

Two Little Bolivias:

The reality of Bolivian immigrants in the cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo

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ABSTRACT

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Over the last two decades, Bolivian migration inside South America has had two main destinations: Buenos Aires (Argentina) and São Paulo (Brazil). There is a long tradition of Bolivian migration to Buenos Aires, however, in the late twentieth century São Paulo has also become attractive because of Argentina's economic crisis and Brazil's impressive development. The central part of this thesis presents vast information about the formation and daily lives of these two Little Bolivias, including both socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects of the two immigrant groups, with the objective of giving the reader a comparative understanding of both scenarios. The issues of assimilation are a fundamental part of this thesis since the capacity of making its way to be assimilated together with the receptiveness of the host societies are the conditions that propitiate a debate about the future of these Bolivian collectivities in Buenos Aires and São Paulo. Hence, this thesis aims to make an innovative comparative analysis of the contemporary realities of Bolivian immigrants in both cities, looking for similarities and differences, trying to understand the unfolding of each process, and the experiences of adaptation and cultural assimilation in two of the most referential cities in South America.

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INTRODUCTION

Connecting transnational Bolivian immigrants, Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

At any given Sunday in the cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo, one may have an unusual experience from what can be normally expected. This experience will be able to affect many of the person's senses: sight, taste, smell, and hearing. It is just a matter of finding what some people might call "Little Bolivias" in those cities. Every Sunday the Bolivian street markets of Bonorino (Buenos Aires) and Kantuta (São Paulo) take place, and the spaces of the cities in which they occur are transformed in spaces similar to squares of La Paz or Santa Cruz. There is Bolivian food, music, textiles, decorative artifacts, and, definitely, several Bolivian immigrant families enjoying their weekend, engaging in conversations, and reminding of the country they left behind. These weekend events consist of a fundamental part of the immigrant experience in both cities as they are moments when the "orgullo boliviano" emerges, and surpasses all forms of repression that may occur against these immigrant communities.

The description above consists of only a small part of what the Bolivian communities represent in these two main cities of Argentina and Brazil. Certainly, there is much more regarding such collectivities' daily lives, and interactions with their host cities in order to understand the connections between transnational Bolivian immigrants, Buenos Aires and São Paulo. Based on this idea, the purpose of this thesis is to present a comparative study of the contemporary experience of Bolivian immigrant communities in the cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo, and to debate the topic of assimilation between these immigrant communities and their host cities. To enrich this discussion, I explore the diverse scopes related to the Bolivian immigration to both places: historical, geographic, demographic, economic, social, and cultural. As a final debate, I discuss the possibilities for development these immigrant groups have vis-à-

vis the global scenario in which they are inserted. The research for this thesis was based in the academic works of several scholars who have been dedicating their studies to understand and trace a better image of the dynamics regarding Bolivian migratory movements within and outside the country. Moreover, I had the privilege of doing fieldwork in Buenos Aires and São Paulo in the months of July and August, 2011, participating in some of the main activities of these Bolivian immigrant communities, as well as talking to specialists in the topic who made me see further than what I could read in books and articles. In this introductory chapter, I discuss the importance of the immigrant-global connection for the immigrant groups around the world, and its potential for transformation of the immigrant condition in situations where these groups have less bargain power. The following paragraphs are intended to highlight a few fundamental concepts and also present perspectives to be taken into account during the reading of this thesis.

Immigration, Citizenship and Transnationalism.

If it is already possible to call the Bolivian diaspora a transnational movement, it is crucial to understand what part the collectivities play in this globalized scenario, and which structures are fundamental for this transnational movement to be able to continue in the path for its development. In order to make a better grounded analysis of the capacities and spaces for transformation, I will rely on the concepts and analytics from works of two scholars: Bruno Latour (2005) and Saskia Sassen (2006). In addition, the final chapter of this thesis will also bring a short discussion about the capacity of such communities to promote change, despite being small actors in two global cities (Sassen 2006:314).

The first concept that must be explored in this analysis is the idea of being an immigrant in times of globalization vis-à-vis the changes occurred in what is understood as belonging to a

certain citizenship. I would like to propose taking a look at the immigrant, and seeing this person as an image with several layers that represent his interaction and engagement with his host¹ society. In her work, Sassen argues that: “Immigration is the core of the second major institution for membership in the modern nation-state: alienage. Unlike the “citizen”, the immigrant or, more generally, the alien, is constructed in law and through policy as a partial subject.” (2006:293). Certainly, when discussing immigration, the initial idea that comes to mind is the subjects’ alien condition: someone that comes from another place, does not fully belong to the new one, and ends up being treated as a different subject from all the others recognized as equal. Moreover, the law was the manner through which nation-states attempt to make clear this division between its citizens and non-citizens (aliens).

However, there are other layers of the immigrant condition that weaken the conditions established by governments, and that make alien subjects less isolated than what would be expected. “As a subject, then, the immigrant filters a much larger array of political dynamics than its status in law might suggest.” (Sassen 2006:294).

It becomes now necessary to discuss the meaning of the term “citizenship” and what it represents in the globalized world. According to Sassen: “citizenship is an incompletely theorized contract between the state and its subjects.” (2006:277). She continues her argument developing on the condition of incompleteness embedded in the institution of citizenship, and the potential of transformation that such lack of completion brings to it. “Incompleteness also brings to the fore the work of making, whether it is making in response to changed conditions, to new subjectivities, or to new instrumentalities.” (2006:277). Then, the possibility of making relies on

¹ The term host is being used in this argument just to refer to the place of destination and establishment of the immigrant communities.

the presence of “limits and vulnerabilities of this framing” (2006:278). The fragility of the term “citizenship” is the enabler of the creation of new forms of effectively engaging with a place, beyond formal citizenship.

Joining both concepts discussed above, it is possible to affirm that the immigrant appears in the globalized schema as an incomplete subject that is able to find its way in order to be able to constantly negotiate with the incomplete institution of citizenship. Therefore, the immigrant gains space for political action, and engage in a process of making that may result in a modified interaction than the one established by the law. Surely, immigrants have been negotiating with institutions that establish the (flexible) boundaries of citizenship long before globalization was discussed; nonetheless, in the current global scenario, the intensity and possibilities of such negotiations have become bolder.

Sassen (2006) developed two categories that I will now apply in order to discuss how agency takes place in situations where people are in unbalanced social situations. The first is “Unauthorized Yet Recognized” (2006:294), which deals with groups of people who are in informal conditions (i.e. unauthorized immigrants) but have the chance to claim recognition (citizenship) because of their dedication to and good relation with the country they reside in. “The case of undocumented immigrants is, in many ways, a particular and special illustration of a condition of effective, albeit partial, citizenship.” (2006:295). It is precisely the incompleteness of the concept of citizenship discussed above that enables immigrants to struggle for recognition. The third chapter of this thesis will describe the case of the undocumented Bolivian immigrants in Buenos Aires and São Paulo who struggle for their recognition together with local organizations that already recognize them as citizens who should have the same rights of the national citizens. These organizations are committed not only with helping them get their

documents, but also with their full integration and participation in the host societies. One good example is an event that just happened in December 2011, in the city of São Paulo, when groups that work closely with the Latin American immigrants have organized the “March of the Immigrants”, which consisted on a protest for the right to vote for immigrants who have authorization to live and work in Brazil. As a matter of fact, in this case, the condition of partial citizenship remains since the exclusion in political participation restrains the total engagement with the host community, even though formal documentation was given to some of the immigrants in previous amnesties promoted by the Brazilian government (the last one was in 2009).

Sassen’s second category is named “Authorized Yet Unrecognized” (2006:296), and regards the people who are formal citizens, but have their space of action restrained. This category highlights the group of people who cannot find a space to formally enter and act in the realm of politics, but who find informal manners to negotiate with state institutions. One important example given by the author is the case of mothers in legal immigrant families who become in charge of their households and have to find their ways to get public and social services to their families. These women are empowered as they have a job, and are able to negotiate beyond their houses’ borders. Interestingly, this transformation in the unbalanced condition has also occurred with what we could see as a third category ‘Unauthorized and Unrecognized’, much applicable to the theme of this thesis. Bolivian women who migrate to other countries have become more empowered as they usually work together with their husbands, and start to share the household responsibility. Little by little these women gain their space in the first category, as they are recognized for all the work and ability to negotiate within their families and with the society, even facing an undocumented condition.

Having the concepts “immigration” and “citizenship” developed and explored in terms of local negotiations between immigrants and host nation-states, I want now to introduce another layer of the image of the immigrant, which is more related to the transformations taking place in the globalized world: the immigrant as a transnational subject. For this part of the analysis, Bruno Latour’s (2005) ideas about the importance of networks are crucial.

When presenting the fundamental concepts of the ANT (Actor-Network) theoretical analysis of the social, the author reinforces how networks are tools that enable the making:

“We have to lay continuous connections leading from one local interaction to the other places, times, and agencies through which a local site is *made to do* something. (...) If we do this, we will render visible the long chains of actors linking sites to one another without missing a single step.” (2005:173) [emphasis in the original].

All localized movements are then related to the connections between actors in different spaces. It seems that the image of the chains of actors brought by Latour is what makes both ordinary and extraordinary transformations to take place. One could go further and develop that, the stronger the chain, the larger the ability of it to make changes. If we take for instance the latest events that have just happened in New York City, and that spread to many other cities in the United States and other places in the world, the Occupy Wall Street movement is certainly a proof that the chains are growing bigger and stronger. As they expand, people’s networks are gaining the ability to make large mobilizations around the globe.

Going further into the capacity of networks of bringing change, nowadays there are many factors that are stimulating an increase in the capacity of networks to get stronger and make change faster. In her analysis of this scenario, Sassen observes that:

“Among the destabilizing dynamics at work are globalization and digitization, both as material processes and as signaling subjective possibilities or imaginaries. (...) Through

their destabilizing effects, these dynamics and actors are producing operational and rhetorical openings for the emergence of new types of political subjects and new spatialities for politics.” (2005:278-279).

Whereas globalization and digitization are increasing the possibilities for the local to gain greater capacity to go global, in the case of international immigrations, there has already existed a movement towards transnationalism, even in times when globalization and digitization were not active agents of modification. In the case of Bolivian immigration this transformation is also taking place. Even though there is a recognized Bolivian diaspora with transnational characteristics (presented in the first chapter of this thesis), I believe there is a space yet to be filled by the Bolivian collectivities around the globe concerning their connectivity. The existing networks are mostly one-on-one, linking just two places (usually Bolivia to a city of immigrants in other country). There is very little connection between the collectivities in different countries rather than Bolivia, and it seems to me that the movements of globalization and the increasing digitization of the world may enable such communities to develop closer ties, and find ways to increase their capacity of negotiating not only in the political arena with the Bolivian government and their countries of (informal) residence, but also with other actors in the economic sphere.

The local as the site for the global.

In his work, Bruno Latour (2005) invites his readers to leave aside the large framings of interpretation, and start to focus uniquely on the specificities of a subject of study; as a result of this movement, people are able to analyze any topic with higher accuracy. It was in this context that he introduced the concept of the oligoptica (in opposition to Michel Foucault’s panoptica) that focuses on the importance of being able to see only the little scope, but see it well. Moreover, he proposes that in order to understand the totality of a process such as globalization, people should focus on understanding the small linkages that compose the whole.

In addition, Latour theorizes about the importance of understanding that the macro and the micro should be seen with the same level of importance in the current global structure. The macro, then, plays the same part as the micro, standing in the same level, as it is the result of several micro interactions, interconnected. “The macro is neither ‘above’ nor ‘below’ the interactions, but *added* to them as *another* of their connections, feeding them and feeding off of them” (2005:177) [emphasis in the original]. Therefore, it can be interpreted that there is a mutualistic relationship between the macro and the micro and that they depend on one another in order to maintain active the flow of connections; and the existence of each category ends up closely connected to the maintenance of the macro-micro interaction. In Latour’s view,

“It is not that there is no hierarchy, no ups and downs, no rifts, no deep canyons, no high spots. It is simply that if you wish to go from one site to another, then you have to pay the full cost of relation, connection, displacement, and information.” (2005:176).

Therefore, the currently existing interactions depend on the higher improvement of networks in order to achieve the best results out of a process of global mobility. In the case of transnational groups, their capacity to move and expand, and also to maintain a fast-paced level of development is consequently connected to their ability to explore to the maximum their local and global relations, and to keep a very intense flow of information. Using the author’s words, it is a cost that such communities have got to be willing to pay in order to guarantee the constant openness of ways in the current global dynamics.

Furthermore, Latour introduces a very tangible explanation of the functioning mode of globalization, and he ends up bringing a very subtle, but at the same time effective view of the result of this form of interaction. The author concludes that: “You will soon realize that, in spite of so much ‘globalonney’, globalization circulates along minuscule rails resulting in some glorified form of provincialism” (2005:190).

This image of the “glorified form of provincialism” is actually very useful when thinking about the relevance of the local and its interactions, in order to understand the movements of the global. What could be used as a diminishing word (provincialism) now becomes the good qualifier. The provincial has thus gained so much relevance that it has become the fundamental structure of the process of globalization.

In addition to Latour’s view about the importance of the local and its networks in the formation of the global, I would like to also add to this analysis the concept of the global city introduced by Saskia Sassen in her work. It seems to me that it is very pertinent to include this discussion about the global cities in the conclusion of this thesis, since it is precisely a work that aims at the dynamics of two Bolivian collectivities in cities that undoubtedly are considered global and have great potential to produce transformation in their local spheres that might be expanded to the whole global system.

In the same lines of Latour’s argument, Sassen claims that

“Today, global cities specially are the terrain where multiple globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms. These localized forms are, in good part, what globalization is about. Thus they are also sites where some of the new forms of power can be engaged.” (2006:314-315).

Thus, once again we see the local as the fundamental actor for the globalization dynamics. However, Sassen (2006) brings a larger specificity in the context of globalization’s interactions by establishing that local cities are the space that make concrete changes in this process, and are the nest where diverse forms of power can develop and start acting in the global sphere. She also emphasizes that “another localization of the global is immigration, a major process through which a new transnational political economy and translocal households are being constituted largely in major cities” (2006:315).

The author goes further in her analysis of the global cities as she proposes that they are the sites where new transnational social forms appear, “and it enables even the disadvantaged to develop transnational strategies and subjectivities” (2006:318). Based on this argument, Sassen adds that this last case is precisely applicable to the immigrant communities, who have the chance to transform their condition according to the possibilities offered by the transnational dynamics in place, increasing the space for negotiation of their condition as local and transnational citizens.

Therefore, immigration appears in this context of an intensified flux of connections and interactions that meet in the realm of the local to be, then, expanded back to the global. The transnational quality pertaining to immigration is precisely what gives immigrant collectivities the opportunities to struggle for changes in their daily lives, and also in the living conditions of all similar communities spread in different global cities all over the world.

Structure and important clarifications.

This thesis is divided in three main chapters that approach Bolivian immigration through diverse angles, and are organized in a way that the reader goes from the broader to the more specific view. By doing so I intend to highlight not only the boldness of the Bolivian movements around the world, but also to make sure important local interactions that make difference on a daily basis are not left aside. Without understanding the full scenario, it becomes harder to encompass the possibility for transformation resulting from the fact of these communities being settled in global cities such as Buenos Aires and São Paulo. The first chapter consists of a presentation of the “moving Bolivia”: its internal and international migrations, including a brief description of the history of Bolivian diaspora in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, and the United States

(four main receiving countries). The following chapter focuses on Bolivian immigration in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, approaching historic and socioeconomic development of the collectivity in both places. The third chapter reaches the issue of assimilation, and discusses the (in)visibility of the Bolivian community in these two global cities. This discussion is presented through comparative examples of diverse forms of sociocultural and socioeconomic penetration of the Bolivian immigrants in both cities, such as street markets, folkloric celebrations, creation of formalized organizations, among others. The very last part of this thesis aims to provoke the readers to think about how transformation may occur for Bolivian immigrant groups living in global cities that are situated in a world of global networks and possibilities.

