martyrdom and lamentations, the characteristics women have in mind when they refer to a 'repressive and machista society'". She continues; "he is expected to show a regal disdain for their feelings, a lack of concern for the effects his actions may have on their physical and emotional welfare; in fact ostentatious cruelty toward women can be expected to elicit respectful admiration from male companions and friends". Men can demonstrate their callousness for example by sexual infidelity, ill-treatment of their spouse or partner and by unreasonably controlling women and limiting them in their freedom.

In the academic and social debates surrounding the topic, focus has mainly been on the negative aspects of the culture of machismo. Machismo however, can also be seen as something positive. In the culture of machismo, the man is for example expected to fulfill the role of household breadwinner and backbone of the family. Rodriguez (www.skidmore.edu) argues that "a man who is truly macho will look out for and take responsibility for the well-being of his family, sacrificing his own needs and working hard to provide for his loved ones. The male figure will have respect for himself, for his wife and have a good influence on the children". Rodriguez points out that "machismo has many degrees of severity depending mainly on the individual. It could be taken to an extreme where females are oppressed and put in danger, while on the contrary it can be productive in the family".

It is important to keep in mind that machismo is as much a way of structuring power relations between men as it is between women and men. As discussed before, men are expected to constantly prove their masculinity, especially to other men (Chant & Craske, 2003: 16). This way they claim - or are given - a place in the already mentioned hierarchies of masculinity between men.

As argued by Rodriguez (www.skidmore.edu), "machismo is not hereditary or imbedded in one's genes, but part of culture and tradition". Like patriarchalism,

machista beliefs are often passed on within families, due to which they maintain their validity for different generations and significant numbers of people. According to Rodriguez, "Latino men and women are raised to believe that macho codes of conduct give order and meaning to their families".

There are also other mechanisms and institutions that contribute to the preservation of the culture of machismo. Examples are education, religion, law and wage discrimination. They often transmit and promote machista beliefs and behaviors. It is also important to recognize the role played by women. According to Chant and Craske (2003: 16), "women's socialized expectations that their men should 'act like men' plays an important part in fuelling the complex". Stevens (1998: 129) seems to agree with this, as she argues that "pressures to conform to the macho stereotype come as strongly from Latin American women as from men".

When reflecting on the concepts of machismo and patriarchalism, it is important to keep in mind the reciprocal action between the two. Patriarchal social structures are for example considered to influence - and at times substantially condition – individual behavior; often enabling or provoking machista modes of behavior. On the other hand however, societies and their social structures are considered to be the result of the behavior and actions of its individual members. Not only men, but also many women, continue to contribute - either consciously or unconsciously - to the preservation of the patriarchal social order by their machista beliefs and behaviors (Garcia-Celay & Navarro, 2002: 3-4). Again, it must be emphasized that within the patriarchal social structures and culture of machismo present in Latin American societies, there is always room for negotiation and strategies of change by individuals.

International migration may not only threaten the patriarchal family, but may also cause changes in the machista behaviors and beliefs of people affected by migration, including the migrants themselves. In chapters 5 and 6, attention will be paid to the extent in which the international migration of a spouse generates change in the machista character of the households under study and – hence – possibly contributes to more gender equality.

2.2.3 Consequences of patriarchalism and machismo for gender relations

One of the consequences of patriarchalism and machismo that has received abundant attention in academic and social debates, is their contribution to the polarization of gender roles and – consequently – gender relations. As argued previously, both concepts entail strong inequalities between men and women.

Important in this regard are the gender ideologies and stereotypes that prevail in patriarchal and machista societies. As argued by Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002), men and women are often strongly influenced - either consciously or unconsciously - by the ideologies and stereotypes that exist concerning their social roles and behavior. They

can therefore have a substantial impact on the different aspects of people's lives. In the Latin American context for example, gender ideologies and stereotypes have often resulted in strong gender divisions of labor within households, based on beliefs of what is masculine and feminine. The male is usually expected to be engaged in productive activities and fulfill the role of economic provider of the household, whereas the female is considered to be responsible for reproductive activities, like the maintenance of the household and childrearing (see for example Garcia-Celay and Navarro, 2002: 6). Furthermore, men are often perceived - and perceive themselves - as the ones taking all the important decisions concerning their households, especially when it comes to economic matters. The resultant separate spheres for men and women are often thought to reflect and perpetuate gender differences and inequalities (see for example Adams & Coltrane, 2005: 230). However, gender ideologies and stereotypes are not only held responsible for the creation of separate spheres, but have also resulted in a privileged male status. As argued by Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002: 6), the Latin American male is generally only held responsible for 'important' and 'socially relevant' tasks and activities. These usually exclude tasks in the domestic sphere, which are considered 'feminine' and receive far less recognition. Furthermore, men usually possess more power and autonomy – economic and otherwise – than women, who are often put in disadvantageous positions.

In chapter 5, the influence of the international migration of a spouse on the gender division of labor and the decision-making powers of men and women in the households under study will be analyzed. Attention is paid to the possible contribution of international migration to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development.

In general, it can be observed that women in patriarchal and machista societies assume by far the majority of unpaid work and participate less in the formal labor market than men. The latter does not imply however, that women work less or experience less workloads than men. Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002: 6) argue the exact opposite, by stating that women in general work far more than men. As far as the formal labor market is concerned, women often occupy the lower ranks, performing routinely and monotonous jobs which are poorly paid. This is the result of the disadvantaged educational position of many women and men's preference for male occupation of influential positions. Women in machista and patriarchal societies are also put at a disadvantage by the already mentioned wage discrimination. In spite of laws and the fact that women are increasingly receiving the same education as men, women continue to systematically earn less than men, even when they perform the same tasks and carry the same responsibilities (Garcia-Celay & Navarro, 2002: 6-7). In Bolivia for example, most women only earn 50 per cent of the income of men, even when they occupy the same function and have the same level of education (www.womankind.org). As women often continue to bear responsibility for unpaid reproductive tasks in the domestic sphere, they also occupy the majority of part-time jobs. All this contributes to women systematically earning less than men or lacking financial resources altogether. This

often puts them in a precarious position in which they are – partially or completely – economically dependent on the men in their lives (Garcia-Celay & Navarro, 2002: 7).

This information provides important insights into the context of the households under study and some of the roots of the dependency relations that often exists between women and men in Latin America.

It is important to note that the gender ideology in Latin America has seen much continuity through time. Even economic and social changes - due to which women's participation in the paid labor force increased and they supposedly gained more independence and negotiating power in comparison with men - did not significantly alter the prevailing gender ideology. For many people in Latin America, the ideology of femininity and masculinity – and consequently that of separate spheres – has remained almost unchanged over the past decades (Adams & Coltrane, 2005: 231-232). This means that today's women not only carry "the burden of providing financially for the family", but are often still seen as the ones responsible for reproductive activities in the domestic sphere (Adams & Coltrane, 2005: 240). This has resulted in a sharp increase in the workloads of women and growing gender inequalities in this regard.

The prevailing gender ideology is expected to have an important influence on degree and nature of changes in gender relations experienced by the households under study, as a result of the international migration of a spouse. As argued before, chapter 5 will not only analyze the changes in practice, but also to the changes in the gender beliefs of the household members included in this research.

The gender ideologies and stereotypes that prevail in patriarchal and machista societies also have a significant impact on the distribution of time of men and women. As argued by Garcia-Celay and Navarro (2002: 6), men usually devote more time on their personal interests and hobbies outside of the domestic sphere and work sphere than women, who seemingly spend almost all their time on paid jobs - if they have one - , domestic work and care-giving activities. This often results in the higher workloads for women described before. Furthermore, the authors argue that leisure time is often spend on activities that comply with the stereotypical expectations present in society. It is plausible that international migration affects the distribution and use of time by men and women. In chapter 5 of this thesis, these topics will be analyzed and discussed for the households under study.

Other negative implications of patriarchalism and the culture of machismo for women have also received a lot of attention in academic and social debates.

According to Chant and Craske (2003: 15), the emphasis on male dominance and male strength and the "belief in men's right to control women" have provided a "cultural legitimation for the abuse of women". Gender-based and domestic violence are widespread in societies that can be characterized as patriarchal and machista. As argued before, violence against women is often used by men in order to maintain power

and control through fear. Women are also said to suffer from denigration and oppression by men, from their financial irresponsibility and sexual infidelity, and from exploitation and psychological abuse (see for example Chant & Craske 2003; INSTRAW 2006; and Stevens 1998). Furthermore, women are often subordinated and discriminated against by men, as they tend to keep certain privileges to themselves and their sons (www.skidmore.edu). Men's self-centeredness, insensitivity and sometimes even cruelty towards women are often seen by women as the cause of their martyrdom.

Due to their social and economic position, many women in patriarchal and machista societies suffer from psychological problems. They are often inculcated with the idea that they are incapable or useless when it comes to many things, which are therefore better left to men since 'they know better and make all the important decisions'. This often creates a sense of inferiority, impotence and dependency; feelings which are usually reinforced by women's precarious economic positions. Furthermore, many women are said to – among other things - experience a lack of self-esteem, tensions, feelings of unhappiness and feelings of dissatisfaction regarding their situation (Garcia-Celay and Navarro, 2002: 8-9).

Although these issues are not central to this research, they are deemed important as they constitute the lived reality for many women in Bolivia, and hence in the households under study. Furthermore, they can influence the changes that occur as a result of international migration or may even be the reason for some women's departure.

It is quite often assumed that poverty situations increase many of the negative results mentioned previously (see for example Chant and Craske, 2003: 15-16). Stevens (1973: 91) however, disagrees with the idea that typical machista behavior is a "low-class phenomenon". She bases her opinion on "a chorus of observers who can see ramifications in every social class and in every country of Latin America". Stevens (1998: 125) argues that machismo is "a widespread and deeply-rooted psychosocial problem" and that its consequences are felt all over the Latin American continent today. As mentioned before however, machismo can also be viewed as something positive and productive in the family, depending for the most part on the person itself.

Although attention is often primarily paid to the consequences of machismo for women, it is also important to recognize the impact it can have on men. According to Stevens (1998: 129), Latino men often experience "pressures to conform to the macho stereotype". Chant and Craske (2003: 16-17) argue that men that do not live up to the "ideals of manhood", generally feel oppressed by machista gender norms and receive a lot of social criticism, as they do not comply with the socially expected behavior for men in machista societies. Pressures experienced by men may have an important influence on the changes induced in gender relations induced by international migration and will therefore also be considered in chapter 5.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The previous sections of this chapter provided important insights into the concepts central to this research. The concept of gender has been discussed, as well as the concepts of patriarchalism and machismo. As argued throughout this chapter, patriarchal social structures and the culture of machismo constitute crucial parts of the Latin American context concerning gender relations and – therefore - the institutional context of the households under study.

The theoretical model below visualizes the interrelationships between the different concepts and illustrates their relevance for this research.

As demonstrated by the model and argued in chapter 1, this research concentrates on the implications of international migration for gender relations. Focus is on the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women. Of particular interest is if international migration contributes to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development in the households under study, as is often assumed (see section 1.1.4). As one can see from the model however, it is not the actual *act* of migration that is of concern, but rather its *effects*. Especially the physical absence of the migrant and the sending and receiving of remittances are deemed important in this respect. For the sake of convenience though, this research will simply speak of 'the influence of international migration'.

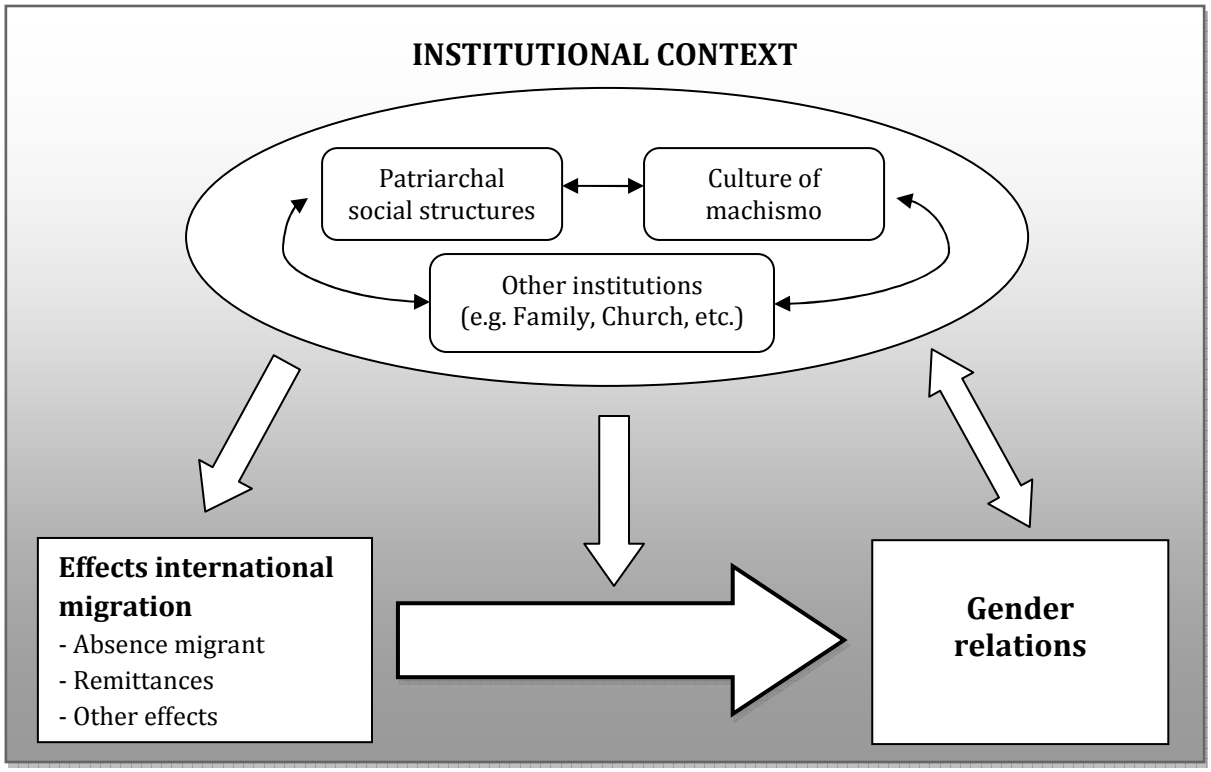


Figure 3: Theoretical model

The empirical unit of analysis for this research is the household. More precisely; households of migrant spouses - male *and* female - in the Bolivian city of Sucre. As argued in section 1.3, migrants – although living abroad - are still considered to be an important part of the households under study. This explains the transnational character of migrant households and their gender relations. For more information on the concept of the household as used in this research, see section 3.1.2.

The model illustrates the importance and relevance of the concepts of patriarchalism and machismo for this research. As argued before, both concepts constitute a crucial part of the institutional context of the households under study. Patriarchalism and machismo have important implications for gender relations, as they often entail strong inequalities between men and women. Furthermore, they are expected to exert a significant influence on the degree and nature of changes in gender relations brought about by international migration. It is also likely that patriarchalism and machismo influence the decision of who migrates. This can be explained by women's disadvantaged position vis-à-vis men and their responsibility for the well-being of the household. It is often also argued that migrant women send a greater share of their earnings than migrant men, as a result of their perceived and internalized responsibility for their household's members.

On the other hand, international migration – through changes in gender relations - can also contribute to a decline of the patriarchal and machista character of households. As argued in sections 2.2, this can increase levels of gender equality and – hence - development. It must be emphasized that if migration processes indeed induce a decline of the patriarchal family and generate significant changes in machista beliefs and behaviors, they may ultimately – together with other processes – contribute to a transformation of the institutions of many Latin American societies. This however, is beyond the realm of this research.

3. Research methodology and context

3.1 Research methodology

> It has been three weeks since we first met Doña Sylvia. We came into contact with her thanks to her neighbor Doña Jenny, another respondent. Without Jenny's help it might not have been possible, as Sylvia's house is guarded by infamous dogs and therefore unapproachable for strangers. From a safe distance on the other side of the small valley that separates their homes, Jenny called for Sylvia to come chat with us. Even though Jenny tried to convince her of our good intentions, she remained very wary, like many other respondents to come. After much long distance chattering across the garbage filled valley, Sylvia hesitantly gave in. After a short talk - in which we managed to perform most of the questionnaire - I gave her a pot of jam and candy for her children to thank her for her participation in my research. This gesture of goodwill completely turned her around and she asked me to come back another time. I then quickly realized that a pot of jam had become my new best friend…
>
> At 6 AM this morning, Alejandra and I were waiting at the roundabout in Villa Margarita to be picked up by Juan David, Sylvia's 15 year-old son. The early morning provided the only opportunity for us to meet, as Sylvia works very long hours at the Mercado Central – were she has little privacy to talk – and her neighborhood is too dangerous after dark. As Sylvia made dinner preparations that morning, the interview was conducted successfully. Thanks to the goodwill gesture and the frequent informal visits we paid to her workplace, our efforts to gain her trust had paid off.

The case of Doña Sylvia provides a good example of the conditions under which much of this research has been conducted. Furthermore, it illustrates some of the difficulties and challenges experienced and provides insight into the research methods and approach. These topics will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Section 3.1.1 gives a description of the different research methods used in this study. In section 3.1.2, the empirical unit of analysis - the household – is defined and discussed. Attention is also paid to the consequences of the use of this particular unit of analysis for the way this research has been conducted. In section 3.1.3, the choice for the research location is justified and in section 3.1.4 the experienced difficulties and challenges are described.

3.1.1 Research methods

For this research, different methods were utilized in order to obtain sufficient information on relevant topics and to gather the empirical data necessary. Together, they enabled me to answer the questions posed in section 1.3. The methods used for this research will be outlined below.

Literature study

An important component of this research has been the examination of existing literature, in order to gain insight into the current body of knowledge concerning the

topics of - and specific interrelationships between - migration, remittances and gender. Furthermore, literature and documents were explored with the purpose of gaining insight into relevant theoretical concepts and the research context.

This literature study has mainly been conducted during the prepatory stages of this research, to get an idea of the state of research on migration, remittances and gender and to identify possible voids and shortcomings in the current body of knowledge. This enabled me to design a research that is innovative and contributes in a constructive manner to academic debates and knowledge surrounding these topics. Part of the literature study has been conducted in Bolivia, where local institutes were consulted in order to obtain information regarding the research context [4]. Various sources were collected, most of them concern migration and the socio-economic situation in Bolivia and the city of Sucre. Back in The Netherlands, once again literature was consulted. This time with the aim of refining initial ideas - based on experiences and observations during my field work in Bolivia - and to fill up certain gaps of information.

Survey

Part of the empirical data for this research was collected through a survey consisting of qualitative questionnaires. The intention was to carry out 40 questionnaires, among men and women whose spouses had migrated to the global North. An important criterion for the selection of households was that they were to be characterized as 'nuclear' or 'traditional' in the period prior to migration; meaning that they consisted of two parents, their children and possibly extended family members or other persons. This form of household organization is often the norm in the Bolivian society. This criterion is deemed important and interesting for this research, as the impact of migration on gender relations is expected to be greatest within suchlike households. The aim was to question approximately as many men as women, in order to be able to compare results between the two groups and analyze possible notable differences.

During the field work, some of the initial selection criteria proved to be unfeasible. Due to difficulties in locating and contacting people and getting them to participate in this research (see section 3.1.4 for more details), selection criteria had to be adjusted. A total of 30 questionnaires were carried out; 20 in households of male migrants and 10 in households of female migrants. This amount was deemed reasonable – considering the circumstances of the research - to obtain sufficient theoretical variation, on the basis of which a diverse enough group of respondents could be selected for the in-depth interviews. Not only South-North migration was included, but also South-South migration. This was necessary in order to be able to conduct sufficient questionnaires in the selected research area within the time available. At times it was not possible to speak to the migrant's spouse him- or herself, in which case another household member - like the migrant's father or daughter - was questioned. This could result in a lack of

[4] For an overview of the consulted institutes, see Annex I.

information, especially concerning remittances when they were not received and/or administered by the respondent.

The questionnaire (see Annex II) was designed to gather the information concerning the first three sub-questions posed. I aimed at conducting the questionnaires at the respondents' homes, as this would give me the opportunity to get a good idea of their living situations and households. Sometimes this turned out to be rather complicated or undesired, in which cases meetings were arranged at their children's school, at work or elsewhere. The questionnaires were carried out in a semi-informal manner. Questions were asked in such a way as to keep the conversation going, so that the respondents felt more at ease and relationships of trust could be built. Informal chats and visits also helped built trust and provided me with extra information outside of the direct focus of this research. Furthermore, they allowed me to get an idea of people's daily lives, struggles and experiences. The survey not only provided me with important empirical data, but also enabled me to get into contact with a rather large group of respondents, from which a smaller group could subsequently be selected for the in-depth interviews.

Interviews

Empirical data was also gathered by means of in-depth interviews. The objective of these interviews was to gain detailed insight into the implications of the international migration of a spouse for the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women in the households under study (sub-question 4). However, during the interviews there was enough room and time for the respondents to talk about other issues important to them.

From the 30 households included in the survey, 11 were selected for further research; 5 households of male migrants and 6 households of female migrants. This selection was based on several criteria. An important one was the sending of remittances by the migrant, as the impact of migration as well as remittances is of interest in this research. Another important condition for selection was that there existed a certain level of trust and confidence between the researcher and the respondent, in order to be able to raise and discuss sensitive topics and private matters. Within the limits of these two essential criteria, I aimed to put together a group of households as diverse as possible; concerning their composition, level of dependency on remittances and economic situation. The intention was to conduct in-depth interviews with multiple members of each household, in order to get a better idea of the different points of view and experiences that exist concerning migration and its effects, and to verify or complement information given by the first respondent. However, this often proved to be unfeasible or irrelevant, due to – for example – people's limited willingness to participate in the research or the young age of many children. In most cases, only the migrant's spouse was interviewed. Nonetheless, where possible and relevant, informal conversations were held with other household members. In one case, not only the migrant's husband but also her teenage daughter was interviewed. In two cases, the

migrant's husband was not included at all in further research (see section 3.1.4 for more details). Instead, two daughters and one mother-in-law were interviewed. All interviews were conducted at the respondents' homes, except for the two cases in which the migrant's husband was not included in further research. The two daughters and the mother-in-law were interviewed at school, during work and on the street.

Also two returned migrants were interviewed in-depth; one man and one woman. These interviews were conducted with the purpose of gaining insight into the points of view of migrants themselves regarding their migration and the changes it generated in their households. Furthermore, it was deemed interesting to research the character of changes; were they permanent or not? Both interviews were good opportunities to speak to migrants themselves, as for the other households included in this research this was not possible due to financial and time constraints. An exception has been a telephone conversation with a female migrant, while visiting her family in Sucre.

Finally, an interview was conducted with the head of distrito 2, Mr. Velásquez Pacheco. This interview was designed to obtain information on the research area, as no documents were available.

Observations

Observations were also part of this research. While visiting respondents at their homes, observations were made with regard to their everyday environment and the organization of their households. In addition, observations were made in the research area; distrito 2 in Sucre. This way information was gathered on social, economic and physical infrastructure, the levels of poverty and the differences between neighborhoods. Observations were also made on the local and tangible impacts of migration. Examples are the construction of new houses - or the amplification of existing ones - with the help of remittances, or the sometimes overwhelming presence of communication centres - like internet cafes and phone houses - which enable people in Sucre to stay in contact with family members and/or friends abroad. Informal conversations with respondents, colleagues, friends and other people are also categorized as observations, and helped me gain more insight in and understanding of certain topics relevant to this research.

3.1.2 Unit of analysis: The household

The empirical unit of analysis for this research is the household. More specifically; the migrant's household in the Bolivian city of Sucre. As argued in section 1.3, focus will be on cases in which one of the spouses – either male or female – has migrated.

For this research, the household is defined as *a domestic unit that is composed of family members (nuclear family members and perhaps also more distant relatives) and in some*

cases nonrelatives (like friends, tenants or servants), who organize to fulfill productive, domestic and/or other tasks.

This definition differs from many other definitions of the household, because it specifically includes the family component. The term 'family' however, refers to something much broader. According to Chant and Craske (2003: 161), it concerns "a set of […] relations centered on blood and marriage". Nonetheless, the concepts of family and household often overlap each other and are very much related, which comes to the fore in the definition above.

Although the aspect of co-residence is usually considered to be essential in defining a household, it is important to keep in mind the transnational character of the households under study. As argued before, although migrants live in another country and are therefore not physically present, they often continue to play a significant role in their households at home; for example by educating children over the phone or by taking economic decisions that impact the entire household. Migrants are therefore considered to still be an important part of the households under study and – hence - receive ample attention in this research.

Households are also considered to be embedded in larger networks. Household members usually maintain ties with people from outside their own household; either close by or far away. Because of these ties, other people can have an important influence on the inner-workings of the household. During this research, attention will be paid to the possible influence of and role played by people from outside of the direct household.

As stated by Eversole (2002: 591), "households are comprised of individuals who have different goals and varying degrees of power within that context. Yet, while household members pursue individual goals, they also share certain common long-term interests. One of these is economic". Because goals and interests of household members often differ, negotiation is a frequently used strategy and sometimes conflicts arise.

3.1.3 Choice of the research location

Because of personal interests and ambitions, I chose to conduct my research in Latin America. Within the Latin American context, Bolivia constituted an interesting country for this study, as it is one of the continent's poorest and least developed countries and – hence – characterized by a considerable outmigration of citizens. Through Annelies Zoomers - Professor of International Migration at the Radboud University of Nijmegen - I came into contact with Roxana Dulón and Fundación PASOS in Sucre. Roxana Dulón is a member of the board of directors of Fundación PASOS and has ample experience in the field of migration and development cooperation. For a description of the objectives and activities of Fundación PASOS, see Annex III. Roxana Dulón and Fundación PASOS offered me the opportunity to come to Sucre and facilitated me in my research.

The intention was to conduct this research in the rural area of Río Chico, were Fundación PASOS implements various projects. The valley of Río Chico encompasses several rural communities and is located north of the city of Sucre. Despite the fact that many communities are characterized by a significant outmigration of inhabitants, there proved to be insufficient households in this extensive area that met the rather specific criteria of this research. In order to be able to put together a large enough group of respondents, it was decided to conduct this research in the urban context. As argued in the introduction of this thesis, the city of Sucre provided the right location for this research, as it is one of Bolivia's poorest cities and – consequently - characterized by high levels of international migration.

