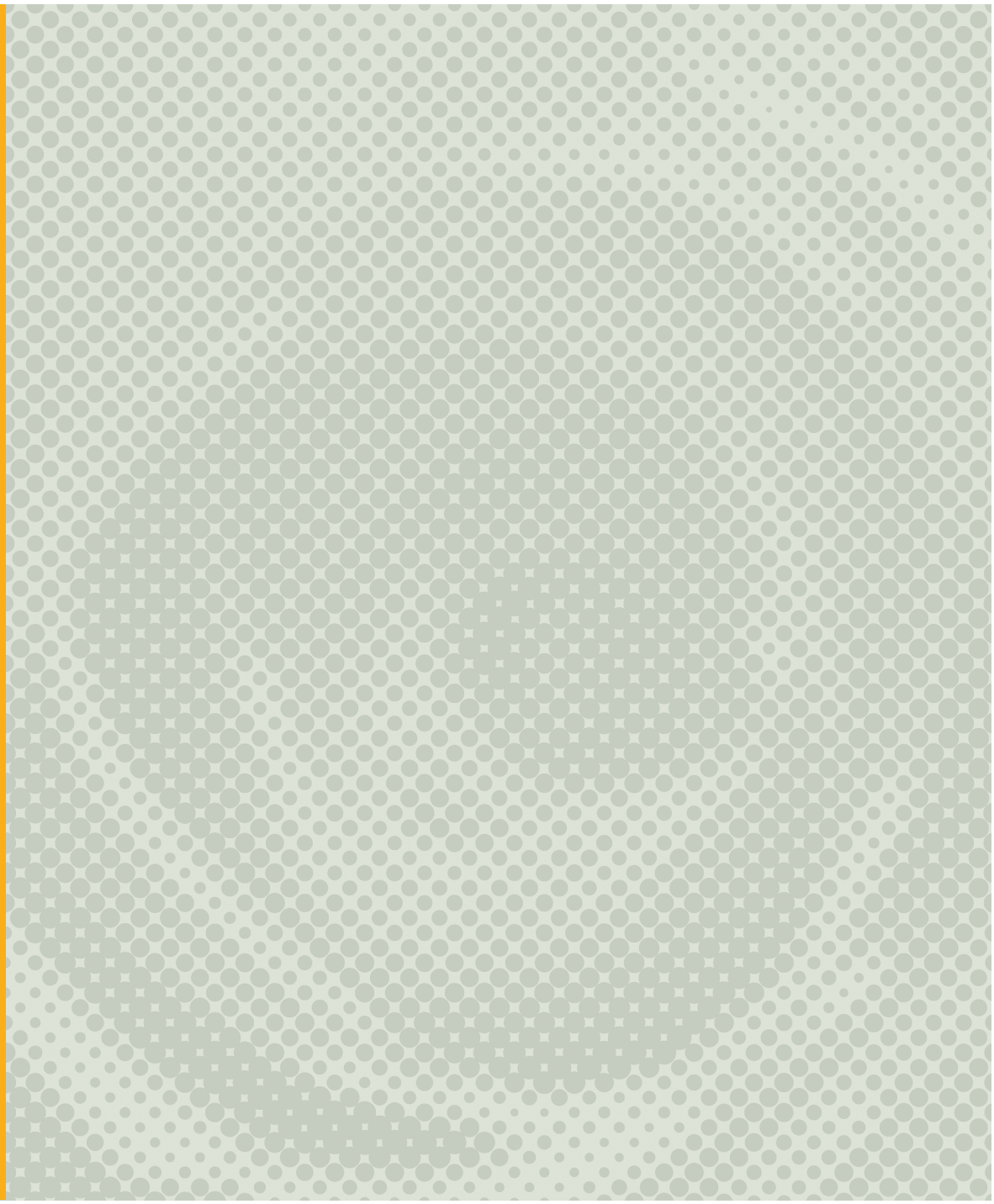
Es mejor comer pan duro con amor, que pollo con dolor

A case study of migration from Cochabamba, Bolivia

Marita Bjerga

Norwegian University of Life Sciences
Department of International Environment and Development Studies
Master Thesis 30 credits 2013



The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB). Eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and assignments.

The Noragric Master thesis are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfil the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "Development Studies" and other Master programmes.

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

© Marita Bjerga, December 2013
maritabjerga@gmail.com

Noragric
Department of International Environment and Development Studies
P.O. Box 5003
N-1432 Ås
Norway
Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00
Fax: +47 64 96 52 01
Internet: http://www.umb.no/noragric

Declaration

I, Marita Bjerga, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature……..

Date……

To all migrants around the world,
and all those left behind who are affected by migration.
To all the people who live in multi-ethnic communities.
We are all affected by migration.

Acknowledgement

My deepest thanks go out to my informants, who welcomed me into their homes and who willingly and honestly gave me their stories, opinions and experiences with migration. You made this study possible and your powerful and moving stories will always be remembered. You have enriched my life perspectives.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, associate professor Esben Leifsen for the knowledge and experience you have shared, for valuable advices and for being patient with me when I have been indecisive.

Many thanks to the Salvation Army in Cochabamba, Bolivia who let me stay in one of their day-care centres. Thank you for letting me conduct interviews with the children and for providing me with information about the area and the families connected to the center. To my good friend Siw Christel Broman, who facilitated my fieldwork with the Salvation Army. I appreciate you helping me with practical issues in Bolivia, for your involvement in my research and for helping me find useful information. I would also like to give special thanks to The Bolivia Family Foundation who gave me access to the centers they support in Bolivia, I appreciate their support and interest in my research.

To my fantastic Spanish teacher, Gladys Espinoza, who has been teaching me Spanish every time I came to Bolivia and who helped me form questions for my interviews. I am also grateful for teaching me Bolivian and Quechua culture and language. Thank you for preparing me for difficulties I would encounter in my interviews. Also thanks to your colleagues, Alejandro and Daniel, who taught me a lot about culture, history, language and politics in Bolivia. Thank you for the information you have provided me with and all the nice talks and discussion we've had.

Special thanks go to my good friends Maria Alicia Tercero and Gloria Choque for helping interpret during interviews, and later assisted me with transcribing. Your friendship and all invaluable help I have received during my time in Bolivia is highly appreciated.

Thanks to James Thomson for reading through my final drafts, correcting and commenting them for the better. Nina Benedicte Aubert, I appreciate your friendship, your encouragement, advices and all the time working together on our thesis. I would also like to thank friends who helped me with technical issues, providing feedback on the text, and layout of the thesis. Finally, my greatest gratitude goes to friends and family for encouragement and for believing in me throughout the study.

Abstract

This study examines the motives people have for migration in Bolivia, how migration affect left behind family members and how migrants and their remaining family maintain relations across borders. The research was conducted using a qualitative approach and it was divided into two parts. Part one included participant observation and non-structured interviews as well as mapping of household and migration stories. Part two involved semi-structured depth interviews.

The study concludes that economic purposes and a wish to improve life conditions for their families are the main motives for migration. Family relations, children's biography and personality seem to be affected when parents choose to migrate. This paper shows how roles and family structures are rearranged as a consequence of migration. Transnational communication between migrants and left behind families in the area of the study appears to be scarce, mainly due to lack of technical and financial resources, in addition to limited amount of time for communication. The limited communication challenges transnational relations and makes the return and re-integration processes difficult.

Table of Content

Acknowledgement v

Abstract vi

Acronyms ix

1. Introduction 1
1.1 Objectives and research questions 2
1.2 Definitions and delimitations 3
1.3 Background: Bolivia 4
1.4 Bolivian migration 8
1.5 Outline of the thesis 10

2. Migration Theory and Conceptual Framework 12
2.1 Migration definitions and distinctions 12
2.2 Migration flow and patterns 13
2.3 Different types and trends of migration 14
2.3.1 Circular migration and transnationalism *14*
2.3.2 Feminization *16*
2.3.3 Return migration *16*
2.4 From internal to external migration 17
2.5 Consequences of migration 17
2.5.1. Potential advantages and challenges of migration *18*

3. Research Methods 22
3.1 Methodological Challenges 22
3.2 Research Design 23
3.3 Methods – tools for collecting data 24
3.4 Field access 27
3.4.1 Informants *28*
3.4.2 Sampling *28*
3.5 Ethics 29
3.6 Limitations and Challenges 32
3.6.1 Children as informants *32*
3.6.2 Time *33*
3.6.3 Language *34*
3.6.4 Natural limits and power relations *35*
3.6.5 Truth and Perception *35*
3.7 Processing the data 36

4. Motives for migration 38
4.1 The extent of migration in the area 38
4.1.1 Who leaves? *43*
4.1.2 Factors for migration *43*
4.2 Economical aspects 46
4.2.1. Remittances *48*
4.3 Social Aspects 51
4.3.1 Social Status *52*
4.3.2 Education *53*
4.4 Cultural Aspects 55
4.5 Gender Dimensions 55
4.5.1 Self-realizing or getting away *57*

5. The effect of migration on a family 60
5.1 Before the migration – the decision to migrate 61
5.2 Consequences for the migrant 62
5.3 Restructuring of families 66
5.3.1 Care arrangements and children's roles 66
5.3.2 Gender differences 68
5.4 How children are affected by migration 71
5.5 Violence and complicated issues 74

6. Communication during migration and returning migrants 77
6.1 Modes and extent of communication 78
6.2 What do they communicate about? 81
6.3 Hopes and promises for return and reunion 84
6.4 Visit country of origin? 85
6.5 Outcomes of migration process 86
6.6 Returning migrants and family reunion 88
6.7 Concluding remarks 92

7. Conclusion 94
7.1 Why do people choose to leave their families for migration? 95
7.2 How are families affected by migration? 96
7.3 Communication within transnational families 97
7.4 The implication of this study in relation to migration literature 99
7.5 Predictions and recommendations for future migration 99
7.6 Further research 101

References 103

Appendix A - Household Migration Mappings 1

Appendix B - Checklist for household migration mapping 6

Appendix C - Interview-guide for semi-structured interviews 7

Appendix D - Example of Table Coding 10

Acronyms

AMIBE-ACOBE	-	Asociación de Migrantes Bolivia-España (AMIBE) Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia España (ACOBE)
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technologies
MAS	-	"Movimiento al Socialismo" (Movement towards Socialism)
NAFTA	-	North American Free Trade Association
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
PIEB	-	Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia
PRIO	-	Peace Research Institute, Oslo
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	-	United Nations' Children's Fund

Tables and figures

List of Tables

Table 1 Information about all adult informants involved in the study, including birthplace and where migrants have migrated internally and/or internationally. The column to the right identifies those that did not migrate. Page 39-40.

List of Figures

Figure 1 Photo of Quechua Indians in the village of Tarata, outside Cochabamba. Page 6.

Figure 2 Map of Bolivia showing internal migration tendencies since the 1950s. Page 9.

Figure 3 Explanation map for kinship migration mapping. Page 36.

Figure 4 Chart to show the number of internal migrants in each category among informants. Page 38.

Figure 5 Overview of international migrants included in the study, when and where they migrated (Europe or Latin America), and when or whether they returned. Page 41.

1. Introduction

In this study, I shall explore the motives Bolivians have for migrating abroad, the effects migration has on the left behind family, the relationships within the family of a migrant and how families communicate during migration. The title of this thesis, *"Es mejor comer pan duro con amor, que pollo con dolor",* is a quote taken from one of the interviews. It means "it is better to eat dry bread with love, than chicken with pain," and refers to a paradox that the process of migration can present. People are motivated to leave their families and loved ones to improve the family's standard of living. However, even when they have the best of intentions, the process of migration can detrimentally affect family relations. Time and distance apart can create challenges for the migrant as well as their left behind family. These challenges, and the ways that transnational families cope with these challenges, will be discussed in depth in this thesis.

As a Norwegian, I come from a technologically-advanced country with a social democratic political system: characteristics that many Bolivians idealize, but do not expect based on the technological advancements made and the political system that define their home country. When reporting these findings, my personal background must be taken into account, because as a white, Western woman, with the according cultural baggage, I will not be able to be unquestioningly accepted in Bolivian society. I have tried to do my best to learn about and understand Bolivian culture and society, leave any judgments that stem from my own culture behind, and remain as objective as possible while conducting this research. Children and families connected to a day-care center in a poor, suburban area of Cochabamba have been the informants for this study, from late September 2012 to late January 2013. Access to this specific center was granted with help from the local Salvation Army, who operate the center with economic support from the Norwegian NGO, The Bolivia Family.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

My first objective was to gather information about all the families connected to the day-care center, in the district of Santa Ana in Cochabamba. This information would be used to map out their household, family relations, and stories from their experiences of migration. The intention was to use these maps to understand the variations between the stories of migration, and to understand the extent that migration affects people in the area. To gain insight into the lives of the people living in the area, and to be able to make plans for compiling a good sample, I answered the following research questions:

- *What kind of migration has taken place in (to and from) this area?*
- *Are there any typical migration patterns?*
- *Is there a link between internal and external migration?*
- *If parents migrated, who were the caregivers of the left behind children?*
- *Are there many migrants who have been through the migration process that later return to the area?*

My next objective was to identify the motives for undertaking international migration, and the challenges and advantages that are created on a family level. To do this I had to collect data about family members' experiences, sentiments, ideas and understandings of international migration. To identify the motives, the following questions were asked:

- *What are the purposes for migrating?*
- *How does international migration impact the left behind family in terms of their relations, social status and socio-economic life?*
- *What are the benefits (e.g. economic remittances, the opportunities created for the family by these remittances, and higher social status) and what are the challenges (e.g. care arrangements when parents migrate, and communication among family members across borders) emerging when a family member migrates?*
- *How do children experience the migration compared to the adults?*
- *Are there any typical sentiments, ideas and understandings about migration that are frequently mentioned by adults or children?*
- *How do my findings match or contradict findings in other studies?*

Frequent migration is a challenge for both the local Salvation Army, who operate several orphanages and daycare centers in Bolivia, and for The Bolivia Family who work to provide aid for families by cooperating with The Salvation Army, and with people in Norway who

make monthly donations as a part of a "sponsor a child" system. This work was conducted to provide insight into the motives people have for migrating, and the challenges and complications a family face when a family member decides to migrate. It is a human right to travel freely in and out of one's country of origin (UN, n.d: article 13), but this liberty is combined with moral obligations and expectations from society, especially for parents. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child also emphasize parents' and especially mothers' responsibility, claiming that all children "shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security" and "shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother" (UNICEF, 1989, article 6). Both parents who migrate, and parents who are left behind by migrants, can be socially condemned for leaving their children, by both people in the destination country, and people in their country of origin. There seems to be a social trend where migrant mothers are blamed for causing their children to suffer (Gordonava, ca. 2009). However, some of them are emigrating with good intentions for their family and with a plan to return. The risks taken, challenges met and other emotional aspects faced by family members is what I want to focus on, in the hope of gaining a better understanding of a migrant's motives and dreams, and the subsequent difficulties they face.

1.2 Definitions and delimitations

The term *migration* refers to the movement of people from one location to another. There are two types of migration; international, also called external, migration and internal, also called national, migration (Salvatierra, 2010). I will mainly use the terms *international migration* and *internal migration*. Migrants are the people who move; they *emigrate* from one place and *immigrate* to another (Melzow, 2005). In this study, there will be more focus on *international* migration. The term *international* is constituted by two morphemes: the prefix *inter-*, meaning between, and the adjective form of *nation* (i.e. *national*), referring to people who are united by common descent, history, culture or language and living in a particular state or territory (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013c). As a whole, *international* means "among or between nations or national borders" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013a) and implies that whatever is being described is taking place within clearly defined borders. Transnational, on the other hand, is constituted by the prefix *trans-*, meaning across, and the adjective *national*, and means "beyond or across borders" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013b). Something that is described as

being transnational can take place across borders, for example, relations and communication can be maintained between people and units without taking national borders into account. I will use the term international regarding migration and the term transnational regarding relations communication that are maintained across borders.

I have chosen to use the term *irregular migration* instead of *illegal migration*, as the term *illegal* has connotations linking to criminal activity, and this kind of migration does not carry those connotations (Koser, 2007). I have also used the term *undocumented* when discussing irregular migrants, which refers to their lack of legal documentation that would otherwise grant them a residence permit. But it should be noted that migrant statuses can change quickly as migrants may initially enter a country legally, with the proper legal documentation, but then stay after their visa or work permit expires (Koser, 2007). These irregularities will be discussed in the next chapter.

Migrants tend to send *remittances*, usually money sent from one location to another. These are most often sent from migrants abroad to families and relatives in their country of origin.
The main focus of this thesis is on international migrants from Bolivia, but internal migrants have also been included in the study. The UN defines an international migrant as a person who stays outside their country of residence for one year or more (Koser, 2007: 4). Some informants in my study had planned to migrate for a number of years, but they had to return sooner than expected, often within one year. These migrants have also been included in my study, but have nonetheless been classified as *international migrants*.

1.3 Background: Bolivia

Bolivia is a landlocked country located in the heart of South America. Biodiversity is rich and there are many natural resources (Indset, 2009), but unfortunately the country suffers from inequality; uneven distribution of power and rights within the categories sexes, classes and races, and a considerable proportion of the population live in extreme poverty (Klein, 2011). According to UNDP (United Nations Development Indicators), Bolivia is considered as one of the poorest and least developed countries in Latin America. These claims are based on measures of the standards of living, health, and education (UNDP, 2013).

Bolivia's population was estimated to be about 9 million in the year 2000. This was a young population, as 50% of Bolivians were under the age of 20 (Dunkerley, 2007). In 2010, average life expectancy was 64 years for men and 69 years for women, while pensions were granted to all Bolivians 65 years and older by the new Constitution in 2009. The country has high infant and maternal mortality rates (Klein, 2011).

Indigenous people make up a high percentage of the Bolivian population: Quechua and Aymara being the largest of the 36 different indigenous peoples (Indset, 2009). Indigenous people have been marginalized and neglected since European colonization, but in the last decades they have been more organized in mobilizing and protesting against neoliberal policies which deny them their much deserved rights. Indigenousness has to some extent become a source of pride, rather than embarrassment in Bolivia (McNeish, 2008), and little by little they have reclaimed their rights and become more socially accepted (Klein, 2011).

The political party, MAS (Movement towards Socialism), has many members who have an indigenous background. In December 2005, MAS, with a former coca farmer and Aymara Indian as their leader, won the election and came to power in January 2006. Evo Morales and MAS' policies have been designed to improve the rights of poor and indigenous' people, and in recent years, laws and rights for the poorest people of Bolivia have been introduced. The New Constitution made in 2009 also had more emphasis on the rights of indigenous people, and Bolivia changed its official name to "The Plurinational State of Bolivia" (Klein, 2011). Although some conditions in Bolivia have improved with MAS' leadership, there is still political instability and widespread disagreement in opposition to the government and the president (Dunkerley 2007).

According to the Census in 2001, 62% of Bolivians identified themselves as indigenous, but less than 50% of the population spoke indigenous languages (Dunkerley, 2007). Originally Indians were *campesinos*, which means that they lived in the countryside and worked in agriculture, producing and consuming traditional Andean food and speaking only indigenous languages. Indians have had to abandon their traditional norms and languages in order to become integrated into various urban areas that make up the national society, with the hope of accessing political power. Some of those that identified themselves as indigenous are therefore mestizos; urban inhabitants of lower and middle class, and rural freehold farmers.

Mestizos often wear Western clothes and speak Spanish as well as their indigenous language, while the upper class in Bolivia is almost exclusively constituted by white people. They descend from the Spaniards and they speak only Spanish, dress in Western clothes and eat "non-indigenous" food (Klein, 2011). However, the labels of Indian and mestizo are both nuanced and complex. Today, the majority of mestizos and some Indians live in the cities. Many of them have maintained their native customs, languages, and religion to a greater or lesser extent. The pride of being indigenous and the acknowledgement one might get from other indigenous people varies between regions (Postero, 2007).

Usually, there is a link between poverty and indigenousness (McNeish, 2008). In Bolivia it seems like regional disparities are withheld. The economic benefits brought by the oil and gas resources in the eastern lowlands are mostly enjoyed in the area where the white people are settled, while most of the indigenous people are settled in the western highlands (Indset, 2009). In the last 50 years, Bolivia has seen a rapid increase in the standards of both school and higher education, and in the level of literacy. As much as 79% of all native indigenous speakers are literate according to a survey in 2007, but it is still the case that larger numbers of the non-indigenous population receive higher education (Klein, 2011).

Figure 1. Quechua Indians in the village of Tarata, outside Cochabamba.

Photo: Marita Bjerga 2012

Political instability, social conflicts and economic crises have characterized Bolivian history (Klein, 2011). Between 1825 and 1982 there were 157 coups and a total of 73 presidents that led the country: a world record according to the *Guinness Book of Records* (Dunkerley 2007). From 1995 to 2005, there were six different presidents, but only two elections (Salvatierra, 2010). Civil strikes, blockades of roads, military regimes, dictatorships, marginalization and discrimination of indigenous peoples have all been factors that have contributed to the disorder in the country. There is also a high level of corruption, clientilism and favoritism in the country. Since 1840, elections have been practiced in the country (Dunkerley 2007), but until the revolution in 1952 women, indigenous people and illiterate people did not have the right to vote (Klein, 2011). Furthermore, military or revolutionary hegemonies prevented any oppositional parties from becoming fully established, forbade electoral campaigns or fixed the results of elections, and then military coups overthrew those that won the elections (1979 and 1980). Full democracy, referring to the freedom to participate and compete in elections, and a voting system that produces fair results, was not practiced until 1985. Still, however, people claim that electoral fraud takes place during elections (Dunkerley 2007).

During the last 500 years, Bolivia has been economically dependent on minerals (silver, tin and zinc) and primary exports, which makes the country vulnerable to changes in the international market. Despite Bolivia's mining industry, agriculture and the recently developed oil and gas industry, the country has always imported technology. Due to a lack of national entrepreneurs and infrastructure, Bolivia opened up its oil and gas reserves to foreign investors (Klein, 2011).

Foreign aid is an important source for Bolivia's national income, as it constitutes 2-3% of the GDP, one of the highest percentages in Latin America. Other important sources of income are from migrant remittances, which account for 5 % of Bolivia's GDP (Klein, 2011) and which exceeded US $1.144 million in 2008 (Aqui y Allá, 2011). Taxes are a large part of the government's income despite the fact that 80% of Bolivia's population work in the informal economy (the economy that is not taxed or included in the GNP) and subsistence agriculture (self-sufficiency farming). Only 27% of those labourers in the informal economy have a tax identification number (NIT) (Klein, 2011). Bolivia has one of the largest informal sectors in Latin America, and the Bolivian economy is heavily dependent on it (The World Bank, 2013). The informal sector includes commerce, agriculture, construction, manufacturing,

transport and service. There are more women than men, and more indigenous than non-indigenous people, working in the informal economy. It is estimated that 8 out of 10 workers in the informal economy are in the lowest-salary bracket, which means that they earn less than 1000 bolivianos (approximately US $ 143) a month (Aqui y Allá, 2011). In 2007, as much as 88 percent were without a pension plan and 82 percent without *aguinaldo,* a remuneration received by employees in addition to the twelve monthly salaries, which is only guaranteed to workers in the formal sector. Workers in the informal sector also rarely have health insurance, which is often arranged between workers and their workplace (Klein, 2011).

Bolivia is a conservative society influenced by the Catholic Church, and its traditional culture, which is notorious for its gender practice. Bolivian people are raised to think that men are to provide for families, while women's duties are to organize and maintain the family: to take care of children and elderly family members, and to reproduce (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Despite the deep roots of these perceptions, many women contribute to family income by working, and single mothers provide for almost 30% of all households in the country (Gordonava, ca. 2009). As can be expected, the traditional gender roles are more defined in rural, than urban areas. *Kinship* is a term linking to what people understand to be their family relations, and the term has cultural variations (Parkin and Stone, 2004). In Bolivia, as in the rest of the Andean region, kinship is a more inclusive term than what Western societies perceive as kinship. Families here are often extended beyond the nuclear family, as aunts, uncles, cousins or grandparents might also live under the same roof as the parents and the children. In many cases, relatives, neighbors, or friends of the parents care for children for a certain period of their childhood. This way, people outside the family may gain kinship through familiarization; constructed kinship (Leinaweaver, 2008).

1.4 Bolivian migration

Migration in Bolivia has been going on for centuries. The Incas were expanding their territories through migration, even before Bolivia had its name and borders (Klein, 2011). During colonial times, Indians were forced by Spaniards to move to new areas to work for them in the mines and at the haciendas. It was not until the 1950s that an Agrarian Reform freed all the peasants from working at the haciendas. With the establishment of roads, Indians and mestizos moved to the cities and thereby took part in the country's urbanization process (Klein, 2011). Bolivian governments have also encouraged and supported settlement in

tropical regions (e.g. after the Acre War from 1899-1903), as they realized that the tropical areas had been, and are still, underinvested and under-populated (Perez-Crespo, 1991). Moreover, the coca production, alongside the increased production of cocaine, has caused more voluntarily migration to tropical areas during the last part of the 20h century (Perez-Crespo, 1991). Since the 1950s, internal migration has played a significant role for Bolivia's development. La Paz, Oruro and Potosi used to be important cities, but after the decline in the mining sector from the 1980s and onward, people have spread to the east of the country. Thus Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, La Paz, and El Alto have become the most advanced and fastest growing cities, and are also responsible for most of the economic activity in the country (Klein, 2011).

Figure 2. Map of Bolivia showing internal migration tendencies since the 1950s.

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/south-america/bolivia-road-maps.html, (edited).

Bolivia's international migration history has seen immigrants from only a small number of different groups of people, but a striking number of Bolivians have undertaken the process of emigration, which has increased during the last 20 years (Domenech and Magliano, ca. 2007). Evo Morales, the current president, was even a migrant child. His father was a migrant worker in Argentina where, for a short period, Evo lived and went to school (Dunkerley 2007). Labour migration to Argentina had already started in the 1930s, and became very popular in the 60s (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009). Migrants were working in agriculture and horticulture in northern Argentina, but later headed for the metropolis of Buenos Aires (Sassone, 2002). Brazil has also been an essential destination for Bolivian migrants for decades. In the 1970s, Bolivian migrants started to migrate to the USA (Gordonava, ca. 2009) and at around the turn of the millennium, Spain became the main destination (Klein, 2011). The events that took place in the USA on September the 11th 2001 have been an influence on the US government to quickly implement strict visa regulations (Koser, 2011). Migration to Spain became more attractive as a result of this, reaching its peak of popularity in late 2006 and early 2007 (Arnez, ca. 2009), before Spain introduced visa requirements in 2007 (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009).

It has been claimed that, for Bolivia, migration has been one of the most important social, political, economical and cultural phenomena during the last decade (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). A typical Bolivian migrant today is young, although old enough to work, and undocumented. Typically, if he is a man, he works in construction work, and if she is a woman, she works in service and care related work (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009). It is estimated that 25% (Gordonava, ca. 2009, Salvatierra, 2010) to 35% (Roncken et al. ca. 2008) of all Bolivians are residing abroad and about 60% of all Bolivians have relatives abroad (Cortes, 2002). According to Salvatierra (2010), the three most important countries for Bolivian migrants (i.e. where most migrants are residing) are: Argentina, Spain and USA.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In the next chapter I will present different types and trends in migration. Consequences of migration on a macro level, and changes in migration patterns will be discussed as well as aspects which have received varying levels of attention in academic research.

In chapter 3, research methods, research design, ethics, limitations and challenges in the fieldwork will be presented. The methods used will be elaborated in detail. How access to the field was obtained, and how the data was processed will also be explained.

In chapter 4, I shall introduce findings from the fieldwork. The extent of internal and international migration in Santa Ana, and the effects experienced by left behind families will be presented, together with migration patterns found in this area. Motives for migration will also be explained, focusing on the factors that influence a person's decision to migrate.

In chapter 5, I shall discuss how the migration process affects families. I will explain how, during a migration process, the roles of a family are re-structured to take care of the responsibilities and duties that a migrated parent would otherwise be responsible for, and to enable the family to cope with the situation. Detailed extracts from interviews and statements from informants are quoted as examples.

Chapter 6 shall focus on the communication between migrants and their left behind families. The different mediums for communicating, the frequency of communication, the issues that are communicated and the challenges related to communication will be presented. Visiting and returning migrants will also be mentioned. At the end of the chapter, I will focus on the difficulties that a family faces under the process of reunification. I shall conclude the chapter with statements from informants regarding the various outcomes following the migration process.

Chapter 7 will provide a summary and conclusion.

2. Migration Theory and Conceptual Framework

Migration is part of globalization and development. While the unemployment rate is high in the Global South, countries in the Global North have made themselves dependent on migrant labour, due to segmentation in the job market. The main incentives to migrate are to find work and to earn money. Migration can be beneficial for development in a country, a community and in a family. Remittances can improve a family's economic and social situation, but migration can create challenges and difficulties and offers no guarantees for success. Economic analyses, which look at factors that cause migration (Madianou, 2012) and the consequences of migration, have attracted positive attention in academia. Less attention has been given to the actual difficulties that people encounter through the fragmentation and separation of families, which remittances cannot compensate for (Koser, 2007:46). In 2005, 200 million people were estimated to be migrants worldwide, which is approximately 2.85% of the world population. Migrants are increasing in numbers, spreading to new areas and integration has become a high priority on political agendas (Koser, 2007). Migration will continue to increase and affect economy, policies, nature, communities, and the focus for this thesis; people and family relations. During hundreds of years of migration, different definitions and types of migration have been formulated and political debates have been continually taking place to discuss the issue. In this section I will present terms and theories that are relevant to this thesis.