There are also some important clarifications to be made before one starts reading the chapters to come. The first regards the fact that in this work I use the terms “immigrant” and “migrant” to simply designate any people that have left their place of origin at a certain moment of their lives. Also, there is no specific distinction between permanent, seasonal, and occasional migrants. Moreover, in all data collected in the various national censuses, the definition of Bolivian is not precisely defined. Besides the Bolivian-born citizens, in some official data used in this work, the children of Bolivians born in other countries might have been counted as Bolivians as well. Also, for the purposes of this work, I do not make any distinction between people from any Bolivian ethnic group. Lastly, I want to point out that there is a serious difficulty in determining the precise number of Bolivians around the world. There is a lack of convergence in the official numbers presented by Bolivian statistical agencies and host countries’ demographic counts. This may be caused by the fact that there are several undocumented Bolivian immigrants in the world, which makes it difficult to keep a real tracking of the departures and arrivals in the diverse countries. Despite not being completely precise, the numbers presented in this thesis are a

fundamental tool to help the reader understand the intensity of the interaction of Bolivian immigrants in the local and global scenarios nowadays and throughout the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 1

Bolivia: a country of migration.

The first internal movements in the territory that we nowadays call Bolivia refer to the seventeenth century colonial years when the mines of Potosí formed the largest mining complex of the world. In the nineteenth century, the extraction of latex motivated other movements in the territory. As explained by Farah H. (2005), these first dislocations were connected to the predominant economic activities at the time. Regarding the development of mass migrations in the mid-twentieth century (to be explained in more detail throughout this chapter), these were the result of the 1952 Revolution, which resulted in a land reform that stimulated the process of urbanization in the country (Vacaflores 2003). These transformations together with diverse economic difficulties, promoted a process of emigration that started with Argentina as the main receiving country, and spread to other South American countries, as well as to other continents.

Nowadays, Bolivia's migratory movements are directed both internally and beyond the country's thresholds. Such displacements assume the most diverse forms: there are rural-to-urban, rural-to-rural, and urban-to-urban. Moreover, there is a large group of migrants who move from place to place more than once. These internal and international movements are driven by a constant search for better opportunities, similarly to other migrations around the world. A report published by the Scalabrini International Migration Network observes that one of the "major issues/government concerns related to international migration" in Bolivia is the fact that "high unemployment has resulted in substantial immigration" (2010:61). An evidence that can be added to this argument is Bolivia's current Human Development Index (HDI)², which is inferior

² "Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary composite index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: health, knowledge, and income. It was introduced as an alternative to

in relation to the average of Latin American states (ranked 95 among the 169 countries evaluated by this index) being considered a country of medium human development, whereas the countries of destination of its migrants are all ranked as countries of high/very high human development (UNPD 2010(a)). Furthermore, according to the analysis of the country by its Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)³, in the year 2003, 65% of the Bolivian population lived below the National Poverty Line, and 30% of the people lived with less than \$2.00 a day (OPHI 2010).

Internal Migrations

As mentioned above, the landmark for internal migration in Bolivia in the twentieth century is the Bolivian Revolution of 1952. This revolution resulted in the land reform of 1953 that ended with the system of haciendas, in which about 4% of the agricultural producers controlled more than 80% of the productive land of the country. One of the objectives of this land redistribution was to stimulate the development of eastern areas of the country, which were little explored thus far. In addition, most of the governmental financial support was given to large agricultural farms focused on exporting, and strong industrial and mining companies started growing in this region (Cortes, 2004; Vacaflares, 2003). The combination of these events stimulated rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban migration to other places in the country.

The second main transformation that promoted the development of the internal migratory scenario in Bolivia began in 1985 when neoliberal economic measures were implemented in order to control hyperinflation in the country, and resulted in a process of restructuring of the public and private sectors. By 1990, around 160.000 Bolivians had lost their jobs. It is estimated

conventional measures of national development, such as level of income and the rate of economic growth” (UNPD 2010(a)).

³ “Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) identifies overlapping deprivations at the household level across the same three dimensions as the Human Development Index (living standards, health, and education) and shows the average number of poor people and deprivations with which poor households contend” (UNPD – 2010(b)).

that the amount of 800.000 people (5 people per household) also ended up affected by such economic changes, and were left in an underprivileged socio-economic position. Further neoliberal measures increased these numbers, and this situation led a great amount of people to migrate to what is known nowadays to be the “eje central” (nucleus)⁴ of the country: the cities of Santa Cruz, La Paz and Cochabamba (Vacaflores, 2003:2). In her work, Cortes (2004) presents statistical information concerning the increase in the amount of people living in urban areas throughout the second half of the twentieth century: “En 1992, el 58% de la población boliviana vivía en ciudades de más de 2,000 habitantes, mientras que esta proporción era de 42% en 1972 y del 26% en 1950” [In 1992, 58% of the Bolivian population lived in cities with over 2,000 inhabitants, whereas this proportion was of 42% in 1972 and of 26% in 1950] (2004:35). Moreover, according to Bolivia’s official census data, 62% of the population lived in urban areas in 2001.

Furthermore, another important movement that increased amid the 1980’s crisis was migration to the illegal coca plantations in the region of Chapare (situated in the northern region of Cochabamba (Map 1)) as people saw it as a real opportunity to increase their income (Cortes 2004:146).

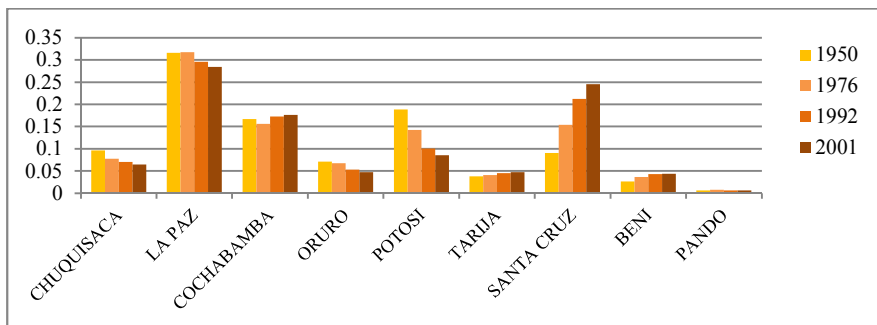
According to the last census data available (INE⁵, 2001(a)), about 15.24% of the Bolivian population (around 1.24 million people) can be considered internal migrants (people who were born in one department of the country and reside in a different one). The regions of the country that received most internal migrants at the time were: Cochabamba, Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Pando (Map 1). In Chart 1, it is possible to see the development of the population distribution,

⁴ All translations from the Spanish to English in this thesis were done by the author.

⁵ INE – Instituto Nacional de Estadística [Bolivian National Institute of Statistics].

according to the percentage of people residing in the diverse Bolivian departments across the years.

Chart 1. Evolution of Bolivian demographic departmental distribution according to 1950, 1976, 1992, and 2001 census.



Source: Chart created with information from INE (2001(b)).

Map 1. Map of the Plurinational State of Bolivia



Source: United Nations Cartographic Section – Bolivia, Map No. 3875 Rev. 3, August 2004.

International Migration – Argentina, Brazil, Spain and United States

The oldest form of migration beyond Bolivian frontiers crossed into Argentina, in the early twentieth century. Brazil, Spain and the United States only became more attractive to Bolivians by the end of the 20th century, a moment when Argentina entered a financial crisis, from which the country has not fully recovered yet.

In the case of Argentina, the first migrants moved looking for better work opportunities firstly in the borderland areas (mining and agricultural jobs in Jujuy and Salta). These moves were mostly seasonal and temporary. Later, in the 1940s, Bolivians started moving also to the city of Buenos Aires mainly to work with agriculture in the peripheral areas. After some years, the new migrants started working in other sectors such as construction, domestic work, manufacturing, and service industries (Sala 2008).

Table 1 shows the evolution of the Bolivian immigration in Argentina, according to the Argentina's official census data. It presents the increase of the size of the Bolivian collectivity in relation to other immigrant communities in Argentina, and also the comparative growth of the number of Bolivians in the country in relation to the previous data.

Table 1. Bolivian immigration in Argentina

	1960	1970	1980	1991	2001
Total Immigrants	2,540,226	2,193,330	1,857,703	1,605,871	1,517,904
Bolivian Immigrants	88,830	101,000	115,616	143,735	231,789
% Bolivians	3%	5%	6%	9%	15%
Comparative Growth		14%	14%	24%	61%

Source: Table developed with data from population census published in Celade (2006).

In the mid-twentieth century, Bolivian migration to Brazil started (having a much smaller impact than the movements to Argentina) when some people from the well-educated upper-

middle and upper classes were offered jobs in better positions and with high wages (especially in the medical fields). However, as mentioned above, the mass migrant movement only took place in the mid-1990s when Argentina was undergoing a large-scale economic crisis and the levels of unemployment were very high. This moment triggered the search for alternative migratory destinations, and Brazil (especially the city of São Paulo and borderland areas), Spain and the United States started receiving large numbers of Bolivians looking for job opportunities (Guevara 2004:180). However, as it can be seen in Table 1 above, migration to Argentina did not refrain from occurring.

Table 2. Bolivian Immigration in Brazil

	1960	1970	1980	1991	2001
Total Immigrants	1,252,467	1,229,128	1,110,910	767,784	683,830
Bolivian Immigrants	8,049	10,712	12,980	15,691	20,388
% Bolivians	0.64%	0.87%	1.17%	2.04%	2.98%
Comparative Growth		33%	21%	21%	30%

Source: Table developed with data from population census published in Celade (2006).

For practical purposes, in this section of this thesis, I will only explore in depth some of the main characteristics of Bolivian migration to Spain and to the United States. The Argentine and Brazilian scenarios will be carefully explored in further chapters of this work.

The history of Bolivian migration to the United States began, as it did in the cases of Argentina and Brazil, with moves by professionals into high-level positions. In this specific case, they worked for international organizations and governmental projects (ABW, 2011). This stage took place in the 1980's, when people from the central valley of Cochabamba began moving to the country, pursuing the 'American Dream'. This region of Bolivia has continued to be the main source of migrants to the United States. The main destinations are Washington, Maryland, and

Virginia. Among the occupations of such migrants are the areas of construction, restaurants and hotels. (Observatorio de las Migraciones, 2009; Defensoría del Pueblo, 2009).

Even though there was a hardening of immigration policies in the United States after the attacks of September 11th, 2001, official data shows that Bolivian migration continued being possible and taking place. In the official statistics available from the US Census Bureau, in the year 2000 there were around 42,000 Bolivians residing in the country. The 2010 Census data indicates that by then there were already over 99,000 Bolivians. This number represents an increase of more than 130% of the migrant community from Bolivia in a time span of 10 years. Data from the US Census 2000 still revealed that there was a balance in the gender composition of the Bolivian community in the country (49% men and 51% women), and that more than 76% of the immigrants were 18 years old or older, and only 4% of the people were 65 years old or older. Furthermore, among the households, 79% were composed by families, of which 48% of the families had at least one child under 18 years old. Thus, it is possible then to affirm that the contemporary Bolivian immigration to the United States is less a movement of temporary workers who seasonally migrate in order to accumulate money, but it is indeed a movement of whole families, and people willing to rebuild their lives in the new country.

Spain appeared as an attractive place for Bolivians in the early twenty-first century. According to Hinojosa (2009), there are three remarkable events that stimulated the development of this new form of Bolivian migration: the first is the economic development of Spain, which promoted the creation of new positions which required large amounts of workers for the fields of construction and service industry. The second event that directly impacted Bolivian migrations (not only to Spain, as it will be analyzed later) was the economic crisis in Argentina. And lastly,

the third transformation was the already mentioned change in the United States immigration policy after the September 11th terrorist attacks.

Until 2007, Bolivians did not need any formal visa in order to enter Spain. Therefore, from the year 2002 until the changes in requirements, several Bolivians easily entered the country and could establish themselves as migrants. Even though rules were applied by the Spanish government in order to reduce the incidence of such movement, statistics show that Bolivian immigration continued to increase during those years. Official data from the Spanish Ministry of Work and Immigration (MTIN) about the Bolivian residents in the country indicates that, from 2005 to 2009, there was an increase of more than 130% of the community in total numbers. The official statistics from MTIN state that in 2009 there were 117,106 Bolivians in the country, while in 2008, there were 85,427. In only one year, the total number increased 37%. Despite the fact that some of the people could probably not be being considered in previous counts, the increase in the total numbers is a consistent proof that Bolivian migration to Spain still is an ongoing movement. Furthermore, Hinojosa presents in his work data about the Bolivian people in the country based on census information from the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE), in which he concludes that, in 2008, there were 239,942 Bolivians living in Spain (2009:66).

For the Spanish case, one important data to be highlighted is the clear difference in the distribution of men and women. As a matter of fact, in 2009, 58% of the Bolivians in Spain were women. In the year 2000 this number was 61%, and despite small decreases during the years, women continuously represent more than 50% of the Bolivian immigrant group that possess legal registration documents or residence authorization in Spain (MTIN, 2009). This feminization of migration in this case was propitiated not only by the labor market's requests for

domestic workers and caretakers, but also due to a transformation of the Bolivian society in which there are nowadays many women who are the heads of their households and provide for their families (Hinojosa, 2009:97).

Contemporary Bolivian Emigration Overview

In a global overview, it is difficult to state the precise numbers of Bolivians living abroad, and in which country, not only because there are many who have illegally established themselves in multiple places, but also because there are many of them who maintain a certain habit of returning to Bolivia due to many different reasons (end of season/lack of employment, visiting the family, bringing money). On the one hand, official data from the Bolivian census 2001 (INE) divulged that only 1.54% of the total population lived in other countries (over 127,000 citizens). On the other hand, an estimate calculated by the Instituto Boliviano de Comercio Exterior (IBCE) indicates that by the year 2008 there were about 2.5 million Bolivians living around the world, as presented in the following table.

Table 3. Bolivian immigrants around the world according to non-official statistics.

Country	Bolivian Immigrants
Argentina	1,100,000
Brazil	296,000
Spain	386,000
USA	360,000
Other – Americas	176,000
Other – Europe	146,000
TOTAL	2,464,000

Source: IBCE (2008)

Moreover, according to the World Bank, in 2010, the stock of Bolivian emigrants was of 684,600, which represented 6.8% of the country's population. Contrasting to this number, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) website presents information that there are about

1.6 million Bolivian emigrants, which would represent 16% of the country's 10 million population (2010).

By collecting the latest data available from the main receiving countries' official institutes responsible for the migration statistics, the total amount of migrants undergoes a reduction (which comes closer to the World Bank data), as it is shown in the estimate presented in the next table.

Table 4. Bolivian immigrants in the main destinations according to local governments' official statistics.

Country	Bolivian immigrants
Argentina (2010)	345,272
Brazil (2001)	20,388
Spain (2009)	117,106
USA (2010)	99,210
TOTAL	581,976

Sources: INDEC (Argentina), IBGE (Brazil), MTIN (Spain), U.S. Census Bureau (USA)

The gender distribution of Bolivian migrants in the top 4 receiving countries shows that there are small differences in the numbers of men and women who emigrate. While in Brazil there is a masculine predominance, in Spain, as mentioned above, there are more women than men, according to the official statistics. In Argentina and the United States, there is no significant difference, and apparently this seems to be the tendency for the other countries to which Bolivians move.

Table 5. Gender distribution of Bolivian immigrants in the main destinations according to local governments' official statistics.

Country	Male	Female
Argentina (2010)	50%	50%
Brazil (2001)	55%	45%
Spain (2009)	42%	58%
USA (2000)	49%	51%

Sources: INDEC (Argentina), IBGE (Brazil), MTIN (Spain), U.S. Census Bureau (USA).

Even though there are significant differences between the official and unofficial numbers that vary from 5% to 25% of the total Bolivian population, it is undeniable that there is a significant part of this society that has become immigrant, and this is certainly an important matter to be taken into consideration in further studies about migration around the world and about Bolivia. The relevance of this total number of immigrants is such that in the last presidential elections of Bolivia in 2009, the Corte Nacional Electoral [National Electoral Court] promoted a biometric census program that would register and allow Bolivians who did not reside in the country to participate in the democratic presidential elections directly from the main areas of Bolivian immigration in Argentina (Buenos Aires, Jujuy and Mendoza), Brazil (São Paulo), Spain (Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia) and the United States (Virginia, Maryland and New York) (El Día, 2009).