After consulting the Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana [5] in Sucre, I chose distrito 2 as the geographical demarcation of this research. Many neighborhoods in this area can be characterized as peri-urban and poor, and experience very high levels of outmigration, especially to countries like Spain and Argentina. Most people have one of more relatives living abroad and migration is often identified by schools in this district as an important cause of the numerous behavioral and academic problems in children. Furthermore, distrito 2 accommodates significant numbers of rural-urban migrants, who generally live on the fringes of the city. They often bring traditional customs and beliefs with them from the countryside, where the culture of machismo is said to be strongest. [6] This has been confirmed by the commanding officer of the Brigada de Protección a la Familia [7], who identified distrito 2 as the most problematic area of the city regarding machista violence and abuse. All these characteristics together, make distrito 2 a suitable and interesting area for this research.

3.1.4 Difficulties and challenges

As mentioned before, difficulties were experienced in locating and contacting potential respondents and getting them to participate in this research. This was something I had been warned about beforehand by several people, including pastor Daniel of the Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana in Sucre. He advised me to try to get into contact with households through the church with the help of priests, or through schools with the help of the principal and teachers. The reason for this is the importance these institutions have in people's daily lives and the trust that generally exists towards them,

[5] The Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana is a specific group within the Catholic church that works with migrants, refugees and displaced people and attempts to assist them with their general needs. In total, there are 17 local offices in Bolivia; one in each Catholic jurisdiction.

[6] This is confirmed by Quintela Modia et al. (2004), who conducted a study among households of rural-urban migrants in peri-urban areas of Sucre.

[7] The Brigada de Protección a la Familia is part of Sucre's local police force and deals with cases of domestic violence and abuse. People can report such cases and get juridical help with regard to procedures like divorce. Furthermore, the Brigade provides temporary shelter to the victims of domestic violence and abuse, which are mainly women and children.

which should increase outsiders' chances of gaining access to the local community and its members. I followed his advice and came into contact with priest Mario Cuellar of the Sagrada Familia church in distrito 2. The Sagrada Familia is one of the largest churches in Sucre, has its own clinic and works in close association with the nearby school Fe y Alegria. During several masses – with and without my attendance – priest Mario Cuellar explained the intentions and relevance of my research and called for people to participate. Small and simple forms were provided to them, which could be filled in and put in a closed box. The confidentiality of people's data was explicitly emphasized. Nevertheless, no one signed up to participate, with the exception of one churchgoer whose sister-in-law met all criteria posed for this research. This proved to be a very valuable contact, as she also introduced me to four other households. Because of the disappointing results during the masses, I was advised to also visit the religion classes taught to children of 7 years and older. This also did not lead to any useful contacts.

Contact was also established with the primary and secondary school Fe y Alegria, which has over 1300 pupils from the area. To get the school's cooperation in this research project, extra questions were added to the questionnaire regarding the specific impact of the international migration of a parent on the school's pupils. Again, simple forms were handed out to those children whose households met the criteria of this research and contact data were gathered. Furthermore, personal letters on behalf of the school's principal were sent to those households, explaining the intentions and importance of the study. The majority of respondents were contacted through the school. The remainder of the households was located with the help of friends and already participating respondents.

As a result of the difficulties described above, some of the initial selection criteria had to be adjusted. It especially proved to be difficult to find households of female migrants. Something that is remarkable, considering the fact that several studies – like the one conducted by Ferrufino Quiroga et al. (2007) – have shown the rapid increase of female migration in Bolivia in recent years. Contact persons in the area - like the school principal - also indicated that there are indeed significant numbers of women in Sucre that migrate abroad. An explanation for the difficulties experienced in tracking down their households may be the social stigma attached to the migration of wives and mothers. The general assumption among Bolivians that many migrant women work as prostitutes, is expected to play an important role in this regard. Because households of female migrants were hard to find, they only make up one-third of the households included in this research. As a result, there was less room for variation when selecting the group of households for the in-depth interviews.

The fact that many households were located in neighborhoods without street names and house numbers, posed another challenge to this research. It complicated the arrangement of meetings and cost a lot of time. In most cases I completely depended on

people's phone numbers and their willingness to meet me elsewhere and – possibly – take me to their homes or work places.

Another challenge was the distrust of many respondents towards this research and their unwillingness to cooperate. The warning of priest Mario Cuellar that people in this area are very suspicious and may think of me as a "CIA spy" or something else of that order, at first appeared to me as an exaggeration. Later on however, his warning seemed to make more sense as I continued to experience people's rather distant and suspicious attitude as a barrier in my contact and conversations with them. It often also made it difficult – if not impossible – to speak to other household members. Fear of the possible consequences of revealing personal and often sensitive information is expected to have played an important role in people's distrust and lack of cooperation. The fact that the research was partly conducted for the school, often did help convince people to open up and participate. Notable differences were experienced between the better-off neighborhoods and the poorer ones within distrito 2. In the former, people tended to show more interest in my research and willingness to cooperate. This may be explained by the fact that the people of these neighborhoods were generally better educated and more informed regarding the situation outside of their direct living environment.

As a researcher, I attempted to take away part of people's distrust by creating an informal, comforting and – if possible - private setting. The school library proved to be a location where many respondents felt at ease and confident to talk. However, preference was given to visits to their homes, as this was often more convenient to the respondents themselves and gave me the opportunity to make observations. Informal visits also helped create a bond and a feeling of trust. Furthermore, the gesture of goodwill described at the beginning of section 3.1 was often appreciated by respondents and - as in the case of Doña Sylvia - helped open doors at sometimes unexpected moments. Last but certainly not least, the companionship of Alejandra – my assistant and translator for Quechua-speaking respondents – proved to be very valuable, as people - especially women - seemed to feel more at ease with a local woman present, who understands their customs and beliefs well. To me, Alejandra did not only provide me with her pleasant company and valuable help, but also enabled me to better understand and interpret certain answers, situations and local customs.

Although people's distrust was often experienced as a barrier in this research, it must be stressed that also very warm and open conversations took place. Especially some spouses of male migrants seemed to welcome us as an outlet for their thoughts, worries and experiences of daily struggles.

People's attitude during the questionnaire or in-depth interview sometimes also posed a challenge. The circumstances – for example the level of privacy – often strongly influenced their behavior and answers. Switching to a sensitive – and in the eyes of some: irrelevant or suspicious – topic, could also affect the conversation negatively. This was especially the case with questions concerning the spending of remittances and

other economic household decisions, which were therefore always asked at the end of the conversation. Furthermore, male respondents were often less talkative and willing to share their experiences, feelings and emotions than women.

Respondents' limited ability to understand relatively easy questions and to go into certain topics in more detail and length, was also a challenge. The former forced me to strongly simplify my questionnaire and interview questions and to – often - explain them without influencing the answer. The latter forced me to find ways to keep people's attention and to get them to talk about topics never really thought about before.

In some cases, the reliability of the answers given by respondents was questionable. An example is the case of a male respondent, who was drunk or recovering from a hangover on various occasions, but claimed to never drink alcohol. In these particular cases, personal observations play an important role in order to get a more accurate idea of the actual situation.

Finally, for two husbands of female migrants the conscious decisions was made to not interview them. In both cases, an attempt was made to carry out the questionnaire. However, one respondent was extremely suspicious about the intentions of my research and angry and upset about his situation. His wife wanted to divorce him and did not sent him any money. The respondent was not open to further conversation, neither were the migrant's mother and sister who supposedly received the remittances. For these reasons, an interview was conducted with her 15 year old daughter at school. The other respondent had a serious drinking problem and was under the influence of alcohol when carrying out the questionnaire. Furthermore, his daughters indicated that he was often aggressive when intoxicated. This is why I chose to interview his oldest daughter and elderly mother at another location, since they were for an important part in charge of the household. The daughter – together with her oldest brother - received the remittances sent by her mother.

3.2 Research context

In this section, the national and local context of this research will be described. In section 3.2.1, Bolivia's geographical and socio-economic characteristics are discussed, as well as the situation concerning migration and remittances. Section 3.2.2 deals with similar topics for Sucre and distrito 2.

3.2.1 The national context: Bolivia

Geographical characteristics

Bolivia is located in central South America and is enclosed by Brasil, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru. Bolivia's border counts 6.940 kilometers and the country has a surface area of 1.098.580 square kilometers (CIA 2008). Three geographical zones can

be distinguished: the Altiplano – a high plateau - and the Andean mountains in the western region of the country, the valleys of the eastern mountain slopes and the lowlands in the north-west and east of Bolivia. The latter occupy more than two thirds of Bolivia's territory. The climate varies with altitude; dry and cold on the Altiplano and in the mountains, temperate and semi-tropical in the valleys and hot and tropical on the lowlands (www.country-studies.com). Bolivia is rich in natural resources, like petroleum, natural gas, silver, gold, tin, iron and timber (Library of Congress, 2006: 8-9). Map 1 provides general geographical information on Bolivia. For a more comprehensive and detailed map of the country and its different departments, see Annex IV.

Map 1: Bolivia
Source: CIA 2008

Socio-economic characteristics

Data from the World Bank shows that in 2006, Bolivia had a population of around 9.35 million (World Bank, 2008). With just 8.5 persons per square kilometer, population density is low. Around 40 per cent of the population lives at the Altiplano or in the Andean mountain area, approximately 30 per cent in the valleys and another 30 per cent on Bolivia's lowlands. In 2004, 62 per cent of the Bolivian population lived in urban areas. Of those urban citizens, some 65 per cent lived in cities with over 200.000 inhabitants (Library of Congress, 2006: 9). The annual population growth in Bolivia is 1.9 per cent (World Bank, 2008). When looking only at the urban population however, this growth rate is much higher; 3.6 per cent annually. This notable difference can mainly be explained by considerable rural-urban migration. Cities with the highest population density are La Paz and Santa Cruz (Library of Congress, 2006: 9).

Bolivia is characterized by a rich ethnic diversity. The country has the highest percentage of indigenous people in Latin America. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, more than 60 per cent of the Bolivian population was labeled 'indígena'. Indígena groups include the Quechua, the Aymara, the Guaraní and a number of other small ethnic groups (ECLAC, 2006: 27). About 30 per cent of the population is of mixed race ('mestizo') and some 10 per cent is labeled 'white'. According to data of the Library of Congress (2006: 9), 87 per cent of Bolivians speak Spanish. Quechua is spoken by 34 per cent of the population and Aymara is the third most important language. The concentration of indigenas in the 'Media Luna' - the four richest departments of Bolivia; Santa Cruz, Tarija, Beni and Pando - is much lower than in the rest of the country. In Pando for example, only 16.2 per cent of the population is indígena, in contrast to 83.9

per cent in the department of Potosi (Weisbrot & Sandoval, 2008, 7). In 2001, 55 per cent of the indigenas lived in rural areas, compared to 20 per cent of other ethnic groups (INE 1, 2003).

According to the Library of Congress (2006: 11), "Bolivia's economic history reveals a pattern of a single-commodity focus. From silver to tin to coca, Bolivia has enjoyed only occasional periods of economic diversification". Up until today, the mining industry is very important. Gas and zinc are said to be Bolivia's most valuable natural commodities. Mining dominates the country's export economy (Library of Congress, 2006: 11-12). Another important economic sector is agriculture. In 2006, 14 per cent of Bolivia's gross domestic product (GDP) was produced by the agricultural sector (World Bank 2007). Over 40 per cent of Bolivia's labor force works in agriculture, most of them as minifundistas (subsistence farmers). Especially the production of coca has proved to be lucrative. Other important economic sectors are services and industry. Industry is often small-scale and only directed at local or regional markets (Library of Congress, 2006: 12-13). The majority of Bolivia's economy is of informal nature (www.heritage.org).

Bolivia is one of the poorest and least developed countries in Latin America. In 2005, it was estimated that around 60 per cent of Bolivians lived in poverty. Approximately 37 per cent lived in extreme poverty (INE 2 & 3), meaning that they did not have "regular access to basic needs for survival" (Weisbrot & Sandoval, 2008, 1). According to Arias and Bendini (2006: 1), 30 per cent of all households have no access to potable water and adequate sanitation. The authors also state that "Bolivia still ranks among the worst in the region in malnutrition, maternal and infant mortality rates, and is off track to meet the MDG of universal completion of basic education". Of all children younger than 3 years of age, 24 per cent is malnourished (Weisbrot & Sandoval, 2008: 1). The mortality rate of infants is 52 per 1000 live births, which is 2 times higher than the Latin American average (World Bank 2007). Life expectancy at birth is 65 years in Bolivia, compared to 73 years in Latin America as a whole (World Bank 2008). Poverty is highest in the rural areas of Bolivia. Whereas in urban areas around 55 per cent of the population is poor, in rural areas this percentage amounts to almost 78 per cent (INE 2). Furthermore, the poor are disproportionally indigenas (Weisbrot & Sandoval, 2008, 1).

Another characteristic of Bolivia is the high level of socio-economic inequality. According to a study of the ECLAC (2006: 16), Bolivia is the most unequal country of Latin America regarding income distribution. Furthermore - and related to this - land ownership is extremely concentrated in the hands of a few. In 1984 for example, 0.63 per cent of landholders owned 66.4 per cent agricultural land. According to Weisbrot & Sandoval (2008: 2-3), it is not very likely that land distribution became much more equal over the past two and a half decades. Within the country, there are also significant differences in per capita income and the distribution of natural resources between the richer departments of the Media Luna and the rest of Bolivia (Weisbrot & Sandoval, 2008: 6).

Migration and remittances

Internal migration has always been an important part of Bolivia's history. As mentioned before, rural to urban migration contributes to a large extend to urban population growth. Furthermore, there are considerable migration flows between the different departments. According to Baldivia Urdininea (2002: 69), Bolivia has sending and receiving departments. The former are the poorer departments of Potosí, Oruro, Chuquisaca and La Paz. The latter are the richer departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, Cochabamba, Beni and Pando. Since the focus of this research is on international migration, the remainder of this section will elaborate on this subject. [8]

The high poverty rates and scarce availability of income opportunities discussed in the previous section, have converted international migration into an important livelihood strategy for many Bolivian households. [9] Between 2000 and 2007 alone, 1 million Bolivians migrated abroad. Today, a total of 2.5 million Bolivians live outside their country of birth, which represents more than a quarter of the national population (IBCE, 2008: 2).

Country of destination	No. of Bolivian migrants (thousands)	% of Bolivia's international migrant stock
Argentina	1100	44
Spain	386	15
United States	360	14
Brasil	296	12
Other	375	15

Table 1: International migration of Bolivians: Destinations, numbers and % of Bolivia's international migrant stock in 2008

Source: Adapted from IBCE 2008

As shown in table 1, the most important destination country for Bolivian migrants is Argentina. Today, an estimated 1.1 million Bolivians live in Argentina, which amounts to 44 per cent of Bolivia's total number of international migrants. It is interesting to note that in the period 2000-2008, the number of Bolivian migrants in this country increased with approximately 62 per cent (IBCE, 2008: 6). Migrants often work in agriculture, manufacturing, construction and services. The majority of Bolivians living and working in Argentina is male (Martínez Pizarro & Villa, 2005: 6-7).

[8] For more information on internal migration in Bolivia, I recommend the publication of Vacaflores Pereira (2004) entitled *'Migración Interna en Bolivia, Causas y Consecuencias'* (in collaboration with the Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana) and the 2002 publication *'Población, Migración y Desarrollo en Bolivia'* of Instituto PRISMA in La Paz.

[9] Again, it must be emphasized that it are usually not the poorest who migrate abroad, as they often lack the financial resources needed for the journey.

The second destination country is Spain. Around 386 thousand Bolivians currently live there, representing 15 per cent of the international migrant stock of Bolivia. In recent years, migration to Spain has grown at an astonishing rate. Between 2000 and 2008, the total number of Bolivians in this country more than quadrupled (IBCE, 2008: 6). According to data of the IBCE (2008: 2), only 18 per cent of the Bolivian migrants in Spain are documented. As mentioned in section 1.1.3, the presence of women in South-North migration flows – especially to Spain - is considerable. It is expected that in the nearby future this migration flow will decline however, as a result of the recent implementation of stricter immigration rules (IBCE, 2008: 6).

The United States of America is the third most important destination country. It is estimated that some 360 thousand Bolivians live there. Brasil follows with 296 thousand Bolivian immigrants. Many of them work as manual laborers in manufacturing and textiles. Other destinations include various Latin American and European countries - especially Italy and Portugal - and some Asian countries. Of the latter, Japan is the most popular destination for Bolivian migrants (IBCE, 2008: 6-7).

In 2006, an estimated 972 million USD was sent by migrants to Bolivia. Remittances represent the country's second source of foreign currency, after earnings from the export of natural gas (IBCE, 2008: 8). Figure 4 demonstrates that - of all South American countries included in the graph - remittances in Bolivia make up by far the highest percentage of the countries' GNP (8.7 per cent).

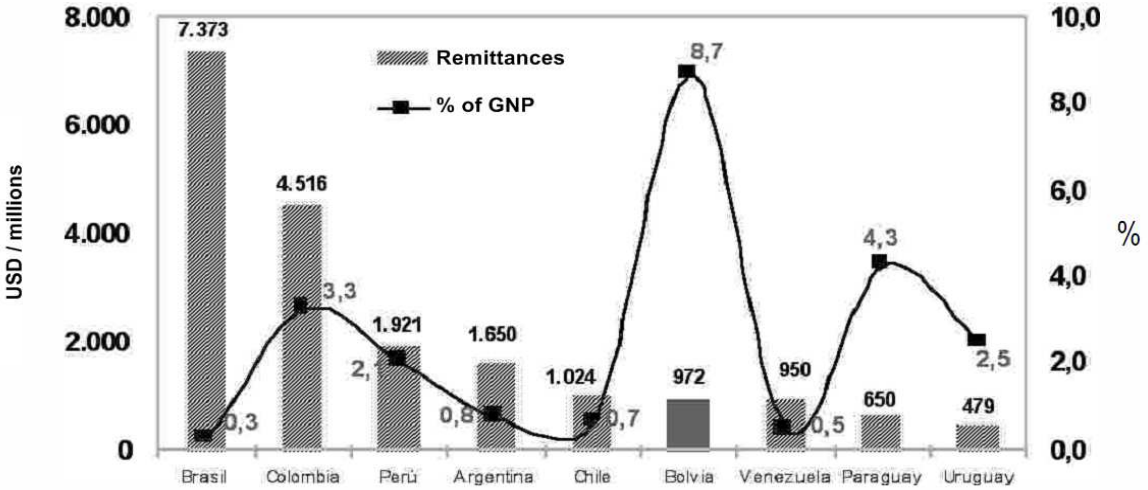


Figure 4: Remittances and their % of GNP per selected country in South America, 2006

Source: IBCE 2008

Over the past years, remittances to Bolivia have grown at a sometimes astonishing rate. As shown in table 2, this is especially the case for the periods 2002-2003 and 2004-2005. It must be emphasized however, that the quantity of remittances sent to Bolivia may be much higher, as table 2 excludes remittances sent through informal channels, for example via friends or relatives travelling to Bolivia.

Year	USD sent by migrants to Bolivia (in millions)	Growth compared to year before (in %)
1999	50	Unknown
2000	72	44
2001	103	43
2002	104	1
2003	340	227
2004	422	24
2005	860	104
2006	972	13

Table 2: The evolution of remittances sent to Bolivia: Quantity and growth, 1999-2006
Source: Adapted from IBCE 2008

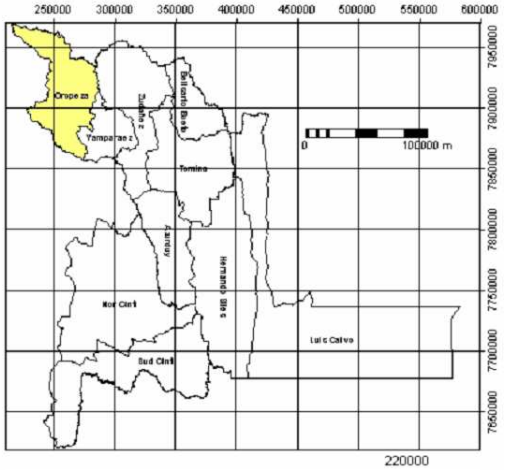
According to the IBCE (2008: 8), in 2005 11 per cent of the adult population in Bolivia received remittances from abroad. This came down to some 650.000 people. Over half of those recipient were unemployed, meaning that they completely depended on remittances for their survival (CAINCO, 2007: 31). Considering the fact that many adult remittance receivers have children of their own or under their care, the total number of recipients is expected to be much greater when the latter are also included. The average size of an individual remittance is 120 USD when sent from another Latin American country and 210 USD when sent from the United States or Europe. An estimated 44 per cent of Bolivians in Spain sent over 200 euro's per transfer, whereas 51 per cent sent less. Recipients on average receive remittances 8 times a year (IBCE, 2008: 9).

3.2.2 The local context: Sucre and distrito 2

Sucre

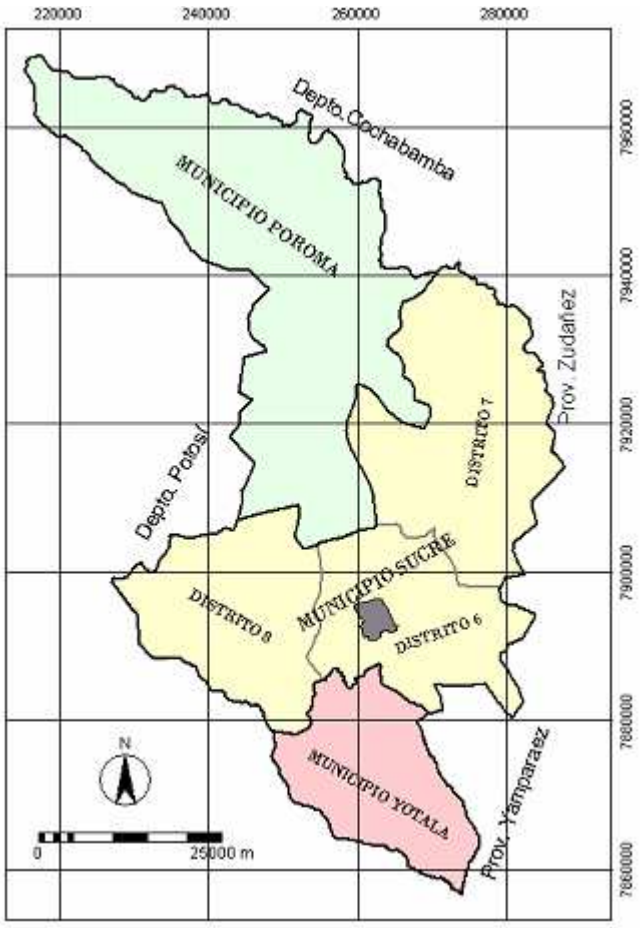
Sucre is the constitutional capital of Bolivia and the capital of the Chuquisaca department (see Annex IV). It is located in the most north western province of Chuquisaca; Oropeza (see map 2). The municipality of Sucre consists of 8 districts (see map 3), 5 of which are urban and together constitute the city of Sucre.

Sucre is located at an altitude of around 2750 meters and has a warm temperate climate throughout the year. It is the largest urban centre in the department of Chuquisaca. According to the latest population census, in 2001 the municipality of Sucre had 215.778 inhabitants, 90 per cent of which lived in the city of Sucre (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre, 2003: 18). In the period 1992-2001, the annual population growth of the city was 4,17 per cent, which is higher than the national average urban population growth and can to an important extent be explained by substantial rural-urban migration (Quintela Modia et al., 2004: 19).



Map 2: Location of the Oropeza province in Chuquisaca

Source: Alcaldia Sucre 2008



Map 3: Location of the municipality of Sucre in Oropeza

Source: Alcaldia Sucre 2008

According to Eversole (2002: 589), "the drivers of Sucre's economy are not strong. The region's industries (agriculture, manufacturing, mining, construction, etc.) account only for about 6 per cent of Bolivia's GNP". However, the author also recognizes that "the city does have some potential". Not only is Sucre a small centre of petroleum production, but it is also located in a department that accounts for 10 per cent of the country's agricultural and livestock production. Furthermore, Sucre is a popular tourist destination and an important educational centre. There are four universities, of which the San Francisco Xavier state university is the most well-known and attracts large numbers of Bolivian and international students.

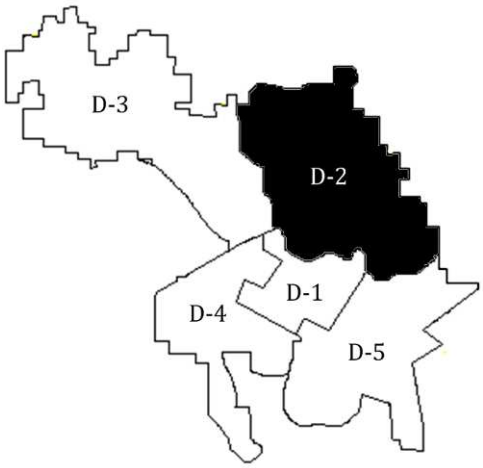
As argued by Eversole (2002: 589), "Sucre is a city of micro enterprises". According to data provided by the municipal government, in 1997 91 per cent of the labor force worked in small and micro enterprises. Medium and large enterprises absorbed the remaining 9 per cent of the working population (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre, 2003: 23). Examples of large businesses in Sucre are the cement factory Fancesa, the national petroleum company and the microbrewery (Eversole, 2002: 590). The study of Eversole (2002) demonstrates that in the period until 2000 no significant changes have occurred in the size of enterprises and the distribution of the working population according to type of business. Small and micro enterprises are often run and owned by one person or a household and partnerships with people outside the direct household are uncommon. They generally produce in small amounts and often only sell to the local market. Small and micro enterprises usually depend on an intensive use of manpower and posses minimal - and often basic and old - equipment. Furthermore, they are frequently

characterized by a lack of capital and administration, by limited productivity and by limited access to new technologies and information regarding opportunities and markets outside of Sucre. Competition on the local market is high and earnings are often very low (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre 2003 & Eversole 2002).

Poverty in Sucre is considerable. Eversole (2002: 589) states that "once a wealthy colonial capital [...], Sucre today is one of Bolivia's poorest cities, with a stagnating economy lacking in opportunity". The latest data available show that in 2001, 40 per cent of the urban population was unable to meet their basic needs (INE 4). Many households for example have no access to sewage or other basic services, like tap water or electricity. In 2002, 27,8 per cent of all children under 5 in the municipality of Sucre was malnourished (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre 2003). Although exact data are not available, it is generally known that international migration is employed by many households in Sucre as a survival strategy.