2.1 Migration definitions and distinctions

People can migrate voluntarily or involuntarily based on social, economic and political reasons. The majority of asylum seekers are involuntary migrants; they apply for international protection because of war, conflicts, persecution, discrimination and climate change. If the application is granted, they attain status as refugees (Koser, 2007). Most voluntarily

migration is motivated by the hope for a better future for the migrants and their families. Labour migrants often migrate because of unemployment and low salaries in their mother country. They migrate in search of better work and higher salaries (Salvatierra, 2010). People also migrate in order to study, for career opportunities and for family reunions (Koser, 2007). However, the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration may not be as clear as initially implied. Migrations are seldom purely voluntary or involuntary as the motives may combine economic, political and social factors. Categorization can also change from being voluntary to being involuntary, e.g. a migrant who has migrated voluntarily may find that they are not able to return, or vice versa. Also, a regular migrant that enters a country legally may then become irregular if they stay illegally after their visa or work permit expires.

Counting migrants is problematic. Migrant statuses can change quickly and due to the huge amount of irregular migrants and illegal activities such as smuggling, an activity that a smuggler will want to keep hidden from the authorities, it is impossible for authorities to keep count. Statistics of migration are also complicated because internal migrants are rarely counted and labour migrants might not be counted within certain areas, such as the European Union. Additionally, it is a challenge to record the numbers of terminated migration processes because some migrants return to their country of origin while others become citizens in a new country (Koser, 2007).

2.2 Migration flow and patterns

Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta (2009) write about migration from the 1960s in Latin America where migrants travelled mainly to border countries. In the case of Bolivians, they went to the north of Argentina to work in agriculture and horticulture (Gordonava, ca. 2009). This flow had already started in the 1930s, but it intensified and urbanized in the 1960s (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009). As a result of urbanization, women began to work in the service sector or as domestic workers and men started working in construction (Gordonava, ca. 2009).

Latin American migration to Europe started, in the 70s and 80s, with political refugees from the southern cone. During the 90s, economically motivated migration to Europe and the USA began, which intensified in late 90s. Also in the late 90s, Argentina was suffering from an economic crisis. Following this crisis, Bolivian migrants were forced to migrate to other

countries. Spain, amongst a number of other European countries, was a particularly popular destination (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009, Gordonava, ca. 2009). Academics followed this new wave of migration and studies focused on the adaptation and collectiveness of migrants in the new country, their kind of work and way of life. Families, left behind in the place of origin, were included in some studies, but to a lesser extent. Remittances already received a lot of academic attention at this time (Gordonava, ca. 2009). After 2001, Spain became the preferred destination for Bolivian migrants, as the USA implemented strict restrictions for immigrants after the attack on the twin towers on September the 11th (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009).

In 2009 there was a slight decrease in remittances to Bolivia, which implies that migrants have returned, stopped sending money or migrated to new areas (Aqui y Allá, 2011). It has become more difficult for labour migrants to migrate to and to stay in Europe (Gordonava, ca. 2009) due to the economic crisis which has affected Europe severely. Visa restrictions in Spain from 2007 have probably also played a minor role to these changes (Aqui y Allá, 2011). However, the economic crisis in Europe has played a major role. This can be seen by the converse patterns where former migrants and inhabitants of Spain are now migrating to countries in northern Europe and Latin American in search of employment (Nogueira, 2012). However, these tendencies are relatively new and therefore have not yet been studied or published. Chapter 4 will give a detailed overview of all internal and external migration in this study. This will show that people are returning to Latin America from Europe, and migrating to other nearby countries on the continent.

2.3 Different types and trends of migration

Here I will introduce and explain a few concepts and types of migration, which will be mentioned in my findings in chapter 4, 5 and 6.

2.3.1 Circular migration and transnationalism

Temporary migration has become more frequent and some people migrate several times during their lives. Temporary migration can be beneficial in many ways; jobs can be filled for specific periods in locations where there is demand for work. This is called seasonal migration. By migrating temporarily, people avoid the integration process, which means they

are more likely to avoid discrimination. For countries of origin, temporary migration can reduce unemployment and contribute to improving the country's economy. Also, migrants may return with new work experience and skills, which can be an advantage for both themselves and the country of origin. Apparently, many migrants have also realized these potential benefits which have developed new trends in migration (Koser, 2007).

International border migration has received attention from researchers. Of all the potential Latin American destinations for Bolivian migrants, Argentina has been given the most attention (Gordonava, ca. 2009). Gordonava (2002) analyses the border area between Bolivia and Argentina, the characteristics of the area, and the migration processes. He describes the area as a zone with multiethnic contacts and conflicts where people migrate both temporarily and definitely. Some of the migrants are seasonal migrants, some are definite migrants that infrequently visit their country of origin, while others live transnational lives and have double homes: one in Bolivia and one in Argentina. Their motivation for migration is to seek job opportunities and generate income in order to create a new life for themselves and their families. This group of migrants includes children from the age of 12 who leave their homes and travel to the North of Argentina to work in agriculture (Gordonava, 2002).

"Circular migration", or "Circulation" as Leinaweaver (2008) proposes, refers to people who migrate and return several times. They may travel to different destinations or for shorter periods of time for the purpose of seasonal work. Other migrants have started to live transnational lives; they travel between two countries, live dual lives and maintain homes, networks, relations and sometimes businesses in both countries (Koser, 2007, Sassone, 2002).

Although temporary migration is a good solution for many migrants, some migrants become comfortable in their new environments. They earn more money and start to "feel at home", which results in that many of the planned temporary migrants want to settle in the destination country (Koser, 2007). Some of these migrants apply for permanent residence, but cannot let go of their bonds and network in the country of origin. These migrants end up living dynamic, transnational lives where they circulate between their place of origin and the new destination (Gordonava, ca. 2009). Transnationalism has been a common focus when analyzing migration. Pearregaard (2009) discusses transnationalism, but is questioning whether transnationalism is a recent phenomenon. With transnationalism, new challenges occur such

as parental migration, and care across borders. Research done by Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer (2012) focuses on transnational parenthood. Leifsen and Tymczuk (2012) also focus on maintenance of relationships between parents and children across national borders; in this case Ukrainian and Ecuadorian parents who have migrated to Spain.

2.3.2 Feminization

Feminization of migration is a new phenomenon as men have previously been overrepresented in migration movement. Today almost 50% of all migrants are women. Women migrate to work, mostly in service, health and entertainment, but women also migrate to reunite with their families (Koser, 2007). Feminization of migration appears to be related to economic prosperity, especially in southern Europe where women started to work outside the homes. This created a need for female labour for domestic work in these countries (Paerregaard, 2009). It has been claimed that female migrants usually migrate for career opportunities and for the survival of their children, their husband and other family members. They are more concerned about the welfare of others than their own needs and desires (Paerregaard, 2009). Feminization of migration has received a great deal of attention during the last decade (Gordonava, ca. 2009). In Bolivia one could talk about a feminization and rejuvenation of Bolivian migrants, as well as an increase in undocumented migrants (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009)., indicating that more female migrants are undocumented. Studies mention that today almost 70% of migrants from Cochabamba are women (Gordonava, ca. 2009).

2.3.3 Return migration

Return migration has increased in some parts of the world, and in certain periods of time, relating to economic crises in destination countries, for example (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009, Gordonava, ca. 2009, Nogueira, 2012). Return migration is increasing in general and will continue to increase (Koser, 2007), affecting children and adolescents who have learned to live without their migrant parent, affecting families and relationships, and affecting the development of human personalities.

So far, return migration has received little attention amongst researchers. Motives, patterns and experiences regarding return migration are yet to be explored. Bolivian return migration

has not been researched at all. But due to the previously mentioned decrease of remittances (Aqui y allá, 2011) and the economic crisis in Spain, one of the main destination countries for Bolivian migrants, it has become problematic for labour migrants to stay in Europe (Gordonava, ca. 2009) and many of them are now returning.

2.4 From internal to external migration

In the 1980s, studies that focused on Bolivian migration dealt with internal migration and its influence on urbanization and economy in the country (Gordonava, ca. 2009). Based on other people's empirical work, a study by Perez-Crespo (1991) gathered statistics that provided an overview of internal migration in Bolivia from the 1950s and onwards. At the time, it was mainly low-income social groups who migrated towards urban areas in search of work. People also migrated to tropical areas where the government supported land settlements. Farmers could continue their agricultural work there, but often had to change from food crops to coca leaf production. According to Perez-Crespo (1991), migration was a result of the state policies' lack of supporting small-scale agriculture and peoples' lack of access to land. Farmers had to migrate to cities in search of employment and economic opportunities, even though they wanted to continue their livelihood based on agriculture. At the time, migration was perceived as a process that worsened rural-urban inequalities in the country. Perez-Crespo (1991) also linked internal migration to external, as unemployment in cities forced people to "outmigrate" (Perez-Crespo 1991). Andersen's article (2002), which was written a decade later, argued that rural to urban migration had more advantages (e.g. reducing poverty) than disadvantages (e.g. crime, pollution, overcrowding and lack of traditional and relational bonds). This was mostly because it was cheaper to provide basic services in urban areas. Due to poverty and low population density in rural areas, Andersen (2002) claims that the costs of urbanization in Bolivia are small compared to the rest of Latin America, and therefore urbanization can be a solution to many of the country's problems. Internal migration still takes place on a large scale in Bolivia. This will be elaborated in chapter 4.

2.5 Consequences of migration

Globalization processes, capitalism, new technologies and segmentation of the labour market are current issues for migration that contemporary debates and research center on (Gordonava, ca. 2009). Improvements in transportation have created competition among airlines and bus companies that has made it cheaper to move. Hi-tech developments in

communication have also made it easier and cheaper to obtain information and keep in touch with family and friends across borders (Koser, 2007).

Migration has many consequences, both positive and negative for countries of origin, countries of destination and for migrants and their families (Salvatierra, 2010). The extent of migration and the consequences of migration have been studied (Gordonava, ca. 2009) to examine the effects on families. Studies have focused on the changes of roles in families and the effect on health and education of the migrants' children (Roncken et al. ca. 2008). Some macro level consequences will briefly be elaborated theoretically in this chapter. Chapter 5 will present and discuss micro level consequences for families and migrants, using examples from this study.

2.5.1. Potential advantages and challenges of migration

Migration's impact on societies of the countries of origin has emerged as a topic for research (Gordonava, ca. 2009). The ideas, information and skills that can be spread by migration provide opportunities for the economic growth, development, evolution, and cultural enrichment of societies (Koser, 2007). Migration can contribute to economic development as both internal and external migrants tend to send remittances. According to Roncken et al. (ca. 2008), when it comes to the effects of international migration, the aspect most studied is the relation between remittances as a part of the migrant's private economy and the economic public development in the country of origin (Roncken et al. ca. 2008).

Countries that people migrate from have become dependent on remittances, which now constitute a significant part of these countries' GDP. At the same time, countries in the Global North have become dependent on a low paid workforce, which allows these countries to continue their economic development on a low budget (Koser, 2007). Remittances benefit not only the families of migrants, but also the communities that spend remittances on amenities such as water and sanitation facilities and to provide public transport (Gordonava, 2002). Based on observations from Cochabamba, Cortes (2002) shows how migrants depend on their families and other villagers in the place of their origin and vice versa. For migrants to keep their membership in communities of origin, which is a part of their identity, they send remittances for collective use and may simultaneously sponsor and participate in festivals and

other events when they are home. Family members or villagers take responsibility for the migrants' community duties and use of resources on behalf of the migrants (Cortes, 2002).

As much as 5% of Bolivia's GDP comes from migrant remittances (Klein, 2011), but only the remittances sent legally through agencies or banks are included in this statistic (Salvatierra, 2010). Unfortunately, remittances to Bolivia are concentrated in the most developed regions in the country and typically in urban areas. More than 60% of the people receiving remittances are among the population with mid- to high-income salaries. Evidently, remittances do not favour the poorest people in the country. Instead, remittances contribute to increasing inequality in income (Aqui y Allá, 2011).

Gordonava (ca. 2009) states that remittances have increased family income significantly. He also warns of the possibility that remittances can be used as an argument to change social policies, which would reduce the government's responsibility for providing for their country's inhabitants. There is a lack of research regarding the Bolivian State's position on international migration. A reason for this might be that the position is unclear and is only just beginning to take shape (Domenech and Magliano, ca. 2007). However, with the political party, MAS, in power, Bolivia's ratification of the Convention of Human Rights in 2009 (UN, 2013), and the idea of migration as a contribution to development, international migration is becoming a political concern and priority (Domenech and Magliano, ca. 2007). The political discourse and promises made by the State appear to be leading to social, economic and structural changes in the country (Domenech and Magliano, ca. 2007).

A challenge for countries of origin can be a lack of workers as migrants are usually the countries' young and fertile labour force (Salvatierra, 2010). Brain drain occurs when highly skilled migrants search for work and better payment abroad. This has also been a challenge in many countries, especially among health personnel and teachers. Although highly skilled migration constitutes a small portion of total migration, it is likely to grow (Koser, 2007).

Another concern in migration is related to gender, which is an important element in migration and can highlight the inequality between men and women in society (Parreñas, 2009). Female migrants may face a labour segmentation in the destination country that limits them to domestic work. Migrant women in a First World country are often employed to care for

children or elderly people and therefore have to employ another person to care of her own family in the country of origin. The new caregiver in the Third World country might have children herself. The oldest daughter is often left to care for her younger siblings in this family. This chain of care based on paid or unpaid work of caring, is called the global care chain (Hochschild, ca. 2002). The care industry it creates, where care workers and mothers from Third World countries migrate to First World countries, has been called the care drain (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008, Parreñas, 2009). It is said that the care drain is causing a global care crisis. This is because countries that export care, primarily from the Global South, face huge social costs due to family separation and breakdowns (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008, Madianou and Miller, 2011). International divisions of labour and global economic forces are acknowledged as causes for family separation (Madianou and Miller, 2011). And Parreñas argues that gender inequalities cause the care drain; in the Global North, women are still mainly responsible for care giving and for housework. In addition to this, they are expected to work outside the home. To cope with all these responsibilities, women in the Global North hire women from the Global South to perform her caring duties (Parreñas, 2009). Another problem with the global care chain, according to Hochschild (ca. 2002), is that the originally unpaid work of raising a child becomes paid work with low market value, which gives this work and women who perform it a low status. Gender differences in migration will be discussed in chapter 4, 5 and 6, as gender aspects play a large role in migration.

Migration also causes security-related challenges. This is because irregular migration creates a fear in destination countries that migrants are involved in terrorism, human trafficking, organ smuggling, drug trafficking or other illegal activities (Koser, 2007). This can make the arrival in the destination country unpleasant for migrants as they will be regarded with suspicion, not only by government officials, but also by inhabitants in the destination country. Xenophobia and discrimination have been researched more recently because of the increase in the number of areas where immigration is extensive (e.g. Argentina) (Sassone, 2002). Xenophobia and discrimination is a result of the migration processes and the transition into multicultural societies. Gordonava (2002) touches upon this issue, claiming that the difficulties of being integrated into the Argentinean society, along with other difficulties that a migrant may encounter, will never allow them to feel at home and prevent them from being integrated into the Argentinean community. My study also touches upon the aspect of

discrimination although only a few of my informants were affected by discrimination. This will be explained in chapter 5.

However, migration has the potential to become a process of empowerment, especially for women as they are presented possibilities to educate, earn their own money and provide for their families and themselves. Migration can also be liberalizing because the country of destination may be culturally less conservative (Koser, 2007). Migrants might even feel less discriminated in the destination country compared to their country of origin. Bolivia is a country with discrimination against women and against poor and indigenous populations (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Empowerment and liberalization of women as well as a decrease in discrimination against women are communicated in the ever-developing flow of communication and information. It is thus not surprising that there is an ongoing feminization of migration.

3. Research Methods

My research was carried out in the district of Santa Ana in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia. Santa Ana is a poverty-stricken district in the south of Cochabamba. The southern part of the city is undergoing rapid expansion. This has become a destination for internal migrants, mainly from Oruro, La Paz and Potosi during the last three decades. Many new suburban areas have been created despite few resources and basic services available (Roncken et al. ca. 2008). In Santa Ana most people were migrants mainly from La Paz and Potosi. The majority of the people in the area of Santa Ana work in the informal economy. They do not pay taxes and therefore have neither pension nor medical insurance arrangements in relation to their employment, also called *aguinaldo*, which is a remuneration received by employees in addition to the twelve monthly salaries (Klein, 2011) usually paid in December as a Christmas bonus. Except for a few working for the Salvation Army and one who was a police officer, the informants were merchants working at the local market, hairdressers, tailors and cleaning personnel. The majority of the informants had completed primary school but did not have any further education. All informants were connected to the Salvation Army's daycare center and they were all mestizos. I chose to do qualitative fieldwork divided into two parts. Part one involved both participant observation, and informal interviews with children at the daycare center. Part two involved conducting semi-structured interviews with selected families who had been, or were still, somehow affected by internal or international migration. The fieldwork lasted for four months, from October 2012 to January 2013.

3.1 Methodological Challenges

I chose qualitative method to conduct this fieldwork, because my aim was to understand a social phenomenon in depth (Thagaard, 2003). This study's interest was to see how people construct meanings, concepts, emotions, and motivations around the social phenomena of migration, as oppose to quantities; counts and measures of an issue (Berg and Lune, 2012).

Therefore a qualitative method best fitted this study. Qualitative methods in social science are interesting in finding patterns and tendencies in human behavior, and meanings underlying these patterns (Berg and Lune, 2012). Deviations to these patterns are also of interest. It is not expected of a researcher to generalize the results of a small sample qualitative study because they are influenced by the local culture, environment and political situation (Bryman, 2008). This also applies to my study. However, with this study I hope to contribute to provide understanding about similar individuals, groups and events (Berg and Lune, 2012:341).

Qualitative research has been claimed to be subjective, as the researcher chooses the study and perspective of the study according to interests, and because results can be biased (Bryman, 2008). The subjective critique is difficult to justify. I chose to do my fieldwork in Bolivia because I knew the country, the culture and the language from previous stays where I have worked with abandoned children in an orphanage. I did not choose the area (Cochabamba and Santa Ana) myself; it was proposed to me by the Salvation Army in Bolivia. The subject, migration, was chosen due to readings and conversations with professors and supervisors in accordance to my own interests. I was aware that a certain level of objectivity was necessary (Bryman, 2008) in order to conduct this research. This is because a researcher has to be aware of prejudices and presuppositions in advance of commencing a study (Fangen, 2004). Before I started the fieldwork, I had heard stories from people working with abandoned children in Cochabamba. I also had my own experiences with abandoned children. So I already had some prejudices toward the migrated parents that had to be put aside while I conducted this research. I read a lot of research, which explained the motives and necessity for migration. This helped to set aside prejudices and motivated me to find out about the motives and experiences migrants had. I did my best to maintain a professional relationship with the informants and to interpret the data objectively. In this section, I shall explain and elaborate all my procedures in detail and as honestly as possible to make my study transparent and trustworthy.

3.2 Research Design

Qualitative research, which includes both interviewing and then transcribing the interviews, is time consuming, but it allows a researcher to do more extensive research and dig deeper to understand complex issues like migration (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003). A good trusting relationship between a researcher and informants is vital to gaining realistic and valid insight

into the emotional impact that migration has had on migrants and their families. The qualitative method fits best for this purpose (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). An inductive method was also used. This method attempts to find theories and tendencies in the data collected, which can then be used to explain a phenomenon, as opposed to testing a hypothesis. The inductive method allows a researcher to obtain knowledge through experience (Fangen, 2004). This method often explores in depth the participants' understandings around certain phenomena (Bryman, 2008).

Ethnography is an approach involving fieldwork (Berg and Lune, 2012), where the researcher acts like a participant in order to observe and study a cultural phenomena (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003). Formal and informal interviews and document collection are also useful methods for gathering data in ethnographic studies (Bryman, 2008). I have used an ethnographic method, as I spent time with a specific group, and worked to understand the phenomenon of migration in this specific area. I studied return migrants and their families that were left behind in their day to day environment. Also, a case study design was used which means that I undertook a detailed analysis of one community and of a few cases (families). I did this using participant observation and oral testimonies as key methods. Case studies are concerned with identifying the complexity and the nature of the phenomenon studied, rather than attempting to make generalizations (Walliman, 2006). Case studies are often useful when studying an event in retrospect (Berg and Lune, 2012), My study is an example of this as it was mainly concerned with the experiences and thoughts of migrants and their left behind family members after the migration processes were completed. A case study design is usually flexible, allowing methods to be appropriately changed and adapted during the fieldwork (Walliman, 2006). An explanatory case study design was adopted because my interest has been in discovering factors of causality in informants' migration processes along with their experiences, interpretations and feelings about their migration story.

3.3 Methods – tools for collecting data

3.3.1 Participant observation

Participant observation allows a researcher to collect data while observing and participating in peoples'lives (Fangen, 2004). In the first part of my fieldwork I was a participant observer

at the daycare center. There are two types of participant observation, overt and covert (Bryman, 2008). A covert observer will not inform participants that they are being studied.
A covert role can make it easier to gain access to data, as a researcher does not have to ask permission, but can instead act as 'one of them': the subjects studied. However, there are many disadvantages to covert participation. As a covert researcher, it is difficult to take notes during the research, it is difficult to use other methods (e.g. interviewing), and anxiety caused by pretending that you are someone or something else in accordance with the fear of being detected may become a problem. Ethical dilemmas also have to be taken into consideration when considering a covert role because informants cannot give their consent. This can violate informants' privacy and, if detected, it can harm the research (Bryman, 2008:406). Covert participation and observation is therefore utmost unsuitable for a master thesis. Therefore, I felt more comfortable as an overt observer, which means that the participants were informed of my role as a researcher. I was already promised access to the field before I arrived, so overt participation was easily organized.

In participant observation it is ideal to make oneself part of the social setting (Fangen, 2004). To make my role as natural as possible in the daycare center environment, I "worked" as a volunteer, meaning that I received the title of "aunt", among the children. However, both the children and their parents were all informed that I was doing a research and that I would ask the children some questions about family relations. I observed children's relations with their caregivers when they were coming to and going from the center: for example, whether they were accompanied by one of the parents, an aunt or older sibling. I was aware of the possible effect that my presence could have on the informants' behavior or the social setting (Berg and Lune, 2012). However, children at the daycare center are used to visitors and volunteers. They were excited about an adult visitor who was willing to play with them, and they seemed to get used to my presence.

Observation experiences can give the researcher a better understanding of a phenomenon and he or she can obtain different kinds of information with more details, which would not be so easily obtainable in an interview. Interviews never allow the researcher to develop the same kinds of relationships that participant observation allows. A researcher can build trust with her participants using both the amount of time available and the situation that participant observation provides (Fangen, 2004).

3.3.2 Non-structured interviews

Non-structured interviews were also conducted in the first part of the fieldwork in order to supplement the information that was gathered using participant observation (Bryman, 2008). This became evident to me when I started to speak to children about their care-relations. I was aware that a Bolivian family may not be structured in the same was as a family in the culture I have grown up in. Although I did not observe any grandparents accompanying children to or from the center, I learned, during the non-structured interviews, that many of the children live with their grandparents as well as their parents. Some live with their parents, but in grandparents' houses. Grandparents also participate in caregiving outside the home as children often go to their grandparents' houses in the afternoons before their parents return home from work.

Interviews were conducted with children and later on with older siblings, parents and employees at the center. Non-structured interviews can be improvised; it is almost like having a conversation (Bryman, 2008). This was a useful method to obtain information about family relations and to hear stories about migration among relatives. Conversations were sometimes held while playing or while the children did something they felt comfortable with, without too many other children around. The conversations with children provided a tool that aided family structure mapping (originally kinship mapping) (Keesing and Strathern, 1998), which included migration stories. Rather than focusing on kinship, these mappings focus on the history of both the families' household and of the families' relationships to migration. I have therefore chosen to call them "household migration mappings". These mappings created context data for the case studies. I made the maps together with the children, which was an activity they seemed to enjoy. The children appeared to be proud when talking about their relatives abroad. Some children told me that their relatives sent gifts and/or money. When the children did not provide enough information or if I was concerned that they did not tell the truth, I checked with employees at the daycare center, parents and older siblings who accompanied or picked up the children at the center. The employees sometimes provided me with yet more details about the household and migration history in the family.

Appropriate and sufficient notes were taken about the information I received at the daycare center, but without storing sensitive details that could be linked to specific persons.

A checklist to map each family was used as a guide (see appendices), but the checklist was never carried when talking with the children. I had many conversations with each child and with their siblings. In total I made 26 maps of families using information provided by 78 children: 54 of these children were from the center. The remaining 24 were siblings who did not attend the daycare center.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the second part of my fieldwork. Using the 26 family mappings devised, I chose 7 families to participate in more in-depth interviews. My plan was to conduct "life-stories" interviews, but this proved to be more difficult than expected, as the informants appeared to be shyer than initially supposed. The majority of my informants needed guidance through the questions, and semi-structured interviews became the solution. In a semi-structured interview, topics and questions are decided before the interview, but the order of the questions can be improvised. A dialogue between researcher and her informants was the aim, rather than establishing an interview situation, but the topic and direction of the dialogue were structured by an interview guide (Thugaard, 2003). Interviews were as informal and as conversation-like as possible, while checking the interview guide to see if all questions were covered. The advantage of structured interviews is that the answers are comparable (Thagaard, 2003) which made it easier to systematize the answers later on. (The interview guide can be found in appendices). Interviews were done face to face between informant, interviewer and with help from a female interpreter. My interest was in the informants' perspectives on migration, their experiences and their situations, expressed in their own words. The interviews were by and large conducted in informants' houses. I had to visit some families several times to be able to conduct interviews with all family members.

3.4 Field access

The area where I carried out my fieldwork was made available to me through a Norwegian organization called "The Bolivia Family", who cooperates with the Bolivian Salvation Army. On a previous occasion I worked at one of the Salvation Army's orphanages through *The Bolivia Family,* which probably made it less complicated to gain access to the location where I conducted my fieldwork. The local Salvation Army in Cochabamba suggested that I do my

research at this specific daycare center, after my request to stay at such a center, preferably with many children.

3.4.1 Informants

When going to Bolivia I intended to make children my main informants. I was interested in finding out about and comparing adults' and children's understandings, sentiments and experiences in relation to relatives' migration. What I realized was that younger children did not seem to fully understand the concept of migration and they were not willing to elaborate on their experiences and sentiments. They also started displaying shy behavior during interviews in their home, despite having been very helpful and open to me at the daycare center. What happened was that the children, who I had hoped would be my main informants, became my gatekeepers (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003); through them I gained contact with their parents, and older siblings, who thus became my main informants and provided me with useful, informative and detailed data. Although as a female researcher, men and boys tended to be silent and answered with few words. Women showed a more open and welcoming approach and they offered more elaborate answers. Therefore, mothers' and teenage daughters' perspectives and experiences have been given more focus than those of the men in this thesis.

3.4.2 Sampling

My sample was geographically defined as it contained only informants living in the Santa Ana area. In addition, my sample was network defined, as all informants were members of families connected to the Salvation Army's daycare center (Fangen, 2004). Families connected to the center constituted my sample frame (Bryman, 2008). As my sample frame was limited to an area and a network of people, there were not equal probabilities for each unit in the population to be included in the sample. A non-probability sampling was used, as the participants were not selected randomly and chances of being included in the study were not equal for the whole population (Berg and Lune, 2012). There are several types of non-probability sampling (Bryman, 2008). My sample can be categorized as convenience sampling because it was based on my availability range (Berg and Lune, 2012, Thugaard, 2003). The local Salvation Army made the daycare center and families connected to it available to me. Besides, I had to select what was available and relevant for my topic; which

ones of the families connected to the center had migrated or had migrant relatives. Families who became my informants were selected because each case was unique and because each case was somehow related to migration. Additionally, I was also dependant on the families; that they were willing to participate in and contribute to the research. Unfortunately, not all families were. The first part of the research, the mapping, including 26 families, provided me with data that gave a solid context for the second part where 7 families were included. I tried to ensure that there was enough variation in my findings by carefully selecting which informants were to take part in the in-depth interviews.

Overton and van Diermen (2003) have written about the problem of representation. In my sampling I have included both domestic and international migration in families where mother, father and other relatives have migrated. In some families the migrant member may have migrated to Europe or to other countries in Latin America. In some families parents were separated as a result of migration and in other families the parents were still together. One family where the mother was about to migrate was also included. Additionally, an aunt in the daycare center and her father were interviewed as they were migrants from Colombia. I had a non-response (Bryman, 2008), as a family withdrew at a last minute when I was on my way to their house. This family differed from the others because the father had migrated internationally after the separation of the parents. Adult men and women, seniors and children were all interviewed. The only group excluded was pre-school children, as I did not plan a research approach that included communication and data collection with children under school-age.