Over the next chapters, I will go further into the specificities of the Bolivian immigration in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, approaching not only demographic and socioeconomic aspects of both communities, but also sociocultural relations and assimilation challenges, aiming to present a clear comparative analysis of the development of both groups taking into consideration the 20 year time-span between the rise of Bolivian mass migration in both cities in the second half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2

Bolivian immigration in Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

The cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

Buenos Aires and São Paulo are the two largest cities in South America and the historically two most important receivers of international immigrants in the region. Argentina's tradition as a receiving country is mostly remembered by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century movement of European emigrants to the country (especially Italians and Spaniards). By 1914, the proportion of non-Argentine inhabitants in the city of Buenos Aires was of 42% of the population (Reboratti 2010). At the same period, Brazil had a strong contingent of immigration directed to São Paulo and its large farmlands, composed by Italians, Japanese, Portuguese and Spaniards. In 1920, the state of São Paulo had 35% of non-Brazilians among its residents (IBGE 2003).

After 1929's Great Depression, immigration in both countries reduced, and it would only regain strength after World War II, when the inflow of European immigrants increased. Since the 1960s European immigration in Latin America declined, and migrants from neighboring countries in South America became a significant part of the immigrant contingent both in Argentina and Brazil (Moya 2008). This was the moment when Bolivian immigration started gaining more relevance as a migratory movement in the South American continent.

The city of Buenos Aires is Argentina's capital and largest city. The 2010 census reported a total of 2,890,151 inhabitants of which 13% (around 382 thousand) are people who were born outside Argentina. This represented an increase when compared to the 2001 census data, which reported approximately 11.5% residents (almost 318 thousand) born in other countries in a total of 2,776,138 inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires. By the same period, the total amount of

residents who were not born in the city represented around 45% (almost 1.3 million) of the population. The city of Buenos Aires is surrounded by 24 partidos [municipalities] which compose the Gran Buenos Aires (GBA) region, in which there are almost 10 million residents (INDEC 2011). The area formed by the city of Buenos Aires and GBA is known as Area Metropolitana de Buenos Aires (AMBA) [Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires]. In 2001 the proportion of foreign-born people living in the AMBA represented 8% (almost 918 thousand people) of the total population (around 11.5 million inhabitants). The census 2010 presents an increase in the total number of foreign-born residents that now represent 9% (around 1.1 million people) of the total (almost 13 million).

São Paulo is South America's largest city and the seventh largest in the world. Its population in 2010 consisted of 11,253,503 inhabitants. São Paulo is well known for being a receiver of both internal and international immigrants. According to the Brazilian official census statistics, in the year 2000, over 38% (over 4 million people) of the population who resided in São Paulo was composed by people who were not born in the city, and among this group almost 5% (over 150,000) came from other countries. São Paulo is surrounded by 39 municipalities that compose the Região Metropolitana de São Paulo (RMSP) in which there are over 19 million inhabitants (IBGE 2001).

Bolivians in Brazil and Argentina: from the borderland to Buenos Aires and São Paulo

As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the twentieth century, Argentina was the first choice of destination of Bolivian emigrants around the globe. Even though other options appeared throughout the years, Bolivian immigrant community in Argentina still is the largest in comparison with other important destinations (e.g. Brazil, Spain, and United States).

Map 2. Republic of Argentina - Political Map.



Source: Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional. Accessed October 3, 2011. <http://www.argentina.gov.ar/argentina/portal/documentos/argentinapolitico.pdf>.

Sassone and De Marco (1991:54) identified four distinct periods in Bolivian migration to Argentina. The first consisted of movements to borderland northern rural areas, especially to sugar cane plantations, in the Argentine provinces of Jujuy and Salta in the beginning of the twentieth century. This movement was characterized by its seasonal quality, which resulted in temporal migrations, with constant return to Bolivia due to the proximity of both countries and the lack of work in certain periods of the year. Argentine censuses show that, in 1914, 93% of Bolivian immigrants in the country resided in Jujuy and Salta and that as late as 1947 the

proportion was still 88% (Table 6). The development of such initial migrations resulted in the second moment following the end of World War II, which was characterized by the spread of workers to other areas in the Northwest of the country, where migrants also found jobs in tobacco and horticulture producing farms (Sassone and De Marco 1991:54).

The third phase took place in the 1960s and 1970s and it represented greater movements in a southern direction to the expanding agricultural include information about the type of agriculture regions of Mendoza and the San Francisco river valley in the northern province of Jujuy (Sassone and De Marco, 1991:54) Nonetheless, in the same time period, industrial work in the Greater Buenos Aires area was also being offered in large amounts since new factories were stimulated by the Argentine government's imports substitution program (Hinojosa, 2009). It is also important to highlight that these were the years that followed the 1953 land reform in Bolivia, which resulted in an increase in the number of rural workers looking for jobs in the borderland area of Argentina (Cortes 2004:154).

Table 6. Evolution of Bolivian immigration in Argentine provinces (1914-1970).

	1914	1947	1960	1970
Buenos Aires	4%	7%	14%	37%
Jujuy and Salta	93%	88%	77%	46%
Other Provinces	3%	5%	9%	17%

Source: Table created with information from Argentine census used by Carron (1979).

The fourth and still continuing moment, is characterized by a larger urbanization of Bolivian migration, which results in the establishment of permanent residents and the desire for a socio-economic improvement (Sassone and De Marco, 1991:54). Furthermore, the macroeconomic scenario in Bolivia that resulted in neoliberal economic transformation and the struggle against the cocaine trafficking can be considered factors that created a growth in the level of

unemployment, which resulted in an increase in emigration numbers from the 1980's on (Cortes 2004:156). According to the 2010 Argentine Census, 55% of all Bolivians residing in Argentina live in the Area Metropolitana de Buenos Aires (AMBA) (Table 7). Among the migrants that live in this region the most common occupations are in the service sector in fields such as construction, fruit and vegetable commercialization on the streets, and domestic work (Sassone 2009).

Table 7. Development of the Bolivian community in Buenos Aires (AMBA) and Argentina in the last 40 years.

	1980	1991	2001	2010
Argentina - Total Bolivians	48,049	47,244	233,464	345,272
City of Buenos Aires	8,946	7,456	89,306	76,609
% City of Buenos Aires	19%	16%	38%	22%
Gran Buenos Aires (GBA)	19,354	20,020	50,111	114,146
% GBA	40%	42%	21%	33%
Area Metropolitana de Buenos Aires (AMBA)	28,301	20,021	139,417	190,755
% AMBA	59%	42%	60%	55%

Source: Table created with data from Indec (2011).

Furthermore, during the second half of the century, the Argentine government declared amnesty in different moments (1974, 1984, 1993/94), which allowed over 150,000 Bolivians to become official Argentinian residents (Grimson 1999:32). In the 1993/94 amnesty, Bolivians accounted for half of the borderland migrants that were able obtain legal documentation (Guevara 2004:179). In 2004, the law 25.871, known as Ley de Migraciones [Migrations'Law]⁶ established the conditions for Mercosur⁷ nationals who resided in the Argentine Republic to

⁶ The full text of this law can be found in the web address: http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/pdf_varios/campana_grafica/pdf/Libro_Ley_25.871.pdf.

⁷ Mercosur/Mercosul (Common Southern Market) was created in 1991, and it consists of a political and economic cooperation agreement of the South American countries that accept taking part in it according to the market's

legalize their resident status in Argentina. According to this law, all Mercosur citizens who enter Argentina may receive temporary residence authorizations, which includes a permit to stay for two years (period that can be extended), and the possibility of innumerable re-entries. The law 25.871 was fully implemented in 2010, when the Argentine government issued the decree 616/2010.

Whereas Argentina was the first main destination for Bolivians in South America, and it offered plenty of opportunities for migrants, Brazil only appeared as an interesting alternative destination for Bolivian mass migration at the moment when the Argentine economy was about collapse. Even though there was a small movement of high-educated professionals going to work in Brazil, especially in medical fields, it was only from the 1990's on that Bolivian migration started to acquire the characteristics it has nowadays: it is mainly represented by the mass movement of workers in the garment industry, that work for (mostly clandestine) sweatshops, receiving little money in exchange for long, harsh hours of hard labor.

Because of the strength of this movement, Brazil has become the second most important contemporary destination for Bolivian migrants in South America and one of the main destinations around the world (Table 1). Inside the country, these migrants are mostly concentrated in the borderland states closer to Bolivia (Acre, Rondônia, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul), and in the city of São Paulo and a few cities in the countryside of São Paulo state. As a matter of fact, according to the year 2000 Mercosur Census, approximately 50% of Bolivians in Brazil settled in the state of São Paulo (10,222 people), and around 30% (6,124 people) lived in the borderland states formerly mentioned (IBGE:2000). The state of São Paulo is the place where most of the garment factories are situated.

specific rules. Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay were the first countries to participate in the group, and nowadays Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru are also members (Mercosul 2011).

Map 3. Republic of Brazil - Political Map.



Fonte: IBGE, Diretoria de Geociências, Coordenação de Cartografia.

Source: IBGE, Diretoria de Geociências, Coordenação de Cartografia. Accessed October 19, 2011. http://www.ibge.gov.br/ibgeteen/atlasescolar/mapas_pdf/brasil_politico.pdf.

Table 8. Development of Bolivian immigration in the city of São Paulo.

	1980	1991	2000
International Immigrants	325,540	240,461	195,641
Bolivians	3,213	4,525	7,722
% Total	1%	2%	4%

Source: Table created with data from IBGE (2001).

Table 8 shows the increase of the Bolivian community in the city of São Paulo over the years. The numbers from the early 1980s to the year 2000 show not only a significant absolute growth but also but also a relative increase as Bolivians became a larger proportion of a

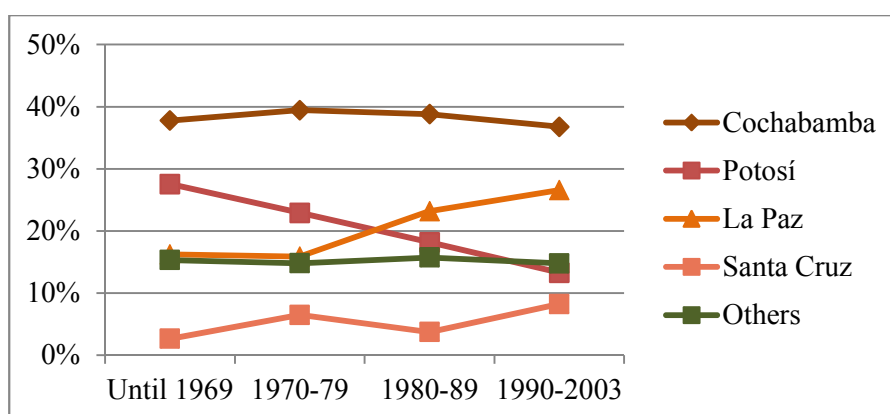
decreasing immigrant population in the city. In addition, the Brazilian government authorized amnesties for its immigrants in the years 1988, 1998, and 2009. The last amnesty benefitted about 17 thousand Bolivians that had their situation legalized in the country (16.3 thousand of these were living in the state of São Paulo). The law 11.961 established that any immigrant that had entered the country until February 1st, 2009 had the opportunity to receive a 2 year visa, and then to apply for permanent residence authorization (Repórter Brasil 2010).

People, Settlement and Work in Buenos Aires

Considering the last official census data available, in 2010, the gender distribution of the Bolivian immigrant group in the AMBA is balanced (49% men and 51% women) and 83% of the immigrants are between 15 and 64 years old (almost 159,000 people) (Indec 2011).

The following chart illustrates the transformation of the regions of origin of Bolivians who migrated to the AMBA in the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas Potosí has lost importance while the mining industry stopped demanding workers, La Paz and Santa Cruz gained more relevance as places of origin of workers (Map 1).

Chart 2. Bolivians (18 years old and older) according to the place of origin and the year of arrival in the AMBA.



Source: Chart based on data from Census 2001 - Additional Investigation about International Migrations developed by INDEC in 2003 (Appendix I).

Still referring to geographical places of origin, in one of my interviews with a scholar in Buenos Aires, she mentioned that there is a difficulty in establishing the real numbers related to the native origins of Bolivian immigrants, since some people from countryside tend to claim to be native of large, urban cities such as La Paz and Santa Cruz when interviewed for researches, as they do not wish to be stigmatized as indigenous people (usually seen as inferior)⁸. However, there are academic works that focus on the immigration of people from specific pueblos in Bolivia to Buenos Aires, such as Rockefeller's (2010), who describes the author's experience in late 1993 of travelling with a Bolivian from the small rural community of Quirpini (situated in Chuquisaca province) to the region of La Salada in the GBA area. Rockefeller describes that by that time it was very common for people (mostly men) from Quirpini to travel to Argentina to make some money and then come back to help their families and community.

Furthermore, one common element throughout the years is the fact that the majority of immigrants knew someone from their city or village of origin who had already immigrated to the AMBA. Another rather small but significant group is the one where people did not know any Bolivians who were already settled in the place of destination, however, this number has been decreasing (INDEC 2003 (Appendix I)).

Regarding levels of education, it is possible to notice an increase in the levels of education of Bolivian immigrants that were 15 years old or older in the AMBA. The highest portion has constantly been the group of immigrants that have completed primary education and did not complete the secondary level (high school). However, it seems to be more important to highlight the decrease in the numbers of Bolivians residing in the AMBA that have not completed even

⁸ The third chapter of this thesis presents a discussion about discrimination against Bolivian immigrants.

primary education, and also the raise in the proportion of people who have completed the secondary levels. The change in the characteristics of the migration can be seen in the diminishing of the numbers of Bolivians immigrants with tertiary (college) education completed (in the 1970's it was common for highly educated Bolivian professionals to migrate to Argentina and Brazil searching for higher payments and prestigious positions, especially in the medical fields) (INDEC 2003 (Appendix I)).

Table 9 – Bolivians (15 years old and older) living in AMBA according to educational attainment.

Educational attainment	Total	Year of Arrival in Argentina			
		Until 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	108,198	19,770	14,682	25,528	48,218
Incomplete primary education or less	22,815	7,045	4,327	3,785	7,658
Complete primary education and incomplete secondary	48,540	8,336	6,176	10,100	23,928
Complete secondary education and incomplete tertiary	31,402	3,231	3,264	9,929	14,978
Complete tertiary education or undergraduate studies	3,905	939	699	1,088	1,179
N/A	1,536	219	216	626	475

Source: Based on Indec (2003) – Encuesta complementaria de migraciones.

Another important aspect regards the geographic distribution of the immigrants. The largest concentration of Bolivian immigrants is in the southern neighborhoods of the city of Buenos Aires, far from the richest areas of the city, as observed by Alicia Carmona and Susana Sassone in their works.