Distrito 2

The city of Sucre is divided into five districts ('distritos'). Distrito 2 is the second largest district and is located in the north eastern part of the city (see map 4). In 2001, distrito 2 accounted for 90.879 inhabitants, which represented 47 per cent of the total urban population at that time (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre, 2003: 17). The latest data available demonstrate that today around 114.000 people live in this district, indicating a considerable population growth in recent years. An important part of this growth can be explained by rural-urban migration, especially from the rural areas in the northern part of the department Potosí. Distrito 2 is by far the largest district of Sucre regarding the number of inhabitants (Velásquez Pacheco, 2008).



Map 4: The urban districts of the municipality of Sucre
Source: Adapted from map Alcaldía Sucre 2008

Map 4 shows the contours of the different city districts. The map in Annex V provides more detailed information on distrito 2 and the different zones that it consists of. [10] It is important to note however, that not all neighborhoods are included in this map. This is

[10] For this research, I will be using the demarcations of the zones as given by Mr. Velásquez Pacheco, the head of the subalcaldía of distrito 2. There are also other demarcations according to which distrito 2 can be divided into neighborhoods and/or zones, but they are considered less adequate or incomplete. 'Zona Central' should not be confused with the city centre, which is located in distrito 1.

for example the case with the recently constructed neighborhoods on the northern and eastern fringes of the district.

As mentioned before, many inhabitants of distrito 2 are rural migrants. They usually live in the peri-urban neighborhoods that are located on the outskirts of Sucre. Examples are the recently constructed neighborhoods that are not included in the map of Annex V and those of Zona Norte, Villa Margarita and Mesa Verde. Education levels are generally lower in peri-urban areas than in fully urban areas, like Las Delicias, San Juanillo, Zona Central, Libertadores and Garcilaso. Some of these areas house many well-educated people and university students. Illiteracy is identified as a problem that primarily occurs among the peri-urban population, especially rural migrants and women. Family size also tends to be larger in peri-urban areas (Velásquez Pacheco, 2008). Data of the subalcaldía of distrito 2 show that the average family consists of 5.5 members, although this number often amounts to 7 or even 10 in peri-urban areas (Factsheet subalcaldía D2, 2006).

As can be seen on the map in Annex V, Sucre's stadium (Estadio Olímpico Patria) and the bus terminal are located in distrito 2. Furthermore, there are several important transportation routes going through the area. Examples are the Avenidas Jaime Mendoza and German Mendoza, but also Avenida Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz. The latter connects to the road towards the cement factory Fancesa and the cities of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

Distrito 2 is characterized by a concentration of medium industry, car mechanic services (see plate 2), carpentry and metallurgy (Gobierno Municipal de Sucre, 2003: 18). These businesses are mainly located along the Avenida Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz and in the neighborhoods surrounding this artery. Another important economic sector is the construction industry. Especially many inhabitants of Zona Norte work in construction, either in distrito 2 itself or in other urban districts (Velásquez Pacheco, 2008). Also the Mercado Campesino is located in this district. This is Sucre's largest market where a broad range of products – from food to clothes, furniture and domestic appliances – are being sold. It is located in Zona Central and the southern part of San Juanillo and eastern part of Las Delicias. Furthermore, one can find many other - more general – economic activities in distrito 2. Examples are street vendors, small grocery shops (see

Plate 2: A mechanic's workshop, Mesa Verde

plate 3) and places to eat. People in peri-urban neighborhoods sometimes also grow crops or livestock on a small scale, for personal consumption or sale on the local market. The majority of economic activities in this district is of informal nature.

Plate 3: A respondent and her grocery shop, Mesa Verde

According to data provided by the subalcaldía, in 2006 there were 97 neighborhoods in distrito 2. Of those neighborhoods, 15 did not have access to tap water. They are primarily located on the fringes of distrito 2 and were home to a total of 1.025 households in 2006. The largest include Barrio Luis Espinal and Barrio Norte B - east of Mesa Verde and Villa Margarita - where part of this research was conducted. Drinking water is provided periodically by the municipal government by means of water barrels (see plate 4). 18 neighborhoods in distrito 2 had no access to sewage and 12 were not connected to the electric grid. There were also 4 neighborhoods of which only a part of the population had access to sewage and electricity. Furthermore, in 25 neighborhoods roads were not asphalted (see the cover photo and plate 5 on the next page). In 19 neighborhoods less than half the roads were asphalted or covered with stones. It must be noted that the areas without access to tap water were generally also the ones without (complete) access to sewage, electricity or asphalted roads (Factsheet subalcaldía D2, 2006). Contamination levels are high around the Mercado Central and Avenida Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, due to excessive traffic and pollutant local industries. Peri-urban neighborhoods also suffer from contamination, as a result of the accumulation of waste.

Plate 4: Water barrels in Barrio Luis Espinal, with a communication centre in the background

In distrito 2 there is one hospital (Hospital UNI) and there are 37 - often small and basic - health centres. The municipal government has identified the necessity of one doctor per neighborhood, but in 2008 60 per cent of the neighborhoods in this district did not meet the requirement.

School abandonment is seen by the subalcaldía as a major problem in distrito 2, especially among children from the poor peri-urban areas. Crime and violence is also high, especially in Villa Margarita and Mesa Verde. Organized crime and gangs have posed serious problems in the past, but have decreased in recent years (Velásquez Pacheco, 2008).

Plate 5: Dirt roads in Barrio Luis Espinal

As mentioned before, distrito 2 is characterized by substantial outmigration, especially to other countries like Spain and Argentina. Distrito 2 and 3 together have the highest levels of migration in Sucre, often originating from poor peri-urban neighborhoods. Usually only one or a few household members migrate, due to the costs involved in migrating abroad (Velásquez Pacheco, 2008). However, some migrants – once having obtained a stable and good source of income and a network of work contacts – facilitate the migration of other family members as well or even start processes family reunification in the country of destination. The effects of migration are often visible. An example is the construction of new houses - or the amplification of existing ones – with remittances sent by migrants (see plate 6 and cover photo). The strong presence of communication centres are also a sign of high levels of migration. Many households in distrito 2 depend on the services provided by these centres, as they have no access to internet and are not able to make international phone calls from the home.


Plate 6: A respondent and his children on what will soon be the second floor of their house in Villa Margarita, thanks to remittances sent by his wife

4. Empirical findings: Households, migration & remittances

This chapter presents the empirical information gathered by means of the questionnaires. As argued in section 3.1.1, the questionnaire was designed to obtain the information necessary to answer the first three sub-questions of this research. Section 4.1 deals with the first sub-question and hence provides information on the characteristics of the households included in this research and the changes that have occurred due to the international migration of a spouse. Not only changes in household composition and household headship are analyzed, but also other changes, like those seen in children and the relationships between spouses. Section 4.2 focuses on the second sub-question. The characteristics of migrants are discussed, as well as the characteristics of their migration. Concerning the latter, attention is paid to various topics, like the countries of destination, the reasons for migration, the frequency and nature of contact between migrants and their households in Sucre and the decision of migration. Last but not least, section 4.3 deals with the third sub-question. The characteristics of remittances sent by spouses are analyzed, as well as the use – and therefore impact - of this source of income in the households under study. In respect of the former, important topics that are discussed are the reasons for not sending remittances (at all or to the spouse), the amounts and frequency with which remittance were sent and the level of dependency of recipient households on this source of income.

Besides providing the reader with important background information on the households and migrants under study, this chapter will also provide insight into some of the effects of international migration as well as points of departure for the analysis in chapter 5. Furthermore, certain topics discussed in this chapter will be elaborated upon in the following chapter. Examples are the changes in household headship and the reasons for migrant women to not send remittances to their husbands.

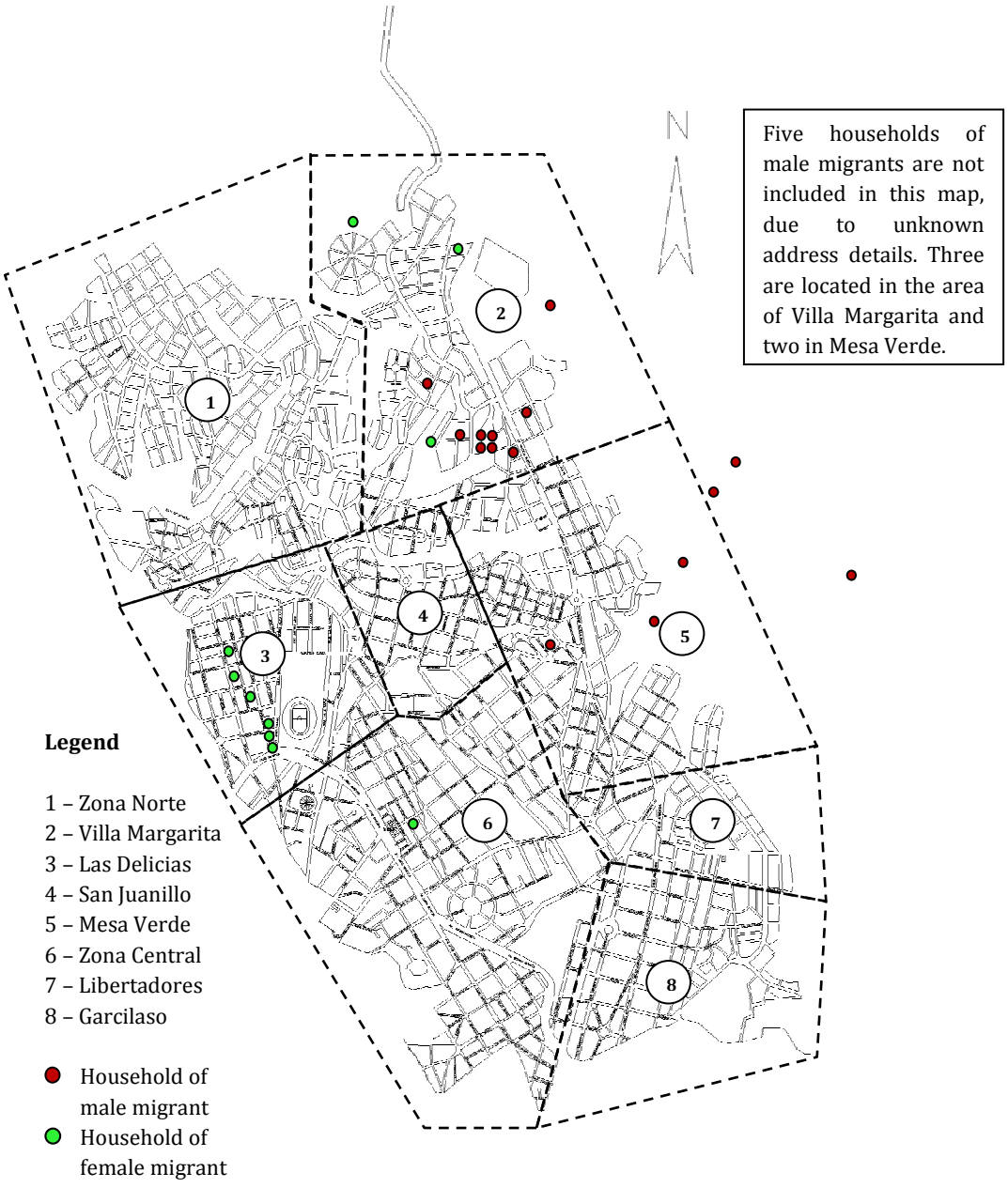
4.1 Households under study

4.1.1 General characteristics

A total of 30 households are included in this research. One third are households of female migrants and two thirds are households of male migrants. As explained in section 3.1.4, households of female migrants were difficult to find and therefore form the minority in this research.

Map 5 demonstrates the distribution of respondent households over the different zones of distrito 2. Most respondents live in Villa Margarita, followed by Mesa Verde and Las Delicias. One respondent lives in Zona Central. Some neighborhoods are not included in map 5, as they have not yet been mapped by the municipality of Sucre. Examples are the recently constructed neighborhoods on the northern and eastern fringes of distrito 2. This explains why certain households fall outside of the map

boundaries. As one can see, the majority of households of female migrants are located in Las Delicias. This can be explained by the way most of these respondents were contacted; with the help of a friend who was familiar in this particular area and through already participating respondents living in this zone. The other 4 households of female migrants were contacted through the school and with the help of locals.



Map 5: The distribution of households over distrito 2
Source: Adapted from map Alcaldía Sucre 2008

In the case of households of male migrants, all 20 questionnaires were conducted with the migrant's spouse. This was only the case for 7 out of the 10 households of female migrants. In 2 cases the questionnaire was conducted with the migrant's daughter and

in 1 case with the migrant's father, who – together with his wife – is the primary caretaker of her children.

Household size and composition

The average household included in this research consists of 6.7 members. As argued in section 3.1.2, this concerns not only family members but also nonrelatives. Most households under study however, consist solely of family members. In 50 percent of the cases, so-called 'distant relatives' - like parents, siblings or grandchildren - of the migrant are included. It often occurs that families of migrants live close by or together with their parents or other relatives; to care for them when they are old and/or sick, to save or share rent and/or because they constitute an important support in daily life. Only a quarter of the households also include nonrelatives, like tenants and acquaintances. Rent paid by tenants is an important source of income for some households.

Most migrants have several children that live in their household in Sucre. The average amounts to 3.4, but in reality this number varies considerably per household; from 2 to 8. This includes minor (87%) and adult children (13%). It must be noted though, that some migrants also have children living elsewhere; either in Bolivia or abroad. Since the aspect of co-residence is considered to be important in defining a household, these children are not included in the average. Of all households, 20 per cent also include other children, like nephews, nieces and grandchildren of the migrant.

Although most households under study are located in peri-urban areas and a well-based comparison between urban and peri-urban households is therefore somewhat problematic, it can be noted that the latter are often larger. This corresponds to the data provided by the subalcaldía of distrito 2 (see section 3.2.2).

Level of education

In Bolivia, a distinction can be made between 4 levels of education; primary education, secondary education, técnico and university. The category 'primary school' also includes 'Kinder', or nursery school. 'Técnico' includes all formal education that comes after secondary school and is not at a university level.

Table 3 on the next page demonstrates the levels of education in the households under study, according to age group. For more detailed information on the differences between men and women, see Annex VI.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from table 3 is that the levels of education of the household members under study generally decrease when their age increases. Whereas members between 20 and 39 years of age for example all received some form of education, this is not the case for those older than 40. Furthermore, there are considerably more people in the age group 20-39 that fall in the category 'secondary

school' or 'university' than there are in the age group 40-59. For household members older than 60 years, the highest level of education is primary school. Overall, it can be concluded that the education levels in the households under study are rather low. As argued in section 3.2.2, this is especially true for households located in the poorer peri-urban areas of distrito 2.

Level of education/ Age	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Tecnico	University	Unknown	Total
0-19	8.20	31.69	14.75	0	2.19	0	56.83
20-39	0	10.38	4.37	0	4.37	0.55	19.67
40-59	3.83	3.83	1.09	0	0.55	0.55	9.85
60+	2.19	2.73	0	0	0	0	4.92
Unknown	1.64	0	0	0	3.83	3.28	8.75
Total	**15.86**	**48.63**	**20.21**	**0**	**10.94**	**4.38**	**100**

Table 3: Levels of education in the households under study, according to age (in %) [11]
Source: Household survey 2008

There also exist significant differences between men and women (see Annex VI). Male household members are generally better educated than female household members. Furthermore, there are considerably more women than men that have not received any form of education at all.

These findings all support the general idea that especially older people and women in Bolivia are poorly educated and most likely to suffer from illiteracy. The culture of machismo – which holds women primarily responsible for the household and children - is expected to have contributed significantly to the educational inequality between men and women, as families are more likely to invest in the education of boys than girls when resources are limited. As will be explained in section 4.3.2, remittances can have a positive contribution to the levels of education of children – especially girls - in recipient households.

Occupation of household members

Table 4 on the following page provides information on the occupation of the household members under study, according to age group. For more detailed information on the differences between men and women, see Annex VII.

One can see from table 4 that the majority of household members studied at the time of research. This can be explained by the large share of members under the age of 20 in the

[11] It is important to keep in mind that the categorization of a person according to a certain level of education can imply several things. It may indicate that the person has completed (part of) this level and is no longer in school. However, it may also signify that he or she was studying at this particular level when the research was conducted. For more information on the percentage of household members that studied at the time of research, see table 4. Household members in the category 'none' have either received no education at all or are still too young to go to school.

overall research population (57%). Only a small percentage worked during their studies. This refers to having a paid job. Many children however, help their parents with their work and/or domestic tasks and activities. Although they are not categorized as 'working' or 'housewives', the burdens carried by some – especially girls - must not be underestimated. In section 5.1, more detailed attention will be paid to the contribution of children to tasks and activities in and around the domestic sphere.

Occupation/ Age	Work	Housewife	Work & housewife	Study	Study & work	Unemployed	Retired	Nothing, too young	Total
0-19	0.55	0	0	46.99	1.64	0	0	7.65	56.83
20-39	7.65	6.56	2.73	2.73	0	0	0	0	19.67
40-59	2.19	2.73	4.92	0	0	0	0	0	9.84
60+	0.55	1.09	1.09	0	0	0.55	1.64	0	4.92
Unknown	1.09	1.09	0	3.83	1.09	0.55	0.55	0.55	8.75
Total	**12.03**	**11.47**	**8.74**	**53.55**	**2.73**	**1.10**	**2.19**	**8.20**	**100**

Table 4: The occupation of household members, according to age (in %) [12]
Source: Household survey 2008

From the tables in Annex VII, it can be concluded that the gender division of labor in most households under study is traditional and complies with the machista norm in the Bolivian society. Adult men are almost all classified as 'working', whereas adult women are usually categorized as 'housewife' or 'working and housewife'. Not surprisingly, there are no men that fall in the category 'housewife', which is therefore 100 per cent made up of women. Only two men are categorized as 'working and housewife', since they assumed the domestic tasks and activities of their wives in the period following their migration. These two cases are exceptional and will be elaborated upon in section 5.1. It is also interesting to note that women – in contrast to men - are rarely classified as 'unemployed' or 'retired', as they are even at a very high age still seen as housewives.

Plate 7: A respondent selling handicraft on the central market of Sucre

[12] The category 'work & housewife' is used for those household members that work, but are also the ones responsible for the majority of domestic tasks in the household. This is not the case for members in the category 'work'.

In line with the gender norms in patriarchal and machista societies, men in the households under study are often engaged in masculine work and women in feminine work. Women are for example often vendors of foods, drinks, small household products, clothes or handicraft (see plate 3 and 7). Other activities employed by women to earn a living are baking and selling bread, washing other people's clothes or working as a domestic servant. In some households, women – like mothers or sisters of migrants – perform domestic and caregiving tasks in exchange for shelter and basic living expenses. Several men work as taxi or truck drivers. The latter spend the majority of their time away from home, as they commute between Sucre and other Bolivian cities. Other men work as mechanics, construction workers, carpenters or makers of handicraft or are retired mine workers. One men owns a chichería, [13] where his wife and daughter-in-law sell chicha and from which he distributes the beverage around the neighborhood.

4.1.2 Changes

Household composition

As argued in section 1.1.4, among the effects of international migration are the changes in household composition. However, relatively few changes occurred in the composition of the households under study as a result of the departure of a spouse. Only 4 out of 30 households experienced significant changes that can be attributed to migration. However, all four are households of female migrants. Households of male migrants usually stayed the same or only experienced minor changes that were not directly related to migration. An example is the coming and/or going of tenants.

In two cases, the husband of the female migrant lived and worked in Argentina in the period prior to her migration. Both men claimed to have returned to Sucre to care for their children in the face of her absence. One migrant used to live with her two daughters in her mother's house. Now her husband lives here, as does her sister with her husband and children. The latter moved from Santa Cruz to Sucre, in order to care for the migrant's children and manage her money, which she no longer sends to her husband. The drastic changes in this household's composition can thus be explained by the replacement of the migrant by her sister. Chapter 5 will elaborate on the reasons for and consequences of suchlike replacements. The composition of the second household also changed, as the migrant's husband returned to Sucre and put one of his sons out of the house, as a result of tensions between the two. His son now lives with his grandmother, who – despite her high age - felt compelled to assume total care over him.

In the other two cases, changes were of a different nature. In both households, the migration of the female spouse induced the migration of other household members as

[13] A chicheria is a local place where chicha is being sold. Chicha is a fermented beverage with a high percentage of alcohol, often made out of maize.

well. In one household, the migrant's daughter followed her mother after 6 months, when the latter had arranged a place to live and built up a network of work contacts. In the second household, the migrant was followed by her son, daughter, daughter-in-law and two grandchildren. They now live together in Spain and share responsibility over the grandchildren. A large part of the house in Sucre is now rented out to university students.

It is important to keep in mind that, although many households did not experience major changes in their composition, international migration can still significantly alter household dynamics. An example are the gender relations discussed in chapter 5.

Household headship

One of the topics of the questionnaire is household headship and the changes that occurred due to the international migration of a spouse. Household headship is a rather complex concept, as it not only refers to the person(s) in charge of supporting the household financially, but also to the person(s) in charge of decision-making. The latter concerns economic as well as non-economic decisions, like those regarding the daily organization of the household and the upbringing of children. One must keep in mind that households can have multiple heads.

In this section, some of the consequences of international migration for household headship are analyzed. This brief analysis concerns all 30 households included in the survey. A distinction is made between households of male and female migrants. Chapter 5 will elaborate on the topics discussed in this section, primarily using the findings of the in-depth interviews.

Most changes occurred in households of female migrants. Whereas before men were the primary breadwinners, today migrant women contribute most to their household's financial resources. Most husbands staying behind identified both spouses as heads of the household; before and after migration. As mentioned before, men were in all cases the main economic providers in the period prior to migration and often the ones in charge of important economic decisions; either with or without the influence and/or consent of their wives. Women were generally in charge of domestic tasks and the children. This corresponds to the norm in patriarchal and machista societies (see section 2.2). Migration has caused only some men to assume more responsibility over the household and children and many woman to gain influence – although to varying degrees - in economic decision-making processes, as a result of their new role as the household's primary breadwinner. Migrant women's involvement with children and domestic matters however, often remains strong, despite their physical absence. This constitutes a contrast to many migrant men and can largely be explained by the prevailing gender ideology in the patriarchal and machista Bolivian society, that places the responsibility for the well-being of the household primarily in women's hands.

Men often feel that the migration of their wives has increased their responsibilities in and around the house and caused more stress in their lives. Husbands that do not receive remittances from their wives and – hence - are excluded from most economic decision-making processes regarding their household, feel they lost much of their position as a household head. They now identify their wives as the primary head of the household - often together with other members, like the migrant's child or sister - and experience feelings of frustration, anger and powerlessness.

In households of male migrants less changes can be observed. Men are usually still the primary breadwinners, only now from a distance. Nevertheless, 80 per cent of the women staying behind *did* experience some increase in their influence and decision-making power, as a result of their husband's migration. The extent to which this occurred however, varies significantly per household. 30 per cent of women for example, now – besides their husband's role as the primary breadwinner - identify themselves as the only head of the household. Before this position was shared with - or taken by - the husband. Half of them however, expect their husbands to gain influence in economic decisions as soon as they pay off their debts or start sending more money than the absolute necessary for the household's survival. 50 per cent of the wives staying behind, perceived both spouses as heads of the household; before and after migration. In most cases, men were the ones in charge of important economic decisions in the period prior to migration, again with or without the influence and/or consent of their wives. Women were often the ones in charge of the daily organization of the household and the children, although some men also played an important role in the upbringing of children. Due to migration, many women gained influence in household economic decision-making processes. Nevertheless, changes are often limited, as most women only experienced an increase in their influence on small and daily expenses and continue to (have to) ask their husband's permission for larger economic expenses. Men therefore generally maintain their influence on household economics from a distance. Women still carry the responsibility for the daily organization of the household and the children. In some cases, children - often the oldest sons - or other household members also became involved in household decision-making processes, in the period following migration. Finally, 20 per cent of wives staying behind identified no changes in their household's headship and thus did not experience an increase in their influence and decision-making power as a result of migration. The position and role of their husbands remained practically the same, despite their physical absence.

While women usually experience an increase in influence and power as something positive, many are also burdened with more responsibilities. Not only are they in charge of the household, children and possibly their own business or other activities, they often also have to make more - or all - economic decisions. This is often experienced as heavy, difficult and as causing a lot of stress and anxiety. Many women are overwhelmed by feelings of responsibility for the well-being and survival of their households.

Other changes

Besides changes in the household's composition and headship, international migration can also induce other changes in households of migrants. As argued in section 1.1.4, migration and the often inherent sending of remittances involve sacrifices and personal investments in both the country of destination and origin. As argued by a female migrant in Spain; "we're all making sacrifices, as a *team.* Myself, as well as my husband and my children". [14]

Changes can be observed in children. Many children of migrants for example exhibit signs of behavioral problems and/or declining academic performance. Furthermore, children often miss their parents and suffer under their absence. Many experience a lack of care, attention and love (see also section 1.1.4). These problems are often exacerbated, as the increased workloads and responsibilities of spouses staying behind hinder them from spending enough time with their children. As argued by the wife of a migrant; "I now have to put more effort into trying to dedicate enough time to them" [15], hereby referring to her children.

Migration also causes other problems. Women that stay behind for example often indicate to experience stress as a result of the migration of their husbands. Problems with children, increased responsibilities and workloads, and worries about the well-being of their husbands and families, often result in high levels of stress and feelings of unhappiness. For some women, this has resulted in serious health problems. Men that stay behind seem to suffer less from suchlike problems, but sometimes complain about feelings of loneliness. As argued in section 1.1.4, many couples have marital problems as a result of migration. This is also the case in the households under study. Sexual infidelity of men, feelings of jealousy and insecurity regarding the relationship, and a lack of communication often lead to conflicts and sometimes even divorce plans. The impact of marital problems on children is significant. Some migrants also experience strong feelings of guilt. This is especially true for female migrants, as they are often perceived - and perceive themselves – as the ones responsible for the well-being of their household and children. One migrant woman suffered severe health problems as a result of guilt feelings and worries, due to which she reportedly was forced to return to her children in Sucre.

It must not be forgotten that migration can also have many positive consequences. Remittances can for example improve the financial situation of recipient households and consequently reduce financial stress and worries. Households members generally feel more secure about their future and are mostly positively influenced by an increased standard of living. For more information on the impact of remittances in the households under study, see section 4.3.2. Furthermore, one fourth of the women staying behind explicitly indicated to experience the absence of their husbands as something positive,

[14] "Nos estamos sacrificando todos en *equipo*, tanto yo como mi esposo y mis hijos" (Doña Julieta A.).
[15] "Ahora tengo que poner más empeño en tratar de dedicar suficiente tiempo en ellos" (Doña Luisa)

as it provided them and their children with a more peaceful situation at home. These women - and sometimes also their children - were all abused by their spouses; physically as well as psychologically.