3.5 Ethics

When conducting interviews, it is important to inform participants, and to receive their consent (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003). The Salvation Army Office in Cochabamba and the officers in the daycare center received an information letter in Spanish which explained the purpose of the study, how it would be conducted and the participants' rights: to reject answering the questions, to withdraw at any time and that all the information would be confidential, as recommended by Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003). I was always honest about my agenda at the center, which was to gather information about migration patterns among families connected to the center. The officers at the daycare center informed parents orally about my agenda and passive consent was utilized in part one of my

research. Passive consent is when it is assumed that parents/caregivers have given permission for their children to take part in the study. This assumption can be made when parents/caregivers do not express any objections after being informed of the study's purpose. If I had used active consent in this part, chances are high that parents would fail to return the consent forms (Berg and Lune, 2012), as they do not understand what is written on them (due to illiteracy), the importance of them, or they may simply have forgotten them. Another advantage by omitting consent forms was that there were fewer forms containing personal information about informants, which I would have had to carry around and to safeguard (Berg and Lune, 2012). Children may be unable to understand the reasons for carrying out research and the acceptance of participation. I therefore always asked the children if they were willing to answer some questions. They seemed to enjoy my attention and questions about their families.

Alongside the informing of participants and receiving their consent, confidentiality is another main subject in research ethics (Fangen, 2004). During unstructured interviews with the children I chose not to use a voice recorder. This was mainly to protect children's anonymity, as I expected that names and details about the children and their family members would be mentioned, which would not be appropriate to record and store, and is not relevant for this research. I also wanted to keep conversations with the children as natural as possible without any gadgets (like a voice recorder) stealing the attention. Omitting the use of a voice recorder could have resulted in the loss of some information, although I regarded the information I received during these interviews as of less importance than the information from the second part of the study. Besides, the anonymity of the children and their families was more important than this information.

In the second part of the research, my informants were told about the content and purpose of my project, that they were completely anonymous when participating in interviews, that they could withdraw from the research at any time, and that they could choose not to answer specific questions. They were also informed that the interpreter and I would be the only two people listening to the recordings. Interviews were not started until informants gave verbal consent, as suggested by Berg and Lune (2012). Verbal consent can also contribute to making the setting more informal than when using a written consent form. A voice recorder was used during interviews in the second part of my research. Unfortunately, many

informants mentioned family members' names during these interviews. However, this also contributed to making the interviews less formal. Names were omitted in transcriptions to secure confidentiality (Berg and Lune, 2012). Recordings were stored on my computer and in a personal 'drop box' account. I did not carry the recordings around except on the day of the interview. Two interpreters also borrowed some of the recordings to help me transcribing. Using interpreters can limit the information received as informants may feel less comfortable speaking if more people are present. Still, a local interpreter can also help to avoid misunderstandings because they know the cultural codes and slang better than a foreigner. The two interpreters used were young female students who I have known for some years, and whom I trust. Therefore, I also asked the interpreters to help with the transcriptions, which could have caused ethical issues if the interpreter was a stranger.

To secure the anonymity of all my informants, I will not reveal more information about the location further than that it was a poor district in the south of Cochabamba. I have replaced the real name of the district with the name "Santa Ana". All participants in the research have also been given aliases to uphold their anonymity. To make it easier for the reader to follow: families interviewed in the second part of the fieldwork were re-named using letters from A to F (6 families), where all the names in each family start with the same letter.

Research ethic requires researchers to show respect for the values and attitudes of informants, in spite of whether these values and attitudes differ from what is generally accepted in the culture from which the researcher originates (Fangen, 2004). I experience Bolivia as a traditional male-dominated society. In some interviews, I met informants, especially male informants, who I found myself in fundamental disagreement with. I did my best never to look surprised or offended and I never gave any statements about my own beliefs or ethics. I always made sure that I was dressed in a proper and conservative way when conducting the interviews.

There are also ethics concerning interview technique. I wanted informants to speak as much as possible while I only listened, and only asking follow-up questions. Questions were formulated in advance while follow-up questions were improvised. I tried to avoid asking leading questions, which can predetermine the way informants answer, making data less valid. The purpose of the follow-up questions was to clarify and describe the understandings,

feelings and reactions of the informants (Thugaard, 2003). A voice recorder was utilized instead of taking notes, which made it possible to listen attentively and show empathy and interest in informants' narratives. This is an effective way to conduct a successful and gentle interview (Thugaard, 2003). Use of a voice recorder also made it possible to observe body language, which is an important indicator of whether feelings are consistent with a speaker's narrative (Thugaard, 2003). Another essential ingredient to a successful interview is to let people finish without interrupting when they speak (Bryman, 2008). Sometimes informants did not understand and did not answer questions directly. Questions were repeated, but without demanding any answers. Participants were aware of their possibility to refuse to answer and a few of them took this liberty. Emotionally, some subjects can be difficult and for different reasons informants may not want to answer. I expected informants to be more timid, but most of them did not avoid or reject speaking about emotionally charged subjects. Some informants even began to cry, but continued to speak. Children were the shyest group of informants and, of all the different groups of informants, rejected most questions.

3.6 Limitations and Challenges

Methodological challenges have been explained in the beginning of this chapter. Here I will explain other challenges I met during my fieldwork.

3.6.1 Children as informants

One of the first limitations I met while conducting the first part of my research was children. A child who could not yet speak, or who did not tell the truth, presented a huge limitation and challenge. In the day-care center there were 122 children, but only 38 of them had started school. I therefore decided that the children had to be old enough to have begun school in order to participate. Some of their younger siblings were included in the household migration mappings, so a total of 54 children from the center were included.

Some interviews with children at the age of 5 and 6 years were conducted. This was not productive which can perhaps be reflected by the fact that some of them did not yet understand numbers and some of the children had a great imagination. They told many untrue stories to give me the information they thought that I wanted; interesting answers. When these children realized that I was interested in migration, they told me they had many

relatives living in different countries in the world. I also encountered some cultural differences during these informal interviews. One difference was that Bolivians extend the terms 'aunt' and 'uncle' to include people who are not related to them by blood, but who have close relations to their family, which differs from typical Western thinking and practice regarding family and relatives.

When I realized, I had to check some of the information the children had given me, which led me to another limitation. Officers and aunts working at the center did not have much information about the children and their family situations. It was also difficult to get in touch with parents seeing as the majority of the children were not accompanied by their parents to and from the center. Some were accompanied by older siblings, while others came and went alone. In the second part of my fieldwork I met another limitation, previously mentioned in section 3.4.1. Interviews with children were difficult to conduct due to lack of concentration, understanding and willingness to elaborate on experiences and sentiments.

3.6.2 Time

Time is an inherent limit when conducting an ethnographic study (Cupples and Kindon 2003). In this study, time was also a limit in the sense that everything took a lot longer than expected. Some children only came to eat lunch at the daycare center. This made it challenging for me to get in touch and conduct interviews with them because after they had eaten lunch, they had to go directly to school. It proved to be very difficult to make appointments with Bolivians in general as parents rarely came to the center. I therefore had to communicate with parents through the children and sometimes with help from the officers. When I arrived in Bolivia, the summer-holidays were approaching, which meant that the day-care center was soon going to be closed and that making contact with the children would not be so simple. Children even stopped coming to the center before the holidays had begun, and because the officers in the daycare center did not have any contact details it was difficult to get in touch with some families.

It was also an unexpected surprise to discover how valuable time is for Bolivians. Some people refused to participate in the research because they did not have time. Another couple would only participate if I came to their workplace and if I interviewed both of them at the same time. When I finally managed to make appointments, some families were not at home

when I arrived, or they arrived late and we (the interpreter and I) had to return several times to be able to interview all family members. Families that took vacations also forced me to postpone some of the interviews (January 2013).

Most of the parents worked long days and were only available on Sundays or late evenings to do interviews. I planned to spend more time with my informants. As already mentioned, my intention was to do one life-story interviews, which gives room for flexibility, and getting to know the informants well. I planned to visit each informant at least two times. I wanted to analyze the first interview and detect gaps in the information before I conducted the second interview. As a result of the limited available time for conducting interviews, this was not possible. There was only time to do one interview with each informant. One advantage was that this gave me time, when the holidays had started and the day-care center had closed, to transcribe the data.

3.6.3 Language

"To dare to make a fool out of oneself can be a positive thing," according to Fangen (2004:60). My Spanish skills were sufficient when communicating with the children and employees at the daycare center. But in the second part of the research I chose to use an interpreter as quality insurance, to be able to communicate better and to avoid misunderstandings. I expected some informants to speak only Quechua, given the geographical area for my research, but luckily all informants spoke Spanish, although some people tended to speak Spanish with Quechua grammar. Informants sometimes replied with terms and argot that I did not recognize, which made the interpreters' help invaluable in the interviews.

Transcribing the interviews also became a challenge because of terms and argot I did not understand, or because they spoke too quickly. My interpreters helped me transcribing the parts that I had difficulties with. Translating the interviews into English has also been a challenge, because of various interruptions and disturbances while recording. Also, one cannot translate directly from Spanish to English; some of the sentences and extracts of the interviews had to be rewritten to convey, as closely as possible, the original meaning.

3.6.4 Natural limits and power relations

Power relations and imbalances, as described by Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003), are based on sex, age, ethnicity and access to money, education and resources. Cultural, economic and intellectual differences can give participants a feeling of being inferior to the researcher. Power relations can be divided into two levels. The first level acknowledges the differences in access to money, education and resources while the second level is based on peoples' perceptions – i.e. whether informants feel inferior to the researcher or not. Informants may also be afraid of being taken advantage of (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens 2003). A researcher cannot wipe out these imbalances, but he can take measures to make any imbalances as subtle as possible. When a researcher has been present in a specific environment for a while, the social distance between informant and researcher will be reduced (Thugaard, 2003). The children at the daycare center felt more comfortable and secure in my presence after I had been there for some time, which hopefully had a relaxing effect on other family members when I came to do interviews. Sex, age and ethnicity are inherent limits and it is often easier to talk to a person of the same sex as they might have some degree of shared understanding (Thugaard, 2003). This proved to be true in interview situations as it was easier for me to talk to women and girls. As Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003) claim, female researchers are often taken less seriously, but they are also perceived to be less threatening. When male informants were interviewed by a younger women and a female interpreter, they tended to be very quiet, shy and reply with short sentences. Although one male informant was an exception to this tendency; he tried to take control of the situation and started asking me affirmative and leading questions like

- *"Do you understand that this situation was hard for me as a man?"*

In order to reduce the second level of the power relations, it is important not to contribute to highlighting first level differences between researcher and informant (Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens, 2003). I dressed conservatively during both parts of my fieldwork and I accepted their food and drink when visiting. After finishing my fieldwork I visited all families and gave a basket of food products as a symbol of my gratitude to them.

3.6.5 Truth and Perception

Although I have presented the data as honestly and as precisely as possible, I cannot guarantee that all the information I have received is absolutely valid. People may, for

example, forget or exaggerate details from their experiences. Formulations may cause details to differ from actual events and as time passes, migrants' narratives and memories tend to consist of selective positive or negative incidents.

Some information given by different family members in the same family was contradictory. I have to assume that children might have provided different, or imprecise information, and that sentiments have played a role in their understandings. Information I have received from my informants may also have avoided the truth to protect themselves or other family members. However, my data represents peoples' experiences, interpretations of episodes and situations in their lives.

3.7 Processing the data

I took field notes at the daycare center and wrote a log during my research so that information, that could prove to be important, would not be lost. I also drew household migration mappings together with the children. These mappings contained family members' names. I therefore had to make another set of mappings that were anonymous. I made the second set digitally, using Adobe Illustrator.

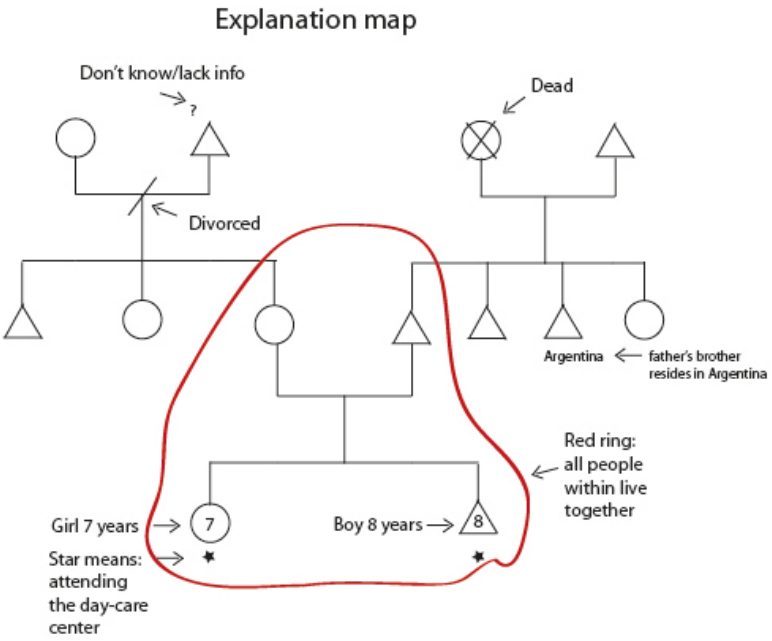


Figure 3. Explanation map for household migration mapping

Typical for participant observation studies is that the analyzing of material is done simultaneously with the collecting of data (Fangen, 2004). I started sorting and systematizing the data while I was in the field to see if there were any patterns, any missing details or any significant information that I should ask the informants more about. As previously explained, the limited amount of time that I had to conduct interviews presented a challenge. But as the informants did not have time for interviews during daytime, I had time to transcribe the interviews while the interview process was underway. I transcribed most interviews and compiled an overview of gaps in the information. I visited some families several times, which provided an opportunity to ask more questions if gaps in the information were detected.

After transcribing, I coded the interviews, using different highlighter colors for different themes and then sorted the information into a table, to simplify and systematize my information. All the information was sorted into concepts and issues (economical, emotional etc.) and incorporated into this table to make it possible to compare and systematize the data (see example in appendices). I also translated a lot of information to English when systemizing, but kept some of the essential sentences and pieces of information in their original form. It was sometimes tempting to rewrite sentences based on memory. However, the primary sources (i.e. the recordings and transcriptions) were used strictly and interpreted carefully several times when transcribing, when verifying findings and everytime I had to rewrite a sentence. This is what Berg and Lune (2012:56) call "checking the path to the conclusion". Recorded interviews, transcriptions, logs, analyses and other essential interviews were saved in my personal drop box account which I regarded as a safe storage place that was easy to access whenever I needed it.

4. Motives for migration

In the previous chapter, I outlined some theoretical consequences of migration on a macro level. This chapter will focus on the extent of migration in the area of Santa Ana, and will try to identify what characterizes the typical migrant from this area. Then I will present the motives that people have for migrating, and elaborate on the potential consequences of their migration on a micro level, as it is these consequences that motivate migration.

4.1 The extent of migration in the area

In approximately 70% of the 27 families in my study, parents had migrated within national borders, as can be seen in figure 4. Parents in only eight of the 27 families were born in Cochabamba, and seven of the eight sets of parents were still residing there. In 15 families, both parents had migrated internally, and in four families, one parent had migrated internally.

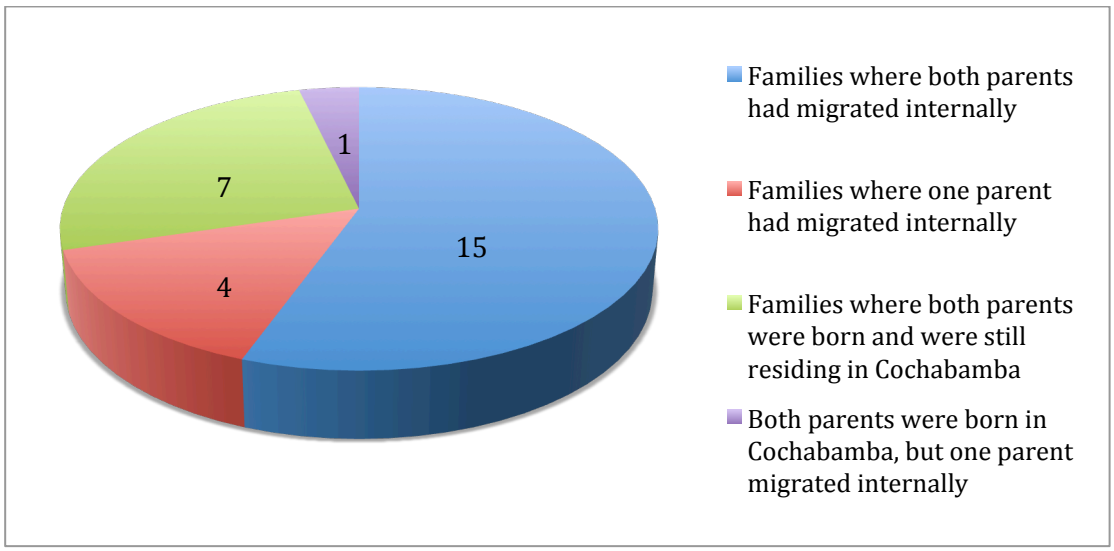


Figure 4. Chart to show the number of internal migrants in each category among informants.

The majority of internal migrants came from La Paz (15) and Potosi (9). Some also came from Oruro (5) and Sucre or the district of Chuquisaca where Sucre is located (3), and one informant was from Santa Cruz. Internal migration seemed to be linked to external migration. Nine of 12 international migrants in my study had migrated internally before they migrated abroad. The two Salvation Army Officers (25 M and F) migrated directly abroad for studies and later they have returned to Bolivia and migrated internally. Another informant (18 M) migrated directly abroad, and has never returned (see Table 1). This finding supports Koser's statement (2007), claiming that many people who migrate externally have already migrated internally. An overview of information about all of the adult informants included in my study, where they were born, whether they had migrated and where they had migrated to (signaled by →), can be seen in Table 1. The numbers in the table were assigned to each family in the household migration mappings, conducted in part 1 of the research. The mappings can be found in *Appendices*.

Family #		Birth place	Internal migration	International migration	Non-Migration
1	M	Cochabamba			X
1	F	Cochabamba			X
2a	M	Cochabamba →	Cobija		
2a	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
2b	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba →	Argentina	
2b	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba →	Spain	
2b	F (gm)	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
3	M	Cochabamba			X
3	F	Cochabamba			X
4	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
4	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
5	M	Cochabamba			X
5	F	Cochabamba			X
6	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
6	F	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
7	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
7	F	Las Yungas →	Cochabamba		
8	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
8	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
9	M	Sucre →	Cochabamba → Santa Cruz		
9	F	Sucre →	Cochabamba		
10	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
10	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba →	Italy *	
11	M	Cochabamba			X
11	F	Cochabamba			X
12	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba →	Sweden	
12	F	La Paz →	Cochabamba →	Italy	
12	M (gf)	La Paz →	Oruro → Cochabamba		
13	M	La Paz →	Cochabamba		
13	F	Cochabamba			X
14	M	Cochabamba			X
14	F	Cochabamba			X
15	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba		

15	F	Sucre →	Cochabamba		
16	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
16	F	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
17	M	Cochabamba			X
17	F	Cochabamba			X
18	M	Cochabamba →		Brazil *	
18	F	Cochabamba			X
19	M	Oruro →	Cochabamba →	Argentina	
19	F	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
20	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba →	Chile *	
20	F	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
21	M	Potosi →	Cochabamba		
21	F	Cochabamba			X
22	M	Cochabamba			X
22	F	Cochabamba			X
23	M	Oruro →	Cochabamba →	Argentina *	
23	F	Oruro →	Cochabamba		
24	M	Santa Cruz →	Cochabamba		
24	F	Oruro →	Cochabamba		
25	M	La Paz →	Oruro → Cochabamba	Brazil+ Chile	
25	F	La Paz →	Oruro → Cochabamba	Chile	
26	M	Cochabamba			X
26	F	Oruro →	Cochabamba →	Spain	

M = male gm = grandmother * The migrant is still abroad
F = female gf = grandfather
Numbers = number of family according to household migration mapping

Table 1. Information about all adult informants involved in the study, including birth place and where migrants have migrated internally and/or internationally. The column to the right identifies those that did not migrate.

The table above was compiled based on data from the household migration mappings. The table shows that most internal migration was planned to be, and has been, permanent, while international migration was initially planned to be temporary, which was later confirmed in interviews. Two informants (a grandfather and a mother) had migrated internally twice. None of the internal migrants had returned to their place of origin. Contradicting Madianou's findings (2012), who found that many single people migrated from rural to urban areas in the Philippines, the majority of internal migrants in my study reported that they migrated with their family, their spouse or with various combinations of other members of their family. They often migrated with one parent when parents were divorced.

Three fathers and one mother were living abroad when this study was conducted. They resided in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Italy. Eight other parents had lived abroad, but had returned from Spain, Italy, Sweden, Argentina and Chile (see figure 5). Two of these former

migrants were not classified as international migrants according to the UN's classifications, because they had only stayed a few months abroad. The informants themselves did not consider their experiences to be migration, but instead spoke of their *migration-attempts*.

A former male migrant had migrated twice internationally – one time to Brazil to study for a few months, and the second time to Chile to study for two years to become a Salvation Army Officer. He was thus classified as a student migrant. The remaining 11 international migrants were categorized as labour migrants. Another family in the study was preparing for the mother to migrate to Chile as a labour migrant. In addition to the migration of parents, children in 16 families told of aunts and uncles abroad, and some children mentioned other migrated relatives (more peripheral) and neighbours.

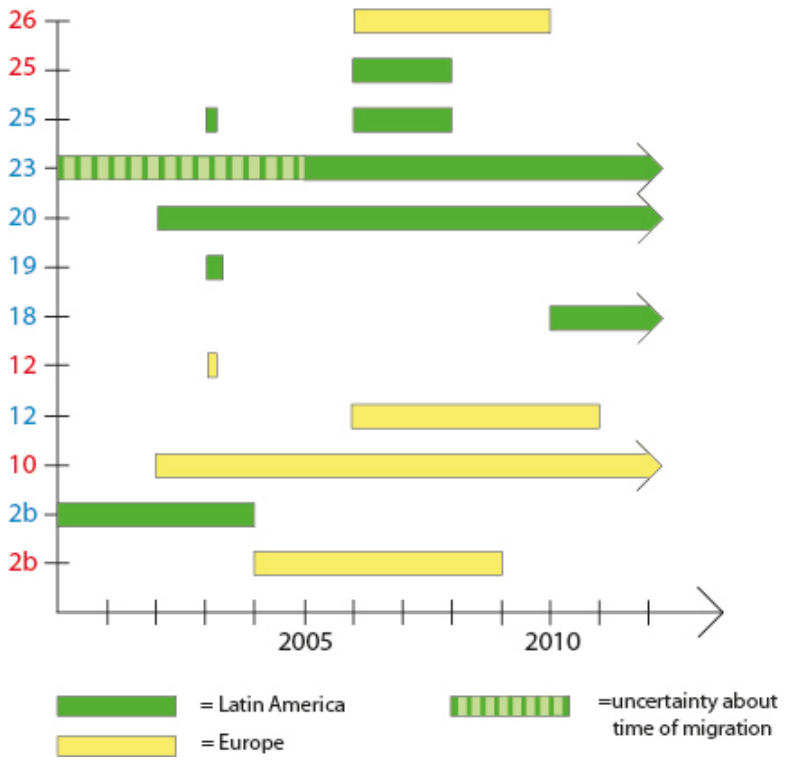


Figure 5. Timeline to show when and where the international migrants migrated, and when, if applicable, they returned. The numbers along the y-axis refer to those assigned in the household migration mappings. Color indicates the sex of each migrant (blue = male, red = female).

According to Fe y Alegría (2010), the highest numbers of Bolivian parents residing outside the country are in Spain and Argentina. Italy and the USA also have a significant number of Bolivian migrants (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). In my study, one female migrant was residing in Italy; otherwise there were a total of four migrants that had returned from Europe. Seven migrants had migrated to countries in Latin America, three of which had not returned. They were residing in Argentina, Chile and Brazil. Although the sample of this study is too small to make any broad generalizations, the results indicated that destinations for international migration have changed, during the last decade, from European countries to the neighbouring countries: Chile, Argentina and Brazil. Migrants to USA were not represented in this study. This tendency has been confirmed in media (Quenallata, 2012), but not yet in academia. Informants also later confirmed this tendency during interviews. Daniela, who had been personally affected by the migration of family members stated:

- *"In the beginning people went to Spain and Italy, but now I think they're coming back. I'm often hearing that they are going to Chile: near Santiago, Calama, and the surrounding areas. Three of my colleagues are going at the end of this year. (…) Many people are going to Chile."*

All the informants involved in this study had migrated legally, with a passport or identity card. Those who went to study and some who went to work were later granted residence permits. Others remained illegally after their tourist visa had expired and can thus be classified as irregular migrants. Three informants who went to Europe (Spain and Sweden) reported that they overstayed their visas. Overstaying visas appears to have become a common practice, as the number of undocumented Bolivian migrants abroad has increased (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009). Migrants who went to neighboring countries were easily able to stay legally as they could renew their visas by simply travelling to the border every third month. Since more women migrated to Europe, more women than men were irregular migrants.

Nine (of 12) children, in part two of the study, were asked if any of their friends or classmates had migrated parents. Some children replied that they did not know of any such cases from their class, but some of their close friends outside school had migrated parents. This finding indicates that several children refrain from talking about migrated parents and their situation at home with their classmates. Other children answered that from five to 15 of their

classmates had parents who had migrated. On average, each class had 40 pupils. These children said that their classmates' parents had migrated to, and were still residing in, Spain, USA, Argentina, Chile and Brazil. One girl stated,

- *"The majority of my friends have parents abroad (…)".*

When asked how those classmates that had parents living abroad were doing, the most frequent answer was "good". Some replied that their classmates appeared to be proud. These findings and other statements from interviews confirm that there were a high proportion of international migrants that had left behind relatives in this area. Many Bolivians in Santa Ana have tried pursuing better opportunities by migrating both internally and externally.

4.1.1 Who leaves?

According to Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos (2007) and Fe y Alegría (2010), mothers are the group most likely to migrate internationally from Cochabamba. In my study, more men (7) than women (5) were, or had previously been, international migrants (see figure 5). However, women were the main risk-takers, as they had undertaken long-distance migration to Europe. Four out of the five female migrants had gone to Europe, contrasting to one out of the seven male migrants.

Another finding in my study, which can be seen in the household migration mapping, was that parents constituted the largest group of international migrants in this area. Neither older siblings nor grandparents of the children in my study had crossed national borders for migration. This corresponds with claims made by Roncken et al. (ca. 2008), stating that the majority of migrants in the area are people between 20 and 40 years old.

4.1.2 Factors for migration

According to a survey in 1999, reasons for rural-urban migration in Bolivia were related to family (50,1%), education (25,6%), job seeking (18,2%), job relocation (3,9%) and health (2,2%) (Andersen, 2002). It is striking that migration motivated by familial situations makes up a huge percentage. This is because when the head of household makes the decision to migrate, the rest of the family are inclined to follow. Health issues generate migration in Bolivia because of huge varieties in landscape. Those who mention health as a factor for migration are most likely to migrate from the highland to the lowland. Bolivia's highland,

known as "Altiplano," is located on an average altitude of 13000 feet (3962 meters) above sea level (Klein, 2011). Air is thin at this altitude and the temperature is relatively low, which can affect people in an unfortunate way if they have health problems. Informants in my study reported the following reasons for migrating [1]: the family's situation (they were children at the time and followed their parents through the migration process) (6), job-seeking (3), job relocation (2), a job offer (1), searching for other opportunities (1), climate/health (1) and parent-child conflicts (1). One of the internal migrants had migrated twice and reported that one move was made because of a job offer and the other was made for "climate and health" reasons.

Motives to migrate are influenced by push factors. These are negative factors at home that make people desperate to leave and search for opportunities elsewhere. Some examples of push factors are social unrest (i.e. conflicts or political instability), poverty, lack of employment, and low agricultural productivity (Perez-Crespo, 1991). The majority of internal migrants in my study had migrated from La Paz and Potosi, which are highland regions with challenging climates that can create problems for cultivation; people work hard and do not produce much (Leinaweaver, 2008). Pull factors are the factors that make a destination seem attractive to migrants. Pull factors may include what kind of opportunities are on offer, such as economic opportunities (that may be either fully realistic, or based on unrealistic expectations), improved education (Perez-Crespo, 1991) and more specifically for this study; job opportunities and improved health and climate.

According to Arnez (ca. 2009), reasons for migration among Cochabamba women who emigrated to Spain were unemployment (55%), family reunification (9%) family conflicts (4%) and other reasons (31%). Other reasons include studying and searching for work to make improvements to a family's conditions. In my study, no one mentioned unemployment as a push-factor for migration, although pull-factors mentioned were related to better working conditions and higher salaries abroad. Many migrants mentioned several motives. Pull-factors for migration included saving money to reconstruct, buying or building a house (3), improving the families' conditions to create a better future for their children (2), earning and saving money more quickly than what was possible in Bolivia (2), studying (2), starting a

[1] Categories of factors for migration were devised through coding extracts of interviews with informants.

business (1) and migrating with the intention of bringing a family later on (1). Push-factors mentioned included bad couple relationships that involved fighting, or the maltreatment of one spouse by the other (2). One informant said he went (to Argentina) to see if he *could* stay away from his family. If he could, he would go to Spain, although he did not do so.