“Sources agree that the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires continues to be the preferred region of settlement. Those residing in Capital Federal—where housing is most expensive and logistically difficult to procure—tend to live in the most marginal

neighborhoods on its outer fringes, and particularly in its southern barrios and in its shantytowns (*villas*). The majority, however, reside in low income areas outside Capital in the immediately surrounding *partidos* (administrative zones) of *Gran* (Greater) *Buenos Aires*, in neighborhoods with acute deficits in infrastructure and with substandard access to services, high crime rates, and deficient transportation facilities”. (Carmona 2008:120)

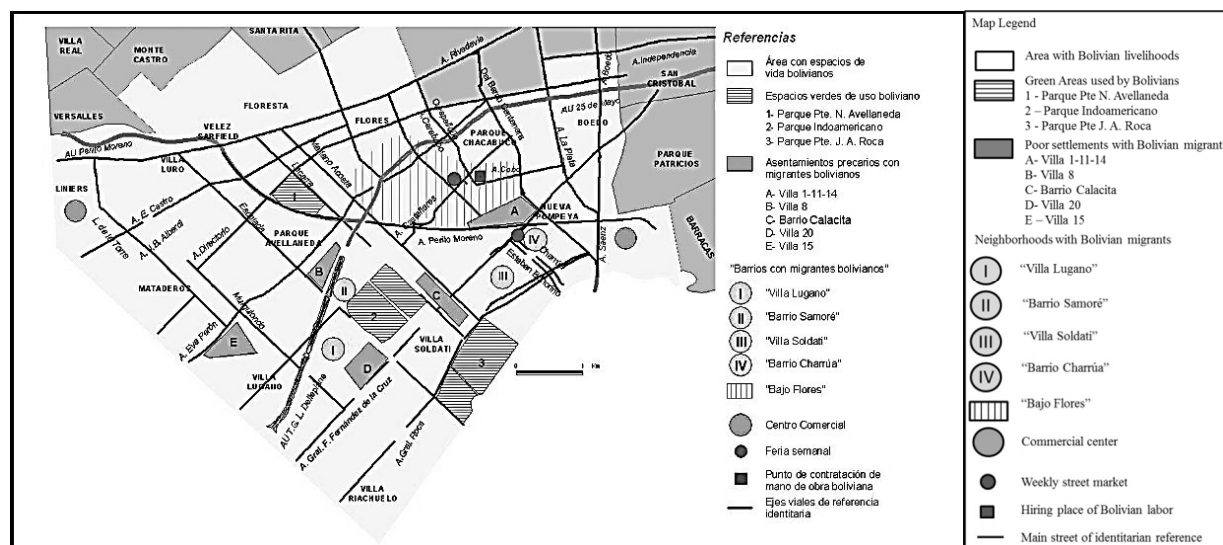
“Entre esos lugares de residencia se destacan Villa Lugano, Barrio Samoré, Villa Soldatti, Barrio Charrúa en el área conocida como “Bajo Flores”. (...) Toma parte de los barrios de Flores, Parque Chacabuco, Villa Soldatti, Parque Avellaneda y Nueva Pompeya. Se han identificado barrios y asentamientos precarios en él, en particular, aunque también en el resto del Sur de la Ciudad” [Among these residential enclaves, the ones that stand out are Villa Lugano, Barrio Samoré, Villa Soldatti, Barrio Charrúa in the área known as “Bajo Flores”. (...) Forming part of the neighborhoods of Flores, Parque Chacabuco, Villa Soldatti, Parque Avellaneda and Nueva Pompeya. Poor neighborhoods and settlements have been particularly identified in Flores, even though there are others in the remaining southern area of the city]. (Sassone 2009:398)

Moreover, the neighborhoods of Liniers and Nueva Pompeya have developed as Bolivian commercial centers. (Sassone 2009:399). The region of Charrúa, one of the most popular and oldest Bolivian spaces in Buenos Aires is situated in Nueva Pompeya neighborhood⁹. Liniers is nowadays informally known as “Little Bolivia” because of the high number of people it attracts every weekend on its Bolivian produce’s street market (Los Tiempos 2011).

Map 4, created by Sassone, focuses on the Bolivian spaces in the southern area of the city of Buenos Aires, and it highlights the neighborhoods, poor settlements (very poorly built and equipped houses, with more accessible costs, known as *villas miseria*), and the areas where the community interacts in every sense (commercial centers, street markets, green public areas, and job offering). Whereas work in garment factories, construction and commerce are mostly performed in this region of the city, agricultural activities are performed in the green areas of the GBA.

⁹ The history of Barrio Charrúa is told by Susana Sassone and Carolina Mera in their article “Barrios de migrantes en Buenos Aires: Identidad, cultura y cohesión socioterritorial” [Migrants’ neighborhoods in Buenos Aires: Identity, culture and socio-territorial cohesion] (2007).

Map 4. Bolivian spaces in the city of Buenos Aires (2001).



Source: Sassone (2007).

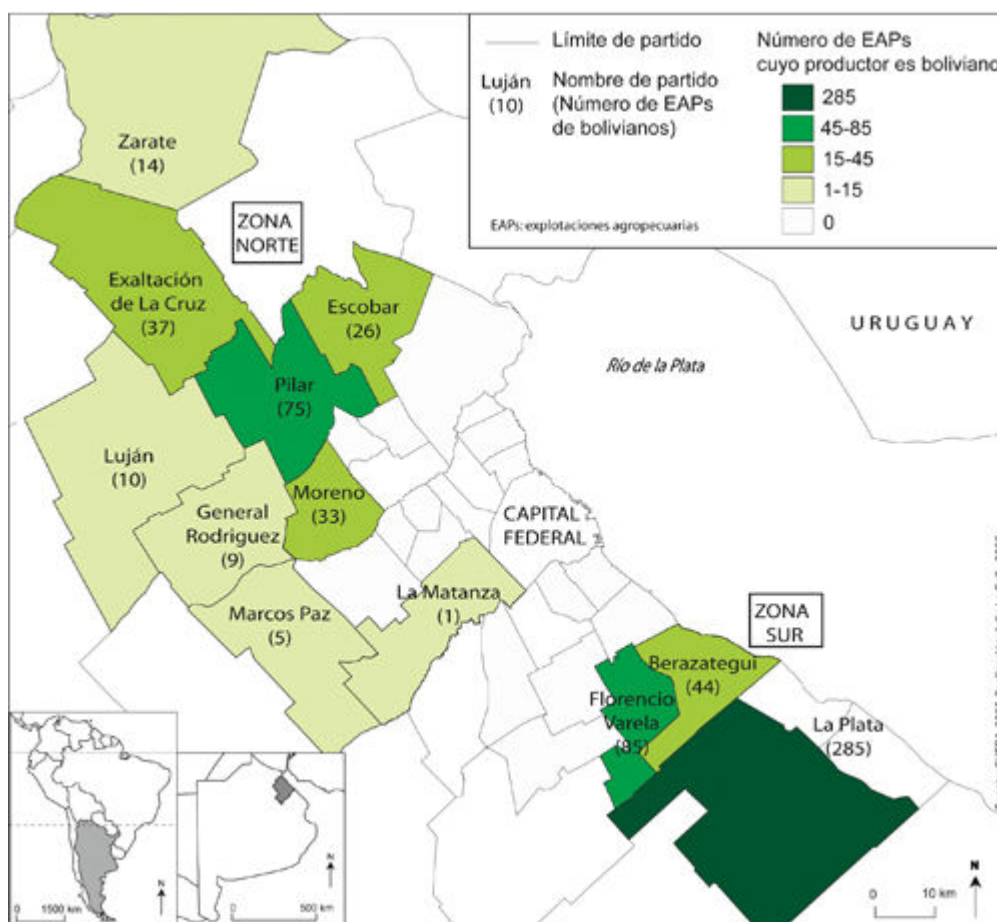
Work is a crucial point of differentiation between the Bolivian group of Buenos Aires and the group formed later in São Paulo. Whereas in the latter the main occupation of almost the whole (especially when referring to the mass migrant wave) community is the garment industry, in Buenos Aires the situation is differently shaped. In the early days of Bolivian migration in Argentina, Bolivians would work mostly in mining and agricultural jobs in the northern border of the country. Since 1980s, diverse opportunities appeared and these immigrants moved south and started settling in the region of the AMBA. Men would mostly work in the construction sector, and women found jobs as street sellers, domestic workers, and helpers in the sweatshops (Benencia 1995).

Nowadays, the diversity of jobs in which Bolivian immigrants are employed remains. Another aspect that has not changed is the differentiation between men and women's activities. On the one hand, the former tend to find work in agriculture (in the peripheral areas of the Buenos Aires province) (Map 5), construction and garment manufacturing.

“Since the 2001 economic and political crisis, (men) have decreased their participation in building because of diminishing opportunities in the construction industry. A number of migrants from the community of ex-miners were able to become upwardly mobile and are now working in relatively more stable and better paid jobs such as bus drivers and nurses”. (Bastia 2007:658)

Regarding the nursing jobs, these are more linked to women. In addition, women can be found in the garment manufacturing, domestic work, and selling clothes and vegetables. It is important to notice that in the garment manufacturing industry and the agricultural works, it is still very common to find denunciations of illegal and precarious labor conditions, which are compared even with forced work (slavery).

Map 5. Agricultural lands in Buenos Aires province with the presence of Bolivian producers.



Source: Le Gall and García (2010).

Another issue worth mentioning and discussing relates to the fact that remittances are very common among the Bolivian community, and much of the amount earned by immigrants is sent back home in order to help their families to buy food and improve their living conditions. According to Jemio and Pacheco (2009) based on information provided by the Bolivia's Central Bank, in 2009, Argentina represented the second largest origin of remittances for Bolivia (21% of the total amount of remittances received), standing only behind Spain (42%). The amount that came from Brazil was very smaller in relation to these, representing only 3% of the total.

The immigrant community has diverse forms of sending money from Argentina to Bolivia. There are the traditional specialized companies such as Western Union and Moneygram, that have agencies in the larger cities of the country, other smaller local companies such as Argenper (that also offers other services besides sending remittances, such as selling airplane tickets, bus tickets, and vacation packages), and also online companies (such as Xoom.com) that offer the service through internet transactions. These transactions may cost from USD 5 up to 3% of the amount being sent. Moreover, in the local publications that have the Bolivian collectivity as readers, it is possible to find advertisements of these companies.

People, Settlement and Work in São Paulo

According to the 2000 Mercosul Census, approximately 50% of Bolivians in Brazil resided in the state of São Paulo. The city of Sao Paulo contains 38% of all Bolivians in Brazil and the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (RMSP)¹⁰ 44%. The gender distribution of this community in the state of São Paulo is balanced; however it is possible to identify a slightly larger male predominance (56%). Furthermore, the largest portion of the community in the country is

¹⁰ Metropolitan Region of São Paulo [Região Metropolitana de São Paulo] (RMSP): this region comprehends the city of São Paulo and other 38 neighboring cities that form one of the world's largest continuous urban area.

between 20 and 44 years old (IBGE 2000). Concerning the topic of education, Brazil's last census shows that 64% of Bolivian men aged 21 and above had reached at least secondary (high-school) levels of education. When analyzing the same data for Bolivian women the number reaches only 49% (IBGE 2000).

The main places of origin of Bolivians in São Paulo are La Paz, Oruro, Potosí and Cochabamba. The most common ports of entrance are the bordering Brazilian cities of Corumbá (Mato Grosso do Sul) and Cáceres (Mato Grosso). In his work, Campos (2009) highlights the experience of Bolivian immigrants who entered the country in Cáceres and received a 30 day visa permit from the border officer (the official Mercosur agreement stipulates that tourist visas can last up to 90 days). When these immigrants mentioned they would need more time, they were told by the officer to contact the Bolivian consulate and ask for their help in solving the situation (those who cannot legalize their situation have to pay a fine when leaving the country). Campos also reinforces that when migrants are not allowed to enter Brazil in these places, or when they are undocumented, they travel to other cities in northern and southern borders of Brazil where there is less border control. In 2007, the results of a research with Bolivians in the neighborhood of Bom Retiro in São Paulo (coordinated by Claudio Ferreira da Silva for the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*) revealed that 71% of the migrants came to the city with friends or family, and 29% migrated by themselves. Furthermore, 87% of these migrants claimed that they already knew someone who was waiting for them when they moved to the city. The vast majority claimed to have migrated in order to work, and smaller portions alleged having moved to study or to reunite with their families (*Folha de São Paulo* 2007).

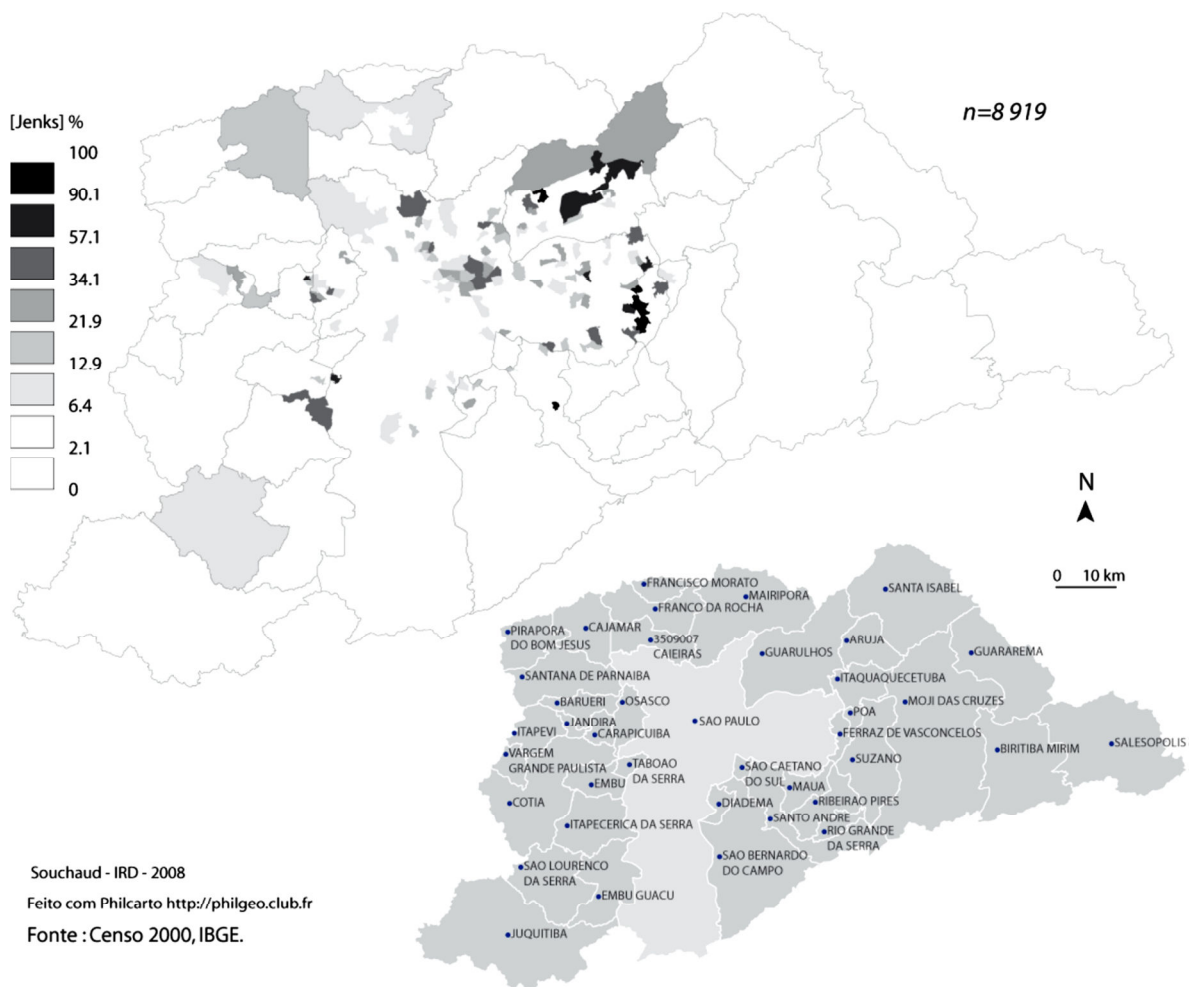
In one of my conversations with a Bolivian immigrant in São Paulo, he told me that he had moved to Brazil in 1997 after having lived in Buenos Aires for three years with his sister. He

said he moved to São Paulo because the economy was not so good in Argentina, and Brazil's new currency (Real) was more desirable. He also commented that he knew many people that did the same movement, and it was common for Bolivians to migrate not only to a single place in their lives. Moreover, this immigrant also told me that people in his family currently live in diverse places in South America. He is now married to a Brazilian woman, and they have a Brazilian daughter, however because of his work connections (he is a jeans pants designer), they live more among the Bolivian community in the city, rather than mingling with the Paulistanos¹¹. When asked about his desire to return to Bolivia, he said he wants to do it, but he procrastinates this decision since things are going well in São Paulo.

The Bolivian migrant community in São Paulo is highly concentrated in the neighborhoods of Brás, Pari, and Bom Retiro in the central-eastern part of the city. Differently from the Bolivians in Buenos Aires, the places where most Bolivians live in São Paulo are in the central areas of the city where there is a slightly higher level of settlement in such neighborhoods, when compared to the places in Argentina. As a matter of fact, while it is common to hear about Bolivians living in the slums in Buenos Aires, in São Paulo it is quite the opposite. However, it is important to highlight that this does not mean that life conditions for these migrants are much better in São Paulo as most Bolivians live in poor conditions, usually in a room in the garment factories where they work. Moreover, in the last years there has been a spread of the places where Bolivians settle throughout the RMSP. Some of the migrants moved to peripheral poorer neighborhoods in the northeast, northwest and southeast areas of the city, and also to other municipalities close to such regions such as Guarulhos, Cajamar, and the ABCD area cities (Santo Andre, São Bernardo, São Caetano and Diadema).