4.2 Migration

4.2.1 Characteristics of migrants

Most households included in this research just have one member abroad; the spouse. Only 20 per cent of the households also have one or several other members living outside of Bolivia. In these households, the number of migrants varies between 2 and 6, with an average of around 3. [16] Migrants other than spouses are often their children or other relatives, like siblings. In line with earlier findings, the majority of these migrants is male. As argued before, relatives that already live abroad usually play an important role in financing the journey of new migrants and providing them with work and accommodation.

The average age of migrants in the households under study is 33.6. There exists very little difference between the average age of men (33.7) and women (33.3). The age of male migrants ranges between 22 and 54 and that of female migrants between 22 and 52. These numbers exclude two migrant children, whose age is unknown.

As far as levels of education are concerned, no remarkable differences were observed between the migrants and the households in Sucre. Furthermore, differences between the education levels of male and female migrants are also not outstanding.

All migrants included in this research work in the country of destination. The only exceptions are the two minors mentioned above. Several migrants are involved in very irregular and/or poorly paid work and therefore struggle to send home enough remittances on a regular basis. More information on the characteristics of remittances sent by migrants can be found in section 4.3.1.

Regarding the work performed by migrants abroad, again strong gender differences can be observed. A surprising 74 per cent of male migrants work in construction. The remaining 26 per cent is made up of men that work - for example - as welders, truck drivers, harvest workers or in a brick factory. The latter concern migrants in Argentina. Male migrants in Spain all work in construction or as welders. Female migrants are primarily engaged in 'feminine' professions that are tied to traditional gender roles. As argued in section 1.1.2, these professions are generally characterized by informality, irregularity, low wages and poor working conditions. 50 per cent of migrant women in

[16] By also including migrants other than the spouse, the total number of migrants in the 30 households included in the survey amounts to 43.

the households under study earn their living by taking care of children or elderly people. This is part of the phenomenon of the 'transfer of care in global capitalism', described in section 1.1.2. A quarter of the women work as domestic servants or cleaning ladies. Of the remaining quarter, household members in Sucre do not know what kind of work they perform. Two husbands clearly displayed doubts regarding the nature of the work of their wives, indicating that they may be working as prostitutes. However, the reliability of their answers may be questioned, as both men displayed a lot of anger and frustration concerning their deteriorated marriages and the increased power of their wives. Furthermore, other households members did not share their ideas and expected the female migrant to be involved in 'normal' work.

Overall, it can be concluded that the levels of education of migrants have no significant influence on the type of work they perform in the country of destination. An example are the male migrants that work in construction. One of them was illiterate, whereas others had a university degree. The same is true for the female migrants included in this research.

4.2.2 Characteristics of migration

The number one country of destination among migrants included in this research, is Spain, followed by Argentina and Italy (see table 5). Of the male migrants, 52 per cent live in Spain and 48 per cent in Argentina. For female migrants, Spain is by far the most popular country. Three quarters of women live here, followed by Italy (12.5%) and Argentina (12.5%).

The importance of Spain - but also Italy - as a destination country for female migrants, can be explained by the strong demand for cheap female labor that exists in developed countries today. As argued in section 1.1.2, countries in the global North are said to experience a crisis in the current reproductive model, which is causing a "transfer of care in global capitalism". Migrant women often perform domestic and/or care-giving tasks which were previously performed by women in developed countries themselves (see also section 4.2.1).

	Male migrants		**Female migrants**		**Total**	
Country of destination	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**
Argentina	13	30.23	2	4.65	15	34.88
Spain	14	32.56	12	27.91	26	60.47
Italy	0	0	2	4.65	2	4.65
Total	**27**	**62.79**	**16**	**37.21**	**43**	**100**

Table 5: Countries of destination, according to sex of the migrant
Source: Household survey 2008

For most migrants (70%), the country displayed in table 5 represents their first and - up until now - only migration destination. This implies that most migrants did not migrate before, neither within Bolivia nor internationally. The remaining 30 per cent did.

Around 60 per cent of them migrated within Bolivia, particularly towards the city of Santa Cruz. The other 40 per cent crossed the border towards Argentina. Of all migrants that first moved to Argentina, the next step was migration to Spain. Migrants that first moved to another city in Bolivia, subsequently migrated to Argentina (62.5%) or Spain (37.5%). Argentina is often a destination for migrants who lack the resources to finance a passage to the global North or who only intend to migrate for a short period of time. The former often seek to ultimately migrate to the global North. Most people that migrate 'step-wise' returned to Sucre in between the different migration phases. The time spent in Sucre before migrating another time varies significantly per case; from only 1 month to 11 years. About 50 per cent of the step-wise migrants was accompanied by their spouses - and often also their children - the first time of migration.

Most migrants included in this research, migrated relatively recently to their current country of destination. Although their time away from home varies per case - from just 5 weeks to 4 years -, the average amounts to only 1 year and 5 months. Some step-wise migrants however, left Sucre for the first time many years ago.

The majority of migrants (86%) left Bolivia primarily for economic reasons. Most of them worked in the period prior to migration, but earned insufficient to provide their households with an adequate and/or satisfactory standard of living, to pay off debts and/or to save capital. Others migrated because they were unemployed. Migration is often intended to secure the household's survival into the future. As argued by a female respondent; "Just for them, you have to look for a better future", [17] hereby referring to her children. One university student left for Argentina, because his family could no longer afford to pay his college fees and other study related costs. His goal is to save enough money and return to Sucre to finish his studies.

In the case of one female migrant, it is likely that she migrated for more than economic reasons only. She took the decision to go to Spain without conferring with her husband, when he was working in Argentina. According to him, the family received enough remittances to live well. The husband suspects that her motivation for migration also had much to do with her wish for more independence and an escape out of their marriage. This was also the case for the returned female migrant. Both cases will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2. One man reportedly migrated to escape his responsibilities as a husband and a father. When he migrated to Argentina, he left his family members without notice, taking with him their most important possessions. He broke off all contact after that and has never sent remittances. The two minors have left Bolivia as a result of their parents' migration.

Table 6 provides information on the status of migrants in their current country of residence, according to sex. As one can see, by far the majority are illegal migrants. Several migrants were in the process of obtaining legal documents in the period this

[17] "Por ellos no más tiene que buscar futuro" (Doña Elsa)

research was conducted. When they succeed, some of them intend to start a process of family reunification in their current country of residence.

Their illegal status is an important factor that prevents many migrants from visiting their households in Bolivia. Another reason are the costs involved in making this journey. 86 per cent of the migrants under study has not yet returned to Sucre for a visit. Migrants that have, usually possess legal documents.

	Male migrants		Female migrants		Total	
Status	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**
Legal	3	6.98	2	4.65	5	11.63
Illegal	24	55.81	11	25.58	35	81.39
Unknown	0	0	3	6.98	3	6.98
Total	**27**	**62.79**	**16**	**37.21**	**43**	**100**

Table 6: The status of migrants in their current country of residence, according to sex
Source: Household survey 2008

As for the frequency and nature of contact between migrants and their households in Sucre, differences can be observed between male and female migrants. Table 7 provides information on the frequency of contact, according to the sex of the migrant. As one can see, most migrants (48.83%) are in contact with their household members once a week. However, it can be observed that female migrants usually contact their families more often than male migrants. This is especially true for spouses that migrated abroad. The category 'once a week' for female migrants for example, is for 50 per cent made up of women other than spouses. The latter often contact their families more than once a week. Two women even call their husbands and children multiple times a day, which shows their strong involvement in their daily lives. There are no migrant women that contact their households less than once a week, in contrast to migrant men. This supports the assumption that migrant women – due to their perceived and internalized responsibility for the well-being of their children and households – maintain more frequent contact with people at home than migrant men.

	Male migrants		Female migrants		Total	
Frequency of contact	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**
Multiple times a day	0	0	2	4.65	2	4.65
Once a day	4	9.30	2	4.65	6	13.95
Multiple times a week	6	13.95	4	9.30	10	23.25
Once a week	13	30.23	8	18.60	21	48.83
Once every 2 weeks	1	2.33	0	0	1	2.33
Never	1	2.33	0	0	1	2.33
Unknown	2	4.65	0	0	2	4.65
Total	**27**	**62.79**	**16**	**37.20**	**43**	**100**

Table 7: Frequency of contact between migrants and their households in Sucre, according to sex of the migrant
Source: Household survey 2008

Concerning the nature of contact, it can be observed that migrant women usually have more personal contact with the different household members in Sucre than migrant men. Most women intend to speak to each person individually. Furthermore, female migrants usually have longer conversations than male migrants and are more likely to send little presents, cards and/or photos.

In general, it can be observed that most migrants communicate with their households in Sucre solely over the phone. Usually, the migrant is the one to initiate the contact, as international phone calls are often too expensive for people staying behind. This creates a certain level of dependency of households in Sucre towards migrants abroad. Some households not only communicate over the phone, but also use the internet for emails and chat sessions, in one case with the use of a web cam. As argued before, some migrants – especially women - also send cards and/or photos.

The idea of migration usually came from migrants themselves, or from relatives or friends that already lived abroad and suggested migration as a way out of financial problems and/or a strategy to improve their future prospects.

The decision to migrate was most often taken by both spouses. In some cases – almost all men - the decision was taken by the migrant alone, without conferring with their spouse or children. One man decided to migrate after his wife told him she wanted to go to Spain for work. Because he did not find this appropriate for a woman, he left; almost without informing his family. In some cases, other people were also directly involved in the decision-making process. Quite often this concerned other household members, like children or the migrant's parents or parents-in-law. One female migrant made the decision together with her sisters-in-law, who already lived in Spain at the time. Her husband was not involved in this process.

4.3 Remittances

In this section, attention will be paid to the remittances sent by spouses. As made apparent in sub-question three, remittances sent by other migrants are excluded from the analysis. [18]

4.3.1 Characteristics of remittances

The majority of the migrants sent remittances to their households in Sucre. Only two of the 20 male migrants did not. One concerns the man that left his wife and children without notice and never contacted them afterwards. The other man migrated only five weeks before speaking to his wife. He left for Argentina and experienced difficulties in finding well-paid and regular work. Together with the fact that life in Argentina is

[18] It must be remarked however, that only one of these migrants - a daughter – sent remittances to her household in Sucre. This only occurred very irregularly.

relatively expensive, he had not been able to sent any remittances yet. Both households now almost completely depend on the earnings of the wife. Of the 10 female migrants, only one did not sent remittances to her household. After paying off the household's debts and investing enough money into the husband's business, the spouses together decided that all remittances must be saved by the migrant, in order for the family to build a new house and the wife to start a business when she returns to Sucre. The husband now provides for the daily expenses of the household, with his earnings as a taxi driver.

All male migrants that have sent remittances to their households in Sucre, sent them to their spouse. This is not the case for all female migrants. Four women sent their earnings to someone else other than their husband - usually a female relative living in their homes - in order for the money to be saved and/or spent on their household and children. This was also the case for the returned female migrant. Women usually remit their money to someone else other than their spouse to prevent it from being misspent, to make sure that it is used according to their wishes and/or because of marital problems that exist (see also section 1.1.4). Section 5.2.1 will pay more detailed attention to this topic. There was one migrant woman that sent remittances to her husband as well as to her two daughters living at home. Her reasons for doing this will also be discussed in section 5.2.1.

	Male migrants		**Female migrants**		**Total**	
Amount (in USD)	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**	**No.**	**% of total**
0	2	10	1	10	2	6.6
1-50	1	5	0	0	1	3.3
51-100	3	15	0	0	3	10
101-200	1	5	0	0	1	3.3
201-300	1	5	0	0	1	3.3
301-400	2	10	0	0	2	6.6
401-500	1	5	0	0	1	3.3
501-600	2	10	3	30	5	16.7
601-700	2	10	0	0	2	6.6
701 and more	5	25	2	20	8	26.7
Unknown	0	0	4	40	4	13.3
Total	20	100	10	100	30	100

Table 8: The average amount of remittances per month, according to sex of the migrant
Source: Household survey 2008

Most migrants in the households under study (56%) sent remittances every month. A small group (22%) sent remittances every two months. Two migrants form an exception by sending their money every week or two weeks. It must be noted that these figures all represent estimations, as some migrants sent remittances on a very irregular basis. Of 15 per cent of the migrants, information concerning the amount and frequency with which remittances were sent is lacking. It concerns the four cases in which the

migrant woman sent her money to someone else other than her husband. For the sake of clarity, table 8 (on the previous page) provides insight into the average amount of remittances *per month*, according to the sex of the migrant.

It is difficult to compare male and female migrants on the basis of table 8, since data are lacking for 40 per cent of the female migrants. However, it can be observed that there were more men that sent very high amounts of money than women. The amounts of money sent by men in the category '701 and more' vary between 800 USD and 1750 USD per month, with an average of around 1100 USD. For women, the amounts vary between 750 USD and 1000 USD per month, with an average of around 800 USD. This support the general assumption that migrant women earn less in countries of destination than migrant men.

Differences can also be observed between the amounts of money sent by migrants in Europe and migrants in Argentina. The latter generally sent smaller amounts of money, as wages in Argentina are much lower. This explains why there are more men that sent small amounts of money than women, as there are relatively more men that live in Argentina than women. It can also be observed that legal migrants usually sent relatively high amounts of money in comparison to many illegal migrants in the same country of destination, as they often have more stable and well-paid jobs. There is one male migrant that only sent around 25 USD per month. He is an illegal migrant in Spain and is said to suffer from severe health problems, due to which he often cannot work.

Most migrants in the households under study strictly sent money. Only one migrant – a woman - also sent gifts to her husband and children, like mp-3 players, cameras and clothes. These gifts were sent via friends or acquaintances that returned to Bolivia. There were no migrants in the households under study that sent money informally; via other persons travelling to Bolivia.

Plate 8: Advertisement for international transfers of money on España street, Sucre

Half the households of male migrants completely depended on remittances for their survival, including the household that only received 25 USD per month. This is not the case for any of the households of female migrants. Husbands that stay behind always have another source of income besides the remittances sent by their wives. Differences between households of male and female migrants cannot only be explained by the fact that wives that stay

behind usually experience higher workloads in the domestic sphere - and therefore have less time to work - than husbands, but also by the social norm in the Bolivian society that expects men to fulfil the role of breadwinner. It must be noted that the level of dependency on remittances in households with multiple sources of income is still considerable, as remittances often make up between 70 and 90 per cent of the household's financial resources. As argued in section 1.1.4, this strong – or complete – reliance of recipient households on this often rather precarious and irregular source of income for their daily survival, makes them extremely vulnerable to changes or fluctuations in remittance flows.

4.3.2 Utilization of remittances

According to a study conducted by the IBCE (2008: 9), 45 per cent of all remittances that are sent to Bolivia is spent on daily expenses. 21 per cent is used for education, 17 per cent to start or expand a business, 12 per cent for savings and 4 per cent for real estate. The remaining 1 per cent is used for other purposes.

As for the households under study, similar patterns can be observed. Although the character of this research does not permit for a detailed analysis of the exact expenditure of remittances, some general information regarding their use has been gathered. For example, in over three quarters of the households remittances were used for basic needs, like food, water, housing, clothes and health care. This does not imply however, that such basic needs are in all cases only paid for by means of remittances. Quite often, remaining household members also earned a living and contributed to the basic expenses mentioned above. In the remaining quarter of the households, basic needs were entirely provided for by household members other than the migrant, often the migrant's spouse. There were relatively more households of male migrants that depended – partially or completely – on remittances for their basic needs, then there were households of female migrants.

In over three quarters of the households remittances were also spent on the education of children. One man migrated to Spain with the primary goal of offering his 8 children the opportunity to study. Four children are currently studying at the university, while the other four are still in primary and secondary school. Remittances often enable children to study for longer periods of time, sometimes even at a university level. They can therefore have a positive contribution to the levels of education of children in recipient households. As argued in section 4.1.1, especially girls are expected to benefit from the increase in financial resources for education, as they are usually the ones who receive the least education in situations of poverty. Again, it can be observed that there were relatively more households of male migrants that – partially or completely – depended on remittances for the children's education, than there were households of female migrants.

More than 80 per cent of the migrants included in this research (72% of male migrants and 100% of female migrants), left Bolivia with the goal of earning enough money to improve the living conditions of their households in Sucre. This often implies that they aspire to buy a house of their own, to improve and/or expand their current house or to build a new house. In order to achieve this, remittances are being saved. In some cases however, households do not manage to save any money (yet) or only very small amounts. There are also households that have already attained their goals and - for example - bought a plot and built a house. Several other households were in the process of constructing a new home or expanding and/or improving of the existing one.

Another important aim of remittances is to start or expand a household business. Some 25 per cent of the households under study save remittances in order to invest them in business activities in the future. Some examples of the kinds of businesses people want to open are; a hardware store, a mechanic workshop and a one-man taxi company. Since saving has proved to be very difficult for many households, it remains to be seen how many households actually have the opportunity to achieve this goal. In two cases, remittances were already used to set up a business. It concerns households of female migrants, which invested the money in a taxi and an internet cafe.

In another 25 per cent of the households, remittances were used to pay off debts. This does not include debts related to the journey - as practically all migrants have them - but other types of debts. Examples are debts as a result of the purchase of a plot or debts of old businesses. For several households, debts were the most important reason for migration. As argued by Doña Gumercinda; "The debts were choking us". [19] Her family was burdened with debts as a result of a road accident and continuous technical problems to their vehicle, which served as a taxi and was the family's only source of income. The migrant plans to return to Sucre as soon as the debts are paid off.

Around one third of the households also saves remittances for other purposes than education, the start or expansion of a business and/or improvements of the household's living conditions. In these cases money is for example saved for possible future shocks and stresses and as a provision for old age. One migrant woman saves money to organize and finance a religious celebration in her community when she comes back, another saves for her daughter's "Quinceaños" [20] and a third saves for her children's and grandchildren's birthdays. A migrant man saves money for the wedding to the mother of his children. In another household, the savings of remittances are used to issue loans to other people; often future migrants. Part of the household's basic needs are now paid for by the interests they receive.

[19] "Los deudas nos estaban colgando" (Doña Gumercinda)

[20] "Quinceaños" is the name of the celebration of the 15th birthday of girls. It is an important tradition in many Latin American countries, as this point in life is thought to represent a person's transition from girlhood to womanhood.

It is obvious that remittances are often used for various purposes and can have an important impact on recipient households. When looking at the categories for which remittances were *most* used in the households under study, it can be observed that both food and education were high on the list of many households. This is also true – although to a somewhat lesser extent – for savings and health care. Other expenditures appeared less often in the 'spending top-3' of remittance-receiving households.

Some important differences can be observed between households of male and female migrants. As for the latter, 75 per cent identified savings as the number one destination of remittances. There are even two households that saved *all* the remittances they received. As argued before, these savings can be used for various purposes. In households of male migrants, savings were less often identified as the number one destination of remittances. In these households, food appeared by far most frequently on the top of the list. These differences can for an important part be explained by the fact that households of female migrants were more likely to have multiple sources of income than households of male migrants. This often provided them with a greater opportunity to save part of their earnings.

5. The implications of international migration

In this chapter, the implications of the international migration of a spouse will be analyzed. Attention is paid to two themes; the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women in the households under study. As argued in section 3.1.2, migrants - although living abroad - are considered an important part of these households.

In order to analyze the influence of international migration on gender relations, the deliberate choice has been made to focus on the two themes mentioned above. Reason for this is the fact that – as discussed in section 2.2 – unequal gender relations in patriarchal and machista societies come to the fore most prominently in the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women. When analyzing the changes in gender relations brought about by international migration, these two domains are therefore particularly of interest. In the analysis, a distinction and comparison will be made between changes in practice and changes in the perceptions of household members concerning the different themes.

In section 5.1, the implications of international migration for the gender distribution of tasks and time will be analyzed. In section 5.2, the implications for the decision-making powers of men and women will be discussed. A distinction is made between economic decision-making powers and the levels of personal autonomy of men and women. Throughout this chapter a consequent comparison will be made between households of male migrants and households of female migrants.

For the analysis, use will primarily be made of the in-depth interviews conducted with the household members of male and female migrants. For more details on the background and selection criteria of these households and household members, see section 3.1.1 and chapter 4. The information from the in-debt interviews with the returned migrants will also be used, as will – occasionally – the information concerning other households included in the survey.

5.1 The distribution of tasks and time

As discussed in section 2.2, there are generally strong gender divisions of labor within Latin American households and families, based on ideas and beliefs of what is masculine and feminine. The man is usually expected to fulfill the role of breadwinner, whereas the woman is considered to be responsible for reproductive activities, like the maintenance of the household and childrearing. Because of this gender ideology that prevails in patriarchal and machista societies, men are often exempted from tasks and activities in the domestic sphere. Women however, are not only held responsible for most or all domestic tasks and activities, but often also feel forced to participate in the labor market in order to guarantee their household's survival into the future. As argued before, this

contributes to higher workloads and heavy burdens for women. A study conducted by Quintela Modia et al. (2004) in peri-urban areas in Sucre, confirms this.

It is plausible that international migration will generate changes in the gender distribution of tasks and time in households affected by migration. Especially female migration is often assumed to lead to significant alterations, as migrant women generally take on a new role as the primary breadwinner of the household and are no longer present to fulfil the domestic tasks and activities for which most of them previously borne full responsibility. In the case of male migration, less shifts are to be expected, as men often remain the main economic provider and women continue to be in charge of the household and children.

This section provides detailed insight into the changes that have occurred in the households under study and the extent to which the abovementioned hypotheses are applicable to households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre. Hereby, a distinction and comparison will be made between households of male and female migrants.

Households of female migrants

As expected, the group of households in which most changes can be observed as a result of migration is that of female migrants. As argued before, many migrant women take on a new role as primary breadwinner of the household. Furthermore, in most households the role and position of the migrant woman is largely or completely taken over by people other than the migrant's husband; in all cases female relatives and/or children of the migrant.

In the period prior to migration, all these households could be characterized as 'traditional' and complied with the prevailing gender norm in the Bolivian society. This means that migrant women were the ones held responsible for and carrying the burden of the household's domestic tasks and activities, despite the fact that they often also participated fulltime on the labor market in order to provide for their families. They are often identified by their husbands and – especially – their children as 'the pillar of the household'. Men however, usually assumed very few domestic tasks and activities. In most cases, their contribution was restricted to typical 'male chores', like the technical maintenance of the house. Furthermore, domestic tasks and activities were usually performed on a voluntary basis, which implies that men decided themselves what they did and when, with limited influence of women. This can be explained by the machista culture in the Bolivian society, that places the responsibility for these tasks and activities in the hands of women - not men - and therefore exempts men from suchlike obligations. The amount of time spent on productive activities did not seem to be of great influence on the gender distribution of domestic tasks and activities. In the majority of households, the female spouse worked the same amount of hours – or more – as did the male spouse, but nevertheless carried the full responsibility for the domestic tasks and activities and therefore experienced higher workloads. They

generally *did* receive some help from their children, especially the oldest daughters. In several households, clear distinctions were made between sons and daughters. The latter were often expected to spend more time on household chores than sons. Furthermore, they were primarily held responsible for feminine tasks and activities, like cleaning, cooking and looking after their younger siblings. Sons however, were by and large expected to perform male chores, like the technical maintenance of the house and harvesting the family's crops. In one household, sons were explicitly forbidden by their father to assist in any domestic tasks and activities of feminine nature. His daughters on the other hand, were required to fulfil many household chores, as their mother spent the majority of her time on productive activities outside the domestic sphere in order to maintain her eight children.

As mentioned before, in most households migration caused people other than the husband to largely or completely take over the role and position of the migrant woman. In all cases it concerns female relatives - like mothers or sisters – and/or the children of the migrant. Not surprisingly, when a household consists of both sons and daughters, the latter generally assume most responsibility for the domestic tasks and activities previously performed by their mother. An example is the household of Doña Paulina:

> When Doña Paulina migrated to Spain, her children were forced to completely take over her role and position in the household, as her husband refused to assume any of the 'feminine' tasks and activities previously performed by his wife. Furthermore, he started spending long periods away from home – supposedly with girlfriends – and neglected his children, who were left to care for themselves. His oldest son assumed the role of father for his younger siblings. However, because he works fulltime in order to help his mother provide for her children, his contribution to the household's domestic tasks and activities is limited. This responsibility is primarily shouldered by his 16 year-old sister, who is seen by her brothers and sisters as the mother and boss of the household. She takes daily care of her siblings and makes sure that domestic chores are carried out, usually with the help of her younger sisters. At times, she receives help from her older sister – who lives elsewhere in Sucre with her own family – and her grandmother. However, due to the busy work schedule of her sister and the old age of her grandmother, this only happens occasionally. Nevertheless, her grandmother assumed full responsibility and care over her older brother when he was put out of the house by his father as a result of conflicts concerning the latter's alcohol abuse, aggression and neglect of his children.

The case of Doña Paulina demonstrates that female migration can considerably increase the workloads and burdens of people – especially women - staying behind. For her husband however, very little has changed in respect of his tasks and workloads. Similar changes can be observed in many other households under study. An example is that of Doña Laura:

> When Doña Laura migrated to Spain, her role and position in the household was taken over by various female relatives. Especially her 19 year-old daughter - who just became a mother herself – assumed many of the tasks and activities previously performed by her mother. She receives help from her 9 year-old sister and from female relatives outside the household. Her grandmother for example, provides the family with important daily support, as she lives next door and - among other things - attempts to look after her youngest granddaughter as much as possible. Her other

grandmother lives in the city of Cochabamba, but visits her grandchildren and son-in-law on a regular basis. When she does, she stays for longer periods of time in order to take care of them. The household also receives help from the migrant's goddaughters, who clean the house every few days. For the care of her recently born baby, the migrant's daughter depends on the help of her younger sister and other women in order to be able to finish her studies. Despite his relatively large amount of free time, the migrant's husband does not get involved in suchlike activities. Aside from his somewhat increased responsibility to check up on his youngest daughter to do her homework and domestic chores properly, he - in contrast to his daughters and other women staying behind - has not experienced any significant changes in his tasks and workloads.

Both cases are illustrative for the changes that have occurred in the gender distribution of tasks and time of many households of female migrants under study. They also demonstrate that women from outside the direct household often play an important role in the replacement of the female migrant. It must be emphasized however, that most women did not receive this kind of help before their migration and that it is often likely to only be of temporary nature. This was also the case for the returned female migrant.