Studies into Bolivian children's understanding of why their parents had migrated show that the perceived motives were to work, improve living conditions, (Fe y Alegría, 2010), start a business, decrease poverty by paying off debts, fulfill ambitions, heal/ solve family conflicts and to have their own house (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Some of the children in these studies did not know why their parents migrated. Some children also assumed that parents migrated for the children's sake – with the purpose to improve the children's lives (Fe y Alegría, 2010). In my study, children understood that their parents' motives were to improve their economic situation (3), to work (3), to improve the family's conditions (2), to open their children to the opportunity of studying at a university (1), to buy a car (1), to buy a house (1), and to avoid further conflicts with spouse (1). Some children mentioned several different motives for their parents' migration, while some didn't respond to this question at all. One boy replied that he did not know the motive(s). It seems that some of the children in my study assumed that it was for their sake that their parents had migrated. Children were also asked about general motives that other families may have for migrating. This elicited different responses: to earn money for their family (8), to work/increase their salaries (4), to find better opportunities in order to improve their lives (2), to separate from their spouse in order to avoid further fighting (2), to make a living (1), to find a new partner (1), to be able to buy commodities they have not had before (1), to buy a house (1), and to buy a car (1).

Goycoechea's study (2003) looked at the imaginaries Ecuadorians have about international migration and how these imaginaries are influenced and upheld by migrated family members' narratives. This study's findings can be applied to Bolivian family members of migrants as about 60% of all Bolivians have family members abroad (Cortes, 2002**).** It is often specific benefits that motivate migration. These specific benefits are, for example, work opportunities, economic opportunities that make it possible for a family to plan a future with their own house, and educational opportunities for children. Goycoechea states that migration is planned and performed as an escape from negative conditions and as a plan to live family life in dignity. Migrants' expectations of finding better opportunities are shaped by information

they have received from relatives or friends who have already migrated. Imaginaries of familial development and improved welfare inspire people to go through the risky process of migration (Goycoechea, 2003). Networks formed with other migrants can influence the decision to migrate, the destination they migrate to, who performs the migration (mother or father in a family) and with whom. In my study, the international migrants' destinations depended on whether they knew anyone who had already migrated to those selected destinations on prior occasions. Relatives in different countries told them to come to work with them, because migrants that were being persuaded would earn more and could improve their family's condition. A migrant's imaginaries and preconceptions are not always confirmed by their reality after migrating, as Salvatierra (2010) claims; the migrants do not have enough information about migration procedures and about the place and country they are going to. However, it is the imaginaries that motivate the power to take action.

The social status of a family can also be a motivation to migrate. People living in poverty migrate for survival or improvement of their living conditions, whereas higher-class migrants' motives may be related to their profession or studies (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

Where a migrant chooses to go can also depend on immigration policies, for example visa requirements and border control. Going to other continents is more difficult, expensive and risky. While in South American countries, (e.g. Chile) Bolivians can enter the country with an easily obtainable identity card, and return to the border every third month to renew their visa.

4.2 Economical aspects

In migration literature, economic motivation is more commonly discussed than any other motivational factor (Madianou, 2012). This is valid when discussing Bolivian migration as many Bolivians migrate with hopes of improving their economic situation. Migrants travel in search of job opportunities and for a higher income. The salaries in popular destinations (e.g. Argentina, Spain and the US) can range from being five, ten or even twenty times higher than in Bolivia (Aqui y Allá, 2011). For poor people, migration appears to be the only possibility they have to secure the survival and wellbeing of their family, and the only chance to invest in a house and in an education (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). Migration is a temporary investment with the purpose of bettering both the migrant's future and that of their left behind

family, through sending remittances, or saving money until they return to their place of origin.

To find work and to earn money were the main motives for migrating among informants in my study. This corresponds with Roncken et al.'s research (ca. 2008), which was also conducted in different neighborhoods in southern Cochabamba. People in this area, including all of the informants who participated in this study, appear to be unsatisfied with Bolivian living conditions. Dissatisfaction was often attributed to "lack of work" or "low salaries". Bernardo, grandfather and migrant from La Paz and Oruro claimed:

- *"(We need) more work and secure jobs. Another problem is that people get an education, but when they finish, there is no work for them! There are lawyers working as drivers!"*

Some informants also mentioned that they wanted security and welfare, like in other countries. Informants expressed that they saw the country's situation as hopeless based on the unemployment rates, low salaries and the poor standards of living that are difficult to improve. The most frequently reported motives for migration were the hope to be able to buy or build a house, and to create a better life for their family. These two motives are closely linked. When a family has their own house, they are economically independent, which gives them the opportunity to save and spend money on other purposes.

My informants financed their journey in different ways, depending on their destination for migration. If they were going overseas (e.g. Sweden, Italy, Spain) they borrowed money from relatives or the bank. One informant replied that she had sold the family's car to afford to go to Italy. Later, when her husband was planning to go to Sweden, they mortgaged her father's house. These were significant risks as they had no way of knowing whether their migration attempts would be successful or not. Migrants who went to Chile or Argentina saved money by travelling by bus. This is a cheap journey and therefore less economically risky as it does not leave the family in a critical situation. The Salvation Army economically supported two informants who went to study abroad.

4.2.1. Remittances

In Cochabamba, remittances represent approximately 30% of a typical family's annual income. In some cases it represents up to 60% (Cortes, 2002). Remittances are generally spent on buying land, houses, furniture, cars, electrical appliances and household items. Some choose to save the money sent from their migrated family member (Arnez, ca. 2009). Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos (2007) found that remittances sent by women were used to buy necessities, for health services and for education. They also found women to be more likely to invest in their children than men. Men spend more of their remittances on consumer goods like cars and televisions, but also invest by buying land, a house or by reconstructing the house they already own. Men are also more likely to send money to their community of origin, to support the local church, park or festivals. Sending economic support like this is often a way for men to earn respect in the community (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007)

In my study, international labour migrants' remittances were spent on necessities for the family, such as food, household goods, clothing and school materials. Other expenditures were made on new furniture, home improvements, paying back loans and investments in education (in private institutions).

It is generally the migrant who decides how to spend the money (Arnez, ca. 2009). Although it is likely that the caregiver would know better which necessities are needed, as the migrant is far away from home. Whether the decision on how to spend remittances was made by the migrant, or the left behind spouse responsible for the children, is difficult to conclude from my study, because two male migrants who sent remittances were not available for interviews. Information was obtained from their ex-wives, who claimed that they had made agreements, concerning how their remittances should be used, with their ex-husbands. Both of the female labour migrants claimed that they decided what the remittances should be spent on. Angelica, a mother of two children and formerly a migrant in Spain, explained:

- *"I sent money every month; every second month for spending on necessities for children and every second month for savings."*

It is nevertheless difficult for the migrant to control how the money they send is spent (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). Family relations can suffer consequences because of the way remittances are spent (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). For example, caregivers

may not spend the money on benefitting the children, but instead, spend the money on other projects.

Gladys, a mother of five children and formerly a migrant in Spain, could not start sending remittances until six months after her arrival in Spain, as it was difficult to find a job. The money she earned was initially spent on her food and rent. After six months she started sending remittances; between US $100 and US $300 a month. She told her husband, Gustavo, to pay for the children's necessities, and then to pay back the loan from her mother-in-law for the flight tickets. After paying back her loan, she wanted Gustavo to save money and buy a plot of land where they could build a house. Her husband became impatient and irritated during the months when she could not send money. After he had paid the debt to his mother, Gladys claimed he refused to receive more money. He told her that they didn't need her money because he himself could provide for the family. Gladys said that they were fighting a lot over the phone while she was in Spain. So Gladys started sending money to her sister, who helped to take care of her children, but her sister kept the money for herself. Gustavo claimed during an interview that Gladys never sent enough money, and that the children wanted and needed more. He also said that he was the one who decided what to spend remittances on:

- *"Necessities such as clothes and food, and sometimes when my work didn't go well, I spent more of the money."*

When Gladys returned, her elder children were furious with her as they were unaware that she had sent *any* money. Her children told her that their father did not take care of them well, as he did not provide food or other basic necessities. The eldest daughter, Gracie, explained how she sometimes had to steal food for her younger siblings, which her father discovered and punished her for.

The economic effects of migration are mainly positive, but receiving remittances does not necessarily guarantee a better economic situation. Even though the migrant, or the head of household who receives the remittances, wants to save or invest the money, there are some unfortunate cases where the receiving part makes unwise decisions on how to spend the money (Arnez, ca. 2009).

Gordonava (ca. 2009) claims that remittances can help develop and improve a family's economic conditions, but it also influences an increased level of consumption, which can create new "needs" for the family affected. Relatives of migrants usually begin to use new technologies earlier than their neighbors, both because they have communication needs and because they can afford it (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

When asked what positive economic effects the migration process had for the family, informants replied that not much had improved, although they had been able to pay debts and buy new possessions. Angelica and Abraham had been able to build an extra floor on their house after Abraham returned from Argentina, and they bought a car when Angelica returned from Spain. Angelica's mother, Ayda, who took care of the children while the parents were abroad, saved a significant sum of money for each child. Betzabe and her ex-husband were able to pay their debts and buy new laptops when her husband returned from Sweden, but they could not save any money. Dilcia, daughter of Daniela, and whose father resided in Chile said:

- *"Now we can buy a computer. We can buy things that we want and that we couldn't buy before, but the difference is not extreme. We have more opportunities than before. He is saving money in Chile to rebuild our house."*

After their studies in Chile, Flavio and Fernanda had secured jobs in the Salvation Army. And Gladys, despite problems between her and Gustavo, managed to settle her debts and pay for an urgent medical operation for one of her children, but the couple did not manage to save any money to buy their own house.

All the migrants in my study were categorized as labour migrants and mainly migrated for economic purposes. It is thus striking that none of them recognized that their expectations for improvement had been fulfilled. Some improvements correlate with their specifically mentioned motives for migration: to reconstruct their house (1), to study (2), to buy a car (1) and to earn and to save money quicker than what was otherwise possible in Bolivia (2). My informants used the term *improvements* as a motive for migration without specifying or defining what the term implied. People in this area were relatively poor, but they seemed to have a satisfactory quality of life, and had access to sufficient amounts of food. However, many seem to resent this status and being in the situation where they never have more than

the bare minimum. Gladys mentioned specifically that owning a house would improve the family's conditions, as they would be more economically independent. Elizabeth, who planned to migrate to Chile, mentioned that earning enough money to start her own business would have been an improvement, as this would make her more independent. But, at the time, she was subordinate to her boss, who she thought treated her unfairly.

It appears that either these migrants set their expectations too high when they migrate, or they easily get used to the improvements that result from the migration process. I was told by Bolivians (outside my sample) that there were two types of houses that stood out from the rest; either "narco(tic)-houses" or "euro-houses" (owned by those who had migrated to Europe). It seems that people who migrate successfully either move to better areas of the city, or build houses that visually stand out in the areas they originate from. These houses have become symbols of successful migration in these parts of the city. Successful migration appears to be measured by the visual and material items which are commonly linked to higher status.

4.3 Social Aspects

Internal and external migration can grant migrants access to education, information, work and higher income (Koser, 2007). The migration process may allow people to fulfil wishes of travelling to, and experiencing other places in the world, empowering themselves or improving one's family's situation and of being able to buy modern gadgets, which they could not afford before. Success in migration and the raising of one's standard of living is linked to having a higher social status (Aqui y Allá, 2011, Madianou, 2012). Recognition and respect can be also be won by a successful migrant who helps their family in the country of origin (Madianou, 2012).

Most migrants have relatives or friends that have already migrated to the destination country that they have chosen. The acquaintances at the destination share information, sometimes lend money, and help new migrants to settle down. They are also often helpful in finding a job for the newly arrived migrants (Koser, 2007). My study supports Koser's statements. Informants in my study went to places where they already had migrated relatives, or they went with friends who knew someone there. Promises of work, higher salaries and opportunities for a brighter future, pulled them towards these destinations.

By communicating with friends and relatives abroad, people may be tempted to migrate if they hear that conditions in other countries are more technologically advanced, cleaner and safer. Accordingly, when people have migrated once and have become aware of welfare abroad, they are likely to be motivated to undertake a second migration process.

Flavio and Fernanda were formerly migrants in Chile, where they were educated as Salvation Army Officers. They are also parents of two daughters, one of whom has Down's Syndrome. They explained that Bolivia lacks a welfare system.

- *Flavio: "I think they (the government) have to provide security for us with our daughters... (…) In Chile they have a system for health, welfare and security. (…) They have to pay but they feel secure anyway. (…) It's not like here ... (…)."*
- *Fernanda: "A lot depends ... I think it does not only come down to improving the wages ... (…) For example, we have a child with Downs. To know the lack of security I have for her here in Bolivia, how she can develop here in comparison to how she may develop in other countries… (…) Things can be adapted and practiced to improve our country."*

4.3.1 Social Status

Apparently, some international migrants in my study assumed that their family would be proud of them if they migrated. Some of them expected family members, family-in-laws or friends to be jealous of them because they managed to migrate abroad. Consequently, as a mother in a traditional society where the mother is regarded as the main caregiver, you are not supposed to say that you want to migrate if it involves leaving one's family. Two grandparents who participated were not proud of their daughters who had migrated, and stated that it is more important to be with one's family. Additionally, divorce or separation is often a common effect in the aftermath of a migration process (Fe y Alegría, 2010). Supposedly, a migrant family's social status depends on their care arrangements, their ability to re-integrate when he or she returns and the ability and luck of the migrant – i.e. whether the migrant can make money abroad or not.

4.3.2 Education

Access to better education for left behind family members can be granted through migrating and sending remittances. Arnez' study (ca. 2009), which was also conducted in Cochabamba, stated that 10% of migrants' children changed from public to private schools. This change is often made as a reaction to the limitations that public school suffers from in Bolivia. These limitations can be related to recurring strikes, poor infrastructure, or a lack of appropriate equipment (Arnez, ca. 2009). In my study, remittances were rarely spent on education, except from expenses on school materials, which were perceived by informants as a necessity. Only in one family had two children changed from public to private institutions, and the mother started studying to become a nurse while her husband lived in Sweden. They all had to quit their studies when the father returned because the parents divorced.

Parents rarely mentioned education as a factor for improving the lives of their children. One father, Gustavo, said he was thinking about going to Chile for the sake of his children's future, so they could study, but he had not made any specific plans to migrate. A daughter in one of the families, Dilcia (16), said that she thought her father was working in Chile to create a better life for them, and mentioned education as one of many factors that could improve their lives.

Arnez, (ca. 2009) found that 20% of all mothers who migrated to Spain had a higher education. Contrastingly, the majority of my informants had only vocational education or training. Many of them were self-taught or taught by relatives and all worked in the informal economy. The two exceptions to this were a father who worked as a police officer, and a couple working as Salvation Army Officers. The rest of my informants worked as tailors, hairdressers, sellers, cleaning personnel and shoemakers. The two tailors were proud of their sewing machines and said that their children could learn the profession at home and make money from there.

In this area it appears to be more important to teach children manual labour skills, which does not require further education after elementary school. The majority of my informants were internal migrants who indicated that their conditions had improved as a result of migration. There is a relation between parents' education and children's achievement in and motivation for education. Parents with more education have higher expectations for their children's

education and facilitate educational opportunities for their children (Eccles and Davis-Kean, 2005). When the majority of the parents in this study did not have any education, education was not a high priority for their children. Although genetic endowment also plays a role in the level of education the children are able to attain (Eccles and Davis-Kean, 2005), in this area money and resources appear to play a bigger role.

To Santa Ana's inhabitants, education can seem like a costly and time-consuming endeavor (resources which they do not have an abundance of), which would also prevent them from learning to be productive labourers during important years of their lives, and after this, there are no guarantees of succeeding in pursuing a career. *El Mayor,* at the daycare center, explained to me that a typical independent seller in Santa Ana could earn three times more than minimum salary in Bolivia, which is also more than what he earned, despite him having studied for two years. Education seems to be an ideal, which was often implied by the statement: "improving the lives and conditions of the family". But this ideal is rarely pursued in this area of Cochabamba. This was clear because a large proportion of the population worked in the informal economy.

My study did not include children of migrated parents' performance at school, but the subject has been examined by some researchers (Arnez, ca. 2009, Fe y Alegría, 2010, Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). However, these studies have contradictory arguments and results concerning children's and adolescent's behavior and educational performances (Fe y Alegría, 2010, Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Negative changes in children's and adolescent's behavior or school performance are difficult to examine, as there can be a variety of factors playing a role. Age, puberty and hormones can affect or encourage rebellion, according to environment. Conversely, migration of parents can stimulate the development of new skills, which is necessary to be able to cope with their new responsibilities. The migration and the following absence of parents can be motivating for some children to work hard on their studies, as they are aware that their parents are striving for their benefit. Some parents tell their children that the purpose of their migration is to give their children a better future, opening possibilities for studying at University, which becomes a motive for many children to develop and maintain a good behavior and high standard school performance (Fe y Alegría, 2010).

4.4 Cultural Aspects

The phrase "cultural aspects" refers to cultural differences between destination country and country of origin. Cultural aspects are often effects of migration which migrants are not aware of in advance. Cultural effects resulting from migration are less visible because they are often abstract, linking to migrants' changes of values, attitudes, preferences, visions of life and development, and adoption of consumption and new practices (Gordonava, ca. 2009). Some migrants learn to appreciate their own country and culture after a period abroad. This was the case with Betzabe. She is a mother of two children and former migrant in Italy who described her experiences:

- *"You value your country more. What you didn't like about your country before, when you are there (abroad), you miss it a lot. And when you get (back) here everything is nice here (…)."*

Carlos, who was in Argentina for almost 4 months in 2003, said that everything was different there. People walked faster and there is order in the streets because people who drive obey the law. He did not adapt to the culture. This is partly due to encountering both discrimination and ignorant behavior towards Bolivian migrants, which he described as a cultural shock.

Cultural factors are those that created a sense of nostalgia and longing for home, among Bolivian migrants. Family and children, together with typical Bolivian food, were most frequently reported when asked what they missed during migration.

4.5 Gender Dimensions

Feminization, referring to the increased number of female migrants, in relation to male migrants, has evolved during the last decade: a theory that most scholars seem to agree upon (Roncken et al. ca. 2008, Gordonava, ca. 2009, Arnez, ca. 2009, Paerregaard, 2009). This was also, to some extent, verified in my findings. It is important to acknowledge that my data is not very significant because of the small size of the sample, but the findings showed that there was an almost insignificant difference between the number of female and male migrants. There were 18 internal migrants that were female, alongside 19 who were male, and there were 5 international migrants that were female, alongside 7 who were male. Of those that had never been through the process of migration, 10 were women and 8 were men. All

international migrants, except one male, had migrated internally before the international migration.

According to Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos (2007), the family make a collective decision about whether a family member should migrate. This is in opposition with both Andersen's study (2002) and with my findings. Surprisingly, in my study, three out of the five women who had migrated internationally, claimed to have made the decision independently. Only one of these women was single when she migrated. Two women said that they decided for themselves, and then convinced their husbands. Gladys; mother of five and former migrant to Spain explained:

- *"The fight with my husband was a reason for me to buy a ticket and go to Spain. (…) I went to my husband's workshop with the ticket, and I said 'I'm going, I have the ticket' (…) I said 'I will leave on Sunday', and he was silent. We had not spoken (about migration), but he did not say 'Do not go'. (…)."*

Although some migrants are educated to a high standard in their home country, their education might be underestimated in the destination country, limiting their job opportunities to manual and unskilled labour (Arnez, ca. 2009, Salvatierra, 2010). Migrants without residence permits, despite having a relevant education, will also be excluded from working in skilled workforce, due to their illegal status (Arnez, ca. 2009). Migrants' possibilities therefore seem to be restricted to certain niches, where any formal education becomes unnecessary. Female and male migrants work in agriculture, especially in Bolivia's neighboring countries, which is work they usually have experience with from Bolivia. Due to urbanization of migration male migrants started to work in construction, horticulture, the textile industry and informal business (Gadea, Benencia and Quaranta, 2009). There is a demand for male labour, which means that men are more likely to find skilled work in construction and other jobs like bricklaying, carpentry and tailoring. More women than men work in unskilled labour. Women tend to work in service and domestic work; they often look after elderly people, sick people (Koser, 2007), and children (Arnez, ca. 2009). Women also work as sex workers. In general, women find themselves working in unstable positions, with a low salary, and difficult conditions (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007).

While the informants for my study were abroad, in the process of migration, they worked in construction, tailoring, shoemaking, cleaning and domestic work. Some informants indicated that, depending on the destination, women are likely to both migrate and find work more easily. Abraham, a returned migrant from Argentina claimed:

- *"It is easier for women to migrate to Spain. Here (in South America) it is easier for men. There are more male migrants in Argentina."*

The majority of migrants in my study claimed that migration is easier for women, arguing that there is more work for women abroad. This appears to be because many employers believe women are suited better to the kind of labour they need (caregiving), which is the main reason why informants argued that it is easier for women to migrate and find work. Some of them also took into account the risks of becoming an irregular migrant. Gladys, returned migrant from Spain stated:

- *"It is easier for women to find work abroad because they find work in private homes. Men have to work with construction, usually in public places where they can be caught by the police and deported."*

There is nothing significant in my data that clearly indicates whether international migration is more difficult for men or for women. It is also difficult to tell whether women or men had the most success in finding work, who sent more money home, or who sent money more frequently. However, women seemed to enjoy the migration more than men. Despite various negative consequences of the migration process, some women mentioned that they were glad for the opportunity they had to travel and to get to know another country. Men did not respond in the same manner.

4.5.1 Self-realizing or getting away

Two female informants reported that they were motivated to migrate because of relationship problems, where they were fighting with their husband. Another female informant, Betzabe, had migrated to Italy, but was forced to return after demands made by her husband. When she returned, their relationship collapsed. Betzabe explained how she was relieved when her husband wanted to migrate to Sweden:

- *"We'd been through a lot. He did not take the role as a husband, neither as a father. (…) He started drinking and it became worse when I returned (from Italy). We started*

fighting and he blamed me for spending all the savings. He said 'It's your fault, we have spent so much money!' and I said, 'You are the one to blame, because you made me give up (in Italy) when we didn't have anything to eat!' For me it was much better that he left!"

Serious relationship problems can motivate a person to use migration as a way to end the relationship in question or at least the suffering due to the relationship, but this motivation is often combined with a desire to improve an economic situation (Arnez, ca. 2009). Living without the fear of having to deal with physical violence from an intimate partner, is presented as the most positively valued advantage by the migrants in the Arnez' study (ca. 2009). Escaping domestic violence and abuse is recognized as a 'hidden cause' of migration (Parreñas, 2001 cited in Madianou, 2012). Leaving one's partner can solve the problem of violence, at least temporarily, and it gives the migrant (in these cases often women) increased personal autonomy (Arnez, ca. 2009). However, this is not always the wisest way to solve the problem, as children might be left with the offender. There are often sacrifices made and the migrant creates a huge distance between themselves and their children. Mothers who have been presented an opportunity to migrate therefore find themselves facing a difficult dilemma between possibilities for self-improvement and escaping, versus leaving their children and abandoning their maternal role. Although a mother who escapes from a violent relationship has the potential to increase her capacity to care for her children.

For women, migration can provide a sense of freedom from gender-inequality and unjust treatment from their partners, as they are given a chance to be independent. The opportunity for women to earn money in a new country and provide for the family can weaken the traditional limitations for women. Gender inequality and discrimination against women are significant issues in Bolivian society, but although the unequal statuses between men and women are still evident, one can hope the feminization of migration will contribute to a more gender equalized Bolivian society.

Some informants mentioned conflicts with their partner or spouse as a motive for migrating. Arguing, fighting and alcoholism were common reasons for why people wanted to go or wanted their spouse to leave. Motives for leaving may be a mix of wanting to escape difficulties, and seeking self-improvement and recognition. Although violence and abuse are

recognized as motives for migration in academia, self-improvement is not (Madianou, 2012). Self-realizing, self-improvement, escaping violence and abuse – whatever the combination of motives may be, they are accompanied by economic needs and wishes to improve a family's conditions (Madianou, 2012).

Migration can be liberating (Goycoechea, 2003), both economically and socially, as has been explained in this chapter. If a migrant succeeds abroad, the family can be liberated economically: opening possibilities of owning their own house and access to better resources. The opportunity to both earn and save more money may allow a family to elevate themselves from low social status. There are, however, never any guarantees that a migrant will succeed. Even if the migrant succeeds economically in migration, the process affects the left behind family and relations in the family in different ways, which will be the focus for the next chapter.

5. The effect of migration on a family

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a migrant's family can raise their social status by succeeding economically in the migration process. People in Bolivia tend to have first-hand knowledge of both successful and unsuccessful migration stories, but the hope that migrants have to give themselves and their families a life of dignity seems to mean more to them than the risk. The challenges and difficulties that can affect a family are hard to imagine until experienced. However, one's social status can be defined by more than just economic aspects. Parents are often anxious of being judged if they make the choice to leave their children (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

According to Parreñas (2005), many studies have focused on the perspectives of migrant mothers, while only a few studies have examined the difficulties that left behind families encounter when one or more of the family's members leave them to migrate. Different views, prejudices, stigmatization, and speculations can be generated by an absence of reliable information (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

The consequences for left behind children have recently become a topic for debate in politics, the media and academia. These debates often revolve around whether economic advantages are being exploited by families and communities, at the expense of children's welfare (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Lately, studies conducted in Bolivia have investigated this topic. These studies have mainly been conducted and published by NGOs and organizations that cooperate with migrants abroad and left behind families in Bolivia, (for example ACOBE-AMIBE) (Gordonava, ca. 2009). "Los costos humanos de la emigración" – *The human costs of emigration* (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007) is a study that was conducted in Cochabamba, which identified that there has been a minor increase in violence against children as a result of parents being migrants, meaning that they are absent. The book

was a project carried out by Universidad San Simon in Cochabamba, PIEB (Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia) - a research program for social science in Bolivia - and some independent social scientists. The study's findings were based on reviewing 2000 complaints that were filed concerning children's rights, and conducting psychological tests, interviews and questionnaires. In addition, the life stories of 57 children and adolescents of migrated parents were compared with a control group of children of non-migrated parents.

Fe y Alegría (Faith and Joy) is an NGO operating in 17 countries. This organization is dedicated to making education available to everyone, focusing on impoverished and excluded minorities. Their study looked at left behind children and adolescents, focusing on their school performances, how schools deal with the situation of having many children of migrated parents, and these children's and adolescents' opinions and attitudes. The study involved 35 schools in Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and Potosi. Its findings were constituted by surveys, in-depth interviews and focus groups. The study compared all the involved parties; teachers, directors in schools, parents/caregivers, children and adolescents. In the outcome of migration exists both transnational families, families who are unsuccessful and dissolved, and some families who succeed; they are reunited and find themselves in a better economic situation. In the studies mentioned above - including my own - there were distinct differences in cases and findings. Findings varied based on the age and sex of the informants, how and with whom the left behind family members lived, and relations within the family, according to which family members migrated and the duration of the migration.

5.1 Before the migration – the decision to migrate

Despite the large extent of migration in Bolivia, the family continues to be the main producer of core values (Gordonava, ca. 2009). The family home is where children learn to behave and to adapt to the cultural norms and environment. Children admire their parents and, throughout their childhood, internalize what they observe of their parents' behaviour, regardless of whether it is good or bad (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). People in different parts of the world have various opinions and beliefs about how children should be raised. Material needs, emotional care and physical protection might be provided for in the home or from a distance. However, parents may find themselves facing moral dilemmas if they choose to provide for their children in ways that do not conform to that which is understood as traditional in their communities (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

When a family member decides to migrate, the family becomes a fragmented and transnational family; they live in two places, in two cultures and they have two economies. All family members have to work to maintain the family bonds over long periods of time and over long distances (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). There are pros and cons of migrating which influence the families and their situation, both positively and negatively.

The decision to leave can be emotionally trying and the separation filled with various negative feelings, such as guilt, for both children and parents (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). It is especially mothers that tend to feel ambivalent and torn between the cultural contradictions of motherhood and migration (Madianou and Miller, 2011, Madianou, 2012). Although middle and lower class women in Bolivia are used to a role providing for their family, working to pay for expenses, women are still considered to be the main caregivers of children.

As explained in the previous chapter, migration can be a strategy devised by the whole family, or the decision can be made by only the migrant, with or without support from their partner. Whether migrants have been given permission to leave by the other members of their family can influence the emotional and moral support they are given during the migration process (Baldassar, 2007). When a family member is about to migrate, it is likely that the family know other migrants and transnational families. They thus know that the process of migration can be a risk to their marriage or relationship, and a risk to their family's solidarity (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007).

5.2 Consequences for the migrant

Some migrants succeed in finding a job and improving their own lives and the lives of their families, while others are stopped at border control and deported before they have even reached their destination. A third group of migrants are deported or have to return for other reasons after spending only a short time in the destination country. As many migrants have to borrow money to travel abroad, some return with greater debt, creating even poorer conditions than when they left (Salvatierra, 2010). Naturally this can affect their social status negatively, but it is the great debt and the potential difficulties in providing basic needs for the family that are the most serious consequences. Such impoverished conditions are stressful and can destroy family relations.

In my study, the majority of all informants succeeded in finding work in the destination country, although as mentioned in the previous chapter, the improvements were not satisfactory. Betzabe, a mother of two who migrated to Italy for only one month before returning to Bolivia, did not make any money and returned home with great debt.