¹¹ The people from the city of São Paulo are known as Paulistanos.

Map 6. Spatial distribution of Bolivians in the RMSP.



Source: Souchaud (2010:14).

Map 6 shows a tendency of the community in São Paulo to become less centralized and more dispersed and thus more similar to the Bolivians in Buenos Aires. However, it is important to note the fact that in most cases where Bolivians have moved to different areas of the city or to towns in the province, these movements are related to the necessities of sweatshop owners who try to save money by moving to less urban areas in the province where life and taxes are cheaper), and also, there are several cases in which factories' owners choose to be far from the traditional, well-known places, in order to be better protected from the eyes of the ministry of work of the Brazilian government, which make inspections from time to time.

The main source of income of the Bolivian immigrants comes from work in sewing factories (clandestine in most cases), where they have to deal with work exploitation (long hours, low wages, unhealthy work-environment), and issues of being undocumented (Silva 1997:13-14). Most Bolivians travel to Brazil without having work-visas; they enter the country as tourists, and after three months, when their visas expire, they find themselves as illegal immigrants in the country (Teles 2007:38). There are also cases in which there is a person that does the recruiting in Bolivia and charge a certain amount to help the immigrants cross the borders (these people are known as coyotes or gatos [cats]). In some cases, this person confiscates the migrants' passports in order for them to pay extra money to be helped entering the country without having to talk to the immigration authorities (there is a fear of not being allowed to enter even as a tourist at the border) (Campos 2009). Furthermore, there are other common cases of immigrants that enter the country with their documents, but have them taken by the people who hire them in the garment factories. The factories' owners usually do it to be in control of the immigrants' decisions. They claim they will only give them the passport back once they have worked enough to be able to pay back the cost of the trip to São Paulo. The numbers of undocumented migrants vary according to the different entities that evaluate the situation: the Bolivian consulate estimates that there are about 50 thousand clandestine Bolivians in São Paulo, the Migrant Pastoral believes they are 70 thousand, and the Ministry of Work and Employment estimates that there are around 10 and 30 thousand undocumented Bolivian migrants in the city.

Remittances are also an important part of the Bolivians daily lives. There are three main ways through which money is sent from Brazil to Bolivia: one is the large financial companies that do the service (Western Union and Remessa Expressa) and charge from USD 25 up to 5% of the transaction, depending on the amount being sent. Another way is sending the money by the

people that constantly come and go to Bolivia, and there are also illegal companies that send the money without doing any formal register of the transaction (Campos 2009), escaping the formal governmental control of transactions. One interesting fact is the influence that the two larger companies have over the organization of the Bolivian community in São Paulo. They have advertisements in the small circulation newspapers that are dedicated to the issues of, they also support small local businesses of Bolivians in order for them to have a flyer or a poster on their walls, another form of engaging is giving money for the organization of Bolivian events (such as the Kantuta street market and the Bolivias' independence celebration)¹². In this last case, these companies usually have a promotional stand where they divulge their work and give small prizes in order to reinforce their presence in the community. Prizes are also offered by such companies in order to increase their number of clients, for example, for every Bolivian that would send money through Western Union, they would give a t-shirt that looked like Bolivia's national soccer team uniform.

Image 1. Remittance's companies advertisements at Bolivia's Independence Celebration in São Paulo (August 2011).



Source: photographs taken by the author.

¹² I will approach the Bolivian Celebrations in detail in the next chapter.

Comparative analysis of the the Bolivian community in Buenos Aires in the 1990s and in São Paulo in 2011.

This section aims to provide a comparative analysis of the Bolivian community in the two cities at similar stages of historical development rather than at the same period, based on a 20 year time span after immigration first acquired noticeable levels. It thus compares conditions in Buenos Aires in the 1990s and those in Sao Paulo at the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century.

The first aspect that differentiates both communities is the size of the immigrant groups. By the early 1990s, the official counts of the Argentine census indicated around 20,000 Bolivians living in the AMBA. In 2001, a new census brought an impressive increase in this number which registered around 139,000 Bolivians residing in the same area. The Brazilian case presents smaller figures. In the year 2000, the official census counted approximately 9,000 Bolivians in the RMSP (which represents 44% of the total number of Bolivian immigrants in the country, as previously mentioned). By the late 2000s, the latest unofficial data from the Bolivian consulate affirmed that there were around 80,000 Bolivians living in Brazil as a whole (Campos 2009). Thus, it is possible to perceive a different growth tendency between both collectivities in similar periods of the immigration process. This demographic contrast, together with the work distribution also impacts the spatial distribution of the groups in both cities, as described in the previous section. In São Paulo there is a larger concentration of the Bolivian immigrants in the central area of the city, connected to the location of the garment factories. Also, the recent spread of the community to other areas of the RMSP is attached to the (re)appearance of factories in such areas. The case of Buenos Aires is more diversified since there are a great number of

immigrants who work in different market sectors, which results in a more spread distribution of the Bolivians in diverse areas of the AMBA.

Among the differences between the two collectivities, one that must also be highlighted regards precisely this fact that whereas in Buenos Aires the immigrants have found opportunities since the early 1980s in the agriculture, construction, and the garment industry, the case of São Paulo shows a stronger restriction in terms of work. Bolivians who move to this city already know that the opportunity to be offered for them will be on the garment factories (only a few expect to do domestic work or other forms of tertiary work). Unlikely what early conclusions may draw, these differences between the two groups are established not only because of the maturity of the community in Buenos Aires, but in fact they are the result of historical processes and network formation.

In addition, regarding the issue of labor, one important similarity that can be found is that in both moments in both places there have been several Bolivian migrants who have been willing to undergo exploitive conditions in the garment factories in order to seek a life improvement¹³. These factories are known to offer hard work in harsh, unhealthy conditions, and with little money being paid. Moreover, it is common to find people who work without proper instruments (chairs, safety protection) and who constantly work overtime (in some places, migrants can work for almost 17 hours a day). Also the issue of food is present in both scenarios: some owners charge the food they give to their employees, others give them the same food every day, and the children of migrants who live with them receive less food because they are not working (Campos 2009). Another problem is the constant incidence of tuberculosis among these workers, since they spent several hours working among the dust of the machines.

¹³ Denounces against exploratory work also takes place in the Argentine scenario of immigrants who work with agriculture.

It is also important to highlight the case of one later development of the Bolivian community in Buenos Aires achieved only in 2001, when the group of garment factories workers organized and formed a union (Unión de Trabajadores Costureros¹⁴ [Sewer Workers Union]) that now ensures that less people are working under such degrading conditions. Whereas in Buenos Aires it took some time to the rise of this form of organization among Bolivian workers, in São Paulo, the same form of initiative appeared earlier. In 2011 a Bolivian cooperative was created in the city to help the workers better organize themselves, and it is now taking its first steps with the help of non-profit organizations that help immigrants in the city. In my interview with the director of one of these entities, he mentioned that there are even some moments in which the Argentine experience is used as a role-model for the implementation of practices in the cooperative. This may be a sign that the recent increase in the possibilities of connection and exchange of information through the internet, and other cheap, fast means of communication may enable a faster development of the younger.

Moreover, another common element in these communities in the different periods is the condition of illegality. The majority of the garment industry workers have lived in undocumented conditions and consequently working without any formal register. Therefore, such migrants have had no place to go unless they were able to pay their debts to their bosses and to accumulate money in order to be able either to return to Bolivia or to find job in a legal factory. In Buenos Aires the situation improved as the Argentine congress passed the decree 616/2010 that implements and regulates the Ley de Migraciones [Migrations' Law] 25.871.

Furthermore, one important point to be highlighted is the issue of the circularity of the migration. On the one hand, in the 1980s and 1990s in Buenos Aires, some Bolivians would be

¹⁴ The history of the Unión de Trabajadores Costureros is told by Mariana Barattini in her article "Trabajo esclavo y organización: el caso de la Unión de Trabajadores Costureros en Argentina" [Slave work and organization: the case of the Unión de Trabajadores Costureros in Argentina] (2010).

constantly travelling back and forth to their countries after periods of work (either to visit the family or bring someone back with them, or also to take money to the ones who stayed). This temporary and circular characteristic enabled the migrant community of Buenos Aires to increase and constantly develop social and familiar networks, crucial for the fast development of the group. On the other hand, there is a trace of circularity among the Bolivians who live in São Paulo; however, there is no specific measurement of the intensity of such circularity. The migrants who go back to Bolivia are usually the ones that have been in the country for some time and were able to earn money to pay their debts, and to buy the ticket to go back. It is not uncommon hearing about people who travels back constantly, but these are usually people who are either the owners of garment factories or migrants who managed to succeed in other occupations (doctors, dentists, shop owners). There are flights to Bolivia leaving São Paulo at least three times a week, but the real movement of migrants take place in the buses that come from the borders in Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul. The representatives of the Bolivian Residents Association of São Paulo informed me that every day there is at least one bus full of Bolivian migrants arriving in the neighborhood of Pari to work at the garment factories.

Lastly, it is also paramount to notice the relationship established with the Korean community in both places which had the same trajectory in these different periods. What links Bolivians and Koreans is the fact that the latter immigrated to South America in the 1960s, and entered the garment fabrication industry. In a first moment, Koreans were also sewers, working for long hours in the same exploratory model. By that time, the sweatshops were owned by the Jewish immigrants. Later on, the Korean immigrants started accumulating money, which allowed them to buy sewing machines and opening their own small factories. This moment coincided with the arrival of several Bolivian workers in Argentina and later in Brazil. Thus, the Koreans started to

hire Bolivians (who accepted to work for long hours, for little payments, and almost did not complain), the process of recruiting started in the receiving countries but it expanded to Bolivia. The last and current development of this relationship is characterized by a further change in the relations, as many Koreans started opening their own shops to sell the clothes, and few remained as factories' owners. In the same meantime, a few Bolivians were able to save money, buy machines, and start their small factories, or even they bought the place from a Korean. According to some authors (Silva 1999, Campos 2009, Rizek et al. 2010), there are diverging opinions regarding the Korean boss – Bolivian migrant worker relationship. On the one hand, some migrants claim it is better to work for the Koreans because they pay you correctly and give better labor conditions. On the other hand, there is a case of a migrant who said her Korean boss not only did not give them proper conditions to work, but also that he was very violent with his employees (Rizek et al. 2010:136).

All in all, it can be stated that the Bolivian community in São Paulo has much similarities with the situation lived by the same group in Buenos Aires 20 years ago. However, it seems that mostly because of the improvement of the forms of connection in the last years (with better telecommunications services), news now come and go faster, and there is an increase in the possibilities of exchange between the two communities. Unfortunately, I could not find any research that focused on this transnational relation between Bolivians in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, even though it seems that this relation is mostly based on familiar/social networks, and these are the triggers of the next transformations. Although it is not possible to predict precisely what will happen to the Bolivian community in São Paulo, it seems that they will be able at least to develop a higher level of organization in a much faster pace than the Argentine community could to do it.

CHAPTER 3

The (in)visible Bolivian spaces in Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

One year ago, I was talking to a Bolivian colleague at Columbia University, and she told me that her home province was lacking young people to work at the farmlands because all of them had migrated to Argentina. After that, I started thinking about Bolivian immigration in my hometown (São Paulo), and the first reference that came to my mind were the Bolivian musicians who sold their CDs in the weekly street markets. Going further in my research, I ended up learning about the Bolivian “hidden” space inside São Paulo (a phenomenon that also exists in Buenos Aires). The relationship of the community with the city reaches wider spaces than most locals imagine. During my fieldwork, I was at a large Bolivian event held in the downtown area of São Paulo, and as people passed by, some would stop and look amazed at the number of Bolivians present in the place. One of the Paulistanos that was by my side asked me at a certain moment: “Where do all these Bolivians come from?” The tone in his voice was clearly of amazement and curiosity, as he would never imagine that all those people were in fact his neighbors.

Among all fields of interaction of the Bolivian immigrant communities with their host cities, the most visible is certainly labor relations. Finding better employment opportunities is what motivates most immigrants (not only Bolivians) to leave their home countries, and face the challenge of finding their place in a new sociocultural reality. However, besides work, these immigrants also encounter several other barriers (such as cultural differences) in their path for adaptation in the host city. Nonetheless, the vast majority of such immigrant communities strive

in order to succeed in building their own form of interaction with the city, which extrapolates the realm of work negotiation, and reaches all forms of sociocultural exchange on a daily basis.

Therefore, this chapter will approach the various forms of sociocultural adaptation and assimilation of Bolivian collectivities in Buenos Aires and São Paulo. The first part of this chapter will bring an overview about the general panorama of each of these groups, which will be followed by the analysis of two cases of Bolivian spaces being built in both cities. The last section will make a brief discussion about assimilation, regarding the identification of first and second generations with the cities, as well as discussing issues of discrimination.

The Bolivian collectivity in Buenos Aires.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Buenos Aires there is a widespread presence of the Bolivian collectivity in the southern area of the city. Moreover, the interaction between the Bolivian community, other immigrants, and Argentines relies much on the kind of work performed, as the migrants end up having a more intensive daily relation with the people that are employed in the same industry as theirs. Added to this fact, there is a large number of Bolivians living outside the city of Buenos Aires, either in the other Gran Buenos Aires' partidos (counties) or in other provinces of the country. Over 90% of the Bolivians residing in Argentina are concentrated in 5 provinces (Indec 2011) (see map 7). All these characteristics result in a lower level of cohesion in the organizational structure of the immigrant group.

Moreover, there are several diverse organizations that aim to promote the sociocultural events of the Bolivian collectivity, and also to speak in the name of all the Bolivians in Buenos Aires. I was told by one of my informants that, because of such conflicts, the Bolivian consulate

in the city puts itself in a very specific position: they only represent the Bolivian government's voice, rather than the voice of their immigrant community living in Argentina as a whole.

Map 7 – Five main provinces where Bolivians inhabit in Argentina.



Source: Map based on www.aki-turismo.com.ar. Accessed on January 13th, 2012.

Highlights based on data from Indec (2011).

Another institution that works closely with the Bolivian collectivity is the Catholic Church. It acts as an entity that enables these immigrants to legalize their situation, and also as a mediator and agent of connection among the community. The Scalabrinian Missionaries have a place in Buenos Aires called Casa del Migrante (Migrant's House), which receives immigrants (not only Bolivians), offering them housing and meals, and helps them integrate in the local

society Since many of Bolivians are Catholic¹⁵, there is an element of trustworthiness embedded in the relationship of the church with this collectivity. This element of religiosity stimulates the construction of social ties between the Bolivians and the church, and it consequently makes part of their daily lives and cultural expressions, participating closely in the organization of celebrations and other cultural events for the collectivity.

In addition, socialization within the Bolivian community increases during weekends, when men go to public parks to play soccer. This is one of the preferred activities of men in moments of leisure. The immigrants organize themselves in teams, and organize tournaments among them. Besides that, there are several folkloric groups that get together every weekend to rehearse traditional dances, and to make presentations in sociocultural events of the collectivity. These fraternidades give the immigrants an opportunity to reconnect with their homeland. They are also a space of social interaction for the collectivity¹⁶.

Furthermore, the Bolivian collectivity developed a network of information through which the immigrants receive news of Bolivia, Argentina, and all matters that concern immigrant life in the city. Based in Buenos Aires and other places of the country are radio stations dedicated to the Bolivian immigrant audience, from songs to news, increasing their feeling of proximity to Bolivia. Grimson (1999) refers to the radio programs as important tools that enhance the Bolivian identity in the immigrant collectivity:

“Estos programas son un espacio de la construcción, transformación y re-creación de las identidades de los inmigrantes bolivianos. Los radialistas son un sector fundamental de

¹⁵ Lately there has been an increase in the number of evangelicals among Bolivians. In one of my interviews in São Paulo with a representative of one of the Catholic Church institutions that work with the Bolivians, I was told about this growth of evangelical church followers among the immigrants, but that this new religious affiliation did not affect negatively the relationship with the Catholic groups.