Another important finding is that the involvement of women in domestic matters usually remains considerable, despite their physical absence (see also section 4.1.2). Some female migrants for example, call their husbands and/or children for up to one or two hours a day. This way they keep in contact with them and help coordinate the household from a distance, by giving instructions and advice concerning domestic matters. This can for an important part be explained by the fact that women are perceived – and perceive themselves - as the ones wholly responsible for the well-being of their households and children. Not surprisingly, male migrants often show much less involvement. Furthermore, it can be observed that tasks and activities are often performed in a different manner in the period following the woman's migration. In some households for example, dinner is no longer cooked at home but bought on the street or in a local diner. In the household of Doña Laura a washing machine was purchased with remittances, in order to reduce the time and effort spent on laundry.

It can be observed that - apart from the fact that many migrant women take on a new role as the household's primary breadwinner - very few changes occurred in the *gender* distribution of tasks and time in the period following migration. Women are usually still the ones held responsible for the household's domestic tasks and activities and – consequently – experience higher workloads and greater burdens than men. This corresponds to the findings of the case study conducted by the UN-INSTRAW (2006) in the Dominican Republic (see also section 1.1.4).

The lack of profound changes can to an important extent be explained by the persistent gender beliefs of people in the households under study. Especially the beliefs of men concerning gender relations are rather resistant to change. Even the absence of the female spouse and her new role as the household's primary breadwinner often do not generate any significant alterations in men's beliefs regarding women and the role and position they are supposed to assume within the household. Many husbands for

example, still believe that men and women are essentially different and that women are the ones responsible for the household and children. This corresponds to the findings of various other authors, who argue that for many people in Latin America the ideology of femininity and masculinity – and consequently that of separate spheres – has remained almost unchanged over the past decades, despite significant economic and social changes (see section 2.2.3). Men's rigid machista attitudes and beliefs usually prevent them from assuming a different role and position in their household and impedes processes of change. As demonstrated by both cases, this often has detrimental consequences for women staying behind, as they face even more responsibilities and heavier workloads than before the migrant's departure. Men's unwillingness to change however, cannot only be explained by their persistent gender beliefs, but also by their desire to preserve their privileged status as men and the pressure they experience to conform to the machista gender norm that prevails in the Bolivian society (see section 2.2). Males that do not live up to the macho stereotype, often receive social criticism and are ridiculed by other people, especially other men. One respondent explicitly expressed his fear to be criticized and made fun of. According to him, males that do not live up to the ideals of manhood and do not act like 'real men', are for example called 'mandarinas', which is perceived as denigrating and damaging to one's reputation. This particular respondent performs certain 'feminine' tasks and activities, but only behind closed doors, where no one from outside his direct household can see – and therefore criticize - him.

The gender beliefs of women also have an important influence on the situation and changes in the households under study. It must not indiscriminately be assumed that women are always the victims of men and their rigid machista attitudes and behaviours. Many women share – to a certain extent - men's beliefs concerning gender relations. This is particularly true for older women, like migrants and their mothers. Many women that stay behind for example, take it as their duty – as women - to replace the female migrant. Furthermore, several migrants have expressed to their families their desire to return to Sucre and assume the role of primary caretaker again. In their opinion, this is what women are meant to do. They are also the ones that arranged their replacement by other women, often without much influence of and/or consultation with their husbands. In some cases this was done because the migrant expected her husband not to take adequate (enough) care of her household and children. In other cases it was done because the migrant did not belief her husband was to be held responsible for suchlike 'feminine' tasks and activities. For these women, the experience of living abroad and being the household's primary breadwinner often does not seem to have changed their perceptions and desires for the future significantly. For other women however, this *did* occur. These women want to share the responsibility for the household and children with their spouses and have a more equal relationship when they return.

In the group of households of female migrants, there were two remarkable exceptions. These exceptions were formed by households in which the husband *did* – for the most part - replace the migrant woman in the domestic tasks and activities she conducted, rather than female relatives and/or children of the migrant.

In the period prior to migration, both households displayed many similarities to the households in which few changes in gender relations occurred. Men were the primary breadwinners and women – besides their jobs – were almost completely responsible for their households and children. Throughout several years, both men worked in rural areas in Chuquisaca and therefore spent long periods away from their families. The difference with many other husbands however, was that they did – voluntarily - perform various feminine tasks and activities when they were at home. Both men were traditional in the sense that they perceived their wives as the ones responsible for the household and children, but they were not as machista and unwilling to help with feminine tasks and activities as many other husbands. Furthermore, almost no distinctions were made between the tasks and responsibilities of sons and daughters.

In the period following migration, many profound changes occurred in both households. As mentioned before, the two husbands now almost completely assume the domestic tasks and activities previously performed by their wives. They transformed from men that were primarily breadwinners to men that carry the full responsibility for their households and children. They both receive help from their sons and daughters, but – in contrast to many other husbands of female migrants - relatively little to none from people outside the direct household. One husband has a laundry lady and his mother sometimes looks after his children. The other refuses to hire someone to - for example - wash his clothes or clean his house, as this would set a bad example for his children. Furthermore, he feels the need to show his wife his appreciation for the sacrifices she makes to provide for the family, by being a good and reliable husband and father. Both men work less than before, in order to spend enough time with their children. Again, it can be observed that tasks and activities are performed in a different manner and that the migrant's involvement in domestic matters is still considerable.

The profound and remarkable changes in gender relations can to an important extent be explained by the attitudes and behaviours of both husbands. As argued before, neither one could be characterized as very machista in the period prior to migration. Consequently, gender relations were more equal than in most other households under study. It also came to the fore that the two men were very family oriented and placed their wives and children first. As argued by Don Juan Raúl; "My wife and my children are my world, my life". [21] The transition to the current situation required some adjustments – especially on the part of the husbands – but went relatively harmoniously and without much problems. The men do not feel forced into their current role and position and primarily emphasize the contribution both spouses make to the survival chances and future prospects of their household. The two husbands say that migration has caused

[21] "Mi esposa y mis hijos son mi mundo, mi vida" (Don Juan Raúl)

them to obtain more respect and appreciation for their wives and the – in their opinion - indispensable role they play within their households. As argued by Don José: "I am starting to understand how the woman suffers". [22] Both men also emphasize that female migration often has other consequences, as many husbands change considerably as a result of their wife's departure, because they are impugned in their honour and pride. Not rarely, they start drinking, neglect their children and have girlfriends. Both men disapprove of this type of behaviour and are determined to do better. They frequently receive criticism - especially from other males - because they work and go out less and fulfil feminine tasks and activities. Both men say they are ridiculed by male relatives, friends and acquaintances. An often heard comment is that they are kept under their wife's thumbs, now that they receive remittances from them. Both men try not to care too much about such comments, but Don José finds this hard. To stop the criticism, he sometimes goes out with relatives and friends and participates in typical male activities.

Households of male migrants

In households of male migrants, much less variation and change can be observed. As was the case in households of female migrants, strong gender divisions of labor existed in the period prior to migration. Men were the primary breadwinners and women were considered to be responsible for the household and children, despite the fact that most also worked fulltime. Migration has not induced any significant alterations in this respect. Men are still the main economic providers of their households and women still carry the full responsibility for domestic tasks and activities. The role played by some husbands in the fulfilment of certain masculine chores – like the technical maintenance of the house – is now in most cases assumed by one of the oldest sons or another male relative. One woman at times hires a handyman, as her sons are still too young to assume their father's chores and she has no other male relatives living nearby. Like in many households of female migrants, clear distinctions are often made between the tasks and responsibilities of sons and daughters. The latter are deemed responsible for feminine tasks and activities and are often required to help more in and around the house. Only in one household this has changed as a result of the migration of the male spouse. The migrant's wife now demands more help from her sons; something that was impossible with her husband present. In contrast to husbands of female migrants, these women hardly receive help from people outside their own households. They are expected to manage all domestic tasks and activities on their own, as they are women and therefore responsible. [23] Furthermore, in households of male migrants remittances were not spent on luxury articles like washing machines or on dinners at a local diner. Again, women are deemed responsible for carrying out suchlike tasks by themselves,

[22] "Estoy conociendo como sufre la mujer" (Don José)

[23] Similar findings were reported by Ferrufino Quiroga et al. (2007) concerning their study among households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba.

regardless of the high workloads or burdens they may experience. In this regard, very few changes occurred in the organization of households of male migrants. The only major difference mentioned by all women, is the increase in their workloads as a result of their husbands' departure.

Concerning the gender beliefs of household members, it can – once again – be observed that they have not changed much as a result of migration. Male migrants were often considerably more machista than most husbands of female migrants in the period prior to their migration. This is likely to have had an important influence on the decision who migrates (see also section 4.2.2). Most women do not expect their husbands to have changed much as a result of their migration and – consequently - expect the situation to largely be the same when he returns. The beliefs of women staying behind also changed very little. Again, most shared – to a certain extent however – their husband's traditional and machista beliefs concerning gender issues. Many women for example, considered men and women to be essentially different and believed women to be the ones responsible for the household and children, even when they work fulltime. Some however, argue that this is primarily because men refuse to perform domestic tasks and activities and are often absent. They indicate to feel put at a disadvantage by men.

Summarizing remarks

It can be concluded that international migration generated more changes in the households of female migrants than in the households of male migrants under study. This correspond well with the hypotheses posed in the beginning of this section. However, migration does not always lead to significant changes in gender relations concerning the distribution of tasks and time. In most households of female migrants for example, the role and position of the migrant woman is largely or completely assumed by other women, like female relatives and/or daughters. As a result, they often experience a considerable increase in their responsibilities and workloads. The tasks and workloads of the husbands of migrants however, usually stay the same. In these households, migration thus not induced significant changes in the roles and positions of men and women concerning their distribution of tasks and time. There were only two exceptions, in which the male spouse *did* assume the majority of the tasks and activities previously performed by the female migrant. These were the only households under study in which significant changes in gender relations occurred as a result of the migration of a spouse and to which the first hypothesis applies. In accordance with the second hypothesis, it can be concluded that in households of male migrants even less changes in gender relations occurred, as men continue to fulfil their role as the household's primary breadwinner and women remain the ones in charge of the household and children. Furthermore, it can be concluded that perceptions are often rather resistant to change and alter slower than the situation in practice.

5.2 Decision-making powers

5.2.1 Economic decisions

As argued in section 2.2, men in patriarchal and machista societies are often expected and perceived to be the ones taking all the important decisions concerning their households, especially when it comes to economic matters. Many women on the other hand, are inculcated with the idea that they are incapable or unfit to take suchlike decisions, which are often perceived to be better left to men since they 'know better'. [24] As discussed before, this can create a sense of inferiority, impotence and dependency in women; feelings which are usually reinforced by their precarious economic position. In most households, women mainly carry the responsibility for small and daily expenditures, like groceries. The resultant gender differences in economic decision-making powers contribute to the inequality that exists between men and women in many Latin American households.

It is likely that international migration will have an influence on the gender distribution of economic decision-making powers in households of male and female migrants. As argued in section 1.1.4, it is often assumed that especially female migration generates considerable changes, as migrant women usually take on a new role as the household's primary breadwinner. The general assumption is that this new role contributes to women's economic negotiating and decision-making power. In the case of male migration, less changes are to be expected as men usually remain the main economic provider of their household. However, it is often assumed that female remittance recipients – in their new role as administrators of remittances – *do* experience an increase in their responsibility and power to decide on the use of this source of income. However, remittances may also increase women's economic dependency on men and/or be used as mechanisms of power and long distance control by male migrants.

This section will elaborate on the changes that have occurred in the households under study, as a result of the international migration of a spouse. Furthermore, it will be analyzed to what extent the hypotheses above are applicable. Two topics will be discussed, namely: the decisions concerning the sending of money and the decisions concerning the utilization of remittances. Again, a distinction and comparison will be made between households of male and female migrants.

The sending of money

As argued in section 4.3.1, male migrants that sent remittances to their households in Sucre, all sent them to their spouses. This is not the case for all female migrants. Several

[24] As argued by Don Mario; "Men know better, men know how to calculate" ("Los hombres saben major, los hombres saben calcular").

migrant women sent their money to someone else other than their spouse; usually a female relative, like a mother, daughter or sister.

The reasons for remitting money to people other than the husband vary per migrant. As discussed in sections 1.1.4 and 4.3.1, some migrant women aim to reinforce their negotiating and decision-making power by sending their earnings to another woman, instead of to their spouse. This way they prevent it from being misspent by men and/or make sure that it is used and invested in accordance with their wishes. An example is Doña Paulina, the migrant discussed in the previous section:

> In the period prior to her migration, Doña Paulina was forced to maintain her eight children by herself – with some help of her oldest son - as her husband barely contributed to the household's survival. He spent his earnings as a construction worker primarily on alcohol, girlfriends and other personal expenses. Very little was allocated to his wife and children. Paulina migrated to Spain – leaving her children behind - out of pure economic necessity. Despite the fact that her husband had a history of misspending the household's money, Paulina sent him her first earnings, in order for them to be spent on paying off debts, the household and the children. Instead, the money was misspent on alcohol, his girlfriends, clothes for himself and other unknown expenses. None of the money was used according to the wishes of the migrant. Her children faced a difficult time in which they relied on the help of other people - especially their grandmother – for their survival. Therefore, the oldest children asked their mother to send them the money in the future instead. Although this was not Paulina's plan – she initially cherished the hope that her husband would change in the face of her absence and assume responsibility for his household and children – she did ever since. Her money is now administered by her oldest daughter and son, and used to pay for food, rent, utilities, the children's education and health care. The remainder is saved, in order for the migrant to divorce her husband and build her own house when she comes back. Paulina's husband still lives in their house in Sucre part of the time, but has to pay all of his personal expenses himself. He still barely contributes – financially nor practically - to the survival of the household, leaving these tasks and responsibilities up to the migrant, her children and her mother-in-law.

Another example of a woman that sent her money to a female relative in order to prevent it from being misspent by her husband and make sure that it was used according to her wishes, is Doña Julieta (the returned migrant). Her story is very similar to that of Doña Paulina. After months of witnessing her husband's irresponsible spending, she individually decided to send her earnings to her mother and mother-in-law instead, as both women successively assumed the daily care over her household and children.

A third female migrant - Doña Isabel – also sent her money to someone else other than her husband. However, this is not the result of him misspending her earnings and neglecting her children, but of the marital problems that exist between the two spouses:

> The first six months of her stay in Spain, Doña Isabel sent her money to her spouse. It was completely used to pay off the debts of her journey, as her husband provided for the daily expenses of the household with his earnings as a taxi driver. After this was accomplished, Isabel arranged for her sister and her family – who were living in the city of Santa Cruz at that time – to move to Sucre to assume care of her children and manage her money. Subsequently, she stopped sending money to her husband and started sending it to her sister. The reason for this were the marital problems that exist between the two spouses. Both suspect each other of adultery – in the period before as

well as after migration - and their marriage is characterized by jealousy and a lack of trust. Isabel's husband expects their marital problems to have been an important reason for his wife's departure, as he worked in Argentina in the period preceding her migration and the household received enough remittances to live well. The majority of the Isabel's earnings are now being saved by her sister, in order for her to divorce her husband and buy her own house when she comes back. Her husband is the primary person to provide financially for their two daughters. Only when his earnings fall short, remittances are used to pay for the children's food, clothes, education and health care. No remittances are allocated to the husband.

For the three women discussed above, migration has initiated several important changes in their role and position in the household. Not only do they now earn much more than before their departure and are they the main economic provider of their household, their economic negotiating and decision-making power has also increased considerably as a result of sending remittances to someone else other than the husband. This will be discussed in more detail in the next part of this section. From the in-depth interview conducted with the returned female migrant, it can be concluded that migration – and the act of remitting money to another woman instead of her spouse – has decreased feelings of inferiority and – especially – powerlessness and dependency. Similar changes can be observed in the other two cases discussed above. [25] This also seems to be the case for female migrants that *did* sent remittances to their husbands, although to a lesser extent, as less drastic changes occurred. For a more detailed insight into the changes that occurred in these households, also see the next part of this section.

In the case of male migration, less far-reaching changes can be observed than in most cases of female migration. As argued before, men are still the primary breadwinners of their households and all sent remittances to their wives. In none of the households under study were remittances misspent by female recipients. Women are in all cases reliable and good administrators of the money. Serious problems - due to which male migrants could feel forced to send their earnings to another person - did not arise yet. As argued in the beginning of this section, female recipients *did* experience changes in their role and position, as they now administer the remittances sent by their husbands. Again, these changes will be discussed in more detail in the next part of this section.

When it comes to decisions concerning the amount and frequency of remittances, it can be observed that in households of male migrants, it is usually the migrant himself who decides how much and when remittances are sent. Their wives and children say to have no influence. This seems to correspond to the general situation in many Latin American households, in which men take the most important decisions, especially when it comes to economic matters.

In households of female migrants, more variation can be observed. Again, it is often the migrant herself who decides how much and how often remittances are sent. Their

[25] It must be emphasized however, that this argument is based on the information provided by people other than the migrant herself, in both cases her oldest daughter.

husbands, children and/or other relatives usually do not ask or demand more, as migrant women are said to sent sufficient for their survival and/or the maximum they possibly can. This puts migrant women in a position in which they have more power and responsibility concerning their household's economic decisions and survival than before their departure. One migrant always consults with her husband and children about the necessary amount and frequency of remittances and attempts to comply with the household's needs and wishes. Another woman only sent money when her husband asked her to. In this case, it was the husband who decided when and how much remittances were sent. Since the migrant has paid off all the household's debts and her husband and children can live well of the rent they receive from their 7 tenants, money is only sent on request and for unexpected or special expenses. The remainder is saved by the female migrant herself. In cases in which migrant women sent money to someone else other than their husbands, the latter usually know very little about the amounts and frequency of money transfers by their wives.

The utilization of remittances

In the period prior to migration, most households included in this research complied with the general norm in patriarchal and machista societies, in the sense that men were indeed the ones in charge of the household's most important economic decisions, either with or without the influence of their wife (see also section 4.1.2). Not surprisingly, this is usually perceived as normal. As argued by a male respondent; "We all know that men have the last word". [26] Women on the other hand, were often deemed responsible for the household and children and mainly decided on small and daily expenditures.

Some households under study however, deviated from this norm. Examples are the households of Doña Paulina and Doña Julieta. As discussed before, both women were almost completely responsible for the economic survival of their households in the period prior to their migration, as their husbands used most of their earnings for personal expenses. Furthermore, both men had their own lives outside of the domestic sphere and showed very little interest and involvement in their households. As a result, the two women were forced to decide on most economic matters – minor *and* major - by themselves, without much help and influence of their husbands.

As indicated in section 4.1.2, the migration of a spouse usually induced changes in the distribution of economic decision-making powers between men and women. Not surprisingly, most changes can be observed in households of female migrants.

[26] "Sabemos todos que los hombres llevan la batuta" (Don Juan)

Households of female migrants

All migrant women gained influence in economic decision-making processes in the period following their migration, although to varying degrees.

Migrant women that sent remittances to someone else other than their husbands for example, now have complete control over the use of their money and therefore often also over the majority of the economic decisions concerning their households. They no longer confer with their spouses or ask their permission regarding economic matters. This generally represents a marked contrast to the situation before their migration, when husbands where usually the ones to decide on the most important economic matters, either with or without the influence of their wives. Even in cases where women were already responsible for most economic decisions, did migration further increase their economic power and influence. They are no longer only able to provide for their household's basic needs, but now earn and posses enough money to allocate financial resources for other purposes as well. This entails different and new types of decisions and can have important ramifications for the welfare of their households.

As explained in the previous part of this section, women often sent their money to someone else other than their spouse to keep it from being misspent and/or to make sure that it is used and invested in accordance with their wishes. Remitting money to another person is therefore a strategy of female migrants to reinforce their control and decision-making power concerning economic matters. The extent and manner in which women seek control over the use of their earnings however, vary per case:

> Doña Julieta only sent the absolute minimum needed for the survival of her children. She precisely calculated what was needed to pay for rent, water, electricity, food, education, health care and – if necessary – other basic expenses of her children. None of the remittances were to be spent on or by her husband. Sending precisely calculated and minimal amounts of money was the Julieta's strategy to make sure that her earnings would not be misspent, even by her own mother and mother-in-law. Her confidence in other people was very low and her determination to not let any of her hard-earned money go to waste very high. She sent her remittances with very clear and strict instructions, and always checked if they were used accordingly. Doña Isabel also seeks to keep full control over the use of her earnings. For her children to receive money from their mother, Isabel's sister has to be informed and she – subsequently – has to ask Isabel for her permission to spend her money. Only when this permission is given, will the children receive remittances. In the case of Doña Paulina, there seems to exist more trust between the migrant and the recipients of her money; her children. She does not send her money with strict instructions, neither do her children need her permission to spend it. Paulina considers her children to be reliable administrators of her earnings and does not check their exact use. Nevertheless, they often confer about the utilization of remittances, due to which Paulina still has an important influence in the household's economic decision-making processes.

As argued before, migrant women that sent remittances to their husbands also gained influence in economic decision-making processes in the period following their migration, although to a lesser extent than migrant women that sent their earnings to someone else. The most important difference between both groups is that the former do

not face serious problems of male financial irresponsibility and appear to have relatively stable marriages, based on trust and mutual respect.

The most important change experienced by this particular group of female migrants, is that they now have more influence on large household expenditures and important economic decisions, like investments. This can principally be explained by their new role and economic position as the household's primary breadwinner. This is different from the situation prior to their departure, when their husbands were usually the main economic providers of the household and women were primarily held responsible for small and daily household expenditures. As argued before, some women were also involved in decision-making processes concerning large expenditures and/or investments, but their husbands were generally the ones taking the final decision. While most female migrants thus experienced an increase in their influence on important economic decisions, they - at the same time - also experienced a decrease in their control over small and daily household expenditures. Due to their physical absence, this responsibility is usually assumed by their husbands, sometimes with the help of other relatives from inside and/or outside the household. Husbands are now often also the ones responsible for the precise allocation of financial resources to the various purposes agreed upon by both spouses. In most cases, spouses confer with each other concerning household economic matters and often take the most important decisions together. Husbands are generally not expected or forced to ask their wife's explicit permission to spend remittances, neither are they checked up on strictly by them.

As argued in section 4.3.1, there is one migrant woman that not only sent remittances to her husband, but also – separately – to her two daughters living at home. According to her oldest daughter, this is her way of maintaining personal relationships with her loved ones and providing them with 'personalized care'. She also attempts this by calling her husband and children multiple times a day. Although this may be an important reason for sending remittances to various persons, it is also plausible that it is a strategy of the migrant to make sure that her earnings are used according to her wishes, especially when considering the fact that she always sent her money with clear instructions. Like in other similar cases, migration - and the act of also remitting money to other people than her husband - has increased her influence on the household's economic decisions significantly.

In the case of female migration, changes in the distribution of economic decision-making powers between men and women have often been accompanied by changes in perceptions. This is especially the case for female migrants that have sent remittances to someone else other than their spouse. As argued in the previous part of this section, migration – and the act of remitting money to another woman– has often decreased their feelings of inferiority, powerlessness and dependency. The experience of migration is also likely to have made migrant women realize that they are not incapable or unfit to take important economic decisions concerning their households, as proven by their capacity to earn and allocate considerable amounts of money for the survival of

their households. Similar changes can be observed regarding female migrants that *did* sent remittances to their husbands, although to a minor extent, as less drastic changes have occurred. Although women are now the primary breadwinners of their households, they for example still rely for an important part on the willingness of their husbands to administer their earnings according to their wishes and take adequate care of their households and children. [27] Perceptions of the husbands of migrants have changed less significantly. Only some have adjusted their opinions as a result of the new role taken by their wives, and now consider them to be more capable and fit of taking important economic decisions concerning their households. The two husbands that almost completely replaced their wives in their domestic tasks and activities already believed women to be just as capable and fit as men to take suchlike decisions. For them, migration has not induced many changes in this respect.

Households of male migrants

In the case of male migration, it can be observed that most female remittance-recipients experienced an increase in their responsibility and power to decide on the use of remittances and other financial resources in the period following migration. It must be emphasized however, that this increase is usually limited, as remittances are often sent with strict instructions and/or demands. Most male migrants still have a strong influence on their household's economics from a distance, especially concerning large expenditures and investments. As argued by a female respondent, with reference to her husband; "He orders us from Spain". [28] Women are expected to comply with the possible instructions and demands of male migrants and often have to justify the utilization of remittances. When remittances need to be used for other major expenses, many women must – or choose to – confer with their husbands and ask their permission. As discussed before, this is not so much the case with male recipients of remittances, who usually experience more autonomy to decide on the use of this source of income. Despite these limitations however, *did* female remittance-recipients experience an increase in their power to decide on the exact and daily use and allocation of the household's financial resources. They are now responsible for administering considerable amounts of money, which often puts them in a more influential position than before their husband's migration (see also section 4.1.2).

It is important and interesting to take note of the fact that men and women usually have very different styles of consultation. Men often acquaint their wives of their plans and this way indirectly ask them for their opinion, advice, approval or permission. Women

[27] Again, it must be emphasized that these arguments are in most cases based on information provided by people other than the migrant herself. The information could therefore not always be verified with the person concerned.

[28] "El nos ordena desde España" (Doña Rosmari)

on the other hand, are generally more straightforward concerning their needs in this regard. This can presumably be explained by the expectations that exist towards men in patriarchal and machista societies. As argued in the beginning of this section, Latin American men are usually expected and perceived to be the ones taking all the important economic decisions concerning their households, as they are considered and deemed to 'know better' than women. Asking openly for their advice, approval or permission may therefore be rather difficult for men.

In the case of male migration, perceptions concerning men's and women's capacity and responsibility to take certain economic decisions have changed less than in cases of female migration. This corresponds to the limited changes that have occurred in the actual gender distribution of economic decision-making powers. It can be observed that several female remittance-recipients still consider their husbands to be the ones in charge of the household's most important economic decisions. They usually continue to belief that men 'know better' and – hence – are superior. Not surprisingly, feelings of insecurity and ideas of being incapable or unfit often persist, in spite of their somewhat increased economic power and influence. [29] These women are usually the ones that always confer with their husbands and ask their permission concerning large and important household expenditures. Other female remittance-recipients believe women to be better and more accurate administrators of money than men. They consider women to often have a more long-term perspective and always place their children's interests first. According to them, they always manage to make ends meet, even in very difficult economic situations. As argued by a female respondent; "Women know how to make their money last". [30] They usually concern women whose husbands had a history of misspending part of the household's money on alcohol. The migration of their husbands did not significantly alter their opinion. Nevertheless, they - either forced or voluntarily - continue to ask their husband's permission concerning the utilization of remittances.