- *"After I'd gone to Italy, we had many things that needed to be paid. We even sold some things because we had to be able to pay the bank. Even the children's nutrition was poor during this time. It was a serious economic situation for us. I returned in December, Christmas approached and we couldn't buy anything for the children or take them out anywhere. We didn't want to know anything about Christmas or New Year or anything like that. Because of this I can tell you that we went through a serious economic situation."*

Internal and external migration can give access to benefits, which have the potential to empower a migrant (Koser, 2007), but there seem to be many challenges that a migrant has to face. Although migration can be culturally and politically liberating for a Bolivian migrant who is used to a conservative society (Koser, 2007), migrants often have to deal with social isolation and a sense of loneliness which can cause depression, stress and can be emotional damaging (Salvatierra, 2010). Migrants may also feel pressured to send remittances, even when times are hard and they cannot find work. What migrants are not always prepared for, and what can be difficult for the family to understand in the home country, is that the cost of living in destination countries can be very high (Salvatierra, 2010). My findings confirmed this, exemplified by Gladys who felt pressured to send money to her family despite not earning much during her first 6 months in Spain:

- *"For the first few months I had no job, but I had to send money home. I borrowed US $500 from my sister-in-law (…). My husband said, 'a long time has passed and you haven't sent anything! What do you think your children will eat? (…) Your children see other people who receive money from migrants abroad…'. I felt the pressure and I didn't know what else to do…"*

Regarding this kind of pressure, female migrants are generally those that are most affected; as they will often meet people who comment or speculate on how much money they earn, or

accuse them of prostituting themselves. A mother will be accused for disrupting the family and leaving her children, adding to her own feelings of guilt and longing that she may feel before and after leaving. The separation of a mother and her children is one of the most painful aspects of migration (Salvatierra, 2010) due to the mother's role as primary caregiver. A mother may experience feelings of guilt and despair because of the long absences from her children (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008). Gracie (17), the oldest daughter of Gladys who left five children to travel to Spain, shared her experiences:

- *"Everyone says that women who leave will become prostitutes abroad. My dad sometimes told me that my mum Perhaps had another life there (in Spain), and that she didn't send money because she didn't have any interest in us… Those were his words; I didn't know anything because we didn't speak much with her (…)."*

Besides those that are victims of human trafficking, migrants abroad can be exploited both occupationally and sexually. Their human rights can be abused, and they can be exposed to racial discrimination. This unjust treatment might be more severe if the migrant is irregular (Koser, 2007), and if the migrant is a women (Salvatierra, 2010). It is worth noting that more women are irregular migrants than men. Women also work in the informal sector where the risk of being exploited is higher (Koser, 2007). Arnez (ca. 2009) claims that the majority of migrants in Spain are victims of discrimination and racism, which makes integration difficult.

A positive finding in my study was that only two former migrant informants reported that they were discriminated against in the countries they had migrated to (Sweden and Argentina). Both informants were male. Two female informants who had been to Spain, and one who had been to Italy, said that they were aware of discrimination, but they did not experience any racial discrimination. Although one of these woman, Gladys, said she was treated differently and exploited occupationally in Spain, but she thought it was related to her status as an irregular migrant and not because of her ethnic background:

- "*In the newspaper I saw (an advertisement where) they searched for an employee who could clean in a bar. I took the job and when I had worked for one month they didn't want to pay me. Instead they threatened me. (…) They said to me 'If you don't leave I will call the police (la guardia civil) and report you because you are undocumented'. So they didn't pay me, but treated me like this… If the people there (in Spain) know that you are undocumented, they make you work and afterwards refuse to pay you, or*

they lower the salaries at the time they pay you (…) and threaten to report you if you protest. And because you don't want to be reported, you have to take the money they give you and leave, although you might have lost a month of work."

In my study, a father who had been in Sweden and two mothers who had been in Spain had stayed illegally in their destination countries. People living and working in a country without a residence permit are more liable to have their human rights violated. If they are not permitted to stay in the country, it becomes more difficult to get a job, and the chances of being exploited economically, sexually, or physically in relation to labour, are higher (Arnez, ca. 2009). As irregular migrants risk arrest and deportation, many irregular migrants avoid using public services like healthcare (Koser, 2007) and therefore their health can also be vulnerable during migration. Victims of violations, either by their partner, boss or someone else, may not want to, or even be able to notify the police because they are afraid to be deported (Arnez, ca. 2009). Although three of my informants were irregular migrants, only Gladys told of her fear of being deported:

- *"When they (the employers) said I had to leave before they called the civil guards, and that the civil guards were responsible for deporting us, we always walked in fear. And when walking in the streets, you couldn't feel free, like (we do) here when we go out for a stroll. Over there (in Spain) you always knew the police could catch, and deport you. (…)"*.

Feelings of anxiety and fear resulting from a desire to avoid being identified and deported can affect a migrant's quality of life (Arnez, ca. 2009, Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012, Sassone 2002). Migrants also tend to live in overcrowded apartments in the destination countries (Arnez, ca. 2009) due to high costs of living, and because some migrants are irregular they might be dependent on other migrants, who have a residence permit. A loss of privacy can also affect a migrant's quality of life. Gladys admitted that she, as well as many of her roommates, was suffering in Spain. She frequently went to bed hungry and she fought with her roommates for bed space. Sometimes she slept on the floor. However, migrants tend to plan to migrate to areas where relatives have already migrated, which can provide them with practical and personal support. Gladys explained that her sister in law helped her with accommodation when she arrived in Spain. She also tried to help Gladys to apply for work,

but according to Gladys she was too controlling and demanding, which resulted in a conflict between the two, and Gladys moved to another apartment. Other informants in my study lived with relatives and friends abroad, some of whom had already settled in the destination countries.

Another disadvantage of being an irregular migrant is the lack of the opportunity to reunite the family in the destination country (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). However, most migrants seem to migrate without considering the possibility of bringing the rest of their family with them (Arnez, ca. 2009). None of my informants mentioned bringing their families as a motive prior to, or during the migration. However, Daniela, mother of two and whose ex-husband lived a transnational life between Chile and Bolivia, wanted to travel with her husband to Chile. But he didn't want Daniela and the children to come, explaining that the cost of living in Chile is too high.

5.3 Restructuring of families

Migration can also affect a migrants' family, perhaps even more severely than the migrants themselves are affected. A migration process can make a family even more vulnerable to the effects of poverty. A family may be completely restructured as a result of migration with regards to the family's organization and the roles of each family member (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). These changes can provoke sentiments and difficult moments for the families and individuals involved (Fe y Alegría, 2010). New roles can be difficult, frustrating and confusing for both children and parents (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). For family members involved, migration can be a major life event.

5.3.1 Care arrangements and children's roles

Many families in Cochabamba are examples of extended families. Grandparents, aunts, uncles or other relatives often share a house with a nuclear family and they help each other to take care of the children and to do domestic work. *Padrinos*, or godparents, also play important roles in a child's upbringing. These extended family relations are particularly strong in impoverished areas: in the countryside and among the immigrants that move to the cities in Bolivia (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos 2007). It is usually the family network that takes care of children when parents are absent. In the majority of these cases, the caregiverss are female relatives (Arnez, ca. 2009). One of Bolivia's laws, "law 2026," prioritizes the

family when replacing children if biological parents are not present, or are unable to take care of their children (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Children are left with grandparents, godparents, aunts and uncles, neighbors, stepmothers or stepfathers. Sometimes the State, or another independent actor, has to take responsibility for the children, which are then put in orphanages. Some children also live alone with their older siblings who are expected to take care of them. It is usually an older daughter taking care of her younger siblings, rather than an older son (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Older sisters also tend to act as mother-figures for their younger siblings, even when another relative has been given responsibility as the main caregiver (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008). Some children are left in the streets to take care of themselves (Leinaweaver, 2008).

Grandparents are often vital caregivers. Many children stay with their grandparents when one or both parents migrate (Fe y Alegría, 2010). Grandparents and grandchildren often have a good, intimate relationship. Staying with grandparents can provide security and stability, but it can also cause problems. Many elderly people in Bolivia are illiterate and therefore cannot help children with schoolwork. They may also be out-dated in the eyes of their grandchildren, and old fashioned in their ways of raising children. The generational gap can cause difficulties when trying to understand one another, and can even cause violence between grandparents and grandchildren, especially with boys (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007).

The difficulties of caregiving are generally more complicated in caregiving families – when parents are absent and the children live with relatives, neighbors or friends. In many of these families, caregivers have problems with having to ensure that the basic necessities are provided for, when not receiving remittances. In uncertain times (e.g. during economic crises, or if the migrant is unemployed in their host country), children might have to move around within the network of relatives and friends because the children's caregivers are dependent on remittances to take care of them (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Children left with relatives (e.g. an aunt and uncle) who have their own biological children, might experience conflicts, as they have to share attention and affection with their cousins. It is also difficult for caregivers to assume new roles as "parents", and also to then confront crises that children might experience during the processes of migration (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007).

In my study, there was only one family where the grandmother was the primary caregiver of the children during migration. In all other cases a remaining parent was the primary caregiver, while grandparents and other relatives were only involved to a certain degree. Aunts and uncles were involved, but more sporadically, not as primary caregivers. The grandmother, Ayda, and her grandchildren, Andrea (12) and Antonio (8) who lived together from 2004-2009 when the mother was in Spain, only mentioned good memories from their time living together. Ayda said it was a nice, but difficult time. She worked at the local market besides taking care of her two grandchildren. She was getting old and didn't have much energy to take care of the children. Antonio, who was only a baby when his mother left to Spain, spent the first five years of his life with his grandmother. When his mother returned, he did not know who she was.

- "*When I saw her, my grandmother said to me 'That's her!' I thought she meant another person, but later I saw who she was and I said 'Hola Mami!"*

He said he was happy to meet his mother, but he had expected her to be different. She did not look similar to photos that his grandmother had showed him. Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer (2012) found that children raised by other female relatives might consider them as their mother because they forget whom their birthmother is.

5.3.2 Gender differences

Parenting roles are gendered. A mother who migrates and a father who migrates are generally considered to be two distinct phenomena. If a mother migrates it causes tension with traditional gender roles. Although many mothers in Bolivia, including all those in my study, are providing economically for their families, they are also filling the role as the primary caregiver. Fathers do not seem to adjust well to the caregiving role and have trouble fulfilling the children's needs when mother is absent (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Fathers therefore, more often than women, ask others for varying degrees of help, involving relatives and neighbors in the caregiving responsibilities (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). I held three in-depth interviews with women who had migrated. One woman, Angelica, left her children with her mother (the children's grandmother). Her husband, Abraham, was in Argentina when Angelica left for Spain, but he returned soon after her departure. Still, he had been in Argentina for 4 years. Children were more accustomed to their grandmother, who had been their next-door neighbor, and had helped their mother in the caregiving while their father was in Argentina. Two other female informants, Betzabe and

Gladys, told of their husbands who did not sufficiently manage the caregiver responsibilities they had for their children while their wives were abroad. Their stories will be elaborated later in this chapter.

If a woman makes the decision to migrate alone, she might put her marriage at risk as the husband may feel that his position as "head of the house" is undermined (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). If a father migrates, however, the mother becomes the head of household, which is also in conflict with traditional gender roles (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012), but this is not so alien to Bolivian society. Despite traditional structures of male-dominance in the society, there are numerous female heads of houses in Bolivia due to divorces, fathers who have chosen to be absent, and due to death and migration. Gordonava (ca. 2009) has estimated that about 30% of Bolivian households have a female head of the house. In part two of my study (in-depth interviews) there were two female heads of houses who found themselves in these positions as a result of divorces in the aftermath of migration processes. The absence of the father is a more common situation among families of peri-urban areas and lower social status (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). However, a single mother is often being closely surveilled by her in-laws, relatives or friends (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

Mothers seem to have closer relations with their children in general. Mothers are considered primary caregivers; they are involved in daily rituals, which give room for emotional bonds to be formed. When mothers migrate, the common practice is for other female kin to step in and help the children in their everyday lives (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Mothers who migrate are sometimes expected to provide care and emotional support across borders at the same time as they provide economically for the family (Madianou, 2012). Children are therefore more likely to be angry with their mother for leaving, more than they would with their father, as children believe that mothers should be primary caregivers (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Children may also blame their mother if they are mistreated by new caregivers, or if they do not receive the remittances and gifts that they expect. A migrant mother may feel guilty for leaving her children, but may feel even guiltier if she knows or suspects that her children are not being treated well in her absence (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). This was the case with Gladys who did not receive much information from, or about, her 5 children when she was in Spain. One of her motives for leaving was that she was frequently fighting with her husband. She described her husband as

having a strong character with a dominating attitude. Therefore, one of her worries while in Spain was how her children were treated.

Men are generally less capable than women when faced with crises, and have a tendency to act in a way that is both bad for themselves and for those around them. This becomes evident when a mother migrates and the father is left with responsibility for the children (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Fathers often show a lack of awareness of their new role. They feel displaced, uncomfortable and frustrated. A left behind father may turn to alcoholism. When a mother leaves, the father is often left with adolescent daughters, a responsibility they view as feminine and consider difficult to tackle (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Parreñas (2005) argues that fathers tend to reveal their inadequacy by handing over the caregiver responsibility to other female relatives, neighbours or friends. Only one father, Abraham, in my study let his mother-in-law take his caregiver responsibility, but other fathers asked for, and received more help from relatives and neighbours than mothers did when they were left with the children.

Betsabe is a mother of two children, Beatriz (12) and Benjamin (15). In 2003, she migrated to Italy but returned after only one month because of her depressed and self-destructive husband. He was so affected by her departure that he couldn't take care of himself, and even less the children. He began to beg her to return as soon as she reached Italy, and when a month had passed, he threatened to take the children and leave if she didn't return.

- *"He began to mourn; he did not want to eat anything or do anything. My dad would say 'let's go out to eat', but he (her husband) didn't want to eat. He ate very little and when he slept he grabbed my clothes. He was in a worse state than my children…"*

Men are more often socially sanctioned when they fail to fulfill the role as provider (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Even if the father is left with children while the mother migrates, or if the father is migrating himself and fails to fulfill his role as provider for his family, chances are high that he will become depressed, and that he will be stigmatized in the community perhaps leading him to seek a new partner. His self-esteem may be affected and he may feel guilty. These perceptions of masculinity may have something to do with that many migrated fathers, to a larger extent than migrated mothers, refrain from calling regularly and sending remittances (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). In my study, the differences between mothers and fathers who sent remittances are small. Two former migrated mothers

said that they sent remittances on a monthly basis, while another mother didn't send anything because she was abroad for only one month and did not have time to find a proper job. Three formerly migrated fathers each reported different frequencies at which they sent remittances: "monthly", "regularly" and "rarely".

5.4 How children are affected by migration

Children are the family members that are most severely affected by their parents' separation and departure. Migration might disintegrate or restructure their family and the otherwise safe, stable life they knew (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Migration changes the fundamental foundations that children, who have only lived a short time, have become accustomed to. The absence of a parent will affect the different periods of a child's life: starting school, puberty, being a teenager, and all the challenges that come with each period (Fe y Alegría, 2010). The actual departure and separation, including a feeling of being abandoned, can be traumatic, but children's anxiety might be kept to a minimum if children are informed in advance and feel included in the migration process (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Yet, my findings indicated that parents often made the decision alone or together with their partner. Children had little or no time to prepare for the migration process as this extract from an interview with Andrea (13) exemplifies. She was 6 when her mother went to Spain.

> ***Do you remember how you felt when your mother left?***
>
> *- "No"*
>
> ***Did you follow her to the airport?***
>
> *- "No"*
>
> ***You don't remember if she said 'Bye, my little daughter', 'I am leaving', 'I will come back soon…'?***
>
> *- "I didn't know she was leaving…"*
>
> ***You didn't know she was leaving? Just one day…?***
>
> *- "I didn't see her…"*
>
> ***No one told you?***
>
> *- "No"*

An exception in my study was Elizabeth's family. Elizabeth was preparing to migrate to Chile. Her husband was going to stay and work in Cochabamba while their three children

would stay with their grandparents in Santa Cruz. All three children were aware of what was going to happen and they were excited to go to Santa Cruz, but sad because their mother was going to leave them.

Children and adolescents often feel responsible, as well as guilty, if their parents migrate, because they know that sacrifices need to be made to make the migration process possible, and that the parent migrates for the sake of the children (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Children may feel torn between understanding that migration is necessary for the family, and feeling that they have been abandoned (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). After the migration and separation process, children might feel betrayed by their primary caregivers, and their loss of trust in adults is a normal, and sometimes long-lasting, consequence of migration (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008). This extract from the interview with Gracie (17) exemplifies this:

> ***When your mother was absent, was there any person you could confide in and talk to?***
>
> *- "There was one (aunt), but she didn't spend much time with us. My mother sent her money, believing that she could trust her, but she wasn't trustworthy. My mom sent her almost US$ 300 and she didn't buy us anything (…). When I had my first period, I was embarrassed to tell my father about it and I didn't know what to do, so I told my aunt. But my father found out and he hit me…"* (he became angry because Gracie didn't entrust him with this personal information).
>
> ***Do you feel more confident with a friend than with your mother?***
>
> *- "No, I don't feel confident with any of my friends. I don't feel confident with anyone. I keep everything for myself."*

Feelings of guilt and disappointment can result in low self-esteem, which can make children and adolescents insecure, anxious, depressed and conflictive (Arnez, ca. 2009, Hochschild, ca. 2002, Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). However, it is difficult to conclude whether these feelings and characteristics are a result of migration or absence of parents. There is a risk of overemphasizing migration as a generator of youth behavior and sentiments. Some children and adolescents of migrated parents might have taken care of younger siblings, the home and the household money. They have the potential to develop positive qualities, such

as responsibility, maturity and independence (Arnez, ca. 2009), although these qualities are less frequently reported among children of migrated parents.

Studies concerning the educational performances of children of migrated parents have produced varied and contradictory results. Some results show poorer educational performance among these children, while others claim that their performance improves because they have been told that their parents are migrating in order to give them an opportunity to go to University. It cannot be verified, however, that changes in school performance and behaviour are linked to a caregiver's migration (Arnez, ca. 2009). During this stage of life, frustration and sentimentality are a part of living and a part of forming an identity (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). In my study, only one woman, Betzabe, complained about her son's behavior. While his father was in Sweden, Betzabe's son behaved inappropriately, apparently as a form of rebellion. He pretended to go to school, but instead he went to internet-cafés and played games. Due to these struggles with her son, she had to beg her husband to come back home:

- *"I insisted (that he returned) because my oldest son was a teenager. He was fourteen, about to turn fifteen and it was already very hard for me. (…) He became rebellious so I told my husband 'Look, you need to come back. I am not the only one who shall fight with the children. You have to come and help. I need help with our son. By calling from there, you don't help at all. And me telling you this makes no difference because you can't live it or feel it. You have to be here!'"*

Betzabe was convinced that her son's rebelliousness was due to lack of a reliable male role model and the father's absence. However, the effects a migration process might have on a child or an adolescent depend on which stage of their life the migration took place, how the process made them feel, how well they were taken care of and how long the migration lasted.

Sadness, resulting from absent parents, was the most frequently reported feeling among the children in my study, supporting the study done by Fe y Alegría (2010). Sex and age influence the language used to explain sentiments that are related to migration (Fe y Alegría, 2010). The words that are most frequently used to express feelings related to migration among my informants were: 'sad' and 'miss'. These words were used by all the generations of the family: children, adolescents, parents and grandparents. Other words used to describe feelings related to migration were 'bad', 'anger', 'proud' and 'not proud'. 'Afraid', 'worried'

and ‘calm’ were words used only by adults. ‘Happy’ and ‘happiness’ were words frequently used by all family members when talking about the return of the migrant member’s reunion with the family. Children tend to worry more when the mother is leaving than when the father is leaving, and the children tend to feel calmer when the father is absent than when the mother is absent (Fe y Alegría, 2010). In my study, three of the five mothers from transnational families admitted that violence or a bad relationship with a partner was one of the factors influencing the decision to migrate. Only one father admitted the same. Betzabe claimed that her husband’s migration to Sweden in 2006 caused a more peaceful home for her and her children Beatriz (11) and Benjamin (15):

- *“(…) I could not endure his drinking and the fighting. The children were often present during the fighting and they started to scream. I said ‘enough!’. He presented the opportunity (going to Sweden) and I said ‘go’, because I could not sleep in peace in the weekends because he went out drinking. I did not know where he was. He spent all our money, and came home late… (…) And the week he’d left I felt relaxed. I slept calm and peaceful, like I’d never slept before.”*

5.5 Violence and complicated issues

Domestic violence is not a problem linked specifically to migration, but it has received attention in migration literature. As explained in chapter 4, a push factor for migration is fighting with a partner. When a parent leaves, chances are higher that their children will become victims of violence. Children often suffer due to irresponsible caregivers who may violate the rights of the children and adolescents. Growing up in a violent environment, a child is more likely to develop aggressive personality traits, ignore laws and cultural norms, and behave disrespectfully towards others. Those who suffer may also feel a sense of guilt. A child who feels guilty is less likely to report any violence they are exposed to, or to escape from the situation (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007), as they are often unaware of their rights (Fe y Alegría, 2010).

Parents may be absent due to divorce, a lack of taking on responsibilities, migration, or death. In many cases children are made responsible for their younger siblings. There are more disadvantages for girls who are the oldest siblings, as migrant mothers give more responsibility to girls than boys (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Adolescent girls often have to care for younger siblings at the same time as they are expected to do the

housework and fulfill most of the duties expected of a mother. This may affect their performance at school, reducing the number opportunities they may otherwise have had in the future (Parreñas, 2005). Even if a child's rights are not directly violated, their right to be a child and receive protection is violated when given such demanding responsibilities (Fe y Alegría, 2010). Gracie had to take her mother's role when her mother, Gladys, migrated to Spain:

> - "*I was 10 or 11 years old when my mother went to Spain. It was very difficult; I had to do everything (in the house) (…). I took the brunt because I was the one my father beat most. He beat me for almost for everything. My dad didn't want to take the money that my mother sent, so my grandmother took the money and sometimes there was no money for food… I had to clean everything all the time and if the clothes weren't clean, my father would beat me (…). My aunt knew about the beating, but she didn't do anything. I wanted to tell, but I was afraid, so I didn't say anything. Almost everyone is afraid of my dad (…).*"
>
> ***How was the situation before your mother left and how is it now?***
>
> - *"We used to live in one room and my dad only hit my mom, and sometimes he threw all of us out of the house. Now I do not know, everyone goes their own way, (…) if there is a fight, everyone leaves. Nobody gives it attention because we all think he's crazy, but it's okay because it is quieter than before, we think it is his age…"*
>
> ***Did your mother send you anything from Spain?***
>
> - *"She sent clothes but my dad kept them in the box. He didn't let us use them.*
> *When my mom returned, he had given them to us, but we could no longer fit into the clothes…"*

Child labour is relatively common in Bolivia, among both children of migrated parents and children whose parents do not migrate. Helping in the family's shop or by selling at the local market, guarding the house's port, and helping with housework are typically children's duties. Children may be exploited into performing child labour if they are left by themselves, or if they are left with relatives who do not receive any remittances from migrated parents (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). People that become caregivers for the children of migrated parents may not always welcome their new responsibilities, but see them as a burden and cultural expectation they have to live up to, often in addition to raising their own children (Parreñas, 2005). Under these conditions, children are likely to sense that they are

unwanted in the house, and they might not receive the love, affection, help and advice they need. Caregivers can also take advantage of the remittances sent to provide for the children. ACOBE-AMIBE reported that some clothes, sent to children from their parents in Spain, have been sold by caregivers who spend the money on other commodities (ACOBE-AMIBE n.d. cited in Fe y Alegría, 2010).

There are, however, no factors that affect each migrant and their children in the same way, despite many examples of the above mentioned issues, which tendencies can be drawn out of. Aside from those who are affected negatively, there are also examples of parents who, despite having been left alone by a migrated partner to take care of the children, value their relationship with their children, and work hard to maintain a healthy bond (Arnez, ca. 2009). After the migration process, some learn to appreciate what they have; their family and their children. Gladys' and Gustavo's children indicated that their parents' relationship had become more harmonious after the migration process.

Many challenges and difficulties in this chapter appear to be related to poor communication between family members across borders. This issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

6. Communication during migration and returning migrants

Communication between international migrants and left behind family members are kept across geographic and cultural distances (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012) and this enables them to exchange information, maintain and confirm relationships and to engage emotionally with each other (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Communication across borders have been called transnational caregiving as it involves emotional and moral support between migrants and left behind family members (Baldassar, 2007). Communication is maintained through Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's), and through remittances; transfers of money and material goods like traditional modes of communication; letters, photos, gifts and cards, as a mean to maintain care at a distance (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012, Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). Some migrants also keep in touch by visiting friends and family in country of origin (Bolognani, 2011) or receiving visits abroad, as my study has shown Communication and transnational caregiving is dependent on migrants' and left behind family members' ability, expectation, family relationships and migration histories (Baldassar, 2007:393).

In this chapter I will delve into the extent of communication across borders among my informants, how they communicate and how this differs from other studies about transnational families. Communication through ICTs and visits across borders will be discussed. At the end of the chapter I will present different outcomes of a migration process, elaborating on benefits and challenges for returning migrants and reintegration with their families.

6.1 Modes and extent of communication

Migration studies concerning communication across borders (Madianou and Miller, 2012, Madianou, 2011, Parreñas, 2005), many of them conducted with Philippine migrant women, indicates that mothers' caring roles are maintained through ICTs, owing to development in technology and cheaper international mobile phone calls. In my study, communication between migrant and left behind family members were not as frequently as reported in these studies of Philippine migrants, probably due to scarce access to ICTs. Inadequate and infrequent communication result in a more absent migrated parent, which also causes the left behind parent to perform the role and tasks for both mother and father.

Staying in touch is regarded as time-demanding work (Baldassar, 2007, Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). Time differences between country of origin and country of destination, in addition to long working hours for the migrant in the destination country (and in many cases also for the left behind family in Bolivia), are challenges for the communication. Financial and technological resources to initiate communication are often at the migrant's hands. Due to lack of computers and Internet for both migrants and left behind families in my study, the easiest way of communication was by phone and by the initiative of the migrant. Although accessing a phone and a private place to talk to the family can be a challenge (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Returned migrants in my study explained that they mostly went to call centers and Internet cafés when they wanted to communicate with their families. Time was limited and conversations normally short. Sometimes the migrant did not get the chance to talk to every family member, as they often called occasionally. Gladys, who worked as a caregiver in the home of an elderly woman while in Spain, explained the difficulties she experienced concerning the communication with her family.

- *"They gave me half an hour or an hour to go to call home on Sundays. On Sundays the Internet cafés were always full of people who were going to call home, because Sundays are free. Then you had to wait, but I only had an hour and sometimes this was not enough."*

Communication between migrants and their families (both internal and external migrants) was reported to be mainly by cell phone and regular phone. Among internal migrants and left-behind family members visits in both directions were also a common form of communication. Among external migrants Internet was mentioned as a mean for communication but to a

significantly lower extent than phone calls. Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer (2012) claim that families of migrants are usually quicker to adopt new technologies than their neighbors, because they have communication needs, but also because they can afford it. However, my study shows that no one had computers or Internet at home. Those who mentioned Internet as a source of communication, used Internet cafés, and chatting was the most common tool of interaction. My study therefore seems to coincide with the study of Arnez (ca. 2009), which claimed that transnational families in Cochabamba appear to maintain relations across borders mainly through phone (99,7%) and Internet (54%). Gifts, pictures and letters were also sent across borders, but only occasionally. Gustavo explained why he preferred to use phone to communicate with his wife in Spain:

- *"Because of the time difference there, she called us at 5 in the morning from Europe when there was a birthday. We always tried to treat the children so they wouldn't feel the absence of the mother or feel like she was always absent".*

Communication was reported to be a lot less frequent than what were the case in Madianou's (2012) research about Philippines migrant mothers who had contact through SMS, chat and videochatting every day with their children. In my study, informants reported that they talked more or less once a week, and most of them tried to keep it regularly. Communication was affected by routine and rituals as the migrant typically called on Sundays and sometimes more frequently on special occasions (birthdays, anniversaries and other special events) or if they had something important to talk about. Differences in frequency of communication might be related to the fact that Philippines are earlier at adopting and developing new technologies and landlines, but could also be due to available resources for the migrant and the left behind family. Not many children in my study owned their own mobile phone, as it appeared that children did in Madianou's study. Madianou states that it is primarily middle class women who perform migrations, while migration families in my study were mainly of the lower class. Another reason why phone appears to be the main source of communication might be that the eldest generation, who in some cases (including my study) are the caregivers of children while parents are abroad, have little IT knowledge (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). None of the grandparents or elderly informants in my study mentioned Internet as a source for communication.

The sole exception was one boy (14) who said he used Internet to communicate with migrated parent. Internet appeared to be used for communication between spouses and adult siblings who were separated by migration. Although one father, Gustavo, said he enjoyed bringing his youngest children to the Internet café for them to video chat with their mother, Gladys. As the children were very young when the mother left, they did not recognize their mother. Gladys wanted to see her children as they grew and changed a lot during their first few years. As Madianou (2012) claims, the visual aspect generates a feeling of co-presence, although it can provoke emotions to see each other visually without being able to hug, kiss and smell each other. For mothers it is gratifying to be recognized as mother; one who cares and provides. (Madianou, 2012).