¹⁶ Carmona (2008) has a very thorough research about the interactions and the importance of the soccer league and folkloric groups for Bolivians in Buenos Aires.

los intelectuales – en el sentido amplio- de la colectividad, de los “productores” de bolivianidad. [These programs are a space of construction, transformation and re-creation of the Bolivian immigrants identities. The radio announcers are a fundamental sector of the intellectuals – in a larger sense – of the collectivity, of the “producers” of bolivianidad] (99).

There are also two important publications Periódico Renacer and Periódico Nueva Bolivia¹⁷. Both have print and online editions, and are written for the Bolivian audience exclusively. Their contents include news from Bolivia and Argentina, topics related to the immigrant condition, and also news of the sociocultural life of the collectivity. On the one hand, Periódico Renacer is written by a group of Bolivians who wish to give voice to the indigenous people of the Andean lands. This publication is distributed in all Gran Buenos Aires, some few places in the countryside of Argentina, and also in La Paz and Cochabamba in Bolivia. According to the information in their website, for each publication they print 10,000 copies. The advertisements in Periódico Renacer belong to transportation companies offering trips to and from Bolivia, and firms that help the immigrants send money to their families. On the other hand, Periódico Nueva Bolivia was created by young Bolivians pursuing college degrees, and who aim to bring impartial news about the collectivity. It is distributed only in the city of Buenos Aires, and it includes not only advertisements of large companies, but also has a section of classifieds. None of the publications is freely distributed. Nueva Bolivia charges 2 pesos (0.50 dollars) for each edition, and Renacer offers a year-round subscription of 22 editions for 80 pesos (3.65 pesos/0.92 dollars per edition).

The Bolivian collectivity in São Paulo.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Bolivian collectivity in São Paulo is mostly concentrated in one central area of the city and even though there has been dispersion to other

¹⁷ Periódico Renacer: <http://www.renacerbol.com.ar>. Periódico Nueva Bolivia: <http://www.nuevabolivia.com.ar>.

areas of the RMSP, the majority of the immigrants remain living in the same area, contrasting with the widespread residential situation of the Bolivian collectivity in Buenos Aires. This centralization is due to the localization of the (most of the time clandestine) sweatshops where the majority of the Bolivian immigrants in São Paulo work. The occupations in the garment industry are mostly attached to the sewing activities. Among the early immigrants, some are factories' owners, and a few work as designers or in other occupations related to this industry. There are also a few Bolivian immigrants who work as doctors, dentists and lawyers, but even these usually tend to work mainly within the Bolivian community. It can be affirmed that there is a concentrated space in which the Bolivians feel free to circulate in the city, and this is where they build their lives. Differently from Buenos Aires, the Bolivian consulate in São Paulo accepted talking about the conditions of the community in the city, and offered a detailed description of the image they have and that they also want people to have of this immigrant group. The consulate's discourse constantly reinforces that Bolivian people are very intelligent, dexterous, and hard-workers. According to the interview I did with the vice-consul, it seems that one of their objectives is to increase the proximity between Brazilians and Bolivians, and to raise awareness of the importance of that by showing all the advantages Bolivia and its people have to offer.

Furthermore, since this is a smaller collectivity than the one in Buenos Aires, the Catholic Church has an even more extensive participation in its organizational structure and daily lives. There are two church-led main institutions where Bolivians can count on to solve their documentation issues and also to ask for help in solving other problems: the oldest is the Migrant Pastoral, situated in the central area of the city, where they offer religious, civic, and juridical orientation for all immigrants who live in SP. Similarly to Buenos Aires, the group of

Scalabrinian Missionaries responsible for the Migrant Pastoral also runs a project called Casa do Migrante (Migrant's House) which receives recently arrived immigrants and refugees. Another important entity is the Centro de Apoio ao Migrante – CAMI (Migrants' Support Center) that also offers juridical help for the immigrants. In 2010, another institution was created in order to help increase the level of organization of the immigrant communities in the city, and it addresses human rights issues. This entity is called Centro de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania do Imigrante – CDHIC (Immigrants' Human Rights and Citizenship Center). It consists of an independent initiative disconnected from the Catholic church. This last group is responsible for the editing and publishing of a publication named Conexión Migrante (Migrant Connection), which is freely distributed, and addresses all the topics related to the immigrant communities residing in Brazil (not only about the Bolivian community as it is the case of Renacer and Nueva Bolivia publications in Buenos Aires).

Even though there are differences among these groups, all of them work together in certain initiatives such as the Immigrants' March that took place in SP in December 4th, 2011, and had as its main claim the urgency in a modification in the Brazilian regulation that will allow the immigrants who reside in the country to vote in Brazilian elections. According to the interviews I made with the representatives of the groups mentioned above, unless immigrants are allowed to vote, they will remain being less prioritized by the political actors, who will continue to take better care of projects that benefit those who can give them votes, rather than dedicating themselves to an immigrant group cause. These three major groups are also responsible for the formation of the basic structure existing in the Bolivian collectivity in the city.

Furthermore, these groups sponsored and helped with the creation of the Associação de Residentes Bolivianos – ADRB (Bolivian Residents' Association), Associação de Grupos

Folkloricos (Folkloric Groups' Association), and also the Bolivian workers' cooperative, which is still an incipient project, but that already has effective plans, such as the creation of a mall in the city of Guarulhos (Greater São Paulo area) for the commercialization of garments produced in the Bolivian sweatshops. The first two associations mentioned have as their responsibilities offering civil and medical aid, and organizing the divulgation of the Bolivian culture, respectively.

Regarding the circulation of information, in São Paulo there are also some local-based Bolivian radio stations. These are usually illegal stations, and can only broadcast to a small part of the town. Dias (2010) developed a detailed study of the Bolivian radios in São Paulo, and he highlights the importance of this mean of communication as the most effective way of making information reach the largest number of immigrants. Furthermore, in the case of the sweatshop workers, the radio has diverse functions. According to the research done by Silva (1997), the factory owners use the radio to wake the employers up; they also leave the volume on a high level to prevent the workers from talking to each other (which, consequently, makes them work more, and reduces the possibility for them to organize against their boss). For these sewers, the radio is also a form of connecting with their home country and with the outside world, since the windows in the sweatshops are usually closed in order not to attract other people's attention.

Regarding the topic of information, there is also a website named Bolivia Cultural¹⁸ that publishes all sorts of information about the Bolivian collectivity in São Paulo, and that also organize campaigns in order to promote a larger integration of the Brazilian community with the Bolivians who reside in the country. At the moment, there is a campaign named "Eu Amo Bolívia" [I love Bolivia], that aims to increase the population's knowledge about their Bolivian

¹⁸ Bolívia Cultural: www.boliviacultural.com.br.

neighbors by showing pictures Brazilian artists and celebrities wearing the campaign's t-shirt and giving interviews supporting the initiative.

The next two sections will explore in detail two forms of organization that exist in both cities, and that are very helpful to see how the Bolivian collectivity establishes its own sociocultural spaces within the Porteña (Buenos Aires) and Paulistana (São Paulo) communities, inserting their cultural values and traditions, and changing the landscape of both cities.

Street markets (La Salada/Bonorino versus Kantuta).

Analyzing both immigrant experiences, the Bolivian street markets appear as fundamental pieces in the construction of Bolivian spaces in the host cities. It is not only because they offer traditional Bolivian products, and bring the community together on weekends, but also because they have the capacity of raising visibility for the collectivity both in the neighborhood level, as well as towards the political authorities of the cities. As it will be shown over the next paragraphs, the street markets helped to formally legitimize some Bolivian areas in Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

When taking a closer look on the Bolivian community in Buenos Aires, it is possible to identify two exponential street markets in the city. The first is the Feria La Salada. La Salada started as a small market, founded by Bolivians who wished to sell Bolivian products. Later on, the market grew intensively and it crossed over its Bolivian borders, having nowadays people from other nationalities (Paraguayans, Peruvians, and even Argentines) working as retailers. La Salada is now a market that offer cheap products (clothing, accessories, home artifacts, toys, CDs, DVDs, etc. – some of these coming even from clandestine factories), and it receives lower income people from all the GBA area, interested in its low prices. The main market is located in

a peripheral area of Buenos Aires, thus it does not attract the tourists that remain in the most central areas of the city. Therefore, some retailers decide to create smaller versions of the market, known as Las Saladitas (The Little Saladas), located in the downtown area of Buenos Aires, close to Calle Florida (a famous street of the city where tourists go shopping). According to the Argentine newspaper *La Nación* (2007), in 2007 La Salada was considered the largest black market in Latin America. The market expanded even to the internet, and nowadays there is a website where people can purchase their products online¹⁹.

The other street market essential in the Bolivians quotidian is named Feria Bonorino. It takes place in the neighborhood of Bajo Flores, and it is coordinated by the Asociación de Feriantes de Bonorino (Bonorino Retailers Association). Due to its proximity to the Bolivian settlements and to the smaller size of the market, nowadays Feria Bonorino is acknowledged as the most important Bolivian market in the city (Sassone 2009:399). Nonetheless, even though it does not have the same size as La Salada, in 2001, this market had over 500 stands (Cortes 2001:131). In Feria Bonorino, market all sorts of Bolivian produces (produced both in Bolivia and in Argentina) are sold; there are people selling traditional Bolivian food. Thus, this space becomes a meeting point for the collectivity on weekends.

In the case of São Paulo, there is only one Bolivian street market named Feira Kantuta, which carries similar characteristics as Feria Bonorino; however its size is incomparably smaller. Feira Kantuta takes place every Sunday in the neighborhood of Pari in São Paulo, and it is organized by the Associação Gastronômica Cultural Folclórica Boliviana Padre Bento (created by the Bolivian collectivity). Because the market has grown largely (side-by-side with the

¹⁹ <http://www.mercadolasalada.com>

Bolivian community in the city), after some years of its existence, the city council decided to change the original name of the square Feira Kantuta is located, and nowadays, the place is called Praça Kantuta (Kantuta Square).

Every Sunday, Kantuta Square is filled with several small stands, that are transformed in small restaurant, hairdressers, small shops that sell: Bolivian products (food, clothing, artifacts), music and films (in this case, they sell not only products made in Bolivia, but also they sell the photographs and videos of the Bolivian events that take place in the city of São Paulo, or even of the Folkloric groups presentations in other places), telephonic cards, and all other sorts of objects very present in the everyday lives of the Bolivians, that are not necessarily attractive to the Paulistanos. Moreover, the collectivity also uses the square as a leisure space during the weekends, and diverse attractions are offered both for the children (inflatable castles, taekwondo free classes) and adults (live music, folkloric groups' presentations, and also a soccer court is available at the place). At the same time that the Kantuta Street Market is a viable, attractive leisure option for Bolivians on weekend, one must look carefully at what it represents in terms of adaptation. While Kantuta Square is a successful Bolivian enclave in SP, it represents at the same time the difficulty that this community has to become part of the city as a whole. Traditionally, during the weekend the Paulistanos go to shopping malls (there are over 25 large malls around the city that are complete entertainment centers, offering stores, restaurants, movie theaters, children's attractions, etc.), and even though there is an expressive amount of possibilities, it is quite rare to see a Bolivian walking in such places. This immigrant community ends up confined in a specific space of the city, interacting mostly among itself, rather than mingling with the Brazilian community that is all around it.

As seen above, the street markets have an important role as places of integration of the Bolivians, and they also bring visibility to the community. Whereas the communities keep growing bigger, these spaces also tend to grow, and this results in an enhancement of their visibility. While some local people are willing to participate, others feel bothered with this foreign presence in their daily lives. Silva (2005:42) interviewed some Paulistanos who lived in the neighborhood of Pari and registered comments regarding Bolivians' lack of manners because they trashed the streets, and that they should have a separate space for them so they could not bother the other people with their lack of hygiene and social politeness. Nevertheless, by establishing their own spaces in the city, the Bolivian immigrants inevitably imposed some form of interaction with the host community, and after some time had their presence recognized even by the local authorities.

Fiestas: Virgen de Copacabana and Virgen de Urkupiña.

Catholic Bolivians have a strong tradition of celebrating their protective divinities in order to ask for protection and to be thankful for the good deeds. Accordingly, the immigrant communities around the world have also found their own manner to celebrate their faith in their host countries. Moreover, they have been able to reproduce most of what takes place in Bolivia, in their new hometowns. In this section, I will discuss the issue of visibility based on my fieldwork experience with the relationship these communities in Buenos Aires and São Paulo establish with these fiestas.

In Buenos Aires, the fiestas (celebrations) for the Virgins of Copacabana and Urkupiña usually take place in the Bolivian neighborhoods. The few events that commonly take place in the central areas of the city are cultural demonstrations of immigrant communities and the Feria

de Alacitas, which takes place every January. Unfortunately during my fieldwork I could not attend any of the celebrations in Buenos Aires, however, I attended a photo exhibit at the Centro Cultural de Recoleta that was very helpful in understanding the force presence of the Bolivian collectivity in the city. The exhibit was named *Transparencia* and its purpose was to show how the different migrant communities that live in Buenos Aires still maintain some of their traditions and somehow transform and build a different city. It presented pictures from the years 2008 to 2011, and the Bolivian community appeared in all of the years, with pictures of both national and catholic celebrations downtown, and also photos of their neighborhoods in peripheral areas of the city. In comparison to the other collectivities represented in the exhibit, the Bolivians were not only represented in more pictures, but also were the ones who had more photographs in different contexts than only their participation in cultural parades in the noble areas of the city. This shows an element of strong visibility of the Bolivian collectivity in the city of Buenos Aires. However, at the same time, appearing more than other groups also reinforces the difference between the local and the immigrant communities.

If, on the one hand, I could not closely see the fiestas in Buenos Aires, during my fieldwork in São Paulo I was able to attend the main celebrations for the Virgins of Urkupiña and Copacabana, including an enormous public celebration that happens every year in the Memorial da America Latina (Latin America Memorial), situated in a central area of São Paulo. This celebration started as a small event that used to occur at the parking lot of the Igreja Nossa Senhora da Paz (Our Lady of Peace Church), organized by the Migrant Pastoral together with some of the community leaders, and nowadays, for the last 5 years, the celebration increased its expression, moving to this large public space, and it is now organized by the Associação Cultural de Grupos e Conjuntos Folclóricos Bolívia Brasil (Cultural Association of Folkloric Groups and

Bands Bolivia Brazil). It is not only the celebration of the two virgins but it is also the Fiesta de la Independencia de Bolivia (Bolivia's Independence Celebration).

I had the fortunate experience of participating in a day-long celebration (the event occurs during a whole weekend) in August, 2011. I arrived at 10:00 a.m. at the event, and there were many people already occupying the bleachers built for the people to watch the parade of the Bolivian folkloric groups. Not only the bleachers were all occupied, but there were people occupying all other spaces close to the parade area, sitting on plastic chairs so they could also have a good view. At around 10:30am there was an entrance in the parade area of the images of the two virgins (Urkupiña and Copacabana), and the two images were placed in front of a stage where the judges of the parade were going to be seated. At this moment, the priest who is responsible for the Migrant Pastoral in São Paulo started to say a prayer, asking for the protection of both virgins for all the Bolivian community, and for the two days of event. After that, the first group started its presentation. It was a small group, with very young people participating in it, presenting a Diablada. Everyone was wearing traditional costumes brought from Bolivia, with the exception of the shoes (some of the men were wearing regular sneakers you can see on the feet of many young people in large cities around the world). The second group was even smaller. They came from a smaller region of Bolivia and their greatest feature was their band that played the zampoña (pan-flute), probably the most recognizable sound of Bolivia in the city of São Paulo (one may hear the sound of zampoñas on Sundays in the neighborhood of Liberdade, where there is weekly at least one Bolivian trying to sell CDs that play contemporary popular songs played in the zampoña).