Summarizing remarks

It can be concluded that female migration usually induces more changes in the economic decision-making powers of men and women than male migration. This corresponds to the hypotheses posed in the beginning of this section. Especially migrant women that sent their earning to someone else other than their husband experienced a considerable increase in their economic power and influence. As argued before, they now have complete control over the use of their money and therefore often also over

[29] As expressed by Doña Gumercinda, a female respondent; "When you are a woman they deceive you more often than when you are a man" ("Cuando somos mujeres nos engañan más que cuando somos hombres").

[30] "Las mujeres hacen alcanzar de donde no hay" (Doña Justina).

the majority of the economic decisions concerning their households. Before, this position and role was generally assumed by their husbands. Migrant women that *did* sent their earnings to their husbands usually also experienced an increase in their economic power, although to a lesser extent. They especially gained influence concerning large household expenditures and important economic decisions, like investments. Their husbands on the other hand, now carry more responsibility for the small and daily expenditures previously cared for by their wives and manage the exact allocation of financial resources. It can thus be observed that in both groups of female migrants, changes have occurred in the *gender* distribution of economic decision-making powers. It can also be concluded that the first hypothesis – claiming that female migrants experience an increase in their economic negotiating and decision-making power as a result of their new role as the household's primary breadwinner - applies to most households under study. In households of male migrants, less changes in gender relations can be observed. Despite the fact that most female remittance-recipients experienced an increase in their power and responsibility to decide on the exact and daily use of the household's financial resources, do men generally still have the last word concerning the household's most important economic decisions. Nevertheless, the second hypothesis – claiming that the economic power and influence of women receiving remittances increase as a result of migration – appears to apply to a certain extent to the households of male migrants included in this research. Furthermore, it can be concluded that perceptions – especially in households of male migrants - do not always change as much as the situation in practice.

5.2.2 Personal autonomy

As argued in section 2.2, Latin American men usually enjoy considerable autonomy, independence and freedom, whereas women are often controlled, dominated or even oppressed by the men in their lives. This induces female dependency on men, both economically and psychologically. Furthermore, women often struggle with feelings of inferiority, impotence, dependency, unhappiness and/or dissatisfaction.

Again, it is plausible that international migration will have an influence on the levels of personal autonomy of men and women in households affected by migration. Especially female migration is often assumed to generate significant changes. As argued in section 1.1.4, women's new role as the household's primary breadwinner often causes power relations to be rewritten and take on new forms. Not only their economic power, but also their personal autonomy may grow while abroad, where migrant women are usually no longer under the direct control of their spouses, fathers and/or other men. In the case of male migration, less changes are to be expected, as women that stay behind *do* remain under the direct control of relatives, friends and/or acquaintances and remittances may be used by men as mechanisms of power, dependency and long distance control.

This section provides insight into the changes that have occurred in the households under study due to the international migration of a spouse and the extent to which the abovementioned hypotheses are applicable. Several topics will be discussed, including that of leisure time. As argued in section 2.2.3, gender differences often become evident in the distribution and use of leisure time, as do differences in male and female autonomy. This topic will therefore serve as an important example and hence receive ample attention at the end of this section. Again, a distinction and comparison will be made between households of male and female migrants.

In the period prior to migration, the households included in this research all complied to the general norm described above, although to varying degrees. This implies that men enjoyed higher levels of autonomy, independence and freedom than women. Women were often controlled, dominated or even oppressed by men; like their husbands, fathers, brothers or sons. This for example became manifest in the often seemingly innocent habit of men to check on women. The latter were frequently questioned where they were, with whom, why and for how long. Most men received help from other people to keep an eye on their spouse and/or other female relatives. In some cases, it took on obsessive forms and women were seriously limited in their personal freedom. Although women generally accepted the fact that they were expected to justify their whereabouts etcetera to men, they rarely seemed to appreciate it or experience it as pleasant. In contrast to women, men were not so much checked on and were usually not expected and/or obliged to justify themselves, as they are men and therefore considered to be autonomous and free from other people, especially women.

Male power over women and their limited personal autonomy were also discernible in the relatively low levels of female labor market participation. Only two thirds of the female spouses in the households under study worked in the period prior to migration, which is remarkable considering the economic plight of most households. This cannot only be explained by women's responsibilities and high workloads in the domestic sphere, but also by the machista beliefs – and one may argue: desire for control - of men. Several women indicated that they wanted to work, but were not allowed to by their husband. The latter often considered this to be inappropriate for women, as they were deemed to stay at home and take care of their household and children. [31] As a result, several women completely depended on their husband for their survival and that of their children. One woman explicitly expressed the feeling to have been confined to the domestic sphere by her husband in the period prior to his departure. Men on the other hand, usually enjoyed full autonomy to decide on similar matters themselves and did not depend on their spouse's permission or approval.

[31] Quintela Modia et al. (2004: 103) report similar findings from their study conducted among women in peri-urban areas in Sucre. According to the authors, more than half of them is not allowed by their husbands to work or study, simply because they are women.

Male power over women also came to the fore in the high incidence of female abuse in the households under study. As argued in section 2.2, the belief in men's right to control women and the emphasis on male strength, power and dominance in patriarchal and machista societies have contributed significantly to this widespread problem. One fourth of the female respondents explicitly indicated to have suffered abuse – psychological and/or physical – by their husbands, in the period prior to migration. [32] Violence and cruelty are often used by men in order to maintain power and control over women through fear. Based on their study conducted in peri-urban areas in Sucre, Quintela Modia et al. (2004: 38) argue that problems of abuse often aggravate in situations of poverty and alcoholism. Furthermore, they argue that relatives, friends and/or acquaintances – male ánd female - can pressure and/or incite men to behave in an abusive or oppressive manner towards women. Needless to say, the effects of abuse on women's personal autonomy were detrimental.

It must be emphasized that there was considerable variation between the different households under study concerning the levels of personal autonomy of men and women and the inequalities in this regard. Whereas in some households women were controlled, dominated or even oppressed and abused by men, in other households women experienced relatively high levels of personal freedom and autonomy. The latter for example seemed to be the case for the two households in which the husband almost completely replaced the female migrant in her domestic tasks and activities in the period following her migration.

Machista beliefs concerning male and female power and autonomy were very much alive in most households under study in the period prior to migration. As argued before, men were often perceived – and perceived themselves - to be the ones in control of their households and – especially – women. This usually resulted in the gender inequality in levels of personal autonomy described above. The effects on women have often proved to be detrimental and several found themselves completely depending on men for their survival and that of their children. It is interesting to note however, that there were also many women that did not economically depend on their husbands, but nevertheless endured and suffered continuous hardship and/or mistreatment by them. This can for an important part be explained by the machista ideology that prevails in the Bolivian society and which men and women have been raised to believe. As argued in section 2.2, men are generally portrayed and perceived to be superior, dominant and autonomous, whereas women are often inculcated with ideas of being inferior, impotent and

[32] It is probable however, that in reality this number is higher, as abuse is a rather private and sensitive subject which many people prefer to keep to themselves. Furthermore, this information is lacking concerning most female migrants, as they were not interviewed personally and certain family members – especially husbands – are not likely to share suchlike details. Although no sexual abuse has been reported by female respondents, it is possible that some also suffered in this regard. The study conducted by Quintela Modia et al. (2004) shows that sexual abuse also occurs frequently among women in Sucre.

dependent on men. [33] As argued by the returned female migrant; "mothers raise their children with this machismo; "you are a man and can do whatever you like, you are a woman and have to accept"". [34] Suchlike machista beliefs have an important influence on people's behaviour and often provoke strong feelings of dependency in women, irrespective of the fact that - in reality – they may be economically independent from men. Many women in the households under study for example, felt to have no choice but to endure the hardship and agony caused by the men in their lives and sacrifice themselves for the sake of their marriages and the well-being of their children. [35] Not surprisingly, many women struggled with feelings of unhappiness and dissatisfaction in the period prior to migration.

Again, it must be emphasized that there were considerable differences between the households included in this research. Whereas in some households there existed very strong machista beliefs concerning the power and autonomy of men and women, other households were characterized by relatively moderate beliefs. Women in these households generally faced less hardship caused by men and – consequently - seemed to be happier than women in more disadvantageous positions.

Households of female migrants

As expected, most changes can be observed in households of female migrants. Especially women that sent remittances to someone else other than their husband seemed to have experienced considerable changes, not only in their economic power but also in their personal autonomy. An example is Doña Julieta, the returned migrant:

> Like many other women in the households under study, Doña Julieta has always been under the supervision and control of men; first her father and after that her husband. According to her, she got married in order to escape the strict control of her father, which she experienced as 'hell'. Life with her husband however, proved to not be much better as Julieta was still controlled, dominated and limited in her personal freedom. She suffered from her husband's infidelity and financial irresponsibility and migrated primarily to escape her marriage and the control of her husband and to reflect on her own wishes and future plans. [36] Abroad, Julieta experienced for the first time what it meant to be free and independent:

[33] Not surprisingly, feelings of inferiority, impotence and dependency in women often seemed to be reinforced in situations of abuse. Suchlike feelings – together with the economic dependency of some women – usually prevented them from ending abusive relationships or marriages.

[34] "Las mamas les criamos a los hijos con ese machismo; tú eres hombres y puedes hacer lo que quieras, tú eres mujer y aceptar" (Doña Julieta)

[35] Many women expressed this feeling by using the verb 'aguantar'.

[36] Ferrufino Quiroga et al. (2007) report similar findings, based on their study among households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba. According to the authors, not all women migrate for economic reasons only. Other often heard reasons are: to free themselves from oppressive and/or abusive husbands, to consolidate a process of divorce and the wish to broaden their horizons.

"The truth is I felt free. Freed because I did not have any worries, I did not have to come home and wonder what he would ask me now. I lived my life very well, at ease. Nobody pressured me, nobody told me what to do, nobody. I knew I could come home, rest and be happy. This in contrast to when I was here [in Sucre]. When I would leave the house and later returned, I was already in a bad mood because I did not know what was waiting for me". [37]

According to Julieta, the experience of living abroad and being independent changed her perspective on marriage and life significantly. Furthermore, she argues that her personality, feelings and behaviour have changed:

"My parents always said: "What you have chosen, whether good or bad, you have to stick with it". Before I thought that I had to endure everything, everything, because I had chosen for it. If I had chosen wrongly, too bad. I thought that I had to endure everything for my children. But not anymore, because I have been on my own and because I have seen a different life over there. In other words, it is like I have seen that life is beautiful and why should I become bitter? [...] The distance and time have helped me understand that it is something else that I desire". [...] [Migration] has helped change my personality. [I feel] much stronger, more confident. Before I only cried, cried and cried and I had to resign myself to it. I kept things to myself, I resigned myself to it. But not anymore". [38]

After one year, Julieta was forced to return to Sucre because her daughter was hospitalized and her husband did not care for her adequately. The changes in the migrant soon became noticeable to her husband:

"He says that I have changed considerably, that I am not the same as I was before. Before I was very naive and dumb. I am not quiet anymore, before I was. I accepted everything, but not anymore. [...] In the beginning, as soon as I arrived he would ask me where I had gone, what I had done and where I had been. I always told him that he should not ask this; "I am a free woman and although I live here in your house, I do not have anything with you anymore, so I have the right to go out"". [39]

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[37] "La verdad yo me sentía libre. Liberada porque no tenía preocupaciones, no tenía que llegar y decir "ahora que me va a preguntar?". Yo vivía mi vida muy bien, tranquila. Nadie me presionaba, nadie me decía nada, nada. Sabía que podía llegar y descansar y podía estar feliz. En cambio cuando estaba aquí no. Cuando salía a la calle y luego regresaba, me ponía de mal humor porque no sabía que me esperaba" (Doña Julieta).

[38] "Mis padres siempre decían: "Lo que has buscado, este bien o este mal, te tienes que quedar con eso". Antes yo pensaba que tenía que aguantar todo, todo, porque había buscado eso. Si he escogido mal, ni modo. Pensaba que tenía que aguantar todo por mis hijos. Pero ahora ya no, porque he estado sola y porque he visto la vida diferente allá. En otras palabras, es como he visto que la vida es linda y ¿porque me voy a amargar? […] La distancia y el tiempo a mi me ha ayudado a comprender que es otra cosa lo que yo quiero. […] [La migración] me ha ayudado cambiar de personalidad. [Me siento] más fuerte, más segura. Antes solo lloraba y lloraba y lloraba y tenía que resignarme. Era muy cerrada, me conformaba. Pero ya no mas" (Doña Julieta).

[39] "El dice que he cambiado bastante, que ya no soy como era antes. Antes era muy ingenua muy tonta. Ya no soy callada, antes si. Aceptaba todo, ahora ya no. […] Al principio, si apenas llegaba y me preguntaba ¿a dónde has ido?, ¿qué has hecho? o ¿dónde has estado? Yo siempre le decía no me tienes que preguntar; "Soy una mujer libre, si bien vivo aquí en tu casa pero no tengo ya nada contigo, o sea tengo derecho a salir"" (Doña Julieta).

It can be observed that – in the case of Doña Julieta – migration has generated a significant increase in the level of personal autonomy of the female migrant. She is no longer controlled and dominated by her husband or another male relative, nor does she behave in an obedient and submissive manner. Furthermore, feelings of inferiority, impotence, dependency, unhappiness and dissatisfaction seem to have diminished and her wishes for the future have changed. She no longer beliefs she has to sacrifice herself for the sake of her marriage and children and wants to get divorced and start a new life on her own. Although her husband's personal autonomy has not decreased much, his power over his wife did. This induced feelings of frustration and anger. Similar changes can be observed for the other migrant women that did not sent remittances to their husbands. [40]

Female migrants that sent remittances to their husbands, also seemed to have experienced an increase in their personal autonomy. However, changes are less drastic than those experienced by women that sent their money to someone else. As argued before, the most important difference between both groups of women is that the latter seemed to have endured more hardship caused by their husbands in the period preceding their migration and now have the intention to become economically independent and divorce their spouses, whereas the former – reportedly - do not. According to their husbands, their marriages are stable and women are content with their role and position in the household.

Most changes can be observed in women's freedom of movement and their autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time. However, changes are rather limited. This can to a large extent be explained by the fact that most migrants live together with other relatives – like children or sisters-in-law – in the country of destination and may therefore still experience considerable social control. Furthermore, they usually maintain strong ties with their family members in Sucre by contacting them frequently, which may also constitute an important form of (reciprocal) control. This corresponds to the findings of the case study conducted by the UN-INSTRAW (2006) in the Dominican Republic (see also section 1.1.4). For more detailed information on the changes in women's freedom of movement and their autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time, see the paragraphs on the next page. The influence of migration on the perceptions of migrants concerning male and female power and autonomy are not exactly known, as the most migrants have not been interviewed themselves. It is likely however, that the experience of living abroad and being the primary breadwinner has an important impact on possible feelings of inferiority, impotence and dependency. It must also be emphasized however, that many migrant women suffered under the absence of their loved ones. As for husbands that stay behind, it can again be observed that their levels of personal autonomy have not decreased much, but the direct control over their

[40] It must be emphasized however, that this statement is based on information provided by people other than the migrant herself, in both cases the migrant's daughter.

spouses has. None of them however, displayed the intense feelings of frustration, anger and powerlessness of the husbands discussed before.

Households of male migrants

In households of male migrants, less changes can be observed in the levels of power and autonomy of men and women than in households of female migrants. In contrast to female migrants, women staying behind did not - or only barely - experience an increase in their personal autonomy. This also comes to the fore in their limited freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time. The main reason for this seems to be the continuous strong social control that women experience; by relatives, friends and/or acquaintances at home and by their husbands abroad. Male migrants often control their spouses from a distance, by checking on them over the phone and via other people in Sucre. One migrant paid several unannounced visits to his wife and children; according to his wife with the intention of checking on her and letting her know she was still under his control.

In general, it can be observed that male migrants have more control over their spouses in Sucre than female migrants. Furthermore, women that stayed behind do not check on their migrant spouse as much as men do. It can also be observed that women – at home as well as abroad – usually experience more social control and criticism than men. Many female respondents expressed their fear for social criticism, and the possible repercussions it may have. This usually causes them to conform and has - among other things - an important influence on their use of leisure time. Another interesting finding is that women staying behind often continue to feel very dependent on their spouse, despite the fact that they have the ability to run their household on their own and most of them have their own source of income. In contrast, men staying behind did not express suchlike feelings. This cannot only be explained by their greater economic independence (see section 4.3), but also by the machista ideology that prevails in the Bolivian society and portrays men as being superior to and independent from women.

The recreational dimension: Machismo celebrated?

In the period prior to migration, the situation concerning the distribution and use of leisure time in most households under study complied with the general norm in patriarchal and machista societies. This implies that men generally spent more time on their personal interests and hobbies outside of the domestic and work sphere than women, who seemingly spent almost all their time on possible paid jobs, domestic work and care-giving activities (see also section 2.2.3 and 5.1). Furthermore, leisure time was always used for 'gender appropriate' activities. This means that women spent it on feminine activities like cooking and talking to friends, often within the domestic sphere and accompanied by their children and/or other relatives. Most men on the other hand, spent the majority of their free time on masculine activities like sports or going out with friends, outside of the domestic sphere and away from 'domesticating influences', like their wives and children. It is interesting to note that activities such as cooking and cleaning were often perceived - by men *and* women - as leisure activities, instead of domestic work. Furthermore, it could be observed that men enjoyed considerably

more freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time than women. As argued in chapter 2, this gender inequality is characteristic for machista societies, like the Bolivian. In contrast to many women, men usually did not need the permission of their spouse to go somewhere or do something, neither were they strictly checked on by them or by other people. Women on the other hand, often *did* experience strong social control. In some cases this was taken to the extreme, where women were unreasonably controlled and limited in their personal freedom by men. Several female respondents for example, indicated to not have had any friends in the period prior to migration and to even have needed their husband's permission to visit close relatives, like brothers or sisters. Again, it must be emphasized that there existed considerable variation between the households under study.

In households of male migrants, very little changes occurred in the period following migration. Women that stayed behind did not experience a significant increase in their freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time. Most of them still ask their husband's permission to go somewhere and/or do something and continue to experience a strong social control; not only by their spouse but also by other people. Some women are still unreasonably controlled and limited in their personal freedom by their husbands, even from abroad. Furthermore, women do not spend their free time differently than before their husband's migration. They still spend it on the same activities, primarily in the domestic sphere and in the company – or one may argue: under the supervision – of family members. This lack of change can for an important part be explained by the social control experienced by women, and their fear for social criticism. Most female respondents expressed their desire for more freedom of movement and some would also like to spend their leisure time on other activities, like going out or meeting female friends. They did not consider this to be a possibility however, because of the expected severe repercussions.

In the case of female migration, more changes can be observed. Again, especially migrant women that sent remittances to someone else other than their spouse experienced a considerable increase in their freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time. These women for example no longer ask their husbands for their permission or approval, neither are they controlled by them, as they cut of all forms of contact and want to get divorced. Despite their long workdays, they now enjoy more free time and spend it on different activities, like shopping or going to a bar or cinema. Although this represents a significant break to the situation before their migration, most women still spend their leisure time 'gender appropriately' and in the company of family members living abroad. These family members are expected to constitute an important control factor. Only one female migrant is suspected of having another partner and behaving 'inappropriately'. Female migrants that sent remittances to their husbands also experienced an increase in their freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time, although to a much lesser extent than the women discussed above. Although they are no longer under the direct control of their husbands, many continue to ask their permission or approval to go places and/or do things. Husbands therefore still have an important influence on the migrant's use of leisure time, as do relatives that live abroad. This group of female migrants also experienced some changes in their leisure activities, although again within the limits of what is considered to be 'appropriate' for women. One older migrant still spends the majority of her free time on the care for her grandchildren, that also live in Spain.

Although migration can induce significant changes in the freedom of movement of migrant women and their autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time, it must be emphasized that changes usually occur within the limits of what is considered to be appropriate and acceptable for women in the machista Bolivian society. This cannot only be explained by the continuous social control that they experience, but also by the machista beliefs of women themselves. Despite their often new role as the household's primary breadwinner and their increased power and autonomy, most female migrants still seem to share most of their husband's machista beliefs concerning gender issues. This has proven to be even more the case in the households of male migrants under study. It can thus be concluded that machismo still lives on in the lives *and* minds of people, despite the act of migration.

Summarizing remarks

In line with the hypotheses posed in the beginning of this section, it can be concluded that female migration induces more changes in the levels of power and autonomy of men and women than male migration. This is especially true for migrant women that sent remittances to someone else other than their spouse. Their personal autonomy increased significantly while abroad, where they are no longer under the direct control of their husbands and/or other men. This corresponds to the first hypothesis posed. This hypothesis also applies to migrant women that *did* sent remittances to their spouse, although to a lesser extent. This can primarily be explained by the strong social control these women continue to experience; not only by relatives in the destination country, but also by household members – especially their spouse - at home. In the households of male migrants included in this research, few changes can be observed. Women that stayed behind did not – or only barely – experience an increase in their personal autonomy, as they remain under the control of relatives, friends and/or acquaintances in Sucre and their husbands abroad. This corresponds to the second hypothesis posed. It can also be concluded that men – at home *and* abroad - usually did not experience any significant changes in their levels of personal autonomy. However, some husbands of female migrants *did* experience a decrease in their control over their wives. This was especially true in households of migrant women that did not sent remittances to their husbands. Furthermore, perceptions concerning male and female power and autonomy did not always change as much as the situation in practice.

6. Conclusion: International migration, gender relations and development

This thesis started off with the observation of Castles, that international migration has made a significant contribution to processes of social transformation and development over the past decades. People and communities all over the world – in countries of origin *and* destination – experience the effects of migration, either because they themselves were the ones leaving their native soil or because others – like relatives, friends or members of the community – did.

As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the effects of international migration are very diverse. Remittances sent by migrants usually generate considerable macro-economic effects and can improve the economic situation and survival chances of recipient households. They are often used for basic needs and education and can contribute to poverty reduction and development in households and communities of origin. This is particularly important in the current globalized world, which is characterized by persistent and deepening inequality and poverty. Migration also engenders important social changes, as families are separated, their composition alters and members - especially children – often suffer care deficits. These topics all receive abundant attention; in the academic world as well as in development circles. The gender perspective in migration research however, is often insufficiently addressed, despite its relevance for processes of development. As argued in the first chapter, gender equality is considered to be an important aspect of development. It is often assumed that international migration plays an important role in the transformation of gender relations and can promote gender equality and – hence - development in households affected by migration. Especially female migration is often assumed to lead to processes of female emancipation and empowerment, and better circumstances for women.

The focus of this research has been on the influence of international migration on (transnational) gender relations. As argued in chapter 1, this research has been conducted among households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre and has focused specifically on cases in which one of the spouses – either male or female – has migrated. The central question posed was:

> ***How does the international migration of a spouse influence (transnational) gender relations in households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre?***

To answer this research question, attention has been paid to two themes; the distribution of tasks and time and decision-making powers. Of particular interest is if international migration contributes to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development in the households under study.

As argued in chapter 1, the Bolivian society is particularly relevant for this type of research, as it is not only characterized by high levels of poverty and a significant outmigration of citizens, but also by strong gender inequalities. The latter can to an important extent be explained by the patriarchal social structures and culture of machismo that exist. This research is also of significant importance considering the future that lies ahead of us, which will most likely be characterized by an even further deepening of inequality and poverty and – consequently - an intensification of international migration. Especially the participation of women in transnational migratory flows is expected to soar in the years to come.

As argued in chapter 2 of this thesis, patriarchal and machista societies are characterized by male power and control over women. These unequal power relations between men and women have become institutionalized and constitute an important feature of the Latin American culture and social system. The Bolivian society - which is heavily characterized by patriarchal social structures and machismo - has provided men with a privileged position and many women with a disadvantaged position. One of the domains in which hierarchical and unequal gender relations become manifest is the household.

In the period prior to migration, the households included in this research generally all complied with the norm described above, although to varying degrees. This implies that men held power and control over women and enjoyed a more privileged position in their household. This was also apparent concerning the two topics considered in chapter 5; the gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women. There usually existed very strong gender divisions of labor, based on ideas of what is masculine and feminine. Normally, men were the primary breadwinner and women were held wholly responsible for the household and children, despite the fact that many also participated fulltime on the labor market in order to provide for their family. Not surprisingly, women often enjoyed less free time and experienced much higher workloads than men, who's contribution within the domestic sphere was usually limited to some 'male chores'. Gender differences could often also be observed among children. As for the decision-making powers of men and women, it could be observed that men usually had more economic power and enjoyed higher levels of personal autonomy and freedom than women.

In accordance with the expectations, it can be concluded that machismo was very much alive in the households under study in the period preceding migration. Furthermore, they could all be characterized as 'patriarchal'. This means that the adult male head exercised stable authority/domination over the whole household. Despite Castells' (2006) observation that patriarchal family/household structures have weakened over the past decades, patriarchalism was still very much alive in most households under study. This machista and patriarchal nature of households not only entailed strong gender inequalities in the distribution of tasks and time and decision-

making powers, but often also had an important impact on the decision of migration. As women in the Bolivian society are perceived – and perceive themselves – as being fully responsible for the well-being of their households and children and usually experience considerable control by the men in their lives, they are less likely to migrate abroad. The women that *did* migrate usually have husbands with relatively moderate machista beliefs and attitudes or decided independently from their spouse to move abroad. The latter either migrated out of pure economic necessity or to escape their marriage and become independent from their husband, and all sent their earnings to someone else. The beliefs that women often change drastically while abroad and that the effects of female migration are far worse than those of male migration, also have an important impact on the decision of migration. Of the female migrants in the households under study however, only few changed considerably as a result of their migration. With regard to the second assumption, it can indeed be observed that female migration often has a greater and worse impact on the household than male migration. This for example came to the fore in the neglect and/or abandonment of children by some husbands staying behind and is an important reason for women not to migrate. The negative effects of female migration and the failure of migrant women to comply with the expectations that traditional gender norms assign to wives and mothers, often result in strong social criticism and blame towards female migrants in the Bolivian society. This also provides an important disincentive for some women to migrate. Men – at home and abroad - on the other hand, receive much less control, criticism and blame than women. This can primarily be explained by their role and privileged position in the Bolivian society.

Despite the general assumption that international migration plays an important role in the transformation of gender relations, relatively few *real* changes occurred in the households under study.

This especially proved to be the case in households of male migrants. For women staying behind, relatively little has changed as a result of the departure of their husband. The traditional gender division of labor for example, remained practically the same, as women continue to be the ones responsible for the household and children and men are still the primary breadwinners, only now from a distance. Masculine tasks previously performed by the migrant are often assumed by a son or another male relative. The only change worth mentioning is the increase in women's workloads and responsibilities. With regard to levels of personal autonomy and freedom, women staying behind have also experienced practically no change, as they remain under the strict control of people at home and the migrant abroad. Male migrants on the other hand, usually retain their high levels of autonomy and freedom and do not appear to really be under the control of their wives or other people. The only notable change experienced by women staying behind is the increase in their economic power and influence within the household. Due to their new role as remittance-recipients and financial administrators, they take more decisions concerning the daily and exact use of

the household's financial resources than before the husband's migration. However, changes often prove to be rather limited, as women are expected to comply with the instructions and demands of their spouses and usually need their permission to spend remittances differently. They are often strictly controlled by their husbands, who consequently maintain their influence – or one may sometimes argue: grip - on their household's economics, especially concerning large expenditures and important investments. In this sense, again no real changes in gender relations occurred, as men retain their power and influence on their household's most important economic decisions.

It can thus be concluded that in households of male migrants no significant changes in gender relations have occurred in the period following migration. International migration has not induced a notable increase in levels of gender equality, despite the somewhat augmented female economic power and influence. It can even be observed that in some areas women's position in the household deteriorated – and gender inequality consequently increased - as a result of the migration of a spouse. An example is the increase in workloads experienced by women staying behind.

In most households of female migrants, it can also be observed that international migration did not generate many significant changes in gender relations. It is often assumed however, that women's new role as the household's primary breadwinner generates a transformation in gender relations, as – among other things – processes of female emancipation and empowerment are expected to occur. This has often proven to be only to some extent the case.

In most households for example, the domestic tasks and activities of the migrant woman are almost completely taken over by female relatives and/or children – especially daughters - staying behind. Frequently this involves women from outside the direct household, which is a contrast to the situation in households of male migrants. This usually implies a significant increase in the workloads and responsibilities of women staying behind. Husbands on the other hand, generally do not assume any tasks and activities previously performed by the migrant. As a result, they do not experience any notable changes in their role and position within the household, neither do their workloads and responsibilities increase. There were two remarkable exceptions however, formed by the two men that *did* almost completely replace their wives in their domestic tasks and activities in the period following migration.

With regard to levels of personal autonomy, more changes can be observed. Most female migrants for example experienced an increase in their freedom of movement and autonomy to decide on the use of their leisure time. Changes however, are often rather modest as they usually occur within the limits of what is considered to be appropriate and acceptable for women in the Bolivian society. This can to an important extent be explained by the continuous social control these women experience; not only by people abroad, but also by relatives - especially their husbands - at home. Men staying behind on the other hand, usually experienced no changes, which means that they – again -

retained their high levels of personal autonomy and freedom. Nevertheless, they did experience a decrease in the direct control over their wives.

Changes can also be observed concerning the economic decision-making powers of men and women. Migrant women usually experienced an increase in their economic power and influence, as they are now the main economic providers of their households. Especially their influence in large household expenses and important investments has increased, although most of them still confer with their husbands and take decisions together. In contrast to female remittance-recipients, male recipients are usually not checked on strictly, neither do they have to ask the migrant's permission to spend remittances. As a result of their physical absence, migrant women experienced a decrease in their control over small and daily household expenditures, which are now managed by relatives in Sucre.

Although in most households of female migrants no significant changes occurred in the *gender* distribution of tasks and time in the period following migration, some changes *did* occur concerning the levels of personal autonomy of men and women and their economic decision-making powers. These changes however, often proved to be rather limited. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that female migration induced some increase in levels of gender equality in the households under study. Apart from the heavier workloads of women, these findings differ from those concerning households of male migrants, which supports the general assumption that female migration has more implications for gender relations and – hence – gender equality than male migration.

Although most households under study experienced no profound changes in gender relations in the period following migration, one small group of households did. These were households of female migrants who did not sent remittances to their husbands, but to another person; in all cases a female relative or child.

Remitting money to someone else other than a spouse has proven to be a method for migrant women to prevent their earnings from being misspent by men and/or to make sure that they are used and invested according to their wishes. It is thus an important strategy to reinforce one's economic power. Not surprisingly, these women experienced a transformation in their position within the household, as they now often have complete control over the use of remittances; the largest source of income for recipient households. This represents a break with the situation prior to migration, when men were usually the ones with most economic power and control. Husbands that stayed behind now only have the control over their own earnings and – hence - experienced a significant decrease in their power and influence on household economics.

Migrant women that sent remittances to someone else other than their spouse have not only experienced a significant increase in their economic power, but also in their levels of personal autonomy and freedom. They are no longer controlled by their husbands, as they now live abroad and cut off all forms of contact with them. They do not depend on their permission and/or approval to do things or go places any longer. This usually represents a marked contrast to the situation before their migration, when

they were often controlled, dominated and sometimes even oppressed by the men in their lives. The level of change experienced by this specific group of migrant women differs from that of the other female migrants included in this research. This can for an important part be explained by their motivations for migration. Most women that did not sent remittances to their husbands seemingly migrated in order to escape their control and become independent from them, rather than for economic reasons only. Although these women experienced a significant increase in their personal autonomy and freedom, the actual changes in their behavior remained rather modest. Like in the case of other female migrants, changes usually occurred within the limits of what is considered to be appropriate and acceptable for women in the Bolivian society. Again, this can to an important extent be explained by the social control these women experience, by people – especially relatives - in the country of destination. While the levels of personal autonomy and freedom of husbands remained practically the same, their control over women drastically decreased.

It can be concluded that – in this specific group of households – the position of the female migrant has improved significantly as a result of her migration. In this respect, international migration has contributed to higher levels of gender equality. However, the situation for women at home has not improved on all fronts. They now for example often face even higher workloads and more responsibilities, as husbands refuse to assume feminine tasks and activities previously performed by the migrant.

As argued, gender equality is considered to be an important aspect of development. In this respect, international migration can contribute to development in various ways. Not only through poverty reduction by means of remittances, but also by inducing higher levels of equality between men and women in households affected by migration. Important in this regard are processes of female emancipation and empowerment and the achievement of better circumstances for women; at home as well as abroad. Although this entails many different aspects and requires a more thorough investigation in countries of origin *and* destination, some preliminary and general insights can be provided based on this research.

Overall, it can be concluded that male migration generates very few changes in gender relations. Women that stay behind do not really go through processes of emancipation or empowerment, despite their somewhat increased economic power and influence. Neither does migration improve women's situation at home, as most primarily face higher workloads and more responsibilities. Male migration hence does not really induce higher levels of gender equality and – therefore – development. An exception is formed by the increased educational opportunities for many girls and young women in households of male migrants, as a result of remittances. This is often assumed to contribute to processes of empowerment in the long run. This also applies to households of female migrants included in this research.

Female migration has proven to generate more changes in gender relations. Especially migrant women that did not sent remittances to their husbands experienced

processes of emancipation and empowerment. This corresponds to the general assumption that exists concerning the effects of female migration. This research has also proven however, that - apart from the increased educational opportunities for some - the circumstances of women at home do not necessarily improve as a result of the migration of a female spouse. Many women – especially daughters - experience a significant increase in their workloads and responsibilities, as they replace the female migrant in her domestic tasks and activities. The same is often the case in households of female migrants that *did* sent remittances to their husbands. Migration also has emancipating and empowering effects on these migrant women, although to a much lesser extent. Overall, it can be concluded that female migration – in contrast to cases of male migration – often generates an increase in levels of gender equality and hence development for migrant women themselves. This is crucial in a society characterized by high levels of inequality between men and women. However, changes vary considerably between the two groups of female migrants; from extreme to rather modest.

It can be concluded that in most households under study machismo is still very much alive in daily practice, despite the international migration of a spouse. This is especially true for households of male migrants and – to a lesser extent – for most households of female migrants that sent remittances to their husbands. Men still have more power and control than women and retained their privileged position in the household. This comes to the fore in the continuous gender inequalities in the distribution of tasks and time and decision-making powers described above. An exception is formed by households of female migrants that sent their earnings to someone else other than their spouse. These migrant women are no longer controlled or dominated by their husbands and have experienced a significant improvement in their position in the household. As argued before however, this is not the case for women staying behind.

It can also be concluded that most households under study can still be characterized as 'patriarchal', though to varying degrees. Although Castells (2006) argues that the patriarchal family/household – the "cornerstone of patriarchalism"- is in jeopardy and international migration is often assumed to play an important role in this respect, this was not so much the case in most households under study. This is especially true for households of male migrants. As argued before, male migrants usually retain their power and control over the household while abroad. This came to the fore in their preserved economic power and the control they still have over household members - especially their wives - in Sucre. Hence, male migration did not induce a significant decline in the patriarchal character of households included in this research. In the case of female migration, more changes occurred. Although men in most households of female migrants still have more power and control than women, female migrants have gained economic decision-making power and enjoy somewhat higher levels of personal autonomy than before their departure. In this respect, female migration induced a decline in the patriarchal household, although to a rather limited extent. Again, an

exception is formed by households of female migrants that sent their earnings to someone else other than their spouse. Their husbands have lost most of their power and control over their wife and household. In these cases, the migration of a spouse *did* induce a significant decline in the patriarchal character of the household. These findings support the assumption that especially female migration can have a harmful effect on the patriarchal household, as migrant women often fulfill a new role as the primary breadwinner, which undermines men's domination as economic providers and can contribute to women's negotiating and decision-making power.

The lack of profound change in the machista and patriarchal character of most households under study in the period following migration is considered to be detrimental for women. As argued before, machismo and patriarchalism entail high levels of gender inequality and – hence – are unfavorable for processes of development. This came to the fore in the distribution of tasks and time of men and women and their decision-making powers in most households included in this research.

An important explanation for the lack of profound changes in gender relations in most households under study has proven to be the persistent machista beliefs and attitudes of household members. Machismo is still very much alive in the minds of many people. Not only most men, but also many women continue to adhere to the traditional and machista gender ideology that prevails in the Bolivian society, even in the face of international migration. Hence, the perceptions of the household members under study have often proven to be rather resistant to change. This corresponds to the findings of other authors (see section 2.2.3). It has important consequences for women, as it impedes the achievement of higher levels of gender equality and – consequently - processes of development. An example are the rigid machista beliefs and attitudes of most men, which prevent them from assuming feminine tasks and activities previously performed by the migrant and cause a significant increase in the workloads and responsibilities of women staying behind. As demonstrated throughout chapter 5 however, machista beliefs and attitudes vary considerably per household and household member; from extreme in some cases to moderate in others. In general, it can be concluded that women hold less strong machista convictions than men. Furthermore, the beliefs and attitudes of women – especially female migrants - are usually more susceptible to change. Nevertheless, changes in their perceptions are often still rather limited, which – together with the continuous strong social control and pressure to conform many experience - explains why behavioral changes generally occur within the limits of what is considered to be appropriate and acceptable for women in Bolivia.

Another crucial explanation for the lack of profound changes in gender relations in most households under study has proven to be their transnational character. Current communication and information technologies enable migrants to uphold intense relations with people in their country of origin. Although in academic and social debates

this is generally considered to be positive, this research has demonstrated that there is also a downside to transnationalism.

Transnational relations have often allowed for the patriarchal character of the household – and its inherent strong gender inequalities - to largely be preserved in the face of international migration. Transnationalism enables male migrants to retain their power and control over household members – especially women - while abroad. As a result, women staying behind not only experience strong social control from people in Sucre, but also from their husbands; irrespective of their physical absence. As demonstrated throughout this thesis and argued above, this is unfavorable for processes of female emancipation and empowerment. Similar results were found for most female migrants. Although transnationalism provides them with the – for many – indispensable opportunity to remain in close contact with their loved ones back home, it also increases their burdens. Not only do migrant women carry the responsibility of providing financially for their household, but they are often also still perceived – and perceive themselves – as being wholly responsible for the emotional well-being of household members, especially children. Despite their absence, migrant women are usually still viewed as the 'pillar' of their household and deemed to nurture and maintain ties with their children and other family members while abroad. The transnational character of households and relations not only increased the burdens experienced by migrant women, but – similar to cases of male migration - also enabled many husbands to retain much of their power and control over their wives. Again, this has proven to be unfavorable for women's emancipation and empowerment.

It can be concluded that transnationalism has often prevented profound changes in gender relations from occurring. The sustainment of transnational relations can obstruct the achievement of higher levels of gender equality and therefore stand in the way of the development of women. Only when migrant women *completely* break ties with their husbands, do significant processes of female emancipation and empowerment take place. The migration of these women is often driven by their desire to escape their repressive and machista spouse and/or to achieve more personal independence. Evidently so, high levels of machismo are responsible for the destabilization of relations. Although such events are of negative nature, they have also shown to have indirect positive effects for the development of these women. Only in these few instances has international migration provided a way for women to truly change and transcend persistent unequal gender relations.

Research recommendations

Throughout this thesis, several new insights have been presented in relation to international migration, gender relations and processes of development. On the basis of these insights, several recommendations can be formulated for future research.

To better understand the process of international migration and the changes it engenders, it is advisable to study the situation of households in the period prior to,

during and after migration. Monitoring households over a period of time will provide more detailed insight into the nature of changes brought about by international migration, as well as the extent to which possible processes of female emancipation and empowerment are permanent and will continue to exist upon the migrant's return. Furthermore, it is also of added value to research multiple members of the household, including the migrant while living abroad. This will add different perspectives concerning international migration and its implications for gender relations to the research.

The institutional context has proven to be crucial in order to understand and explain the degree and nature of changes in gender relations caused by international migration. Patriarchalism and machismo heavily characterize the institutional context of Latin American countries, yet have received little attention in current migration research. Future migration research must therefore give these concepts a more prominent position.

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Interview:

Interview Velásquez Pacheco (head of subalcaldía distrito 2 Sucre), May 2008

Summary

More than ever before in human history are people crossing borders in search of a better life. In 2005, 191 million people lived outside their country of birth, which represented an all-time high. This number is expected to soar in the years to come. According to projections, in 2050 the world will accommodate 230 million international migrants.

The effects of international migration are felt all over the globe. People and communities – in countries of origin *and* destination – are affected by migration; either because they themselves were the ones leaving their native soil or because others – like relatives, friends or members of the community – did. Remittances sent by migrants have important macro-economic effects and can contribute to poverty reduction and development in households and communities of origin. International migration also generates important social changes, as families are separated and members - especially children – often suffer care deficits. Last but certainly not least, international migration can have important implications for gender relations. It is often assumed that especially the migration of women contributes to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development, as processes of female emancipation and empowerment are expected to occur. Despite its relevance for women's development, the gender perspective in migration research has received little attention in the academic world. The aim of this research was therefore to provide insight into the influence of international migration on gender relations, in order to contribute to the relatively scarce knowledge that currently exists regarding this topic. The central question posed was:

How does the international migration of a spouse influence (transnational) gender relations in households of migrants in the Bolivian city of Sucre?

To answer this question, focus has been on two themes; the distribution of tasks and time and decision-making powers. Of particular interest was if the international migration of a spouse – either male or female – has contributed to higher levels of gender equality and – hence – development in the households under study.

This research is particularly relevant for the Bolivian society, as it is not only characterized by high levels of poverty and a significant outmigration of citizens, but also by strong gender inequalities. These inequalities can for an important part be explained by the patriarchal social structures and culture of machismo that exist. Patriarchal and machista societies like Bolivia are characterized by male power and control over women. This has provided men with a privileged position and many women with a disadvantaged position and resulted in highly unequal gender relations. Within Bolivia, Sucre provided a suitable location for this research, as it is one of the country's poorest city's and characterized by high levels of international migration.

To gather the empirical information needed for this study, several research methods were utilized. First of all, a survey consisting of 30 questionnaires has been conducted. By means of this survey, background information has been collected concerning the households and migrants under study. Furthermore, it has provided insight into some of the effects of international migration. Secondly, 15 in-depth interviews were carried out; two of which with returned migrants. The in-depth interviews were designed to obtain detailed information on the changes in the gender distribution of tasks and time and decision-making powers in the households under study, as a result of international migration. Thirdly, observations were made in the research area and at people's homes.

During this research, several difficulties and challenges were experienced. Especially people's distrust and unwillingness to participate proved to be serious obstacles in obtaining empirical information and often required for selection criteria to be adjusted.

In the period preceding migration, the households under study could all be characterized as patriarchal and machista, although to varying degrees. Gender relations were unequal, which also came to the fore in gender distribution of tasks and time and the decision-making powers of men and women. Men were usually the breadwinners, whereas women were often deemed wholly responsible for the household and children, despite the fact that many also participated fulltime on the labor market in order to provide for their families. This usually resulted in higher workloads and heavier burdens for women. With respect to the decision-making powers of men and women, attention has been paid to their economic power and personal autonomy. In the period prior to migration, men enjoyed higher levels of economic power and personal autonomy than women.

International migration has not induced many profound changes in gender relations in most households under study. This especially proved to be the case in households of male migrants. The gender distribution of tasks and time remained practically the same and no major changes occurred in women's economic power and personal autonomy. Male migration hence did not contribute to the emancipation, empowerment and – hence – development of women staying behind. In households of female migrants more variation could be observed. In most cases, the gender distribution of tasks and time changed little as a result of the departure of the female spouse. Women staying behind largely replaced the migrant in her domestic tasks and activities, which caused a significant increase in their workloads and – hence – a deterioration of their position in this respect. The position of migrant women however, often *did* improve. Most experienced an increase in their economic power and personal autonomy. Changes however, often remained rather limited. An exception was formed by migrant women that cut off all ties with their husbands and sent their money to someone else; often a female relative. Remitting money to another person has proven to be a method for women to prevent their money from being misspent by men and/or to make sure that it is used and invested in accordance with their wishes. Not surprisingly, their economic

power increased drastically while abroad, as did their personal autonomy. These women were therefore the only ones in the households under study to really experience *significant* processes of emancipation, empowerment and – consequently – development.

An important explanation for the lack of profound changes in gender relations in most households under study has proven to be the persistent machista beliefs and attitudes of the household members under study. Even in the face of migration machismo is still very much alive in the minds of many people, which impedes the achievement of higher levels of gender equality and – hence – the development of women. Another crucial explanation for the lack of profound changes in gender relations is the transnational character of households. Current communication and information technologies enable migrants to uphold intense relations with people in their country of origin. Although this is in many aspects positive, it also enables men to largely maintain their power and control over women and – hence – can obstruct the achievement of higher levels of gender equality and development. Not surprisingly, only when migrant women *completely* break ties with their husbands, does international migration provide a way for women to truly change and transcend persistent unequal gender relations.

Resumen (Summary in Spanish)

Más que antes en la historia humana la gente está cruzando fronteras en búsqueda de una vida mejor. En el 2005, 191 millones de personas vivieron afuera de su país de nacimiento, representado una cifra récord. Esta cifra espera elevarse en los años que vienen. Acuerdo con las proyecciones, en el 2050 el mundo acomodara 230 millones de migrantes internacionales.

Los efectos de la migración internacional se sienten por todo el mundo. Gente y comunidades – en países de origen y destino – son afectadas por migración; sea porque ellos mismos fueron los que dejaron a su tierra nativa o sea porque otros – como familiares, amigos o miembros de la comunidad –lo hicieron. Las remesas mandadas por migrantes tienen efectos macro-económicos importantes y pueden contribuir a la reducción de pobreza y el desarrollo en hogares y comunidades de origen. La migración internacional también genera cambios sociales importantes, ya que familias son separadas y miembros – especialmente hijos – muchas veces sufren de la falta de cuidado y cariño. Finalmente pero no de menor importancia, la migración internacional puede tener implicaciones importantes para las relaciones de género. Frecuentemente es asumido que especialmente la migración de mujeres contribuye a los niveles altos de igualdad de género y – por eso – desarrollo, ya que procesos de emancipación femeninos y empoderamiento son previsibles. A pesar de su relevancia para el desarrollo de mujeres, el perspectivo de género en investigaciones de migración ha recibido poca atención en el mundo académico. El objetivo de esta investigación fue por eso facilitar entendimiento en la influencia de la migración internacional para las relaciones de género, para contribuir al poco conocimiento que existe corrientemente respecto a este tema. La pregunta plantada central fue:

¿Cómo es que la migración internacional de un esposo/a influye las relaciones de género (transnacionales) en los hogares de migrantes en la ciudad Boliviana de Sucre?

Para contestar esta pregunta, el enfoque ha sido en dos temas; la distribución de tareas y tiempo y los poderes de hacer decisiones. De interés fue si la migración internacional de un esposo/a, haya contribuido a niveles más altos de igualdad de género y – por eso – el desarrollo en los hogares bajo estudio.

Esta investigación es específicamente relevante para la sociedad Boliviana, ya que no es solamente caracterizada por sus altos niveles de pobreza y una significante migración al exterior de sus ciudadanos, pero también por las fuertes desigualdades en género que existen. Estas desigualdades pueden ser explicadas por gran parte por las estructuras patriarcales de la sociedad y la cultura de machismo. Sociedades patriarcales y machistas como la Boliviana son caracterizadas por el poder masculino y el control sobre mujeres. Esto ha proporcionado a los hombres con una posición

privilegiada y a las mujeres con posiciones desventajosas y ha resultado en altos niveles de desigualdad en relaciones de género. Dentro Bolivia, Sucre formó una ubicación adecuada para esta investigación, ya que es una de las ciudades más pobres que cuenta el país y es caracterizada por altos niveles de migración internacional.

Para juntar la información empírica necesaria para este estudio, diferentes métodos de investigación fueren utilizados. Primero que todo, una encuesta de 30 cuestionarios fue dirigida. Por medios de esta encuesta, información de fondo fue colectada acerca de los hogares y migrantes bajo estudio. Además, ha proporcionado entendimiento en algunos de los efectos de la migración internacional. Segundamente, se tomaron 15 entrevistas detalladas, 2 de cuales fueron migrantes que habían retornado. Las entrevistas detalladas fueron diseñadas para obtener información detallada sobre los cambios en la distribución de tareas y tiempo por género y los poderes de hacer decisiones en los hogares bajo estudio, como un resultado de la migración internacional. Terceramente, observaciones fueren hechas en el área y en las casas de los respondientes.

Durante esta investigación, varias dificultades y desafíos fueron experimentados. Especialmente el desconfió de la gente y la poca gana para participar en el estudio, resulto siendo un obstáculo para obtener información empírica y frecuentemente requirió un reajuste al criterio de selección.

En el periodo precedente a la migración, los hogares bajo estudio pudieron ser todos caracterizados como patriarcales y machistas, sin embargo existen varios grados. Relaciones de género eran desiguales, que también se destaca en la distribución de tareas y tiempo por genero y los poderes de haces decisiones de hombres y mujeres. Los hombres normalmente eran los mantenedores de la familia, mientras que las mujeres eran consideradas las responsables sobre el hogar y los hijos, a pesar de que muchas también trabajaban a jornadas completas para poder proveer para sus familias. Esto normalmente resultaba en más cargas de trabajo para ellas. Al aspecto de los poderes de hacer decisiones de hombres y mujeres, se le ha puesto atención a sus poderes económicos y a sus autonomías personales. En el tiempo antes de migrar, los hombres gozaban de altos niveles de poder económicos y de autonomía personal más que las mujeres.

La migración internacional no ha causado muchos cambios profundos en las relaciones de género en la mayoría de los hogares bajo estudio. Especialmente esto ha sido el caso en los hogares de migrantes masculinos. La distribución de tareas y tiempo por género se mantuvo prácticamente igual y tampoco hubo grandes cambios en el poder económico y autonomía de las mujeres. La migración masculina por eso no contribuyo a la emancipación, empoderamiento y – igualmente tampoco – al desarrollo de las mujeres que se quedaron. En los hogares de migrantes femeninos se pudo observar más variación. En la mayoría de los casos, la distribución de tareas y tiempo por género cambio poco como en el caso de la migración de una esposa. Otras mujeres quedándose

atrás, remplazaron la migrante por gran parte en sus tareas y actividades domesticas, que causo un aumento significante para sus cargas de trabajo y – por eso – un empeoramiento de sus posiciones en este sentido. Sin embargo la posición de las mujeres migrantes, muchas veces *sí* mejoro. La mayoría notaron una aumentación en su poder económico y autonomía personal. Sin embargo los cambios, varias veces fueron restringidos. Una excepción fue formada por mujeres migrantes que cortaron todo tipo de contacto con sus maridos y mandaron su dinero a otra persona; como un familiar femenino. Remitir el dinero a otra persona ha formado un método para mujeres migrantes en impedir que su dinero no sea malgastado por hombres y/o estar seguras que sea gastado e invertido como ellas lo desean. No es sorprendente, que el poder económico haya aumentado drásticamente mientras permanecen en el exterior, igual que sus autonomías personales. Estas mujeres fueron por eso las únicas en los hogares bajo estudio que realmente han sido testigo de procesos significantes de emancipación, empoderamiento y – consecuentemente – desarrollo.

Una explicación importante por la falta de cambios profundos en relaciones de género en los hogares bajo estudio ha sido las actitudes y creencias machistas de los miembros de los hogares bajo estudio. Aun que haya migración el machismo todavía permanece vivo en las mentes de mucha gente, que impide lograr altos niveles de igualdad de género y – por eso – el desarrollo de mujeres. Otra explicación crucial por la falta de cambios profundos en relaciones de género es el carácter transnacional de los hogares. Tecnologías de comunicaciones actuales permiten que los migrantes mantengan relaciones con gente en sus países de origen. Aunque esto sea en muchos aspectos positivo, también deja que hombres puedan mantener su poder y control sobre las mujeres y – por eso – puede obstruir el conseguimiento de altos niveles en igualdad de género y desarrollo. No es sorprendente, que solo cuando las mujeres migrantes cortan totalmente el contacto con sus maridos, que la migración internacional puede facilitar una verdadera manera para las mujeres de cambiar y transcender sus relaciones de género desiguales persistentes.

Annex I Consulted institutes

Alcaldía Sucre
Plaza 25 de Mayo
Sucre

Brigada de Protección a la Familia
Avenida Jaime Mendoza
Sucre

INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas)
Close to stadium Hernando Siles
La Paz

OMI Bolivia (Organización Internacional para las Migraciones)
Avenida 17 de Junio
Edificio Avenida
Piso 7, oficina 1

Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana La Paz
Mariscal Santa Cruz
Edificio Esperanza
Piso 9, oficina 2

Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana Sucre
Pastoral Social Caricas
Guillermo Loayza 101B
Sucre

Sub-alcaldía distrito 2
Adolfo Villar 181
Sucre

Annex II Questionnaire

ENCUESTA No: …..

Datos generales

Fecha:……...
Barrio:……...
Encuestador:…….....

Encuestado/a:……...
Relación con el migrante esposo/a:……...……...
Dirección y celular:….…….
…….
…….
…….
…….
…….
Hispanohablante/Quechuahablante

Introducción

- Introducción personal
- Razones para este investigación
- Los temas de la encuesta
- La confidencialidad
- El anonimato del encuestado/a

A. Las características de la casa

Las personas que <u>ahora</u> viven en la casa:

# 1	**Nombre**	**Sexo** **(m/f)**	**Edad** **(años cum-plidos)**	**Relación con migrante:** 1. Esposo/a 2. Hijo/a 3. Yerno/nuera 4. Nieto/a 5. Padre/madre 6. Suegro/a 7. Abuelo/a (de quien?) 8. Hermano/a 9. Cuñado/a 10. Sobrino/a 11. Tio/a (de quien?) 12. Otra, es decir:…….	**Nivel de educación:** 1. Ninguno 2. Primaria 3. Secundaria 4. Técnico 5. Universitario 6. Otro, es decir:……. 7. No sabe	**¿Que hace?** 1. Trabaja 2. Ama de casa 3. Ama de casa y trabaja 4. Estudia 5. Estudia y trabaja 6. Desocupado 7. Jubilado 8. Nada, todavía es muy joven 9. Otra, es decir:….. 10. No sabe	**Tipo de trabajo:**
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							

Las personas que vivían en la casa <u>poco antes la migración del esposo/a</u> *:

# 2	**Nombre**	**Sexo (m/f)**	**Edad (años cumplidos <u>en este periodo</u>)**	**Relación con migrante:** 1. Esposo/a 2. Hijo/a 3. Yerno/nuera 4. Nieto/a 5. Padre/madre 6. Suegro/a 7. Abuelo/a (de quien?) 8. Hermano/a 9. Cuñado/a 10. Sobrino/a 11. Tio/a (de quien?) 12. Otra, es decir:…….
1				El migrante mismo: El esposo/ la esposa
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				

* Para las personas ya mencionadas en la página anterior, solamente escriba los nombres.

B. Las características de los migrantes

Los miembros de la casa que <u>ahora</u> viven en otro lugar:

# 1	**Nombre**	**Sexo (m/f)**	**Edad (años cum-plidos)**	**Relación con migrante:** 1. Hijo/a 2. Yerno/nuera 3. Nieto/a 4. Padre/madre 5. Suegro/a 6. Abuelo/a (de quien?) 7. Hermano/a 8. Cuñado/a 9. Sobrino/a 10. Tio/a (de quien?) 11. Otra, es decir:……	**Nivel de educación:** 1. Ninguno 2. Primaria 3. Secundaria 4. Técnico 5. Universitario 6. Otro, es decir:…… 7. No sabe	**¿Que hace allá?:** 1. Trabaja 2. Ama de casa 3. Ama de casa y trabaja 4. Estudia 5. Estudia y trabaja 6. Desocupado 7. Jubilado 8. Nada, todavía es muy joven 9. Otra, es decir:..... 10. No sabe	**Tipo de trabajo allá:**	**Piensa que va a volver definitiva-mente a Bolivia?** 0 Si (continua) 0 No 0 No sabe **Cuando piensa?** 1. Este año (2008) 2. El próximo año (2009) 3. Dentro de 3 y 5 años 4. En mas que 5 años 5. No tiene ninguna idea
1				El migrante mismo: El esposo/la esposa				0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe
2								0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe
3								0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe
4								0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe
5								0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe
6								0 Si → Cuando:…… 0 No 0 No sabe

# 2	¿A que lugares migró? (orden de sucesión: desde el lugar más reciente hasta lo primero de todo)	Hace cuánto tiempo se fue? (en años y meses)	Tiene papeles para quedarse legalmente?	Razón principal para migrar 1. Falta de trabajo 2. Ganar mejor 3. Estudios 4. Razones familia-res, es decir:…… 5. Otra, es decir:..... 6. No sabe	Les visitó una vez? A. Si (continua) B. No C. No sabe Con que frecuencia (en promedio)? 1. Solamente este vez 2. Cada seis meses 3. Cada año 4. Cada dos años 5. Cada tres años 6. Otra, es decir:……. 7. No sabe	¿Cada cuanto comunican (en pro-medio)? 1. Múltiples veces por día 2. Cada día 2. Algunos veces por semana 3. Cada semana 4. Casa dos semanas 5. Cada tres semanas 4. Cada mes 5. Otra, es decir:…… 6. No sabe	¿Por qué 3 medios de comunicación sobre todo? (orden de sucesión: el más utilizado primero) 1. Por teléfono 2. Por internet 3. Por cartas 4. Por cinta de casete 5. Por videocinta/Dvd 6. Otro, es decir:…….. 7. No sabe
1	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	1: Si/No/No sabe 2: Si/No/No sabe 3: Si/No/ No sabe 4: Si/No/ No sabe	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	1:…… 2:…… 3:…… 4:……	1:…… 2:…… 3:…… 4:……
2	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	Al destino actual: …… Al primer destino: ……	1: 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe	1:……..... …….....	1:…… ……	1:…… ……	1:…… ……...
3	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	Al destino actual: …… Al primer destino: ……	1: 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe	1:……..... …….....	1:…… ……	1:…… ……	1:…… ……...
4	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	Al destino actual: …… Al primer destino: ……	1: 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe	1:……..... …….....	1:…… …… .	1:…… …… .	1:…… ……...
5	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	Al destino actual: …… Al primer destino: ……	1: 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe	1:……..... …….....	1:…… …… .	1:…… …… .	1:…… ……...
6	1:……..... 2:……..... 3:……..... 4:…….....	Al destino actual: …… Al primer destino: ……	1: 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe	1:……..... …….....	1:…… …… .	1:…… …… .	1:…… ……...

Preguntas sobre la migración del <u>esposo/esposa</u>:

 # 3: De quien fue la idea de migrar?

0 Del migrante mismo
0 De su esposo/a
0 De un sponsor en el extranjero, es decir:……..
0 De una otra persona, es decir:…….....
0 No sabe

 # 4: Quien(es) tomó/tomaron la decisión sobre su migración?

0 El migrante a solas
0 El migrante y su esposo/a conjuntamente
0 El migrante y algunos miembros de la casa, es decir:……
0 El migrante y todos los miembros de la casa
0 El migrante y otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……..
0 El esposo/a del migrante
0 Algunos miembros de la casa (excepto el migrante), es decir:……
0 Todos los miembros de la casa (excepto el migrante mismo)
0 Otra(s) persona(s), es decir:…….
0 No sabe

C. Los cambios en la casa (desde que la partida del esposo/esposa)

 # 1: Que fueron los principales cambios en su casa por efecto de la partida del esposo/a?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……

¿Trabajan mas/menos? ¿Mas/menos ocupado? ¿Diferente estilo de vida? ¿Diferente ambiente en la casa? ¿Diferentes sentimientos/comportamientos de los miembros de la casa?

<u>Cambios en la composición de la casa</u>

 # 2a: Hay personas que ahora viven en su casa, que no vivían aquí cuando el migrante se fue? *(Vea la información de A #1 y # 2)*

0 Si → Nombre(s):……
0 No
0 No sabe

2b: Habían personas que vivían en la casa cuando el migrante se fue, pero que ahora no viven aquí? *(Vea la información de A #1 y #2)*

0 Si → Nombre(s): ……
0 No
0 No sabe

2c: Habían personas que vinieron a vivir en su casa después de la partida del migrante y que ya se fueron?

0 Si → Nombre(s):……

0 No

0 No sabe

2d: Habían personas que vinieron a vivir en su casa antes de la partida del migrante, porque el tenia planes de irse?

0 Si → Nombre(s):……

0 No

0 No sabe

 # 3: Datos sobre estas personas *

	Nombre	**Sexo (m/f)**	**Edad (años cumplidos)**	**Relación con migrante:** 1. Hijo/a 2. Yerno/nuera 3. Nieto/a 4. Padre/madre 5. Suegro/a 6. Abuelo/a (de quien?) 7. Hermano/a 8. Cuñado/a 9. Sobrino/a 10. Tio/a (de quien?) 11. Otra, es decir:…….	**Que era el motivo principal para venir o/e ir?** 1. La ausencia (esperada) del migrante esposo/a (continua) 2. Otro, es decir:…….. (para) 3. No sabe (para)	**Hace cuanto tiempo se vino y/o se fue? (en años y meses)**
1					0 Venir:…….. 0 Ir:……..	0 Venida:..... 0 Partida:……
2					0 Venir:…….. 0 Ir:……..	0 Venida:..... 0 Partida:……
3					0 Venir:…….. 0 Ir:……..	0 Venida:..... 0 Partida:……

* No tiene que repetir los datos que ya tiene (sexo, edad y relación con migrante) sobre los miembros de la casa (antes la migración y ahora) y los migrantes

Cambios en la jefatura de la casa

 # 4: La jefatura de la casa, según el/la encuestado/a *:

	El/los jefe(s)	**¿Jefe en general o con respeto a algo especifico?**
Antes la migración del esposo/a	1…… 2…… 3…… 4……	1…… 2…… 3…… 4……
Ahora	1…… 2…… 3…… 4……	1…… 2…… 3…… 4……

* Quien(es) toma(n) las decisiones en la casa? Y que tipos de decisiones (sobre que)? Todos o algunos?
El jefe ahora puede incluir el migrante, a pesar de que ahora esta en otro país.

En caso de un cambio en la jefatura de la casa:

 # 5: Que es la causa de este cambio, piensa usted? (múltiples respuestas posibles)

0 La migración del esposo/a

0 Otra(s) causa(s), es decir:….....
……..

Eventualmente (si el/la encuestado/a parece locuaz y esta considerado como 'jefe/a'):

 # 6: Que significa para usted ser jefe/a en su casa?

……
……
……..
……..
……..
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……..
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……..
……..
……..

¿Es positivo/negativo? ¿Por qué? En caso de un cambio: ¿Es positivo/negativo? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué ha cambiado?

D. Las remesas

<u>Las remesas del migrante esposo/esposa</u>

 # 1: Reciben dinero del migrante esposo/a?

0 Si (continua con pregunta 3)
0 No (continua con pregunta 2)
0 No sabe (continua con pregunta 11)

 # 2: Por que no reciben dinero del migrante esposo/a?

0 Esta desocupada
0 No tiene suficiente ingresos para mandar
0 Otra razón, es decir:……..
0 No sabe
(continua con pregunta 11)

 # 3a: Que importancia tiene este dinero para su casa?

0 Mucha importancia
0 Bastante importancia
0 Poca importancia
0 Otro, es decir:……
0 No sabe

3b: Que parte de los ingresos de su casa son formados por las remesas (aprox.)?

……..

- Compara la respuesta con A #1 (¿Qué hace?). Si nadie de la casa trabaja, 100% de los ingresos de la casa deben ser formados por las remesas y al revés (si alguien trabaja, las remesas deben ser un <u>parte</u> de los ingresos de la casa). Si las respuestas no son coherentes, discutir las dos preguntas otra vez y reconsiderar las respuestas.
- Clasificación: una pequeña parte/gran parte/bastante parte (que significa que la casa también tiene bastante propios ingresos y las remesas sirven como un <u>complemento</u> a los ingresos que ya tiene)

En caso de una diferencia notablemente entre 3a y 3b:

3c: Explicación:

……..
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……..
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Posibilidades:

- La casa no recibe muchas remesas, pero considera este dinero como muy importante. ¿Por qué? ¿Porqué este dinero permite que la familia puede ahorrar un pocito o que los hijos pueden estudiar mejor que antes?
- La casa recibe relativamente muchas remesas, pero no considera este dinero *tan* importante. ¿Por qué?

 # 4: Cual es el promedio de dinero que recibe su casa por vez?

0 0–50 dólares	0 0-375 bolivianos
0 51-100 dólares	0 376-750 bolivianos
0 101-200 dólares	0 751-1500 bolivianos
0 201-300 dólares	0 1501-2250 bolivianos
0 301-400 dólares	0 2251-3000 bolivianos
0 401-500 dólares	0 3001-3750 bolivianos
0 Más que 501 dólares, es decir (aprox.):……... ……	0 Más que 3751 bolivianos, es decir (aprox.):…… ……
0 No sabe	0 No sabe

 # 5: Cada cuanto tiempo (en promedio) manda el migrante esposo/a dinero a su casa?

0 Semanal → Cada 1/2/3 semanas
0 Mensual → Cada 1/2/3/4/5/6 meses
0 Otro, es decir:…….....
0 No sabe

 # 6a: Como se manda el dinero normalmente?

0 Por Western Union
0 Por BancoSol
0 Por PRODEM
0 Por SudAmero
0 Por otra institución financiera, es decir.:……...
0 Informal, es decir:……..
0 No sabe

6b: También hay otra(s) manera(s) en que el migrante esposo/a manda el dinero?

0 Si, es decir:……
0 No
0 No sabe

En caso de utilización una institución financiera (excepto el Western Union):

6c: Tienen una cuenta corriente o de ahorros con esta(s) institución(es) financiero(s)?

0 Si, una cuenta corriente
0 Si, una cuenta de ahorros
0 Si, los dos
0 No
0 No sabe

 # 7a: Quien(es) decide(n) <u>cuando</u> el migrante manda?

0 El migrante a solas
0 El esposo/ la esposa del migrante
0 El migrante en consulta con su esposo/a
0 El migrante en consulta con otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……..
0 Otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……...
0 No sabe

7b: Quien(es) decide(n) <u>la cantidad</u> de dinero que se manda?

0 El migrante a solas
0 El esposo/ la esposa del migrante
0 El migrante en consulta con su esposo/a
0 El migrante en consulta con otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……..
0 Otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……...
0 No sabe

Si las respuestas de 7a y 7b son diferente, controla las respuestas y explica la diferencia. ¿Por que hay personas que deciden sobre la frecuencia de las remesas, pero no sobre la cantidad (y al revés)? Explica en mas detalle.

 # 8: Quien(es) recibe(n) el dinero enviado por el migrante a la casa? (múltiples respuestas posibles)

0 El esposo/la esposa del migrante
0 Otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……...

 # 9a: Los objetivos de las remesas (múltiples respuestas posibles)**:**

0 Sobrevivir……
0 Asegurar la educacion de los hijos……..
0 Mejorar la situación de vivienda…….
0 Empezar/expandir un negocio…….
0 Otro(s)…….
……
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……

- Empieza general: ¿Qué quieren lograr con la migración? Especifica: ¿Qué quieren lograr con las remesas?
- Detalladamente por objetivo.
- ¿Están ahorrando para cumplir estos objetivos?
- ¿Objetivos ya cumplidos? ¿Objetivos de este momento? ¿Objetivos del futuro?

Por objetivo:

9b: Quien(es) elegí(eron) este objetivo?

……
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

- Usa las repuestas de 7a/b.
- Puede ser que nadie elegí(eron) este objetivo, porque era un decisión naturalmente que no necesitaba consulta

 # 10a: Quien(es) decide(n) sobre el uso de las remesas?

0 El migrante a solas
0 El esposo/ la esposa del migrante
0 El migrante y su esposo/a ambos
0 El migrante y otra(s) persona(s), es decir:…..……
0 Otra(s) persona(s), es decir:……...
0 No sabe

Si dice que solamente una persona toma <u>todas</u> las decisiones sobre el uso de las remesas, repite la pregunta y analiza si eso es la verdad.

En caso de múltiples personas (por persona):

10b: Que tipos de decisiones toma?

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- Distingue entre gastos diarios/inversiones o gastos pequeños/grandes
- Describe en detalle por persona (con ejemplos)

<u>Las remesas de los otros migrantes</u> (si no hay otros migrantes, continua con pregunta 13)

 # 11: Reciben dinero de (uno de) los otros migrantes?

0 Si (continua con pregunta 12)
0 No (continua con pregunta 13)
0 No sabe (continua con pregunta 13)

 # 12: Cuanto manda(n) en comparación con el migrante esposo/a?

	Nombre del migrante	**Cantidad de remesas en comparación con el migrante esposo/a**					
		Mucho menos	**Menos**	**Aprox. igual**	**Mas**	**Mucho mas**	**No sabe**
1		0	0	0	0	0	0
2		0	0	0	0	0	0
3		0	0	0	0	0	0
4		0	0	0	0	0	0
5		0	0	0	0	0	0

<u>El uso de las remesas</u> (si la casa no recibe remesas, continua con E)

 # 13: El uso de las remesas según categoría de gasto y otras preguntas

Categoría de gasto	**¿Usan remesas?**	**¿Qué incluye?**
Comida	Si / No	
Ropa	Si / No	x
<u>Costos de la casa:</u>		
- El alquiler	Si / No	x
- Electricidad	Si / No	x
- Agua	Si / No	x
- Gas	Si / No	x
La salud	Si / No	
Educacion	Si / No	
<u>La casa:</u>		
- Mejoramientos	Si / No	
- Expansión	Si / No	
- Nueva casa (comprar/alquiler)	Si / No	
Tierra	Si / No	
<u>Un negocio:</u>		
- Existente	Si / No	
- Nuevo	Si / No	
<u>Transporte:</u>		
- Gastos de transporte	Si / No	
- Vehículos (uso privado)	Si / No	
Electrodomésticos	Si / No	
Otros	Si / No	

Parte de las remesas usado 1. Muy pequeña 4. Gran 2. Pequeña 5. Muy gran 3. Bastante 6. No sabe			
Pagar deudas	Si / No		*¿Incluye deudas relacionadas a la migración?* 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe
Ahorrar	Si / No		*¿Para que ahorra?* …… …… …… …… ……
Prestamos a otras personas	Si / No		*¿Para proyectos de migración?* 0 Si 0 No 0 No sabe
Ocasiones sociales	Si / No		*¿Qué incluye?* …… ……

 # 14a: En que tres cosas gastan más las remesas?

1……
……..
……..
……..
……..
……
……..……
2……
……..
……..
……..
……..
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……..……
3……
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……..……

Por cosa:

- Descríbelo en mas detalle → ¿Que incluye? (seguir preguntando!)
  Ejemplo: Alimentación → ¿Solamente alimentación o también ollas/cocina/batidora? ¿Dónde hacen los compras? ¿Dónde comen? Educacion → ¿También zapatos/computadora/ropa? Vivienda → ¿Solamente el alquiler o también gas/electricidad/agua/otras cosas?
- Intenta de distinguir entre gastos regulares/irregulares
- Puede incluir 'varias'. En este caso: descríbelo en mas detalle.

14b: Que parte de las remesas usan para estas tres cosas (aprox.)?

……..

E. El impacto de la migración del esposo/a a los hijos

Por hijo:

1. **¿Ha notado algún(os) cambio(s) en el comportamiento de su hijo desde la partida de su esposo/a?**
   - Extrañar
   - Triste
   - Distraído/ausente
   - Travieso/desobediente
2. **¿Tiene su hijo problemas en el colegio desde la partida de su esposo/a?**
   - Comportamiento en el colegio
   - Problemas de estudio
     - Malas notas/calificaciones
     - Concentración
     - Hacer tareas

Describe los cambios en detalle y da ejemplos

3. ¿Piensa que estos problemas son causados por la migración del padre/madre?

En general (en caso de diferencias entre hijos):

4. ¿Por qué cree que los hijos reaccionan diferente a la ausencia de su esposo/a?

- Edad
- Sexo
- Otra causa

Termina la encuesta:

- Podemos volver otra vez?

0 Si
0 No
0 Posiblemente

- La confidencialidad y el anonimato del encuestado/a

- Familias consolidades con madres (y padres) fuera de Bolivia

Annex III Fundación PASOS

Fundación PASOS is a Bolivian non-governmental organization, located in Sucre. Fundación PASOS was founded on June the 1st 2000. 'PASOS' stands for "Participación y Sostenibilidad" (Participation and Sustainability).

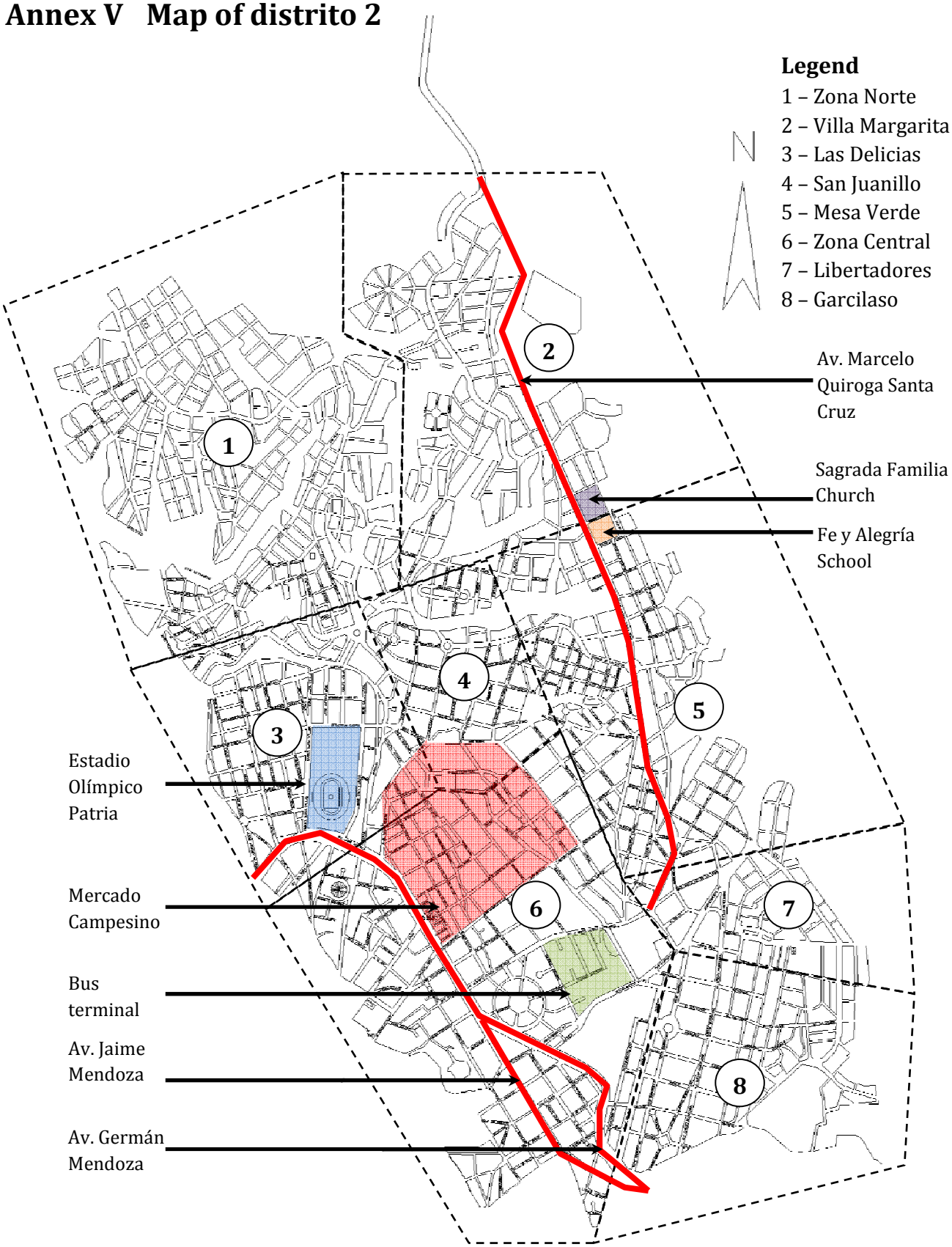
Fundación PASOS is an NGO dedicated to sustainable rural development. The organization's main objective is to expand the income generation of the rural population in an equal and sustainable manner. As the name indicates, the participation of social actors is an important characteristic of their approach. Furthermore, PASOS strives for a development that is environmentally sustainable.

Fundación PASOS primarily implements projects in Chuquisaca, but has also been active in other departments, like Potosi, Santa Cruz, La Paz and Oruro. Within the department of Chuquisaca, the organization's activities are concentrated around the rural communities of Rio Chico (northern Chuquisaca) and Sopachuy (central Chuquisaca). Fundación PASOS has a local office in both areas.

Annex IV Detailed map of Bolivia

Source: www.un.org

Annex V Map of distrito 2



Annex VI Levels of education in households under study, according to age and sex

Level of education/ Age	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Tecnico	University	Unknown	Total
0-19	10.26	32.05	14.10	0	2.56	0	58.97
20-39	0	5.13	6.41	0	7.69	0	19.23
40-59	1.28	2.56	2.56	0	1.28	0	7.68
60+	1.28	5.13	0	0	0	0	6.41
Unknown	0	0	0	0	3.85	3.85	7.67
Total	**12.82**	**44.87**	**23.07**	**0**	**15.38**	**3.85**	**100**

Table x: Levels of education among men, according to age (in %)
Source: Household survey 2008

Level of education/ Age	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Tecnico	University	Unknown	Total
0-19	6.67	31.43	15.24	0	1.95	0	55.29
20-39	0	14.29	2.86	0	1.95	0.95	20.05
40-59	5.71	4.76	0	0	0	0.95	11.42
60+	2.86	0.95	0	0	0	0	3.81
Unknown	2.86	0	0	0	3.81	2.86	9.53
Total	**18.10**	**51.43**	**18.10**	**0**	**7.71**	**4.76**	**100**

Table x: Levels of education among women, according to age (in %)
Source: Household survey 2008

Annex VII The occupation of household members, according to age and sex

Occupation/Age	Work	House-wife	Work & house-wife	Study	Study & work	Unem-ployed	Retired	Nothing, too young	Unknown	Total
0-19	1.28	0	0	46.15	2.56	0	0	8.97	0	58.96
20-39	14.10	0	0	5.13	0	0	0	0	0	19.23
40-59	5.13	0	2.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.69
60+	1.28	0	0	0	0	1.28	3.85	0	0	6.41
Unknown	0	0	0	3.85	1.28	1.28	0	1.28	0	7.69
Total	**21.79**	**0**	**2.56**	**55.13**	**3.84**	**2.56**	**3.85**	**10.25**	**0**	**100**

Table x: The occupation of men, according to age (in %)
Source: Household survey 2008

Occupation/Age	Work	House-wife	Work & house-wife	Study	Study & work	Unem-ployed	Retired	Nothing, too young	Unknown	Total
0-19	0	0	0	47.62	0.95	0	0	6.67	0	55.24
20-39	2.86	11.43	4.76	0.95	0	0	0	0	0	20
40-59	0	4.76	6.67	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.43
60+	0	1.90	1.90	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.80
Unknown	1.90	1.90	0	3.81	0.95	0	0.95	0	0	9.51
Total	**4.76**	**19.99**	**13.33**	**52.38**	**1.90**	**0**	**0.95**	**6.67**	**0**	**100**

Table x: The occupation of women, according to age (in %)
Source: Household survey 2008