Phone calls allow for no more than talk. As explained by Leifsen and Tymczuk (2012), the strength of words weaken after weeks, months and years away from each other if not followed by personal interactions as communication only through ICT's appears to be insufficient for maintaining and developing relationships. Communication can be intensive in periods, but then decline. It can also be maintained, but someway superficial (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). Some children explained phone calls with their migrated parents as short, awkward, and superficial as seen in the following extracts of interviews. Antonio (8) was just a baby when his mother migrated to Spain. He was 5 years when she returned:

> **When your mother called you from Spain, what did she say to you? How was her life there, did she have a job? What do you remember?**
>
> - *"(She asked) how we were doing with my grandmother. Sometimes she told how she was doing there."*
>
> **What did she tell you then?**
>
> - *"That she was doing fine."*
>
> **That she had a job?**
>
> - *"Yes."*
>
> **And how was her life there, the people…?**
>
> - *"Don't know."*
>
> **Did you ask when she was coming back? What did she say? Soon, within a year, two years…three years…?**
>
> - *"I didn't ask."*
>
> **You didn't ask her? You only talked to her?**

- *"Yes."*

Gracie is Gladys' oldest daughter of 5 children. She was 10 or 11 years when her mother migrated to Spain:

When you spoke to your mother, what did she say to you? What did she ask about or tell you from there?

- *"She spoke mostly with my younger siblings. I didn't like to speak much with her, she was so serious, we didn't speak much. Now at least she laughs but then she was serious and didn't say much. She asked me 'How are you?' and 'What do you do?' and I replied 'Good.' I almost didn't ask her anything, I only replied to her questions."*

As to most aspects of migration, there are gender differences regarding communication. Mothers call more frequently and regularly while fathers call more occasionally or in special occasions (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Men also disengage and re-engage over time while women tend to keep in touch more regularly and continuously (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). My small sample study did not confirm these tendencies. Those who stayed in touch seemed to keep in touch regularly. However, three fathers and one mother were still abroad at the time this study was conducted. Two of these three fathers were divorced prior to the migration and did not keep in touch with their children. My study therefore show a slight indication of fathers being more likely than mothers to migrate and cut all bonds to their families. Since, I did not receive any information from these migrants, motives for migration and reasons for cutting the contact would only be speculations.

6.2 What do they communicate about?

The age of children when they are separated from their parents, influence the way they communicate, how they develop and maintain transnational relations (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Generally parents want to know about their children's progress at school, their health and everyday life. They want to give advice and comfort to their children and instruct the caregivers (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Children, on the other hand, might be dependent on adult caregivers who use phone or Internet to communicate with the migrated parent. The communication may be supervised by the

caregiver, which might prevent children from telling their migrated parent the truth about how they are doing and how they are feeling.

As mentioned before, there are limited trustworthy communication between adolescents and their parents, indicated also by the last extract from the interview with Gracie. Adolescents do not always talk to their parents when they have problems. This might be because the adolescents want to protect and prevent their parents from worrying (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Problems and crisis in their lives, problems connected to their age and violations they might be victims of are held secretly. Migrated parents are not aware of the difficulties everyone involved encounter during the migration until their stories are revealed when they return. In some cases they might be held secret forever (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). This is in contrast to Madianou (2012) who claims that the development of ICTs and frequent communication has made it difficult to hide problems. This contrast is possibly related to differences in frequency of communication, as mentioned above.

Conversely, migrated parents do not tell their left behind family about difficulties they encounter in the new country. Any discrimination they are exposed to, how they are treated, the quality of their life, feeling of deprivation, depression and longing are often held secret (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). As a consequence, migrants' families can believe that they are doing fine abroad, while the truth might be they are struggling (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Baldassar (2007) who studied communication and emotional support between migrated children in Australia and their parents in Italy also found that both parents and children intentionally avoid to talk about problems and issues that can cause worry and stress for the other person(s) when separated by long distances. Baldassar's study also reveals that people can sense when their family members try to conceal the truth, stress and problems because it is revealed in their voice, in their faces and can also be sensed by the things they do not say or periods of non-communication.

My study is in agreement with Baldassar's as informants kept difficult subjects secret to avoid worrying family members. Adult caregivers also prevented children from communicating their worries to the migrated parent, which contributed to superficial conversations, as little information was given. As a consequence, the left behind family, which might be struggling back home, possibly start feeling envious, suspicious or angry

towards the person abroad and therefore do not want to communicate with him or her. However, informants also admitted that although they didn't express difficulties, they knew there were many problems. Typically adult family members can understand that there are problems and the intention of not speaking of them, while for children it can be problematic to understand why a parent want to leave them with all the trouble. Gladys' family experienced difficulties with communication. They tried to protect each other from worries and stress. Gladys did not communicate her difficulties honestly, which seemed to create suspiciousness from Gustavo, although he admitted that he knew there were many problems:

- *"For the most part I felt that she was hiding many things, perhaps problems, because it is not easy to be another place. She only told us what we needed to know so we wouldn't worry. But one can feel when things are bad or something is not right. Sometimes she told us when things were bad. We replied 'OK', but what could we do to make things better? You see, many times we only wanted her to return…(…)."*

Dishonesty and distrust between Gustavo and his wife, in accordance to his own problem and responsibility for the children, made Gustavo frustrated. Gladys got to feel his frustration, as he punished her in different ways, as she explained:

- *"Since I left and when there were discussions through the phone, he didn't let me speak to my children. He punished me this way. 'No!', he said, and then he put the phone, still holding the line, aside. He told me to cut the call. My life became a torment when I left… (…)."*

Unfortunately, their children did not understand what was going on, how life actually were for their mother in Spain, or the reasons for their father's frustration. Gracie openly described how she and her siblings were affected:

When your mother was in Spain, did you send her anything?

- "Letters. We sent her letters."

And in the letters you told her everything? Or did your father read the letters and reject it?

- "No, we were children. I didn't like to write, I only drew and my siblings wrote 'I miss you here', but almost no one told her anything."

Only positive things?

- "Yes, so she wouldn't feel bad."

And your mother, what did she tell? Did she tell from her work, how she felt, where she lived and in which conditions…? What she was doing…?

- "No, she didn't tell us any of these things. My dad only said to us 'Your mother eats everything there (in Spain), she lives in luxuries while you are starving to death here'. And after that we didn't talk much… (…). She almost didn't call us… or my mum says she did but that my dad just grabbed the phone and put it next to the TV and didn't let her speak to us. I only saw that he put the phone next to the TV, but I didn't know she was calling… ".

6.3 Hopes and promises for return and reunion

As time passes, the parenting role from abroad becomes more difficult. Maintaining family relations demand more than frequent communication through ICT's. Left behind relatives can hope, dream about and wait for the migrant to return. But migration can involve disappointments when a migrant's return is delayed (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Expectation and hope for a migrated parent to return is the most common desire among left behind children (Fe y Alegría, 2010).

In my study, some children asked for parents to return, others refrained from asking when communicating. Caregivers assured some children that parents would return. Yet, none of the children had any information about when their parents would return. Gracie (17) explained how she first felt happy when her mother was going to migrate, because she hoped it could improve the families' conditions. But when things did not work out for her mother in Spain, her return was delayed by three years. Gracie lost trust in her mother. She refrained from asking if and when she was coming back. She became angry with her mother for leaving them in difficult conditions and for not returning when they needed her:

- *"She left suddenly, informed us only one or two days in advance. At first I felt happy and hopeful. Finally we would improve our situation. (…) My father did not agree that she was going. He believes a woman shall be in charge of her children and the house, not work. (…) I missed my mother a lot the first few days, but then I got used to her absence. But I became very angry. When she'd left we did not know what to do. It was very difficult I had to do everything. (…) I was the one who suffered most because my father beat me for everything. (…) My father did not save the money, my grandmother did. Sometimes there were no money and no food, and I did not know what to do. I*

stole food from other people to feed my younger siblings, but then my father caught me. He said 'Only thieves steel' and then he beat me (…)"

6.4 Visit country of origin?

During a migration process or after a decision to settle down in the destination country, some migrants return to visit the country of origin. Migrants' visits to the country of origin have diverse purposes: visiting friends and relatives, 'root tourism' - a trip to the country of origin to increase the knowledge of one's culture and background, spiritual journeys to visit a holy place or a grave of an ancestor or health trips, when climate of the country of origin is better during particular periods of the year. Visiting friends and relatives is one of the most common forms of visits (Bolognani, 2011). Only few migrants have the opportunity to visit the country of origin, generally once a year or every second year, and often coinciding with festivals or holidays (Cortes, 2002), celebrations and rituals (birth, baptism, wedding, funeral) (Bolognani, 2011).

Distance and cost of travel influence ability and frequency of visits (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012) for both migrants and left behind family members. Residence permit is also essential for migrants in order to travel. Without residence permit, migrants are fearful of not being let back into the destination country and loss of their job there (Leifsen and Tymczuk, 2012). My study shows that migrated relatives visited Bolivia for the purpose of visiting friends and family. Visitors from nearby countries (Chile, Argentina and Brazil) were more common than visitors from Europe. Visits within Bolivian borders, between internal migrants and their left behind family, were also common and the visits often coincided with holidays in Bolivia and sometimes with festivals or celebrations.

Conversely, two informants had visited migrated family members in Chile. One of them was Dylan, who visited his father. Dylan spent a whole summer holiday with his father, helping him harvest fruit. Dylan's father also visits his children in Bolivia every year.

Visits to the country of origin can be challenging. As years go by, the image the migrant have of his or her country of origin might not coincide with the reality. There is a chance that migrants do not feel at home (Bolognani, 2011), especially if they are settled abroad. Some

might have difficulties adapting their own culture, house or family during the visits. Daniela, Dylan's mother, described visits from her children's father. He lives in Chile, while they live in his house in Bolivia, although the parents are separated (they were never married). He comes to visit once or twice every year.

- *"He comes and put his things in one particular place. He does not leave his things among our things; he does not mix his clothes with ours. He changed and therefore our relationship ended…"*

The quote indicates that the father does no longer feel at home, not even in his own house. He has settled in Chile and although he comes to visit his children, his relation to their mother is broken. The way he acts may also be to demonstrate that he no longer belongs there and that their relations are broken.

Problems that have been concealed during communication through ICTs can be revealed through visits. Health status, wellbeing and age processes can easily be concealed when only communicating through ICTs, but revealed during physical meetings as face, body and body language can tell more than words and pictures through ICTs (Baldassar, 2007).

6.5 Outcomes of migration process

A migration process can have different outcomes. As Gordonava (2002) and Koser (2007) claim, circular migration and transnational lives have become more common. Some migrants maintain two houses in two different countries and travel back and forth several times a year. In my study, this is the case with the father of Dilcia (16) and Dylan (12). Their parents were divorced, but they live with their mother in the father's house in Bolivia, while their father lives in Chile. He returns frequently to administrate his property and to visit his children.

Unfortunately, as with Dilcia and Dylan's parents, a migration process often ends with a divorce. Time and distance challenge a relationship. Jealousy and unfaithfulness, or suspiciousness of unfaithfulness often lead migrated spouse or left behind spouse to find a new partner during the time of migration (Salvatierra, 2010). This became the situation for Betzabe after she returned from Italy:

- *" I wanted to separate. There were moments of distrust because women kept calling him (on the phone). That was the last straw... I said 'Enough!' and the opportunity presented itself as he left for Sweden."*

Divorce is also common among parents who migrate together, but leave children behind. A divorce can be a result of marital tension due to distance from children and other difficulties they encounter during the migration process (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). When parents are separated during a migration process, they sometimes find new partners. However, one should exercise carefulness in concluding that migration causes divorces. As previously mentioned, conflicts and fighting between spouses were factors influencing the decision to migrate. Problems and tensions in the marriage often start prior to a migration process, and can be increased during the migration process (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007).

If communication stops, it can be because the migrated parent has found a new partner, been unfaithful to his or her spouse in the country of origin, or even settled and started a new life (and new family) in the destination country (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Communication stops in many cases if the migrated parent could not fulfil the role as provider, if they fail to send remittances (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). These cases, where a migrant breaks all bonds with the place of origin, are rare because memories, bonds and sentiments are linked to the place of origin (Cortes, 2002). Children from two different families reported that this was the case with their fathers. Their parents were divorced; the fathers had migrated to Argentina and Brazil after being divorced and they did not stay in touch with their children anymore.

Madianou (2012) reported some Philippine mothers who decided to prolong migration and even settle abroad, while they still kept in touch with their children. A desire for self-improvement and recognition weighed more than the painful separation from their children. Feeling of respect and fulfilment coupled with the economic needs of their families in the destination country makes them want to prolong the migration, or perhaps even settle in the destination country. In my study one boy (in part one of the study) said that his mother had lived in Italy for ten years. They stayed in touch and she came to visit every year. Additionally, Dylan and Dilcia's father had settled in Chile. The motivation for settling abroad was impossible for me to confirm, as I did not meet with these migrants. But those who settle are generally those who succeed abroad: they make money, they have managed to make a life and the two included in my study are resources to their families. I consider avoiding fights with spouse as a hope for and an attempt for self-improvement. But as some

mothers explained, they returned because they missed their families and their children too much. Thereby, their motivation for returning can also be considered self-improvement.

6.6 Returning migrants and family reunion

A family can reunite either through family reunion in the destination country, or when the migrant return to the country of origin. As irregular migrants, family reunification in the destination country is problematic to do in a legal and secure way (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Returning to the country of origin was the only form for family reunion among informants in my study. Returning can be an issue with conflicting interests. Returning and reintegration can be challenging, but also beneficial and positive. During a migration process, returning can appear as a dream for some migrants, while others fear to be returned against their will (PRIO, 2011). The return and reintegration process will often be less difficult if the migrant return voluntarily (Paasche, 2011). Returning migrants can contribute to development as they bring home new ideas, experiences, skills, contacts and savings to invest at home (Koser, 2007). However as my study shows, some migrants return with greater debt and more problems than before.

All data received indicated that all former migrants in my study performed voluntary returns; the government in the host country did not force them to leave, although the situation in the host country may have forced them to leave. Daniela mentioned the economic crisis in Europe as a reason for why many migrants were now returning:-

- *"In the beginning people went to Spain, Italy… but now I think they are coming back. I hear that many people now go to Chile (…). Because of the crisis. There is no work, they say."*

Migrants can have different reasons to return. In my study the most frequently mentioned reason for returning was that migrants wanted to reunite with their spouse and children. Betzabe, who's husband went to Sweden for 5 years, forced her husband to return because she needed help raising the children.

Class-divisions may emerge during the migration process, both between the family and their community, but also between the migrant and relatives. Class-divisions may be intensified by social remittances; ideas, meanings and education adopted in the host country (Carling,

Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Betzabe was in Italy for only about a month. A while after she returned, her husband went to Sweden and was there for five years. She said that he had changed a lot when he returned. Today they are divorced.

- *"The truth is we haven't spoken very well (after his return), though I have seen him as more treacherous, with more money, more superiority. He has changed the way he dresses, the way he talks and expresses himself, which shocked me. (…) because after so many years, to come and show (his children) something he is not… 'It is not fair to change this way', I said to myself. He returned very different."*

Betzabe's daughter, Beatriz (12), also confirmed her father's changes and admitted that she missed her father and how he used to be. Now she sees him as arrogant.

- "Everything has changed… His way of speaking is from another class. His way of dressing too."

Is this good or bad?

- "It is bad because he makes people believe (that he is something he is not), with his voice and his clothes… "

Some returning migrants have adjustment problems when they return to the country of origin. Beside structural changes and development in the country of origin, personal relations and family situation are likely to change. In two families, the parents explained honestly about difficulties they encountered after the migration regarding their relationship. None of them tried to conceal that things had been difficult after the return. Angelica claimed that she and Abraham were together, but that things had been difficult. He went to Argentina for 4 years. Before he returned, she went to Spain for 5 years. Communication was scarce between the two during the migration. Abraham partly lived in his tailor workshop and partly in the house with Angelica and the children. Abraham shared his experience of his wife's return:

Do you know why your wife decided to return?

- "I don't know. We didn't keep in touch then…"

How was she when she had returned?

- " Different, cold… She had other thoughts".

Do you think she had adopted anything from the Spanish culture?

- "Yes, her accent and way of speaking. Everything had changed, nothing was like before".

How do you see her now? Do you think she likes to be here now?

- "The truth is that I don't know. It seems like she's bored. She doesn't get accustomed to the children…"

Age of children when they are separated from parents, influence the re-bonding process when they reunite. If children where young when the parent left, the child might not have any real memories of the parent, only stories told by others and pictures they have seen. This can limit the chance of having a transnational relationship through communication during the migration, as well as cause difficulties at the time of reuniting and re-bonding. Other caregivers might have replaced the real parent(s) in the heart and mind of a child, as was the case with Antonio who lived with his grandmother for his first 5 years.

During a migration and a reunification process, a parent, and especially a mother, can feel depressed. Feelings of hopelessness, sadness, lack of meaning of life (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007), shame, guilt and loneliness are common during these processes. Feelings are shaped by the construction of motherhood, gender expectations and society (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Emotional costs are more difficult to repair than economic costs (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Relations between parents and children can be totally destroyed during a migration process. It may take years to re-bond, and in some cases relations will never be completely healed. Gladys told us that is was difficult to return, as her youngest children did not recognize her. For them, their mother was a woman on the phone and on the screen (videochatting). It took a while for her to re-bond with her children. Her younger children seemed to adapt easier to her presence, while with her eldest daughters it has been difficult:

How long time did it take for you to win back the confidence of your children?

- "Hm… at least a year and a half. The eldest girls had become closed, like they didn't want to talk, like they had stepped aside and went more with their father. With the younger ones it was not like that, they came where I was. But until today they have susceptibility if I am leaving that I will not come back. So when I say 'I'm going to Oruro!', they say 'You're not leaving, right?'. (…) It took me about two years".

During her mothers' migration, Gracie developed distrust towards her mother:

How long time did it take for you to once again see her as your mother?

- "I don't know. Until this year, I think one and a half year, I don't know… I didn't want to see her, many things had happened which I didn't want to tell, you see? Then one time my dad yelled at me on the street while my mum was in the house and my dad threw me badly and said ugly things. I went home and I cut my veins. I arrived at hospital and there I started to talk. (…) My mum started talking to me, told me that she loves me, that I was her firstborn daughter, and from there something started to change and I saw her as my mother. Because she has always been there since this time. But this was in March or June (2012), because before this I didn't want to see her in my house" (Mother returned in 2009).

This statement of Gracie shows a complex picture of a family where relations, violence, separation and family unity are represented. Gracie was frustrated due to her father's brutal manners, but she was also frustrated due to her mother's return. Gracie had acquired the role as female caregiver when her mother was gone. When her mother finally returned after 5 years in Spain without informing the children that she was returning, there was no place for her in Gracie's life and Gracie's home. For Gracie, it felt like her mother came and stole back the role that Gracie had struggled with and finally acquired over the last 5 years. Gracie felt like she did not receive any recognition from her parents.

Both parents' images of their children, and children's images of their parents during the migration can prove to be wrong at the time of re-integration, and reuniting can be a disappointment rather than a success, due to unrealistic expectations (Carling, Menjívar and Schmalzbauer, 2012). Although Gracie claims that she has difficulties trusting people at all, her relationship with her mother Gladys improved after a few years, due to Gladys' care and presence, which gave Gracie the opportunity to be a daughter again.. For Gladys, her decision to migrate almost cost her the family:

Is migration advisable?

- "Well, migration, yes, because you gain money, but no because you loose your family. If you are single it is good because you have no concern and when you go abroad you help your family. But for a person who has already got a family, it is not advisable. You gain money, yes, but at the cost of losing your family. A grandmother I took care of in Spain kept saying 'Es mejor comer pan duro con amor, que pollo con

dolor! (It is better to eat dry bread with love, than chicken with pain). You should be with your family, with your children. What are you doing here? Money can be lost in one day, but your children will long for you until you come.' When I said I was going back to Bolivia, she was very happy. I remember she had a ring which all her granddaughters wanted, but she didn't want to let it go. And when I was leaving, she took the ring off and put it on my hand and she told me to do well and she gave me the ring. I said 'No', but she said 'You deserve it. If you ever need anything – use it!'"

6.7 Concluding remarks

Although information gained in my study showed mainly negative outcome of migration, positive outcome of migration do exist. Improved family relations, wishes to be reunited, higher appreciation and acknowledgement of parents' sacrifices are all possible positive outcome of migration (Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos, 2007). Although all relations might not ever be totally repaired, some migrants learn to appreciate what they have. Some informants also admitted that the migration process was an interesting adventure. They were pleased by the experience of going to another country, while at the same time they expressed that the experience was not worth it as family relations were weakened or destroyed in the migration process because of time and distance apart. Beatriz explained how she enjoyed the experience of migration, but she regrets the economical situation she brought her family into:

Did you ever regret that you went to Italy?

- "In some ways a little. For spending the money. But to know the country (Italy) and for traveling by plane (…laughs…). Because from here I went to Brazil and from Brazil to France (and then Italy)... I loved it both ways (…laughs…). That part I did not regret. But for spending the money, because my children had needs. I don't want anyone to go through that."

Quiroga, Quiroga and Bustos (2007) emphasize that migration alone does not cause harm to the development and personalities of children and adolescents. Poor communication or lack of communication, lack of affection and good role models, maltreatment and violence are destructive issues, which has been related to migration processes, perhaps unfairly. However, these issues exist in non-migrant families as well as in migrants' families. In some of the families, these problems existed prior to the migration process, as Gracie (17) confirmed:

- "*We used to live in one room and my dad just beat my mum. But sometimes he threw all of us out (in the street)…*"

Leifsen and Tymczuk (2012:220) argue that relational proximity is possible to develop and maintain through ICT's and remittances. However, my study demonstrates how difficult this can be, and that many factors plays a role which can influence communication negatively (time and availability of means of communication, other care-takers who oppose the communication etc.), despite that each individual is doing an effort.

In my study some informants were asked if they would like to migrate in the future. Two children said that they would like to migrate. Dylan (12) would like to go and live in Chile with his father for a while, and Gracie (17) would like to go abroad to study. Most of the former migrants said that they would not have performed the migration; if they were to choose again, they would rather stay and watch their children grow. All parents asked (both former migrants and non-migrants) replied that they would only take the opportunity if they could bring their whole family, apart from one exception: a mother who was planning to go to Chile. The fact that all other adults in my study replied that they would not migrate individually, indicates that challenges, difficulties and costs during migration processes in these families, or in nearby relatives' families, have been more severe than expected, and in relation to their own experiences cannot be compensated for by the potential benefits of migration.

Development of technology and ICTs have increased and opened up for more frequent and regular communication, perhaps even created expectations of regularly and frequent communication, known as care and emotional involvement across national borders. Although ICTs do not seem to have fully developed or reached its full potential between migrants and left behind families in suburban areas of Cochabamba. Accordingly, as Madianou and Miller (2011) claims, ICTs cannot be seen as a solution to the problems caused by separations of families. Relations are best maintained through frequent interaction and physical presence.

7. Conclusion

During the second half of the 20th century, international migration has increased enormously due to global economic forces, global inequalities and segmentation in the job market. Developments in transportation have made it cheaper to move, and the development and improvement of ICTs have made it easier for people to maintain relations across borders.

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the motives that people have for migration in and from Bolivia, the effects on their left behind families, and how family relations are maintained through transnational communication. By conducting fieldwork in a poor suburban area of Cochabamba, called Santa Ana for the purposes of this thesis, I found that a significant part of the population here were current or former migrants, meaning that there were also many left behind relatives in the area. Cochabamba has been a destination for internal migrants for years, coming mainly from the highland regions of La Paz, Potosi, Oruro and Chuquisaca. There is a link between internal and external migration, as more people who have already migrated internally dare to take the risks of migrating abroad, although people usually leave with the intention of returning. In the area of Santa Ana, there are clearly tendencies for people to return from Europe after visa requirements were introduced in Spain, and because of the aftermath of the global economic crisis. Although there were many returned migrants in the area, migration has not stagnated or paused. Migrants are now instead heading for neighbouring countries. These destinations present fewer risks because of shorter and cheaper journeys, and the migrants have the opportunity to renew their visas regularly.

There are no definite, predictable rules or characteristics that apply to all migrants or their children. Each migrant and each child has their own personality and way of dealing with the situation they are in, which makes them stand out from others. Motives and factors that influence the decision to migrate, the care arrangements during migration and the experiences

from migrating can vary widely from family to family: variations that are clear in a sample of informants that participate in a study, as my study shows.

7.1 Why do people choose to leave their families for migration?

People have various motives for migrating which are influenced by imaginaries and perceptions about what destinations may offer, the opportunities that can be created, and the improvements that can be made to a family's situation. These perceptions are shaped by observing the success achieved by other migrants.

International migrants were mainly parents who migrated for economic purposes. Searching for better work, generating income, improving living conditions, and improving the future of their families were the most frequently mentioned motives for migration. Other factors that motivated people to migrate, both internally and internationally, were related to health issues that are caused by or linked to high altitude, and related to getting an education. A few female migrants mentioned that fighting with their partner was a factor that influenced their decision to migrate. But this was never the sole motive, as it was always combined with hopes of improving their economic situation.

One finding in my study that differs from other studies is that people in this area did not emphasize their children's education when discussing the improvement of their family's conditions and of their children's future. The majority of parents in this area were mainly uneducated and worked in the informal economy where salaries can exceed the salaries in formal jobs, for which education is required.

A decision to migrate was mainly taken by the migrant alone, or together with their partner, as a strategy for improving their conditions and standards of living. Parents, especially mothers, feel ambivalent towards migration. Although the mothers in my study were providing economically for their families, mothers are also regarded as the main caregivers of children, a factor that makes any decision to leave the children difficult. Through migration, families are restructured, and various relatives often become the new temporary caregivers for the children, Parents who have migrated partake in their children's upbringing over a long distance, by sending remittances and communicating through ICTs.

This study confirmed the theory that migration is being feminized, as approximately 50% of all migrants were female. Furthermore, women tended to migrate to more distant destinations. Many informants believed that migration was easier for women who tend to be needed for domestic and caregiving work, while men work more in skilled labour. Occupations in construction and handicraft (tailoring and shoemaking) appear to have been suffering under the global economic crisis, affecting the number of jobs open to men.

7.2 How are families affected by migration?

The migration of parents leads to the restructuring, or sometimes even the disintegration of a family. Parent migrants commonly experience feelings of longing and guilt after leaving the family. The degree to which a migrant's endeavours are successful or not can influence whether a migrant will become a victim of prejudice, either at home or abroad, and can at the same time determine a migrants' social status. The situation in destination country can ruin a migrant's imaginaries and perceptions of migration, as many find themselves victims of exploitation (by an employer), loneliness, discrimination and sometimes fear of being arrested and deported if the migrant is undocumented. Although the situation for migrants can be challenging, many migrants have left behind family members who become more severely affected by the process. When a parent migrates, the remaining parent or other relatives become the new caregivers of the children. In this study, the remaining parent and the grandparents were the caregivers during the migration processes. The left behind family form new roles, as the remaining parent has to fill the role of both mother and father, and the children are often given more responsibility in the home. Mothers seemed to cope better with the situation of being left alone with children, as a mother seems to have a stabilizing effect on the family. Fathers appear to have more trouble performing caregiving tasks and dealing with their own, and the rest of the family's, emotions. A father is more likely to ask relatives for help with the caregiving tasks and the upbringing of their children, during the mothers' migration.

During a migration process, children may feel torn between understanding that migration is a necessity for the family, and feeling abandoned by those that migrate. Parents may be clear about their intentions to improve their children's future by migrating, which the children may feel responsible for and react to by feeling guilt. They may miss their parents and feel sad. Children go through stages and important events in their lives while one or both of their

parents are absent, and they have to take on new duties and responsibilities to compensate for the parents who migrate. It is especially girls that are given more responsibility, to take care of younger siblings and to perform household chores. Giving a child more responsibility can result in the development of new skills and characteristics, but it can also negatively affect their school performances. Children may lack good role models, and lack trust for adults due to feelings of betrayal for being left behind, which may be intensified by unfulfilled promises that a parent will soon return. The combination of these factors can weaken the foundation a child has for feeling cared for, and may contribute to rebellious behavior and continued trust issues.

7.3 Communication within transnational families

Migration can challenge relationships and family relations as the migrant becomes isolated far from home for long periods of time. People from this area are relatively poor and the technological resources they have are scarce, making it difficult to maintain communication across borders. My informants did not have the means to acquire the necessary technology to communicate across borders. Former migrants replied that they went to international call centers and internet cafés to communicate with their families while they were abroad. Left behind family members mentioned that cell phones were the most frequently used mode of communication, but regular phone calls and video chatting through Internet were also used, although to a significantly lesser extent. Occasional, pictures, letters, drawings and gifts were sent by mail. Migrant parents tend to remember their children as they left them: at the same age and size. Pictures and video chatting can, to some extent, show the children's growth and changes. It was up to the migrants to take the initiative to contact their families due to their long working hours in the destination country, and because the migrant knew the routines of everyday life for their left behind families, and therefore knew when it was appropriate to contact home. Families typically communicated once or twice a week, although more often on special occasions.

Migrants and their left behind families refrained from sharing information about problems and difficulties encountered during the migration process to protect each other from worries. This contradicts other studies that have found that the various platforms for communication available through ICTs (SMS, facebook, video chat etc.) have made it easier to make frequent contact and thus makes it difficult to hide problems. In my study, those that refrained from

talking about difficulties affecting their everyday lives tended to have superficial conversations as a result, because they lacked alternative topics for conversation. Adults initiated communication and children were dependent and sometimes controlled by their adult caregivers when talking to their migrated parent(s). Although adults are aware of how things can be difficult for migrants in the destination countries, children do not share the same understanding. Both children and adults can feel angry, suspicious or envious towards the migrant who only reports positive experiences from the destination, while the left behind family struggles at home. Promises for return that are unrealized by being continuously delayed can also provoke anger and disappointment.

Migrants may visit their country of origin, but visits from migrants who have settled abroad are more common than visits from temporary migrants. Visits seem to take place every year or every second year during holidays in Bolivia. Those who do not settle abroad, return home. The process of returning home, which involves both reuniting with the family and re-integrating into the society, seems to be difficult. Communication through ICTs was not sufficient for my informants to maintain relations across long distances and for indefinite periods of time. Relationships with a partner were difficult to maintain, or to re-establish after returning, and some couples ended up separating or divorcing as a result. Parents and children had to rebuild their relationships, after the migration process. Children had grown and some young children did not remember or recognize their parents. Re-adjusting to the role they had in the family prior to their departure can be time consuming and difficult. Some migrants returned with savings that opened up opportunities to pay for improvements to their house, or to buy a car or modern gadgets. Other migrants returned without having changed their economic situation, or with even greater debt than what they had before migrating. Despite some positive outcomes occurring as a result of the migration processes, none of the informants had their expectations for improvements fulfilled.

Despite the challenges met during the reunion and re-integration process, some informants reported that family relations had improved. They appreciated their lives and families in Bolivia more than they did prior to the migration. A few female migrants also stated that they enjoyed the experience and adventure of migration.
Although there were few migrants that shared stories that ended positively, people continue to believe that migration provides a solution that can improve their living conditions.

7.4 The implication of this study in relation to migration literature

My aim for this study was to make a contribution to migration literature, investigating the difficulties that migrants and their families encounter when undertaking the process of migration. Hopefully, this study can provide information that will contribute to minimizing prejudices against and speculations about migrants, left behind families and their decisions to perform a migration process.

The data collected in this study did not show regular, easily interpretable patterns, but rather showed the diversity of experiences people have during migration processes. There is nothing that guarantees that the data collected was not affected by external influences, or whether my informants had a personal agenda when accepting to participate in my study. However, the best efforts have been made to analyze and present the findings as correctly and neutrally as possible.

This study was conducted during a short period of 4 months, covering a small area of suburban Cochabamba, mainly among lower and middle class people. Because Bolivia is a varied and diverse country in terms of its geography and climate, demography, ethnicity, economic disparities and gender inequalities, the study cannot be used to formulate hypotheses about typical Bolivian migration. But I hope the data and the variety in the data collected in this study can help to understand how migration affects people in suburban areas in Bolivia.

7.5 Predictions and recommendations for future migration

As a response to increased migration across the globe, various destination countries have tightened the restrictions in their immigration policies, and at the same time, integration has become a political agenda for many host countries (Koser, 2007).

Migration is part of globalization and development. When people migrate, more people are influenced and encouraged for migration (Hochschild, ca. 2002). Despite wars, economic crises, visa restrictions and other obstacles that migration presents, migrants constantly find new destinations and ways of overcoming these obstacles. Migration will continue to increase

in extent and new areas will be affected due to the indefeasible inequalities in the global economy, and due to environmental factors related to climate change (Koser, 2007).
Countries introduce temporary migration programs to meet demands for temporary labour, which will also lead to an increase in return migration and the resulting challenges presented by family reunion processes. Temporary migration programs can be beneficial to both destination countries, as they minimize the challenges of integration, and countries of origin, as this type of migration can potentially result in brain gain, instead of brain drain, as migrants bring home new skills and knowledge to the country of origin.

Bolivia can expect to see technological developments in ICTs which are becoming more widely available, as well as competition between telecommunication companies, which will lead to cheaper international calls. This can provide transnational families with more modes of communication to choose from and thus opportunities to communicate more frequently.
Internal and international migration is likely to contribute to equalizing gender inequalities in the Bolivian society, as migration has a tendency to challenge traditional gender roles. Women become more independent when they migrate, or may find themselves as the head of their household when their husband migrates. Gender equality also has the potential to influence the value of childcare in a positive way (Hochschild, ca, 2002).

Studies have suggested that destination countries should arrange for children to follow their mothers to their destinations (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008), that employers should finance migrant mothers so they can regularly visit their homes (Hochschild, ca. 2002), and that opportunities should be opened for migrants to be able to move more freely in order to decrease the proportion of irregular migrants. It is, however, unrealistic to expect countries to open up their borders and dismantle their border controls (Koser, 2007).

All informants in this study stated that they were dissatisfied with the political policies and living conditions in Bolivia. One recommendation could be for the government to strengthen policies that can protect and promote family values and the family as an institution. Many informants also stated that migration is more likely to be beneficial for young, single people, but less so for parents, as they have to leave their children behind. Although migration enables parents to be able to provide for their family in Bolivia, measures must be implemented to create work, raise salaries, equalize economic inequalities in the country, and

create occupational benefits for educated people. In addition, my study shows that fighting with a partner is a common factor inspiring migration. This implies that there is a need for the introduction of policies that focus on tackling the problem of domestic violence. These recommendations require authorities, and others that have influential positions in the society, to take the initiative to implement these changes.

Regardless of any political changes that may be made, migration will continue. No matter which laws and policies are implemented in the country of origin, it is also important that the destination countries implement laws to protect and promote the rights of temporary and permanent migrants.

7.6 Further research

With this study I intended to provide insight into what kind of motives families have for migrating in Bolivia, both internally and internationally, and the challenges they face in the process. It is hoped that with these findings the prejudices towards and stigmatization of migrants can be lessened. It would be interesting to conduct further research that could contribute to these intentions and hopes. One way of conducting further research could involve investigating the ideas, perceptions, and attitudes towards migration among people from Santa Ana who have not migrated, and have no migrated relatives. In chapter 4, *Euro-houses* were mentioned, which are symbols of successful migration among this group of people in the area. Cultural and symbolic elements have received little attention in migration research. I think that they can, and should, be a subject for future research.

Globalization, integration, development of new technologies, and the growing division of labour are issues for ongoing and future debate and research in migration studies. As mentioned, the number of people that engage in internal and international migration will continue to increase and will remain a large subject for research. It would also be beneficial for further research to investigate the link between internal and external migration (Gordonava, ca. 2009).

Finally, researchers need to find out more about children's understanding, perceptions, ideas and feelings about migration processes (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild, 2008). I think that this was not sufficiently explored in this study. Only few studies have touched on issues of what

children are feeling, how they cope when their parents migrate, how they are involved in the processes and decisions of migration, and how their biography is affected by migration. I believe that there is a need for more research into, and debate about, children's roles during migration, and how they are affected by migration.

References

ANDERSEN, L. E., 2002. Rural-Urban Migration in Bolivia: Advantages and Disadvantages. *Instituto de Investigaciones Socio Económicas,* [online] Available at: <http://www.iisec.ucb.edu.bo/papers/2001-2005/iisec-dt-2002-05.pdf> [Accessed 20 March 2013].

AQUI Y ALLÁ., 2011. Transmisión de Oportunidades: Emprendimiento, Herencia, Ocupacional, Migración y Remesas. *Aqyi y Allá,* [online] Available at: <http://aquiyalla.org/IMG/pdf/capitulo_cinco_Transmision_de_oportunidades-emprendimiento_herencia_ocupacional_migracion_y_remesas.pdf> [Accessed 8 March 2013].

ARNEZ, O. R., ca. 2009 De Cochabamba (Bolivia) a España: Migración de Mujeres-Madres y sus Efectos. *Programa Andino de Derechos Humanos,* [online] Available at: <http://www.uasb.edu.ec/UserFiles/369/File/PDF/CentrodeReferencia/Temasdeanalisis2/ninezadolescenciayjuventud/actualidad/Roman.pdf> [Accessed 16 March 2013].

BALDASSAR, L., 2007. Transnational Families and the Provision of Moral and Emotional Support: The Relationship Between Truth and Distance. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power,* 14(4), pp.385-409.

BERG, B. L. & LUNE, H., 2012. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Pearson.

BOLOGNANI, M., 2011. Why are visits to the country of origin so important? *Possibilities and Realities of Return Migration (PREMIG) Update, (4)* [online] Available at: <http://www.prio.no/Global/upload/PREMIG/PREMIG%20Update%202011-3.pdf> [Accessed 7 March 2013].

BROCKINGTON, D. & SULLIVAN, S., 2003. Qualitative Research. In: SCHEYVENS, R. & STOREY, D., ed. 2003. *Development fieldwork: a practical guide*. London: SAGE.

BRYMAN, A., 2008. *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CARLING, J., MANJÍVAR, C. & SCHALZBAUER, L., 2012. Central Themes in the Study of Transnational Parenthood. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2), pp.191-217.

CORTES, G., 2002. Hacia una Neo-Territorialidad Andina? Sistemas de Movilidad y Circulación Migratoria de los Campesinos Bolivianos. In: SALMAN, T. A. A. Z. ed. 2002. *The Andean Exodus*. Amsterdam: Cedla.

CUPPLES, J. & KINDON, S., 2003. Returning to University and Writing the Field. In: SCHEYVENS, H. & STOREY, D. ed. *Development fieldwork: a practical guide*. London: SAGE.

DOMENECH, E., E. & MAGLIANO, M. J., ca. 2007. Políticas Migratorias en Bolivia: el Estado Nacional Frente a las Migraciones Internacionales. *Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani,* [online] Available at: <http://webiigg.sociales.uba.ar/pobmigra/archivos/DomenechMagliano%20Aepa07.pdf> [Accessed 5 April 2013].

DUNKERLEY, J., 2007. *Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in Present: Essays*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas.

ECCLES, J. S. & DAVIS-KEAN, P. E., 2005. Influences of Parents' Education on Their Children's Educational Attainments: the Role of Parent and Child Perceptions. *London Review of Education,* 3(3), pp.191-204.

FANGEN, K., 2004. *Deltagende observasjon*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

FE Y ALEGRIA, B., 2010. Madurar sin Padres - Los Efectos de la Migración de los Progenitores en el Desempeño Escolar de los Niños y Adolescentes en Bolivia. *Fe y Alegria,* [online] Available at: <http://www.entreculturas.org/files/documentos/estudios_e_informes/Informe%20Bolivia_Madurar%20sin%20padres.pdf?download> [Accessed 16 March 2013].

GADEA, E., BENENCIA, R., QUARANTA G., 2009. Bolivianos en Argentina y en España. De la Migración Tradicional a las Nuevas Rutas. *AREAS. Revista Internacional de Sciencias Sociales,* [e-journal] 28, pp.31-43. Available through: Universidad de Murcia < http://revistas.um.es/areas/article/view/118721> [Accessed 8 April 2012].

GORDONAVA, A. H., 2002. Cohabitando Fronteras Culturales de la Modernidad, El Caso de los Campesinos Tarijeños en el Norte Argentino. In: SALMAN, T. A. A. Z. ed. 2002. *The Andean Exodus*. Amsterdam: Cedla.

GORDONAVA, A. H., ca. 2009. Procesos migratorios transnacionales en Bolivia y Cochabamba. Estado de situación. *Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios,* [online] Available at: <www.cesu.umss.edu.bo/webmigra/images/migracion/pdf/flaco.pdf> [Accessed 8 April 2012].

GOYCOECHEA, A. G., 2003. *Los Imaginarios Migratorios, El Caso Ecuadoriano*. Quito: Universidad Andina Simon Bolivar.

HOCHSCHILD, A. R., ca. 2002. Love and Gold. *Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies,* [online] Available at: <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/HochschildLoveandGold.pdf> [Accessed 19 August 2013].

INDSET, B., 2009. Indigenous Land Claims: A Study of Collective Land Rights in Bolivia. *University of Oslo,* [online] Available at: <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/123456789/16112/Indset.pdf?sequence=4> [Accessed 4 February 2013].

ISAKSEN, L., DEVI, U. & HOCHSCHILD, A., 2008. Global Care Crisis, Mother and Child's-Eye View. *Sociología, Problemas y Prácticas,* [e-journal] 56, pp.61-83. Available through: Scientific Electronic Library Online <http://www.scielo.oces.mctes.pt/pdf/spp/n56/n56a04.pdf> [Accessed 16 August 2013].

KEESING, R. M. & STRATHERN, A., 1998. *Instructor's resource guide to accompany Cultural anthropology: a contemporary perspective*. Fort Worth Tex.: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

KLEIN, H. S., 2011. *A Concise History of Bolivia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KOSER, K., 2007. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

LEIFSEN, E. & TYMCZUK, A., 2012. Care at a Distance: Ukrainian and Ecuadorian Transnational Parenthood from Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 38(2), pp.219-236.

LEINAWEAVER, J. B., 2008. *The Circulation of Children: Kinship, Mobility, and Morality in Ayacucho*. Durham: Duke University Press.

MADIANOU, M., 2012. Migration and the Accentuated Ambivalence of Motherhood: the Role of ICTs in Filipino Transnational Families. *Global Networks,* 12(3), pp.277-295.

MADIANOU, M. & MILLER, D., 2011. Mobile Phone Parenting: Reconfiguring Relationships Between Filipina Migrant Mothers and Their Left-Behind Children. *New Media and Society,* 13(3), pp.457-470.

MCNEISH, J.-A., 2008. Beyond the Permitted Indian? Bolivia and Guatemala in an Era of Neoliberal Developmentalism. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies,* 3(1), pp.33-59.

MELZOW, C. C., 2005. *Grammatically Correct, Immigrate vs. Emigrate vs. Migrate* [Online]. Victoria, Texas: University of Houston-Victoria. Available at: <http://www.uhv.edu/ac/newsletters/writing/grammartip2005.02.15.htm> [Accessed 17 August 2013].

NOGUEIRA, C., 2012. La Crisis Acelera la Emigración de Españoles a Europa y América. *El País,* [online] 16 April 2012. Available at:

<http://sociedad.elpais.com/sociedad/2012/04/16/actualidad/1334595551_993723.html> [Accessed 22 April 2013]

OVERTON, J. & VAN DIERMEN, P., 2003. Using Quantitative Techniques. In: SCHEYVENS, R. & STOREY, D., ed. 2003. *Development fieldwork: a practical guide*. London: SAGE.

OXFORD DICTIONARIES, 2013a. *Definition of Inter- in English*. [online] Available at: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/inter--?q=inter-> [Accessed 17 August 2013].

OXFORD DICTIONARIES, 2013b. *Definition of Trans- in English*. [online]. Available at: <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/trans--?q=trans-> [Accessed 17 August 2013].

OXFORD DICTIONARIES, 2013c. *Definition of Nation in English*. [online] Available at: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/nation> [Accessed 11 December 2013].

PAASCHE, E., 2011. Voluntary Return and Reintegration Programmes: 'Volition' and 'sustainability'. *Peace Research Institute Oslo,* [online] Available at: <http://www.prio.no/Global/upload/PREMIG/PREMIG%20Update%202011-2.pdf> [Accessed 7 May 2013].

PAERREGAARD, K., 2002. Power Recycled, Persistence and transformation in Peruvian Andes. In: SALMAN, T. A. A. Z. ed. 2002. *The Andean Exodus*. Amsterdam: Cedla.

PARKIN, R. & STONE, L., 2004. *Kinship and Family: an Anthropological Reader*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

PARREÑAS, R. S., 2005. The Gender Paradox in the Transnational Families of Filipino Migrant Women. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal,* [e-journal] 14(3) pp.243-268. Available through: Scalabrini Migration Center website

<http://www.smc.org.ph/administrator/uploads/apmj_pdf/APMJ2005N3ART1.pdf> [Accessed 13 August 2013].

PARREÑAS, R. S., 2009. Inserting Feminism in Transnational Migration Studies. *Migration Online*, [e-journal] 13. Available through: Multicultural Center Prague <http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/6334c0c7298d6b396d213ccd19be5999/RParrenas_InsertingFeminisminTransnationalMigrationStudies.pdf> [Accessed 19 August 2013].

PEREZ-CRESPO, C. A., 1991. *Why do people migrate? Internal Migration and the Pattern of Capital Accumulation in Bolivia*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Institute for Development Anthropology.

POSTERO, N. G., 2007. *Now we are Citizens*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

PRIO, 2011. *Possibilities and Realities of Return Migration*. [online] Available at: <http://www.prio.no/premig/> [Accessed 4 April 2013].

QUENALLATA, R., 2012. Migración Cambia de España y EEUU a Países Sudamericanos. *Opinión.com.bo,* [online] 24 December 2012. Available at: <http://www.opinion.com.bo/opinion/articulos/2012/1224/noticias.php?id=81128> [Accessed 19 November 2013].

QUIROGA, C. F., QUIROGA, M. F. & BUSTOS, C. P., 2007. *Los Costos Humanos de la Emigración*. La Paz: PIEB.

RONCKEN, T., SERRUDO, Y., QUIROZ, R. C., CIELO, C., ALQUIZALET, O. & GARCÍA, S. ,ca. 2008. Migración Internacional y Desarrollo Comunitario. *PIEB,* [online] Available at: <http://migrantedelsur.pieb.org/archivo/proyecto.pdf> [Accessed 11 January 2013].

SALVATIERRA, J. M., RIVERA, J. L. & ESPINOZA, N. P. (eds.), 2010. *Migración*. Cochabamba: Red de la Mujeres Ciudadanas.

SASSONE, S. M., 2002. Espacios de Vida y Espacios Vividos. In: SALMAN, T. A. A. Z. ed. 2002. *The Andean Exodus*. Amsterdam: Cedla.

SCHEYVENS, R., NOWAK, B. & SCHEYVENS, H., 2003. Ethical Issues. In: SCHEYVENS, R. & STOREY, D., ed. 2003. *Development fieldwork: a practical guide*. London: SAGE.

THAGAARD, T., 2003. *Systematikk og Innlevelse: en Innføring i Kvalitativ Metode*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

WORLD BANK, 2013. *Bolivia: Policies for Increasing Firms' Formality and Productivity*. [Online] Available at: <http://go.worldbank.org/MYI6G86BR0> [Accessed 14 February 2013]

UN, 2013. *Convention and Optional Protocol Signatures and Ratification*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/disabilities/countries.asp?id=166> [Accessed 7 April 2013].

UN, n.d. . *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a13> [Accessed 22 March 2013].

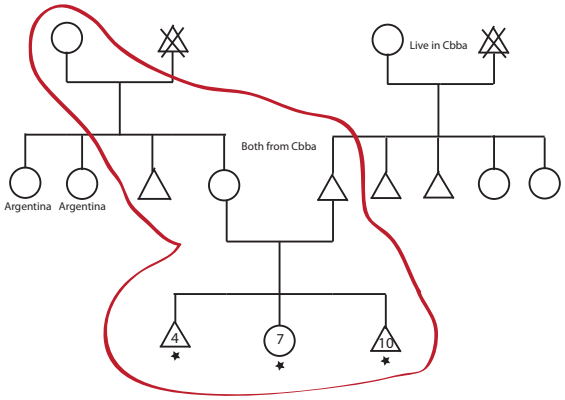
UNDP, 2013. *Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Country Profile: Human Development Indicators*. [Online]. Available at: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BOL.html> [Accessed 17 August 2013].

UNICEF, 1989. *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.unicef.org/lac/spbarbados/Legal/global/General/declaration_child1959.pdf> [Accessed 23 September 2013].

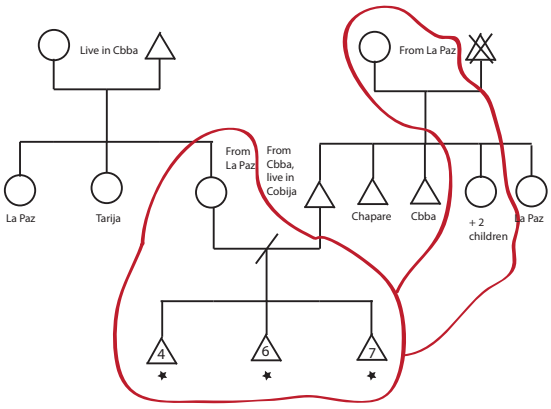
WALLIMAN, N. S. R., 2006. *Social research methods*. London: SAGE.

Appendix A - Household Migration Mappings

1.

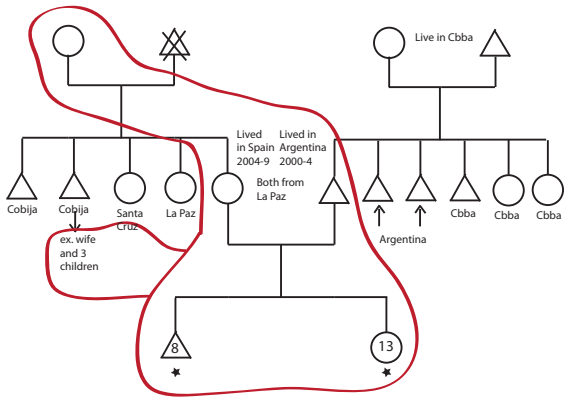


2a.



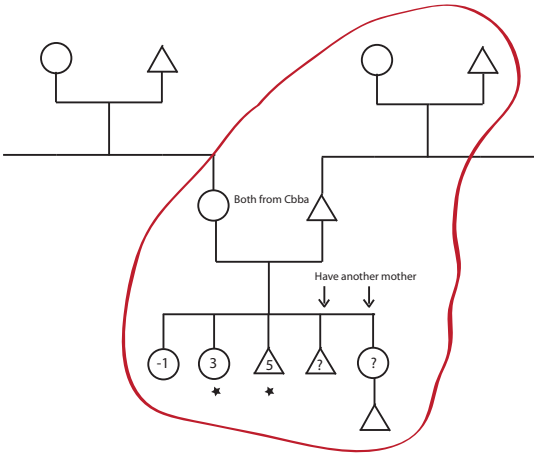
* Family 2a and 2b share house, but live in different rooms.

2b.

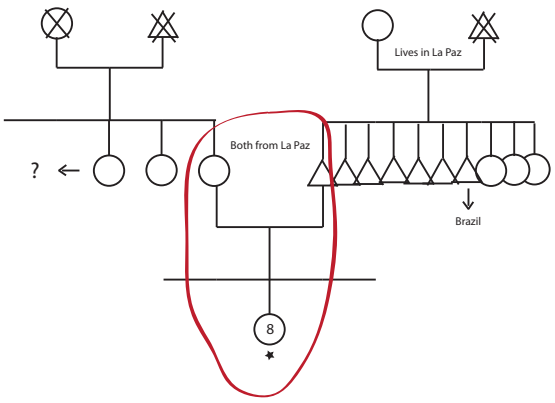


* The two families live in the same house, but in different rooms.

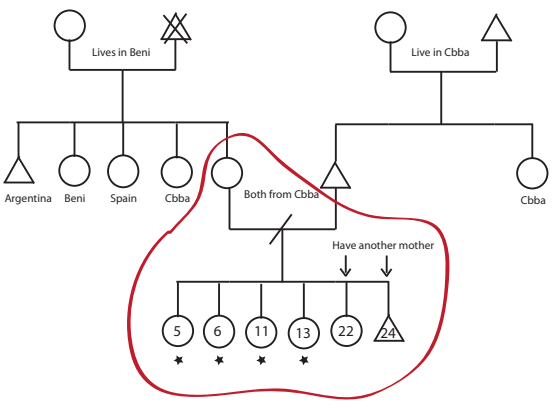
3.



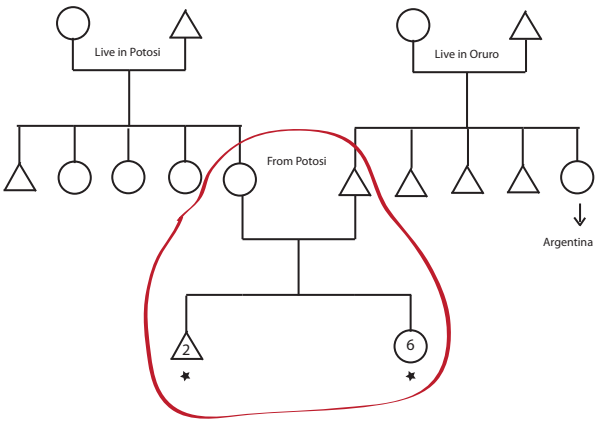
4.



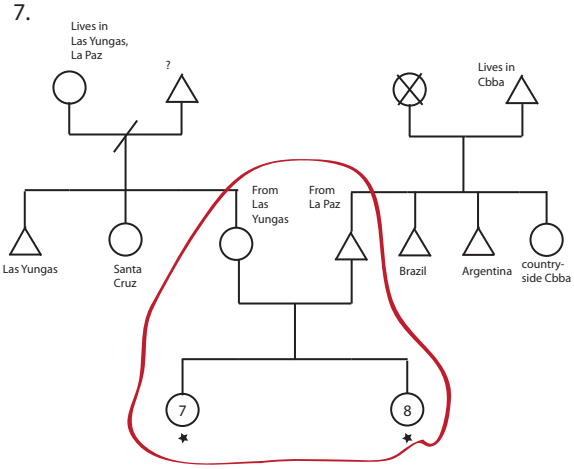
5.



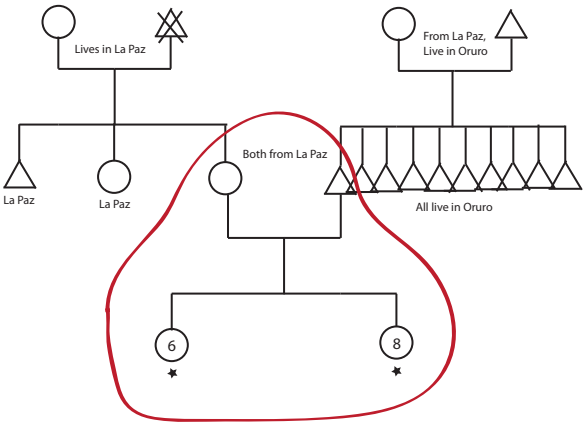
6.


Live in Potosi
Live in Oruro
From Potosi
Argentina
2
6

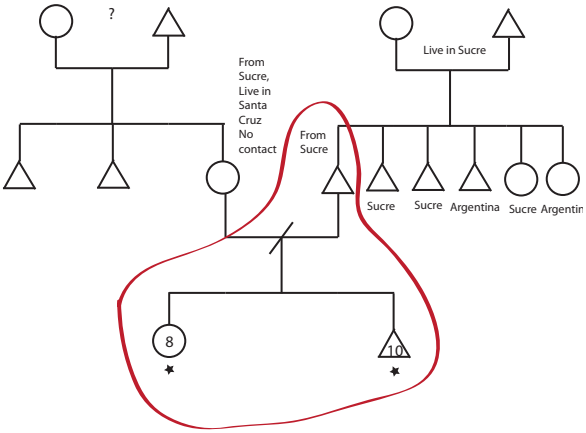
7.


Lives in Las Yungas, La Paz
?
Lives in Cbba
From Las Yungas
From La Paz
Las Yungas
Santa Cruz
Brazil
Argentina
country-side Cbba
7
8

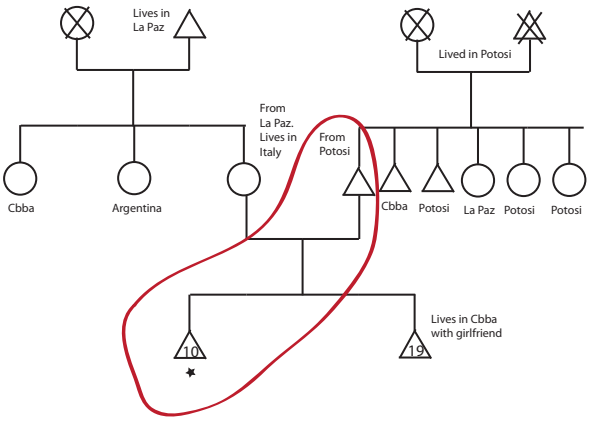
8.


Lives in La Paz
From La Paz, Live in Oruro
Both from La Paz
La Paz
La Paz
All live in Oruro
6
8

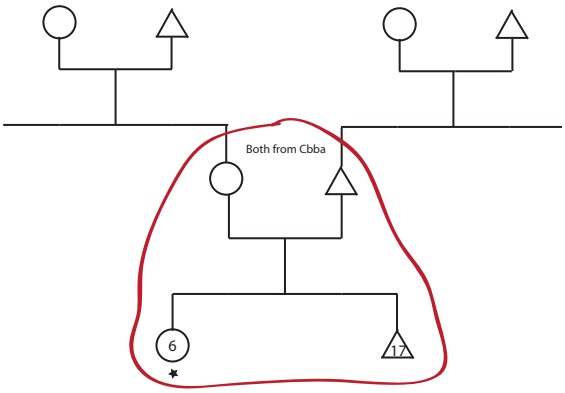
9.


?
Live in Sucre
From Sucre, Live in Santa Cruz No contact
From Sucre
Sucre
Sucre
Argentina
Sucre
Argentin
8
10

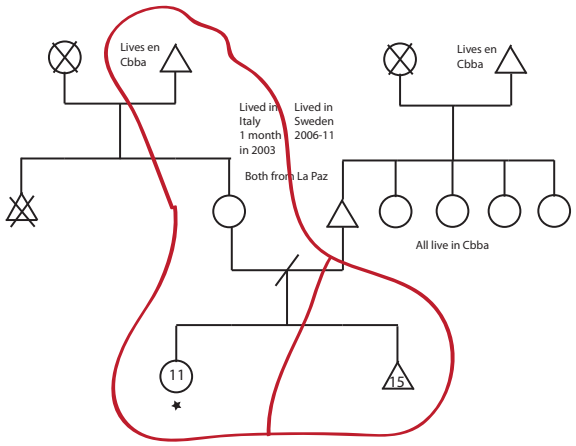
10.


Lives in La Paz
Lived in Potosi
From La Paz. Lives in Italy
From Potosi
Cbba
Argentina
Cbba
Potosi
La Paz
Potosi
Potosi
Lives in Cbba with girlfriend
10
19

11.

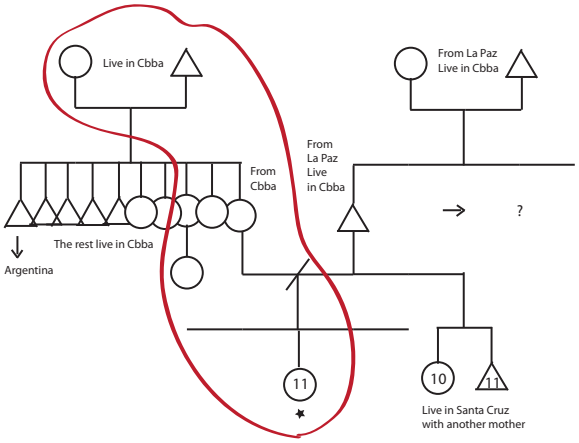

Both from Cbba
6
17

12.

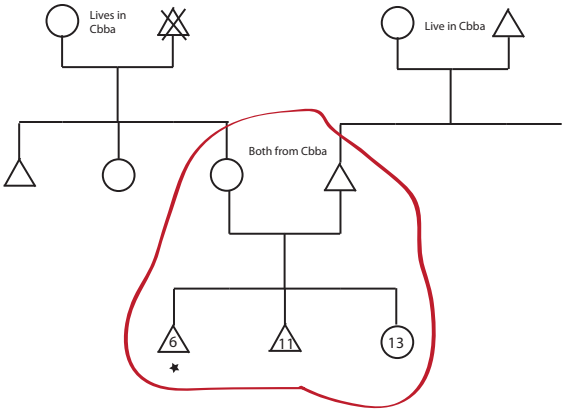


* Brother moved to his father in December 2012.

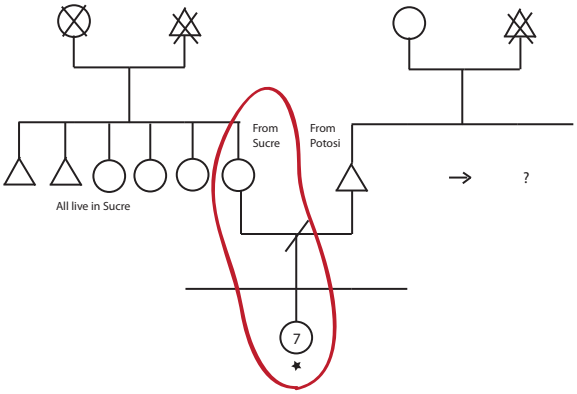
13.



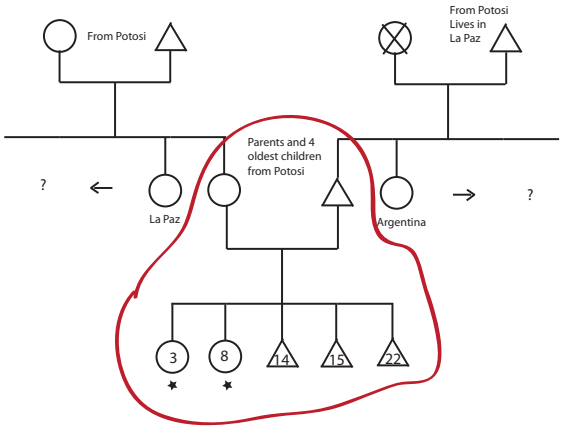
14.



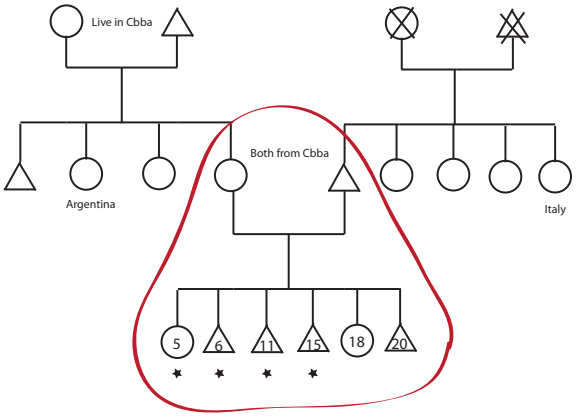
15.



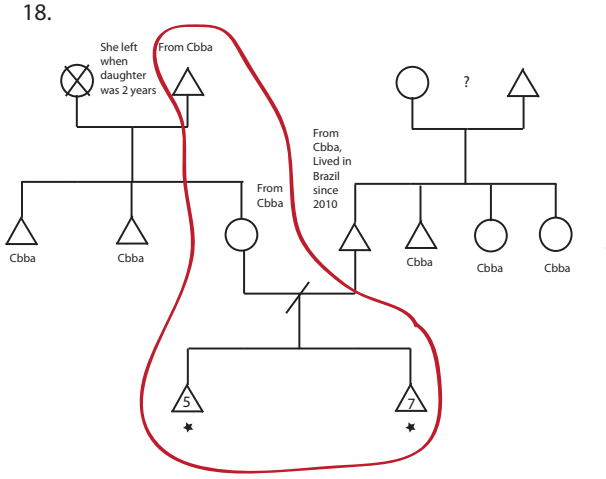
16.



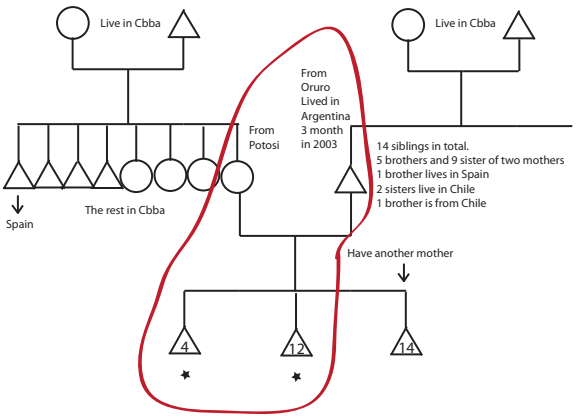
17.



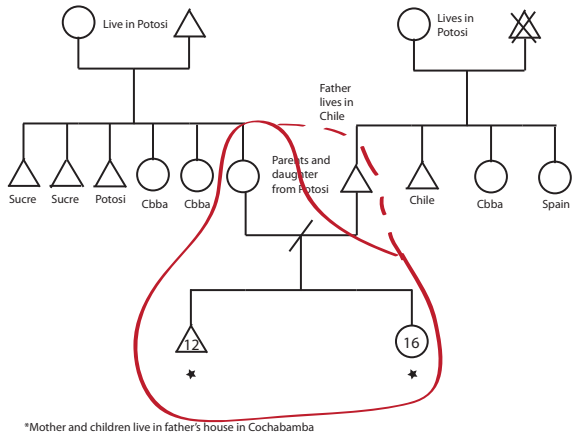
18.



19.

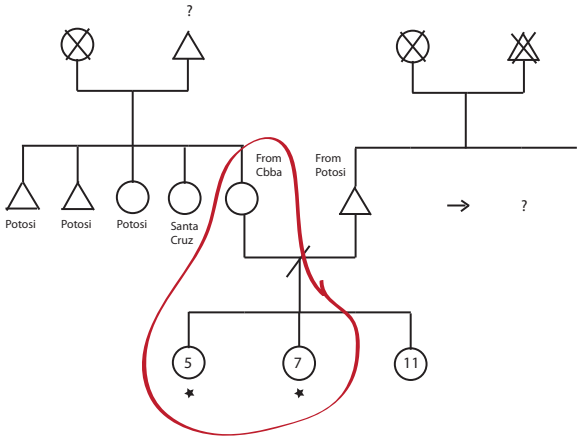


20.

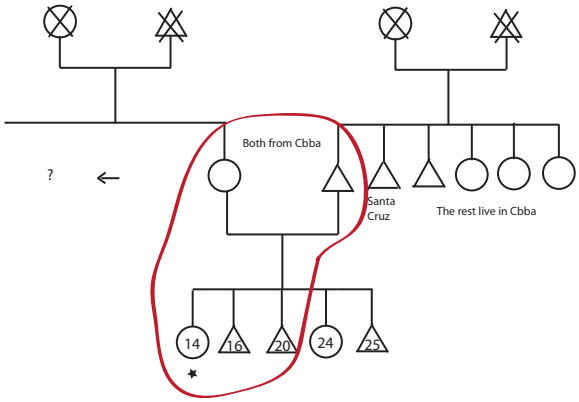


*Mother and children live in father's house in Cochabamba

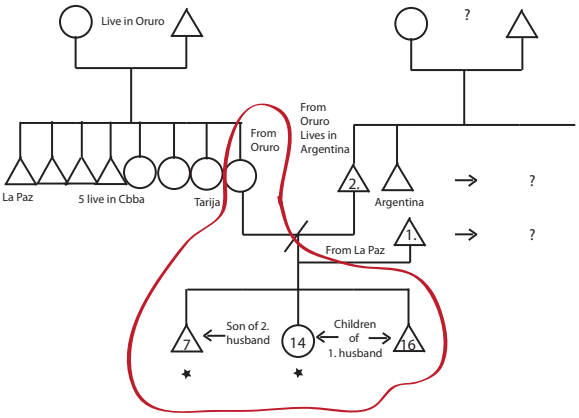
21.



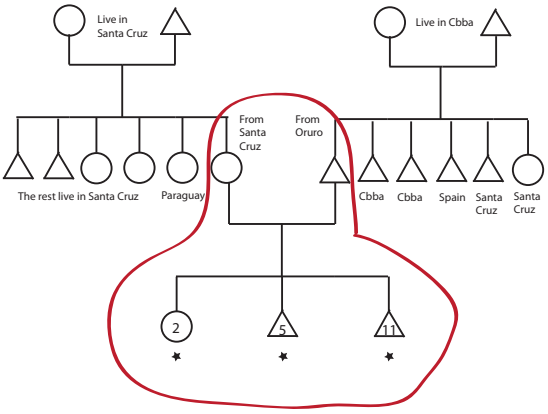
22.



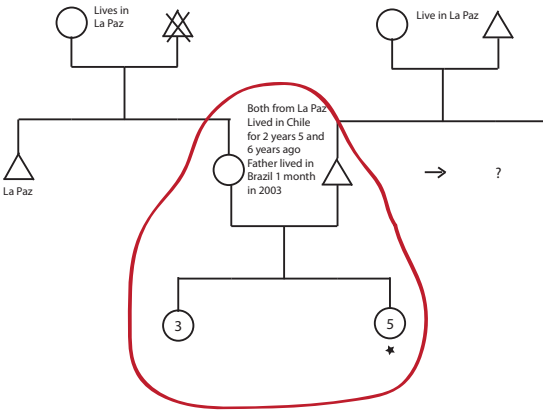
23.



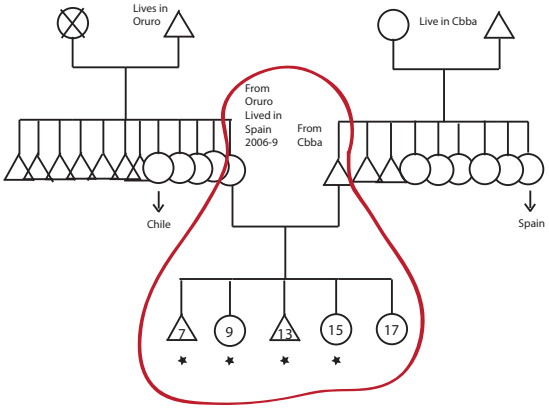
24.


Live in Santa Cruz
Live in Cbba
From Santa Cruz
From Oruro
The rest live in Santa Cruz
Paraguay
Cbba
Cbba
Spain
Santa Cruz
Santa Cruz
2
5
11

25.


Lives in La Paz
Live in La Paz
La Paz
Both from La Paz
Lived in Chile for 2 years 5 and 6 years ago
Father lived in Brazil 1 month in 2003
?
3
5

26.


Lives in Oruro
Live in Cbba
From Oruro
Lived in Spain 2006-9
From Cbba
Chile
Spain
7
9
13
15
17

Appendix B - Checklist for household migration mapping

- Do the family have relatives who have migrated?
- Who and when did the migration happen?
- Where did they migrate?
- If parents migrated, who were the caregivers of the left behind children?
- Did anyone migrate and later return to Bolivia?
- Have the family earlier migrated from rural to urban areas?

Appendix C - Interview-guide for semi-structured interviews

For parents:

1. ¿Algún miembro de su familia emigró a otro país?
2. Que era su motivo para migrar? Y que era su plan? Por cuanto tiempo planeó a estar allá?
3. ¿Cuándo migraron?
4. ¿A dónde migraron? Por que?
5. (¿Saben ellos) quien tomó la decisión para que un miembro de la familia fuera a otro lugar?
6. ¿El/ella/ellos migraron individualmente o en grupo? En forma legal o ilegal/con papeles o sin papeles?
7. ¿Han retornado? Sabe por que motivo han retornado? Si no, ¿sabe usted si esta(n) planeando regresar?
8. ¿Otros parientes han migrado después?
9. ¿Qué información recibes de ellos que han emigrado? ¿Por qué emigraron?
10. ¿Estas en contacto con los que emigraron? ¿Cómo te contactas? ¿Qué información recibes acerca de la persona y el lugar en que él o ella se encuentra?
11. ¿Quiénes es/estaba responsable de los niños si un padre emigró?
12. ¿Alguna vez ustedes migro del campo a la ciudad, o al extranjero?
13. ¿Qué cambios se dieron después de que uno de la familia migrara?
14. Las remesas económicas – si enviaban – a quien? Y que hacen con el dinero? Quien decidió que hacer con el dinero? Como mandaban?
15. Mandaban cosas o traen cosas cuando vienen? Que cosas? Mandan algo de Bolivia al extranjero?
16. La condición social,
17. Las oportunidades ampliadas para la familia como resultado de las remesas económicas, el cuidado de los niños?
18. La comunicación entre los miembros de la familia a través de fronteras, etc (cartas, teléfono, internet)?
19. Como financiaron el viaje? Como viajaron?
20. Como se sintió cuando usted/el/ella fui/fue?
21. Que hicieron en el nuevo lugar? Como y con que trabajan/trabajaron?
22. ¿Cómo era la situación antes de que se fuera los parientes y como cambio después?

23. ¿Qué significa para el estatus social de la familia tener un pariente en países extranjeros? ¿Existen diferencias socioeconómicas entre familias que emigraron y las que no emigraron?
24. ¿Cómo se sienten acerca de su pariente(s) migrante(s) ¿Has estado celoso/-a algunos veces?
25. ¿Qué tipos de remesas se reciben? ¿Cómo se utilizan? El/ella que les mandan dinero les dicen en que va a utilizar o invertir?
26. ¿Les has/han enviado regalos y productos bolivianos a el/los pariente(s) en el extranjero? ¿Qué tipo de productos?
27. Cuando regresó como se sintió en su propia cultura? El migrante ha cambiado, ha adoptado algunos costumbres de el lugar donde vivió?
28. Por que cree que la gente migra?
29. Cree que es bueno o es malo que la gente migra?
30. Cree que hay mas hombres o mujeres que migran? Y para quien cree que es mas fácil migrar y encontrar trabajo en el extranjero – para hombres o para mujeres?
31. Cree que el gobierno actual quiere que la gente migra y manda dinero o quiere que la gente se quede aquí en Bolivia?
32. Que puede hacer el gobierno que la gente se quede aquí?

For children:

1. Sabes que es migración?
2. ¿Algún miembro de su familia emigró a otro país?
3. ¿Cuándo migraron?
4. ¿A dónde migraron?
5. ¿Quien decidió para que un miembro de tu familia fuera a otro país?
6. Que era su motivo para migrar? Y que era su plan? Por cuanto tiempo planeó a estar allá?
7. ¿Migraron solos o fueron con otros (vecinos, amigos, parientes)?
8. ¿Han vuelto? Sabe por que motivo han retornado? Si no, ¿sabe usted si esta(n) planeando o quiere a regresar?
9. ¿Se han ido otros de tus parientes?
10. ¿Qué sabes de ellos que fue(ron)? ¿Por qué emigraron?
11. ¿Estas en contacto con los que emigraron? ¿Cómo te contactas? ¿Qué información recibes acerca de la persona y el lugar en que él o ella se encuentra?
12. ¿Con quien vivías mientras sus padre(s) estaba(n) en otro país?
13. Como te trataban?
14. Como te sentías cuando ellos no están contigo?

15. Como te sentiste cuando ellos volvieron – podías hablar, confiar etc.?
16. ¿ Has vivido en otros lugares? Donde?
17. ¿Con el dinero que ganaron, que hicieron?
18. Estas orgulloso por que tu pariente vive/ha vivido en otro país? Por que/por que no?
19. Dicen tu amigos que tu tienes suerte tener un pariente en otro país?
20. La comunicación entre los miembros de la familia a través de fronteras, etc (cartas, teléfono, internet)?
21. Sabes quien y como pagaron el viaje?
22. Como te sentiste cuando el/ella fue?
23. Que hicieron en el nuevo lugar? Como y con que trabajan/trabajaron?
24. ¿Cómo era la situación antes de que se fuera los parientes y como cambio después?
25. Como se sientes después de que tu pariente se fue a otro país (Celoso, rabia, tristeza, alegría)?
26. ¿Qué tipos de remesas se reciben? ¿Cómo se utilizan y quien dice en que van a usar el dinero?
27. Mandan algo (regalos/productos) del extranjero?
28. ¿Les has/han enviado regalos y productos bolivianos a los pariente(s) en el extranjero? ¿Qué tipo de productos?
29. Cuando regresó como se sintió en su propia cultura? Ha cambiado? Ha adoptado algo de la cultura allá: forma de hablar, forma de vestir, algo?
30. Por que cree que la gente migra?
31. Cree que es bueno o es malo que la gente migra?
32. Muchos compañeros en tu clase tiene parientes que vive en otros países? Dicen algo sobre su parientes, que mandan algo?

Appendix D - Example of Table Coding

Family number 20

	Mother	**Daughter 16**	**Son 12**
Origin, destination	From Potosi. Came to Cbba with elder siblings in 1995. Never want to go back because of the climate.	Born in Potosi, grew up in Cbba	Born in Cbba
Family members migrated, to, when	Father of her children (not married to him) went to Chile, Pica in 2002. He has more family in Chile and Spain who migrated 10 years ago. She has not.	Her father went to Chile when she was in 5th or 6th grade (10 years old). Uncle in Chile and aunt in Spain. They have their families there.	Father went to Chile when he was 7 years he claims.
Motives/purposes and plans of/for migration	His brother lived in Chile and he went to visit for 2 weeks. Brother talked him into work for him there. Planned to stay 3 months (legally) and then return. He alone made the decision. She wanted to bring the children and go with him, but he didn´t want her to. She thinks he plans to come back one day. He is saving money to reconstruct the house.	Her father got a job in Chile with his brother. His brother told him to come. He works with fruits (siembra frutas). He told them he was going to work there to improve their lives. She thinks he wanted to buy a car and also that they (the children) could go to university and get an education. She thinks her father wants to stay in Chile where he can have a good and stable job and help them economically from Chile.	"Por motivos de trabajo". He does not know if his father wants to return to Bolivia or if he has another plan than to reconstruct the house.
Family organization while migrated	Children live with mother, but in father's house in Bolivia. Father live with brother in Chile.	Children knew their father was leaving. Her mother wanted to follow but it was difficult for children to go to school there.	He knew that his father was going to Chile to work. He told him he was going there to work for one year.
Practical information about migrant statuses – legal/illegal, alone/in group, temporary, seasonal etc.	He comes and goes. "Siempre esta viniendo y yendo…". Lives a few months there, some weeks or months here. He has all his documents and can come and go legally as he wants.		
While migrated:			
Economic aspects - with what money did they go, remittances- how and when, migrants affected by economic crisis:	He went with their savings, but it is cheap to go to Chile if not by airplane. He sends money, 250 bolivianos per child each month. In the summer	She feels the economy is better now than before. "No, no es tan extremo…Por ejemplo, vamos a comprar una computadora. Algunos gustitos que queremos	His father sends 700bs a month for the children. His mother spends the money on food, clothes, school

	holiday he always comes and buy them school material, clothes and things they need. If there are any extra expenses, they have agreed they share it 50/50. He himself saves money in Chile to return and rebuild the house.	podemos comprar y antes no podiamos". Her father sends 500 bs every month for the two children. He sends the money through an aunt. He always sends on time, sometimes 2 or 3 days too late, but never more. If they need any more money for anything specific, they ask their father for more money and he give it to them. The house they live in belongs to her father and his siblings. His plan is to buy the house from his siblings and reconstruct the house. She thinks he will do it for them (the children) when they grow up.	material etc. He said their economic situation has improved. They have more opportunities now than they had before.
Social aspects - how where things arranged, children cared for, what kind of information did the society receive:	She wanted to go with him, but he did not let her. She asked him to come home permanently, but he did not want to. The relationship started to fade. Parents separated 4 years ago, but they are still friends. One year he stayed in Bolivia for a whole year (2007 or 2008), but because of lack of work, he went to Chile again. In Chile he lives with his brother and his family in a rented apartment. They work in agriculture, with fruits. She believe they would still have been together if he did not migrate. **"Si no se ha ido a Chile, cree que podían estar juntos todavía?** Es posible, si. Es posible…La distancia es siempre que lo hace diferente cambia en muchas cosas."	She thinks her father only return for short visits because he wants to have a stable job in Chile. He now wants to find a job in the mines because he will earn more there. When he returns, he also works in Cbba with his sister in law. And he always has some work to do in/with his house. She said her parents separated 1 and half year ago because of poor communication between the two. But she never felt that they were good together, that they were a happy family. She thinks perhaps they would have been together longer, but perhaps not forever. It was not a shock for her that they separated, she does not think it is a direct effect of the migration and she did not have a lot of feelings about the separation. Her brother visited her father; she does not want to visit, because she does not want to leave her mother alone. But she would like to go to see the sea and to see Chile. The life became better	Pica and Matilla are the places he works. He lives with his brother´s family and another worker. They get to borrow the house they live in because they look after the land. His father comes to visit every year. He is visiting them now. He came for new year (summer holiday). The boy says he is always happy when his father comes to visit. He also went to visit his father last year. He helped him at work. He liked Chile, but not the food. Beside from the economical changes, he cannot see any changes in the family/home or between the parents. He is

		economically, but her father is never able to come to school performances etc.	quite sure that his father does not have a new girlfriend.
Emotional aspects - feelings and sentiments:	She felt bad when he left. Her children felt bad too. "En principio mal. Como siempre le extrañaba, los chicos se enfermaban por el, pero después me he ido a acostumbrar." It was hard for her to accept that he was staying in Chile. Her children miss their father. They do not seem proud of him being abroad. But the daughter does not seem too affected by her father´s absent, though she seems happy when he is around. When he returns, she sometimes feel uncomfortable because it is his house and the son ask her if she can cook for their father.	She was never much connected to her father. Her brother was more. She did not have many feelings either when he left or when he returned. She pretended he was only going on a vacation and travel a bit. And she also thought that he was doing it for them. She didn´t miss him too much, but she observed her mother feeling lonely. Se trusts her father when he comes back home, but she does not spend much time with him. "Soy una persona muy solitaria". She does not feel proud about her father living in Chile.	He said he only misses his father a few times, when he is sad, when it is father´s day and other special occasions when he wishes his father could be present. He would like to live a while with his father in Chile. He always trusts his father. Not much have changed between them. He is proud because he could visit his father in Chile. Not everyone has that experience.
Communication and information - what did they know, how and when did they communicate, also includes non-economic remittances and gifts sent both ways:	He went to visit his brother in Chile and then he called and said that he would stay a few months working there. He comes to visit his children at least every 6 months. His son went to visit him last summer (December). Daughter does not want to visit. She never had a good relationship to her father. She (mother) only calls him when she needs to discuss something about the children. He calls the children 2 times a week but the son speaks mostly with his father. Daughter sometimes tells him when she needs anything (money) etc. Her sister in law who lives in Spain comes to visit every 2nd year. To his children he have said that he will return in approximately 2 years to rebuild the house. She gets	Father always comes to visit. He stays in Chile 6 months to one year and then he return for 14 to 20 days. Maximum one month. She thinks he can leave the country (Chile) a limited amount of time to keep his residence as an immigrant. He also calls every week. He calls in the evening. Sometimes both children are not at home when he calls. He speaks to the ones who are at home and he always sends greetings. He lives in the countryside in Chile and therefore does not use internet a lot. He sends them gifts: clothes, shoes, sweets, cell phone etc. with people who are going home to Bolivia. They do not send anything to him.	His father calls him two times a week. "Me dice como estoy, como estoy en el colegio, si estoy portando bien, manda saludos…". His father also always tells him that he is fine in Chile. He never tells him about any difficulties. There is no communication by internet. His father also sends them things: sweets. He sends with relatives who are going to Bolivia. They do not send anything to his father.

	the information from her children.		The parents do not communicate much, but they don´t fight either.
Cultural aspects – cultural shocks when arriving?	He has changed. When he visits them, he never mixes his things with theirs. His clothes are always in his suitcase. He behaves like he lives in Chile and only visit his home. But as a person he has not changed much.	She did not think her father changed a lot, but when he returned he showed more affection for the children. Perhaps he changed his way of dressing for the better as he now earns more money. But he did not change his way of speaking as he lives mainly with Bolivians.	He has changed his way of speaking; adopted some Chilean words. He also changed a bit his way of dressing, for the better. He thinks his father misses the Bolivian food. Especially Charque (dried meat).
<u>After migration:</u>			
Economic consequences – for the better or for the worse?			
Social aspects – family relations, community relations, opportunities?			
Cultural aspects – did the migrant change, did the society change, cultural shock when returning?			
Emotional aspects – how did it feel to meet again and how are relations affected my migration?			
<u>In general - meanings</u>			
Migration ideas, meanings and understandings	Her opinion is that migration is not good because it changes the families when a family member leaves. She thinks some people are proud of having relatives abroad because they send home money and things. But family relations are generally not well maintained across borders. It is not easy for anyone to migrate, but she heard that in Spain it is easier for women to find work. Many people went to Spain and Italy. But they return or go	People go because they want to raise their salaries to be able to improve the conditions of their families. And be able to buy new things they did not have before. For the children not to suffer the way parents have suffered (economically). But it is not good because families are destroyed: “Será malo porque la gente migra, mas que todo las familias se rompen”. Many classmates have parents abroad. Approximately 15 of 42 classmates have one or two	Did not know what migration was. We explained. He said that people migrate “por motivos de trabajo”. He knows about 5 or 6 classmates of 43 in total who live with only one parent or live with other relatives. Their parents live in Spain, Chile, Brazil and other

	to other places because of the economical crisis in Europe. Now many people go to Chile, both men and women. They leave their children behind: "Algun se van y se olvidan."	parents abroad. "La precencia mas fuerte para una niña es su mama". The classmates are afraid to talk about it, but sometimes they are proud of the money and things that the parents send. She says some of these classmates are very closed and some behave infantile. People are in Spain (Barcelona), Europa, USA (NY), Argentina, Chile.	countries. He said they seem fine, but he only sees them at school and cannot know how they are doing at home. He does not think his classmates have had the opportunity to visit their parents abroad. It is good that people migrate because "pueden superarse su mismos". It is negative because it can be dangerous and uncomfortable to live in a place they do not know.
Political aspects – do the government in Bolivia want people to migrate or to stay?	She believes the government want people to stay. The government say they make changes, but people don´t notice any changes.		
What can be done to make people want to stay in their country?	The government have to create more jobs and raise the salaries. Salaries are never raised.		
<u>In general – interview situation</u>			
Location, room and setting of interview	She was alone, children was visiting their grandparents in Potosi. Simple house, but clean and tidy. We sat in the kitchen.	We met them outside, she told us we could not go to their house. So we asked to borrow a room in the day-care-center. We used the office. It was quiet and comfortable.	
The interviewee´s body language, reactions, way of speaking, emotional outbreaks etc.	The mother is very calm, she speaks calmly, appears to be a bit nervous as she is tickling with something all the time. In the beginning she said that she would promise to answer as honestly as she could and that she had no problems in trusting us. She is smiling, but at times, when we talk about the difficulties of migration, some tears appear in her eyes.	She appears to be confident as she maintains eye contact when she speaks. She looks young but seemed to be reflected about the situation and about migration in general. She is very independent.	He is reserved, only gave short answers. Seems more adult than he is due to his way of speaking. Became emotional (tears) but tried to hide it. Once raised his voice (appeared frustrated) when we asked about the parents relationship and communication.

Comments:		She told us her father is educated as a mechanic. Both parents only finished high school, they have no further education.	