By the time the second presentation was ending, my attention was being caught by the increase in the number of people attending the event, and also the number of Paulistanos that

would stop by and try to understand what was happening (as a matter of fact, there is little divulgation of the event in the local newspapers, and television. Usually there is a small note on the lower corner of a page, and no formal advertisement for the people of the city). The third group then started its presentation (a Morenada), and, during the 30 minutes they were celebrating, it seemed that it was “carnaval” in the middle of the year. It was composed by several people, and they were all wearing much elaborated costumes (with shoes that were also made especially for the occasion), it was all full of color and movement, the music was full of rhythm, and it was a pleasure for the eyes to watch that “sea” of different colors, that was dancing in front of the audience. For the first time, I could actually feel and see the expressiveness of the Bolivian community in São Paulo.

Image 2. Morenada at Bolivia’s Independence Celebration in São Paulo (August 2011).



Source: picture taken by the author on August 6th, 2011.

Image 3. Bolivia's Independence Celebration in São Paulo (August 2011).



Source: picture taken by the author on August 6th, 2011.

As the day went by, more groups continued to present (there were over 20 groups presenting in both days together). All of them had a band that would play the traditional songs live, during the whole parade. If the group was too large, there were two or more bands that would accompany different sectors of the presentation, in order not to be a single moment without live music. The

largest group was a Morenada that had over 2,000 people who participated in the group. The image below shows the moment of this group's parade, and one can notice how they were occupying all the parade area. It is also interesting to notice in Image 3 the presence of the two bands (one in the bottom of the picture, and the other on the top, coming down the ramp), and the different costumes wore according to the characters people were representing. Furthermore, it is possible to see part of the audience that could not find a place on the bleachers, but that found a spot for them to watch closely the event.

Because it was a Saturday, most Bolivians who worked in the sweatshops only came to the celebration in the afternoon, after they had finished their long week of work. It was indeed quite impressive the fast increase in the number of people from 2pm on. This celebration was not only about the parade, but it also had a small market of Bolivian products and food, mostly the people who already have their spots at Kantuta Square every Sunday. From salteñas to chicharrón²⁰, one could find all kinds of Bolivian specialties to eat. By the beginning of the evening, when I was leaving the celebration, I could barely walk, and it seemed that I was no longer in São Paulo. Spanish had become the official language of the place, and I was surrounded by Bolivians. It felt like being at a great fiesta in La Paz. While early in the day I saw families and very quiet people enjoying the parade, by the time I was leaving voices were louder, and the smell of beer in the air was constant. The image of quiet and subordinate that people often use to describe Bolivians was certainly gone by that moment. They were the owners of the place and the party. The Latin America Memorial can receive up to 50,000 people in a single

²⁰ Salteña is a pastry that resembles the Argentine empanada. It consists of baked dough filled with meat, potatoes, onions, and other ingredients cooked with a slightly spicy sauce. Chicharrón is a dish made of pork ribs cooked in their own fat, and seasoned with chichi (Bolivian fermented alcoholic beverage made out of maize).

event. Certainly it was not fully occupied but there were at least over 10,000 immigrants enjoying this all Bolivian moment in the city.

Two weeks after the Bolivian carnival, I attended another celebration of the Virgins of Copacabana and Urkupiña. This time, it was a smaller event, organized by the Migrant Pastoral together with the families responsible for taking care of the virgins in that year. It started with a mass at Igreja Nossa Senhora da Paz, and followed by a little party in which people from the community would thank the families responsible for the virgins, and also meet the families that would be doing the same on the next year. The families also bought salteñas and beer for the people attending the event, and everyone would feast while there was a presentation of the two folkloric groups who were voted the best of the Fiesta de la Independencia.

Image 4. Fiesta de las Virgens de Copacabana y Urkupiña at Igreja Nossa Senhora da Paz in São Paulo (August 2011).



Source: picture taken by the author on August 21st, 2011.

In short, I see the realization of Bolivian fiestas in Buenos Aires and São Paulo as powerful moments of the celebration of bolivianidad. The Bolivian identity of each participant gains more force during the fiestas. It feels as those spaces of the host cities have become places in Bolivia. As a matter of fact is quite delicate to discuss visibility in such case since it can be both argued that there certainly is an element of reinforcement of visibility in fiestas such as Fiesta de Independencia in São Paulo, or the street celebrations which appeared in the photo exhibit in Buenos Aires. However, as smaller events take place in small spaces (such as churches, ball rooms) they seem to be hidden from anyone outside the Bolivian collectivity is able to see and to engage with the rich cultural manifestations presented. Furthermore, because in both cities there still is little support from the local authorities regarding sociocultural integration, most locals are actually not interested in engaging and celebrating together.

Identity and discrimination.

Identity is a very strong word especially for an immigrant. From the moment any person steps on a foreign country, she starts perceiving the differences between her and the host population, and also noticing that the other people also have another perception of her. It is quite easy to know when people judge someone as being a foreigner: either they keep staring at them, or talking to them in a different language than the native language of the country they are, and, also, there are the radical reactions, mostly produced by feelings of prejudice, that usually result on verbal, or sometimes, even physical attacks. Caggiano argues that:

“La identidad social implica entonces la pertenencia de ciertos actores sociales a un colectivo que los comprende, así como la participación de tales actores sociales en el sostenimiento y redefinición de parámetros de agregación de tal grupo, a partir de los cuales se definirá un *nosotros* diferenciado de un *ellos*”. [The social identity implies in the belonging of certain social actors to a collective that includes them, as much as in the participation of these social actors in the sustainability and re-definition of aggregative

parameters of such group, from which will be defined a “*us*” differentiated from “*them*”] (Caggiano 2005:38) (emphasis in original).

Moreover, depending on how an immigrant sees herself and understands the perception local people have of her, she might choose different paths from the rest of the community. While some will remain closely attached to their home country, others will try to adapt and merge into the new society by adopting new habits. There are also those who mix a little bit of everything and keep negotiating in a status in-between both national identities. In the case of Bolivians in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, as well as in most immigrant experiences nowadays, one may easily find these three categories living side-by-side.

In this case, as a matter of fact, there is almost no difference between the experiences lived in both cities. Usually first generation immigrants are very attached to Bolivia and its traditions, and constantly invoke their “*orgullo boliviano*” [Bolivian pride]. The elders tend to have the desire to return to Bolivia to die in the same province they were born. In general, most first generation immigrants then express a desire of going back to Bolivia; however, the profound difference of life conditions from one place to the other, and the lack of opportunities make them stay in Argentina and Brazil. Moreover, as they start having children, they tend to forget about the plans of moving back because the children are more adapted to the new place. In this last case, the issue of opportunities also appears, as both Buenos Aires and São Paulo offer better public education and health services than Bolivia.

Regarding second (and third) generation immigrants, these tend to be more divided in the different categories of integration. On the one hand, some are more attached to the Bolivian origins, whereas some become interested about their parents’ culture (ie. learning quechua and aymara), and many start to participate in folkloric groups, and end up having their social lives

more attached to the Bolivian community. During my interviews with Bolivians in São Paulo, I met a Brazilian girl whose father is a Bolivian and the mother is a Brazilian. She told me that when she was very young, her father left the family and moved back to Bolivia. Nevertheless, as she grew older, she reconnected with her father and her Bolivian origins, and nowadays, all of her friends in São Paulo pertain to the Bolivian community, most of them to the folkloric group in which she participates. She said she tries to make her mother and her sister participate more, but she is actually the only one more dedicated to the community in her family. At the same time, she affirmed that there are a few other Brazilians participating in the folkloric groups who are not related to Bolivian people. In addition she highlighted the fact that once one starts making part of these groups, they tend to live more among the Bolivian rather than the Paulistana community.

On the other hand, there are second-generation children who do not want to learn other languages besides the one they now (Spanish or Portuguese, depending on the case), and as they grow up among Argentine and Brazilian kids at school, they start dressing themselves and behaving the same way the local kids do. Thus, the parents become afraid that the child will not adapt if they go back to Bolivia and end up staying in the new country.

Nonetheless, assimilation is a process that includes both sides of the migratory experience: both the immigrants who struggle to adapt, and the host community who must be willing to incorporate the new community, respecting their original characteristics. However, in the same way other peoples have suffered discrimination, the Bolivian communities in Buenos Aires and São Paulo also face prejudice in their daily lives.

The issue of illegality is also a challenge in what concerns ease of assimilation. The undocumented and illegal immigrants face a unique situation: on the one hand they may suffer discrimination in certain contexts for not having their papers (such as bad reception in public hospitals and institutions), and on the other hand they tend to be considered less threatening in terms of competition for social placement with the locals, as they are in an inferior, illegal situation. Caggiano (2005) highlights the fact that being undocumented puts the immigrants in such a lower position that may even reduce the chances of this group suffering from some other discriminatory acts, such as racist comments.

It is important to highlight that there are differences in the form of discrimination in both cities, but this does not represent that one situation is less preoccupying than the other. As a matter of fact, discrimination against immigrants is seen every day in all parts of the world, and it is a very violent act which only makes deeper the differences among people instead of bringing them together.

In Argentina there is an entrenched discriminatory process in the Argentine society that stigmatizes all immigrants who do not have European traces. According to Grimson (2006), the Argentine society's imaginary believes that their population is a result of what is called a "crisol de razas" [melting pot of races], composed only by European races. Therefore, any non-white group (such as black and indigenous people) does not take part on the composition of the true Argentine. This generates a form of prejudice mostly based on the physical appearance of the people, which stigmatizes people with black and indigenous traits. In the consolidation of such views, Bolivians ended up being considered the the very opposite of what is seen as the true Argentine, and are constantly seen as inferior people. In Argentina, either Bolivians or anyone who might look like a Bolivian, having indigenous facial characteristics, are usually called

‘bolitas’, a pejorative nickname given to diminish even more their condition (Carmona 2008:149). Another negative name given to the Bolivians is ‘cabecitas negras’ (black heads), that refers to the black hair common in the African and Indigenous groups (Grimson 2006).

Roberto Benencia and Gabriela Karasik gave a very consistent explanation of this condition:

“Ser boliviano en Buenos Aires (y en la Argentina, en general) no implica solamente la necesidad de reconstruir un espacio de familiaridad y condiciones de reproducción adecuadas, sino la de enfrentarse, *en tanto bolivianos*, a un orden social y un sistema de relaciones que los discrimina en todos los órdenes” [Being a Bolivian in Buenos Aires (and in Argentina, in general) results not only in the necessity of building a familiarity space and adequate reproductive conditions, but also of facing, *as Bolivians*, a social order and a relationship system that discriminates in all spheres] (Benencia 1995:41) (emphasis in original).

Moreover, the name “bolivian” has a widespread use in the Argentine society in discriminatory contexts. Grimson describes such name-calling, mentioning that: “en ciertos contextos los “negros” y pobres tienden a ser interpelados genéricamente como bolivianos. No es irrelevante que la hinchada de fútbol del equipo más popular del país sea llamada “boliviana” por su principal adversario”. [In certain contexts the “blacks” and poor tend to be generically called Bolivians. It is not irrelevant that the supporters of the country’s most popular soccer team are called “Bolivians” by their main opponent] (Grimson 2006:74).

Rockefeller also points an important ongoing transformation in the image porteños have of the Bolivian immigrants. The author emphasizes that due to Argentina’s economic dependence of the immigrant labor force after its many crises:

“The process that once made the country appear white is now making it browner and more South American, and in the figure of the Bolivian porteños and Argentines generally are reminded that two key aspects of their self-conception, that they are of European background and that they are part of an open society that welcomes

immigrants, have come into conflict. One upshot of this dilemma is a confused legal history, characterized by spasmodic efforts to control or reduce immigration, followed by amnesties, and halting efforts to strengthen the country's international borders, and occasionally even to repress immigrants in the national territory" (Rockefeller n.d.:19-20).

In the case of Bolivian immigration in São Paulo, even though there is less stigmatization²¹, it is still very easy to identify the Bolivian immigrants in the city as they have different traits from the people in general. Even though Brazilian society also was a product of a "melting pot" of European, African, and Indigenous peoples, this does not stop discrimination from occurring, especially with the population from the poorer levels of the society, in which most Bolivian immigrants are situated. There are no specific pejorative nicknames, and most Paulistanos tend to think of the Bolivians as the poor, enslaved workers from the neighborhood of Brás. This description results in a reinforcement of the image of the Bolivian people as submissive, and somewhat stupid. While the citizens see the workers in this manner, the immigrants get angry because, even though they work a lot and do not make much money, they do not see themselves as slaves (Campos 2009:40).

Prejudice also appears in the relationship with the Brazilian police. Most of them treat Bolivians as cocaine dealers, making them go through embarrassing situations, and under several interrogations. But it is not only in the adult sphere that discrimination takes place. When most Bolivian children start to study at a public school in São Paulo, unless they already know other Bolivians, they are isolated and keep being threatened and suffering verbal attacks from other Brazilian students. One very common sentence the attackers say is "what are you doing here? Go back to your country!" This makes the child feel very unwelcome and it discourages them to mingle with the other children from the new city. Because of being bothered with the

²¹ In the case of Brazil the part of the population that is mainly discriminated are black people, which are the majority of the population, but the poorest group.

condescending and bothering looks on public spaces in São Paulo, Bolivians tend to close themselves and live mostly among their own community.

(In)visibility.

The topic of the visibility of the Bolivian communities in the sociocultural spheres of Buenos Aires and São Paulo is very sensitive. In one of my interviews, a person made a comment that he suggested that there should be a television documentary about Bolivians in São Paulo, and it should be named “The hidden city”. Given the enormous size of the Paulistana population (over 20 million people in the metropolitan area of the city), the Bolivian community still represents a very small fraction of the total. Therefore, most citizens are unaware about the very complex life of the Bolivian collectivity in the city. Little by little, it seems that this immigrant group is trying to get out of its very enclosed world inside the sweatshops, and spread the word about their reality, and rich cultural tradition. There is certainly an element of agency that surpasses the condition of invisibility, and enables the collectivities to establish successful forms of interaction with the host city, which allows them to freely celebrate their culture, and to create Bolivian spaces in their daily lives in different countries.

In addition, when one hears about the Bolivians in Buenos Aires, it seems that they are everywhere, that visibility is not what lacks for this group. But actually, there are some particularities (such as culture and traditions) that end up hidden under the generalizations established by the stigmatized view of the people. One interesting thing is that the same prejudice that makes some Bolivians in São Paulo make efforts to continue invisible, at the same time makes the immigrant community in Buenos Aires more visible.

Finally, it is important to reinforce the very complex condition that the issue of invisibility brings for the undocumented immigrants in the relationship with the host cities. At the same time that it may be advantageous for the illegal migrants to remain invisible, and be able to work in the clandestine jobs, living among fellow Bolivians, this same group faces in both cities the oppression of being discriminated in public spaces, and have the constant fear of losing their condition of (weak) stability. The condition of illegality together with the invisibility has thus the potential of creating new opportunities for the illegal immigrants, and simultaneously locks them in an underprivileged condition with little opportunities of social mobility and assimilation.

CONCLUSION

Going Transnational: the possibilities and challenges of Bolivian collectivities in Buenos Aires and São Paulo.

Despite the impressive amount of similarities between Bolivian collectivities residing in the cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo nowadays, it is hard to predict whether, over the next twenty years, the younger Bolivian community settled in Brazil will develop in the same way of the older, well-established community existing in Argentina. In fact, there are different challenges to be faced by the Bolivian collective in São Paulo due to the specific social structure of the Brazilian society that has a greater labor offer for underpaid jobs among its own population, and to the existing prejudice in the formal work sphere against people who do not speak Portuguese. In terms of local adaptation, it is certainly impressive the way in which the Bolivian community in Brazil has already structured itself, having established social and cultural organizations and worked to form a consolidated cooperative in order to struggle together for better conditions and opportunities in the local garment industry. Regarding the Bolivian collectivity residing in Buenos Aires, even though it has already found and established its space in the city (although not being fully embraced as part of the porteña community), it is also very daunting to guess the possible transformations of its level of local adaptation in the next two decades, since these depend on several variables, including the socio-economic development of Argentina.

The objective of the final part of this thesis is to briefly think the potentialities of these Bolivian immigrant collectivities in times of globalization. Thus, I will rely on one last concept from Sassen (2006) that is worth exploring for the purposes of this analysis, which is the term “global class”. Also, I will explore how this concept engages with the lives of immigrant

communities. The first important clarification regarding such term is that, rather than what the name might suggest, the conception of global class proposed by Sassen is not one of a class seen as “cosmopolitan and outside the reach of the national.” (2006:298). Hence, we are working with a category existing in the local sphere, which at the same time is connected to several global networks. These classes in a certain manner surpass the space of national citizenship, being able to interact in a supra-national level; however, this does not represent that they stop being connected to the national. As a matter of fact, in this case, we are dealing with a situation of “denationalized rather than postnational citizenship.” (2006:299). Affirming such, Sassen once more reinforces the maintenance of the importance of the local even in a context where the transnational gains constant relevance.

The global class is thus fundamental as it opens the space for the global to be clearly identified in the local. Because of the high level of interaction of the people in these global classes, they tend to more easily spread the word about their local struggles, thus increasing the global acknowledgement of these. The perception of the existence of other struggles in both closer and farther places is also enhanced by the digital technologies. It is in the moment of the realization of other movements that it is possible for people to see the proximity of the global and the local, and to find a space for engaging in transformation processes.

All in all, this thesis aimed to make a comparative study of the Bolivian immigrant communities in the global cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo, focusing mostly on the issues of assimilation between the immigrant communities and its host cities. Furthermore, the objective of this research was to give a focused look at both communities, rather than establishing pre-settled characteristics in order to analyze them. Exploring the concepts and the comparative views presented in this thesis, I will now make a final effort, in order to draw a scenario of

possibilities and challenges for these two Bolivian collectivities that certainly belong to a growing global class of transnational immigrants.

The first important remark to be made regards the possibilities of negotiation for these communities not only in the local, but also in the global sphere. More than residing in Argentina or Brazil, these immigrants are residents of the cities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo. Furthermore, the eventual impact of the arrival and establishment of such collectivities is certainly greater in local levels (either the host city or their city of origin in Bolivia). Therefore, the local is the initial and more obvious place of negotiation they have. By living in two global cities, it is quite probable that they are not the only immigrant group living in underprivileged conditions. Thus, the possibility of engaging with other groups and have a stronger voice in a debate with local authorities is unique. It is necessary for the immigrants to take advantage of the globalism of such cities and make the best out of this unique strong provincial scenario. One example of space for agency that can be found in both cities is the possibility of all immigrants who work in the garment industry to join forces, and strive to achieve recognition by the local governments, that are able to create formal apparatuses that allow these immigrants to work in legal conditions.

Also, the negotiation with their country/province/city of origin is another alternative offered by the development of global dynamics. More and more immigrants and their remittances are being able to change the lives of their families in their places of origin. By transforming these (mostly) disadvantaged people's lives, they are also impacting and helping improve the space around their families. The collectivities who live abroad should take their ability of helping their home-country as a possibility to ask help from their country's politicians

in negotiations with the host-countries diverse matters such as access for public services, more recognition/respect for their people, and engagement in political life, among others.

Furthermore, the increase of access to the digital world (internet, telecommunications, media) opens up several possibilities for immigrant communities to be connected and form a digital network that may have the capacity to organize itself in order to promote localized global protests in order to draw attention to the collectivities issues. In another level, it is also possible to increase the level of interaction between the communities on a daily basis as they can form a global Bolivian collectivity that together struggles for the best opportunities and conditions for each Bolivian who lives anywhere in the world by sharing the local opportunities globally.

The scenarios presented above are certainly a small development of the possibilities and challenges the Bolivian communities of Buenos Aires and São Paulo have ahead of them facing the globalized world. However, I believe that it is by exploring the tools that the local-global interactions have to offer to disadvantaged groups - such as immigrant communities - that these collectivities may be able to find their way in the path of being more integrated in an equal level with their host communities. Besides that, such integration and collective actions form an important tool in order to overcome a condition of invisibility. It is not a simple matter of unification of oppressed groups, but of bringing good visibility to surface, legitimizing this transnational immigrant global class.

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APPENDIX

Tables from Censo 2001 - Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales (2001 Census – Additional Investigation about International Migrations).

Source: Indec. http://www.indec.gov.ar/webcenso/ECMI/ampliada_index_boli.asp?mode=02, accessed November 5, 2011.

I) Information about Bolivians in the city of Buenos Aires.

Cuadro 1.2. Bolivianos por sexo según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Sexo	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	49,475	5,135	3,600	11,611	29,129
Varón	23,329	2,488	1,405(a)	6,141	13,295
Mujer	26,146	2,647	2,195	5,470	15,834

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.3. Bolivianos por edad al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina.

Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Edad al llegar a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	49,475	5,135	3,600	11,611	29,129
0-14	16,176	2,007	1,020(a)	3,342	9,807
15-24	20,680	2,039	2,135	5,354	11,152
25-34	10,142	741(a)	389(a)	2,397	6,615
35-44	1,925	348(a)	56(a)	267(a)	1,254(a)
45-54	468	-	-	237(a)	231
55-64	47(a)	-	-	6(a)	41(a)
65 y más	37(a)	-	-	8(a)	29(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.9. Bolivianos de 14 años y más ocupados por categoría ocupacional según año de llegada a Argentina.
Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Categoría ocupacional	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	27,191	2,793	1,950	8,561	13,887
Obrero o empleado	18,776	1,821	1,649	5,393	9,913
Patrón	318	79 (a)	8 (a)	110 (a)	121(a)
Trabajador por cuenta propia	7,281	696 (a)	293	2,786	3,506
Trabajador familiar	465 (a)	181 (a)	-	53 (a)	231(a)
Sin información	351	16 (a)	-	219 (a)	116

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.10. Bolivianos de 14 años y más ocupados por rama de actividad agrupada según año de llegada a Argentina.
Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Rama de actividad agrupada	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	27,191	2,793	1,950	8,561	13,887
Primaria	134	81 (a)	-	-	53(a)
Secundaria	8,353	392 (a)	233	2,567	5,161
Terciaria sin servicio doméstico	11,739	1,250	813	4,718	4,958

Construcción	3,412	516 (a)	561 (a)	430 (a)	1,905
Servicio doméstico	3,333	554 (a)	339 (a)	780	1,660
Sin información	220 (a)	-	4 (a)	66 (a)	150(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Nota:

Rama de actividad primaria incluye: agricultura, ganadería, caza, silvicultura, pesca y servicios conexos, explotación de minas y canteras.

Rama de actividad secundaria: industria manufacturera.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.12. Bolivianos de 15 años y más por máximo nivel de instrucción alcanzado según año de llegada a Argentina.
Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Máximo nivel de instrucción alcanzado	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	43,984	5,135	3,600	11,596	23,653
Sin instrucción y primario incompleto	6,285	917	714(a)	1215(a)	3,439
Primario completo y secundario incompleto	19,504	2,317	1471(a)	4,769	10,947
Secundario completo y terciario o universitario incompleto	15,536	1,437	1155(a)	4,711	8,233
Terciario o universitario completo	2,301	451	260	805	785
Sin información	358(a)	13(a)	-	96(a)	249(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.1. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por departamento de última residencia en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Departamento de última residencia en Bolivia	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	41,826	5,135	3,600	11,279	21,812
Cochabamba	13,431	2,714	462	2,507	7,748
Potosí	5,740	670	979	1,844	2,247
La Paz	13,254	748	1,136	4,202	7,168
Santa Cruz	2,983	181(a)	190	647(a)	1,965
Resto	6,318	740	831	2,079	2,668
Sin información	100(a)	82(a)	2(a)	-	16(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.2. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Grupos de ocupaciones	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	23,552	1,768	1,477	6,438	13,869
Prestación de servicios	10,194	803 (a)	1,148 (a)	2,738	5,505
Producción de bienes no agropecuarios	8,755	516	163	1,801	6,275
Producción de bienes agropecuarios	2,439	251	16 (a)	1,207 (a)	965
Servicio doméstico	1,833	198	99	597 (a)	939
Sin información	331(a)	-	51(a)	95(a)	185(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Nota: los datos sobre grupos de ocupaciones refieren a la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.3. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por calificación de la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Calificación de la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	23,552	1,768	1,477	6,438	13,869
Profesional	519 (a)	-	-	112(a)	407(a)
Técnica	1,922	75 (a)	62 (a)	813	972
Operativa	12,380	962	485	3,167	7,766
No calificados	8,400	731 (a)	879 (a)	2,251	4,539
Sin información	331 (a)	-	51 (a)	95(a)	185(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.4. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por existencia de compatriotas conocidos al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Existencia de compatriotas conocidos al llegar a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	41,826	5,135	3,600	11,279	21,812
No tenía compatriotas conocidos	6,131	1,213	369	1,244	3,305

Tenía compatriotas conocidos que no eran de su ciudad o pueblo	2,739	290	231 (a)	981	1,237
Tenía compatriotas conocidos de su ciudad o pueblo	32,944	3,628	2,992	9,054	17,270
Sin información	12 (a)	4 (a)	8 (a)	-	-

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.5. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por lugar de residencia al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina.
Ciudad de Buenos Aires.
Año 2003

Lugar de residencia al llegar a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	41,826	5,135	3,600	11,279	21,812
Gran Buenos Aires	38,301	4,152	2,845	10,407	20,897
Resto de Buenos Aires	1,300	70 (a)	97	444 (a)	689 (a)
Salta	863 (a)	144 (a)	422 (a)	297 (a)	-
Resto	1,362	769 (a)	236 (a)	131 (a)	226 (a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Nota: el Gran Buenos Aires corresponde a la Ciudad de Buenos Aires y a los Partidos del GBA.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.6. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina. Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	41,826	5,135	3,600	11,279	21,812
Una	31,391	2,500	2,213	8,263	18,415
Dos	6,078	1,168	533	1,887	2,490
Tres	3,573	956	726 (a)	1,014	877 (a)
Cuatro y más	784	511	128	115 (a)	30 (a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%.

Nota: para la medición de la *cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina* se consideran las localidades en las que ha vivido por lo menos un año desde su llegada a Argentina hasta la actualidad.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

II) Information about Bolivians in the “partidos” of Gran Buenos Aires.

Cuadro 1.2. Bolivianos por sexo según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Sexo	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	69,639	14,635	11,082	13,932	29,990
Varón	36,186	8,218	5,999	7,560	14,409
Mujer	33,453	6,417	5,083	6,372	15,581

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.3. Bolivianos por edad al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina.
Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires.
Año 2003

Edad al llegar a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	69,639	14,635	11,082	13,932	29,990
0-14	26,211	6,232	3,135	4,734	12,110
15-24	29,802	7,177	5,507	7,180	9,938
25-34	9,537	1,033	2,083	1,533	4,888
35-44	3,378	193	357	348	2,480
45-54	232	-	-	93	139
55-64	93(a)	-	-	44(a)	49(a)
65 y más	386(a)	-	-	-	386(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.9. Bolivianos de 14 años y más ocupados por categoría ocupacional según año de llegada a Argentina.
Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Categoría ocupacional	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	36,773	7,207	7,221	8,012	14,333
Obrero o empleado	22,618	3,112	3,654	5,100	10,752
Patrón	763	80(a)	559	17(a)	107(a)
Trabajador por cuenta propia	12,033	3,563	2,830	2,796	2,844
Trabajador familiar	285	-	88 (a)	-	197
Sin información	1,074	452	90 (a)	99 (a)	433 (a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.10. Bolivianos de 14 años y más ocupados por rama de actividad agrupada según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Rama de actividad agrupada	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	36,773	7,207	7,221	8,012	14,333
Primaria	518	266	77	-	175
Secundaria	6,223	844	711	768	3,900
Terciaria sin servicio doméstico	17,463	3,948	4,073	4,100	5,342
Construcción	8,088	1,440	1,602	2,283	2,763
Servicio doméstico	4,431	687	745	846	2,153
Sin Información	50	22	13	15(a)	-

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Nota:

Rama de actividad primaria incluye: agricultura, ganadería, caza, silvicultura, pesca y servicios conexos, explotación de minas y canteras.

Rama de actividad secundaria: industria manufacturera.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 1.12. Bolivianos de 15 años y más por máximo nivel de instrucción alcanzado según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Máximo nivel de instrucción alcanzado	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	64,214	14,635	11,082	13,932	24,565
Sin instrucción y primario incompleto	16,530	6,128	3,613	2,570	4,219
Primario completo y secundario incompleto	29,036	6,019	4,705	5,331	12,981
Secundario completo y terciario o universitario incompleto	15,866	1,794	2,109	5,218	6,745
Terciario o universitario completo	1,604	488	439	283	394
Sin información	1,178	206(a)	216	530(a)	226(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al

25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.1. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por departamento de última residencia en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Departamento de última residencia en Bolivia	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	60,722	14,635	11,082	13,729	21,276
Cochabamba	25,380	4,753	5,330	7,196	8,101
Potosí	13,346	4,779	2,385	2,704	3,478
La Paz	9,520	2,458	1,192(a)	1,591	4,279
Santa Cruz	2,979	344	764	284	1,587
Resto	9,182	2,288	1,344(a)	1,855	3,695
Sin información	315(a)	13(a)	67(a)	99	136(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.2. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Grupos de	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina
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ocupaciones		Hasta 1969	1970- 1979	1980- 1989	1990-2003
Total	29,117	6,693	6,006	5,021	11,397
Prestación de servicios	10,021	1,750	1,640	1,181	5,450
Producción de bienes no agropecuarios	9,250	2,127	2,023	1,920	3,180
Producción de bienes agropecuarios	5,554	1,787	1,826	880(a)	1,061
Servicio doméstico	3,959	957(a)	378	1,013	1,611(a)
Sin información	333	72(a)	139(a)	27(a)	95(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Nota: los datos sobre grupos de ocupaciones refieren a la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.3. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por calificación de la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Calificación de la última ocupación principal desempeñada en Bolivia	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	29,117	6,693	6,006	5,021	11,397
Profesional	265(a)	92(a)	19(a)	100(a)	54(a)
Técnica	2,403	515(a)	362	129	1,397(a)
Operativa	14,679	2,941	3,543	3,032	5,163
No calificados	11,472	3,098	1,953	1,733	4,688
Sin información	298(a)	47(a)	129(a)	27(a)	95(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación
mayor al 25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones
Internacionales.

Cuadro 3.4. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por existencia de compatriotas conocidos al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Existencia de compatriotas conocidos al llegar a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	60,722	14,635	11,082	13,729	21,276
No tenía compatriotas conocidos	14,133	5,037	2,990	1,961	4,145
Tenía compatriotas conocidos que no eran de su ciudad o pueblo	3,314	804(a)	626(a)	1,172	712(a)
Tenía compatriotas conocidos de su ciudad o pueblo	42,540	8,794	7,395	10,449	15,902
Sin información	735	-	71(a)	147	517(a)

(a) Coeficiente de variación
mayor al 25%

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de
Migraciones Internacionales

Cuadro 3.5. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por lugar de residencia al llegar a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Lugar de residencia al llegar a	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003

Argentina						
Total	60,722	14,635	11,082	13,729	21,276	
Gran Buenos Aires	48,271	8,918	9,361	11,029	18,963	
Resto de Buenos Aires	5,566	810 (a)	709 (a)	2,290	1,757	
Jujuy	3,167	2,480	561 (a)	61 (a)	65 (a)	
Resto	3,545	2,413	451 (a)	349	332	
Sin información	173	14 (a)	-	-	159 (a)	

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25 %

Nota: el Gran Buenos Aires corresponde a la Ciudad de Buenos Aires y a los Partidos del GBA.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Intranacionales.

Cuadro 3.6. Bolivianos de 18 años y más por cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina según año de llegada a Argentina. Partidos del Gran Buenos Aires. Año 2003

Cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina	Total	Año de llegada a Argentina			
		Hasta 1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-2003
Total	60,722	14,635	11,082	13,729	21,276
Una	20,901	1,438	2,548	5,483	11,432
Dos	24,784	6,282	5,403	5,370	7,729
Tres	9,434	3,341	1,864	2,296	1,933
Cuatro y más	5,603	3,574	1,267 (a)	580	182

(a) Coeficiente de variación mayor al 25%

Nota: para la medición de la *cantidad de localidades en las que vivió desde que llegó a Argentina* se consideran las localidades en las que ha vivido por lo menos un año desde su llegada a la

Argentina hasta la actualidad.

Fuente: INDEC, Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales.