

Gendered Inequalities in Ethnic Enclaves: Labour Insertion of Bolivian Aymara Women in Northern Chilean Borderlands

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Abstract:

This article presents an ethnographic case study on the labour insertion of 30 Bolivian Aymara women in Arica (Chile). It covers their life histories, contrasting their productive and migratory experiences. Our objective is to describe the sectors where the interviewees insert themselves in the labour market and show that their productive functions are configured in a multidimensional way: as ethnicised cultural and social capital and as a gender mandate. The findings suggest that their working activities are framed by the deployment of the multiple presence of women, which is configured as an expression of their productive and reproductive overload.

Keywords:

Labour Insertion; Aymara Women; Bolivian Migration; Gender; Arica (Chile).

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Introduction

The labour insertion of female Bolivian migrants in the domestic and care work of the Chilean Great North⁴ has triggered the interest of various researchers

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 - 4 The Great North is comprised of three regions in Chile's current political-administrative division: Arica and Parinacota (with Arica as its capital); Tarapacá (with Iquique its capital) and Antofagasta (with Antofagasta its capital).

in recent years (González, Guizardi, & López, 2021; Leiva & Ross, 2016; Leiva, Mansilla, & Comelin, 2017; Romero, 2022; Roque & Tapia, 2021; Tapia & Ramos, 2013; Tapia & Chacón, 2016). Their research observed mobility patterns, the social and labour profile of the female migrants, the violations they face in Bolivia and Chile, and the strategies that they deploy to deal with these circumstances⁵. However, these studies paid less attention to the ethnic character of their migratory networks, the majority of which are comprised of Aymara community links. Simultaneously, the anthropological literature on Aymara families highlighted the persistence of patterns of gender and power inequality that accompany the female trajectories (Carrasco, 1998; Carrasco & Gavilán, 2014; Gavilán, 2020).

This text connects these contributions with works on female Bolivian migration in South America and the transformations in labour niches in Bolivia. It discusses the findings of an ethnographic case study on the life histories of 30 Bolivian Aymara women who have inserted themselves in the labour market of Arica, northern Chile. The fieldwork was carried out in 2019, focusing on two priority spaces for female Bolivian workers: the Agricultural Market and the Azapa Valley. Most of our interviewees worked in agriculture and trade. Through their interviews, we describe common aspects in their trajectories of labour insertion showing that they are doubly configured through ethnicised social and cultural capital and through gender mandates.

However, this article focuses not only on the migratory networks of Aymara female migrants, but it also analyses the ethnic relationships constructed around social and cultural capital, the gendered inequalities, and the labour insertion of Indigenous migrant women in border territories. In exploring these issues, this study investigates the experiences of women constrained to find their

5 The works of Tapia & Ramos (2013), Tapia & Chacón (2016), Leiva & Ross (2016), Leiva, Mansilla, & Comelin (2017), and Roque & Tapia (2021) show that Bolivian women who migrate to northern Chile report suffering processes of productive and reproductive work overload (the latter especially linked to the exercise of family care) in Bolivia. These authors show that this overload is related to multidimensional problems such as the exploitation of women's productive work in the Bolivian labour market (with low salaries, abusive working hours, absence of employment contracts or access to protection for accidents or insurance of any kind). These labour abuses are also verified on the Chilean side of the border; however, there, women report receiving better pay than in Bolivia. In addition, the female narratives collected in these investigations demonstrate the recurrence of gender violence within the framework of family relationships (including rape, beatings, and mutilation). Their testimonies show patterns of the naturalisation of male violence (especially perpetrated by partners towards women) and state that one of the reasons why women engage in transborder circular migration to Chile is to attempt to curb this violence (Romero, 2022). On the other hand, these studies also indicate the existence of xenophobic and racist violence against these women in the Chilean localities where they work or live (González, Guizardi, & López, 2021).

way of living in highly ethnically, segmented, and gendered economic niches. The approach used in this study represents a contribution to previous works, precisely because of the novel combination of two elements: its theoretical framework (interconnecting sociological studies on cross-border migratory networks and ethnographic research on Aymara groups) and its ethnographic methodological design based on the Extended Case Method.

To account for the proposed discussions, the article first contextualises Arica and Azapa, summarising their historical dynamics in terms of identity, politics, and production. Second, it presents three theoretical fields that supported our ethnography, regarding: 1) labour insertion, social and cultural capital, and ethnic migrant enclaves; 2) Aymara gender relations; and 3) Bolivian women's experience in agriculture and trade. Third, it details the methodology of the study, describing the interviewees' selection criteria and their profiles. Fourth, it describes the interviewees' niches of work, summarising their principal characteristics and problems. Fifth, it shows how labour insertion constitutes social and cultural capital and a gender mandate for the interviewed women. In conclusion, it returns to the previous literature, pointing out that the labour insertion of Bolivian women in Arica is part of a *system of total prestation*, as defined by Marcel Mauss (2002 [1950]). This means it is organised through the migrants' social and cultural capitals (in Bourdieu's terms), which are central to their ethnically articulated economic niches. This gift-system and cultural/social capitals are structured around the specific way the women incorporate their obligations of giving, receiving, and reciprocating, and the deployment of the multiple presence of women.

Arica and the Azapa Valley

Arica is the capital of the Chilean Region of "Arica and Parinacota". It is located some 57 kilometres from Tacna (the capital of the homonymous Peruvian department). The city is surrounded by two valleys, Azapa and Lluta (Fig.1). These are fertile territories with water resources in a desert where such areas are scarce.

Arica and Parinacota has extensive kilometres of border with Peru and Bolivia. The routes that intersect these countries were historically used by various native groups: the area has been characterised, since before the European invasion (in the sixteenth century), by an intense circularity of these groups. Several of these routes contributed to the ethnic diversity of Arica's valleys, which are historically inhabited by different indigenous communities (Choque, 2020). From 1824 onwards, Arica became part of the nascent Peruvian republic. In the second half of the century, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia began to fight over the exploitation of

Atacama's mining territories, which sparked the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) (González, 2008). Chile "won" the conflict and incorporated the departments of Tarapacá (previously Peruvian) and Litoral (Bolivian) into what became the Chilean Norte Grande. Arica and its valleys lived through a violent process of Chileanisation (González, 2008).



Figure 1: Arica and Parinacota Region: Azapa and Lluta Valleys (Chile)

Legend: The map details the territory of the Chilean region Arica and Parinacota and its borders with Peru and Bolivia. It shows the basins of the San José and Lluta rivers, which define the agricultural territories of the Azapa and Lluta valleys, respectively. We can also see the Andean Tri-border milestone and the cities of Arica (Chile) and Tacna (Peru), important urban centres in this border area.

Source: drawn by Paulo Contreras for the Fondecyt Project 1190056.

In the twentieth century, agriculture in Arica's valleys went through three processes. First, there was indigenous migration (predominately Aymara) from the mountainous sectors towards the coastal cities (Gundermann & González, 2008, p.86). It was assumed that the indigenous population would be urbanised and "developed" through cultural assimilation in Chile (Gundermann & Vergara, 2009, p.122). Juxtaposed with the ideology of "Chileanisation", this consolidated the rise of Chileanness over indigenusness. These processes had an impact on the ethnic categorisation of the indigenous people (as if they did not make up part of Chile) and the differentiation established towards Peruvians and Bolivians, labelled as indigenous and therefore opposed to the Chilean national ideals of self-representation.

Second, in Arica, this indigenous population was mainly dedicated to rural work in the valleys, generating "a profuse activity in relation to agriculture, the trade and the commerce of agricultural products" (Gundermann & González, 2008, p.86). The creation of the Agricultural Market (at the end of the seventies) was crucial for this commercial insertion. The "Agro", as it is popularly known, offers many labour niches that are occupied by Chilean, Bolivian and Peruvian Aymara people. It is situated by the south exit of Arica, bordering the Azapa Valley. The ethnic relations that make it up extend beyond the physical limits of the place and reach both Lluta and Azapa. Thus, the Agro has established a sense of socio-economic continuity. It is within the market that the products from these valleys are sold: it has been an "ethnic enclave" from its beginnings (Gundermann & Vergara, 2009, p.110).

Third, a new expansive cycle of the mining industry kicked off in Chile in the nineties with an exponential increase in prospecting and the opening of new high-altitude exploitation axes (in the Andean mountains), driven, among other things, by the rise in the price of copper on the international market (Amilhat-Szary, 2013). This resulted in a growing demand for male labour in the regions of Tarapacá and Antofagasta (Tapia, 2015). Thus, a significant sector of the Chilean male population abandoned rural work. Arica did not lose its agricultural lands and so continued supplying the market in the other cities. In parallel, the lack of workers for rural activities attracted the Peruvian and Bolivian Aymara labour force to the valleys of Arica (Rojas & Bueno, 2014). At the end of the nineties, there was a noticeable migrant circulation between Arica and Bolivia (mainly with La Paz, Oruro, and Potosí) (Tapia, 2015; Rojas & Bueno, 2014)⁶. In Azapa, many of

6 When we speak of the "circular migration" of Bolivian women, we subscribe to the debates of previous studies on the phenomenon carried out in northern Chilean borderlands (Leiva & Ross, 2016; Leiva, Mansilla, & Comelin, 2017; Roque & Tapia, 2021). These works evidenced

these migrants arrived and lived on the farmland, in precarious housing with dirt floors, no electricity or drinking water, conditions still seen today.

According to estimates by the Chilean Office for National Statistics, in 2019, Arica and Parinacota had 28,437 migrants, 11.5% of the region's population, ranking it fourth in Chile in terms of relative migratory density (INE-Chile, 2020, p.23). The Bolivian community is the most numerous making up 38.5% of regional migrants. In addition, 54.9% of the migrants are women, and they are the majority in the Bolivian community (INE-Chile, 2020, p.23).

Theoretical Frames

Labour Insertion, and Social and Cultural Capitals in Ethnic Enclaves

In this article, the concept of *labour insertion* alludes to how people enter the paid labour market, exercising a moderately stable productive function (Verdier & Vultur, 2018). Said notion occupied a central space in Anglophone migratory studies until the beginning of the twentieth century, given the hegemony of the neoclassic paradigm (Arango, 2003)⁷.

The sociological critique developed from the eighties onwards has focused on the state's responsibility and the complex historical and conflictive character of labour insertion (Verdier & Vultur, 2018, p.3). In this framing, labour insertion is understood as a multifaceted process configured by relations and disputes of power and resources. This means *insertion itineraries* are conditioned by the place that persons and/or groups occupy in social fields and the type and quality of their capitals (Verdier & Vultur, 2018). These concepts allude to Bourdieu, who conceived the social field as a multidimensional space of positions which defines the powers and possibilities of the agents. Agents are located in this space depending on the volume and composition of the capitals they incorporate (Bourdieu, 2004, p.135).

a specific type of pendular cross-border experience that differed from the daily and everyday processes called "transmigration" or "commuting" by the literature specialising in the borders between Mexico and the United States. The authors opted for the term "circular migration" to indicate that female displacements in the Andean Tri-Border are marked by repetitive patterns of movements with stays of three months on whichever side of the border combined best with their travels "of comings and goings, that do not seek to settle in the country of destination" (Leiva & Ross, 2016, p.57).

- 7 This paradigm assumed that labour insertion determined migration as an individual, masculine, and rational choice (taken by men, who had compared the salary differences between countries) (Arango, 2003). Thus, the labour experience articulated the social "integration" of migrants, which was conceived as cultural "assimilation" (Wilson & Portes, 1980, p.295). This perspective concealed the role of structural violence and ethnic-racial discrimination as barriers to upward social mobility for migrants (Wilson & Portes, 1980, p.296).

Two forms of capital are of particular interest in this study: social and cultural. The first refers to all those real or potential resources that people have due to the relations they sustain through the networks in which they participate (Bourdieu, 2011, p.221). It implies “interconnection” and “inter-recognition”, as it articulates an identity, a common belonging of a group endowed with equally common properties (as perceived by the members of the network and others). The second refers to the knowledge, wisdom, and practices shared by members of a group and can exist in three states: embodied (as dispositions of the body, as *habitus*), objectified (tangible cultural goods), or institutionalised (i.e., educational qualifications) (Bourdieu, 2011, p.214-215).

In the Global North, the labour market presented itself in a dual manner. Those considered full members of society (its “citizens”) could access a set of labour rights, capital appropriation mechanisms, and economic progression that were vetoed to those considered “outsiders” (Wilson & Portes, 1980, p.296). Racism and discrimination suppose a labour insertion ceiling, pushing migrants and their descendants towards lower salaries, lack of social protection, longer working hours, more physical work, and less recognition (Wilson & Portes, 1980, p.296).

Migrant communities responded to this precarity by strengthening the migratory network to assure labour and economic insertion, thus driving the constitution of “ethnic economies”⁸. This concept refers to business ventures developed by migrants, with migrant capital administrated, maintained, and controlled by the migrant labour force (Garcés, 2011). They are sustained with products, productive practices and/or ways of consumption from the country (or community) of origin and are sold as linked to the identity of the collective (as an *ethnic resource*) (Garcés, 2011). In some cases, these enterprises are grouped to form a differentiated space (a neighbourhood, a locality), thus reinforcing migrant segregation. Despite consolidating the social reproduction of the collectives, these spaces reiterate an identity boundary that encloses the group within itself, demarcating its difference in terms of consumption habits and “autochthonous” social practices, and are called *ethnic enclaves* (Garcés, 2011). In other cases, the community organisation establishes permeable links, creating more fluid spaces with the participation and presence of external people and are called *ethnic centralities* (Garcés, 2011).

8 Note that economic and symbolic capital configurations can be represented as directly associated with the religious (symbolic capital) or ethnic specificities of the group (social and cultural capital) (Bourdieu, 2004, p.135). In these cases, ethnic solidarity can ensure shared ways of collective mobility (Bourdieu, 2004, p.136).

The Bolivian migration in Arica is comprised mainly of people who recognise themselves as indigenous Aymara and are inserted in labour networks organised with migrant capital, with migrant working force, and grouped in specific spaces (Azapa and the Agro). However, our focus on the female experience demands more theoretical precision in the engendered articulation of these ethnic economies.

Aymara Gender Division of Work

In this article, gender is defined as the categorisation “of people, artefacts, events, sequences, etc., that are based on sexual metaphors, in the ways in which the distinction of masculine and feminine characteristics constitutes people’s concrete ideas about the nature of social relations” (Strathern, 1990, p.ix). Gender relations are configured through a set of social, cultural, symbolic, moral, and practical constructions around the differentiation of the sexes. In this order, gender inequalities operate as “gender mandates”: as systems of hierarchical meaning and sense. They constitute power conflicts that impact all social relations, roles, and practices, in addition, impacting all personalities and bodies (Mills, 2003, p.42). From the Aymara communities’ perspective, these mandates adhere to specific meanings.

Aymara groups are heterogeneous communities from northern Chile, central-western Bolivia, north-western Argentina, and south-eastern Peru (Albó, 2000, p.44-45). Several Andean indigenous Peoples have gender structurings that conceive the world as divided into two halves, which oppose and complement each other simultaneously. These are represented by the division of the community territory into the upper (sacred) and the lower (profane) (Platt, 2010, p.297). The Aymara call this principle of duality and complementarity *Panipacha*. It governs the symbolic conception of the world, the territory, the forces of nature, and human relations (Mamani, 1999, p.307), thus constituting a “total social fact”, that is, it structures the basis of the Aymara systems of *total prestation*.

Mauss assumed that the first forms of symbolism created by human groups responded to dyadic patterns. This argument was the basis of the French and British anthropological functionalism and structuralism theory. According to it, the first mental categories and forms of abstraction created to classify, rank and represent things, the world, and people (Durkheim & Mauss, 1979[1902]) were established in human groups from sets of complementary and opposing logical pairs (hot/cold, soft/hard, rough/smooth, up/down, raw/cooked, active/passive, sacred/profane) (Heritier, 2016, p.59). Said categories are a symbolic extrapolation of the organization of hierarchies, of intra- and extra-group exchange and

alliance systems, linked to male/female differentiation and the structuring of kinship (Levi-Strauss, 1991[1949]). Thus, this dyadic structuring has served as the basis on which representations of space, time and, through them, of the sexes were built (Durkheim & Mauss, 1979[1902]). “Panipacha” is the name Aymara groups give their own symbolic-cultural order. That is, it is how they refer to the symbolic constellation of categories of understanding arranged in pairs. They have added elements that complement each other from a tense union (masculine and feminine, sacred and profane, high and low) that governs their family, social, economic, political, and territorial relationships.

Marcel Mauss (2002[1950], p.3), considered the “systems of total prestation” as the most archaic forms of exchange contract in human societies. These systems constitute an ordering of all forms of social exchange based on the ways in which each cultural group conceives and orders its dyadic categories of understanding. Thus, in the case of the Aymara, the systems of total prestation are based on *Panipacha*. According to Mauss, these archaic “contracts” which are established through the systems of total prestation coordinate intra- and extra-group exchanges, creating: 1) the genesis of both the Law and the power hierarchies; and 2) a balancing mechanism in the circulation of goods. Mauss argued that the obligation established by these contracts was not related to the things exchanged but rather between the souls of those who give them (Mauss, 2002[1950], p.16). This spiritual substance, called “gifts”, circulates among persons and groups, establishing three obligations: give, receive, and reciprocate. These phenomena constitute a *total social fact* because:

[...] Everything intermingles in them, everything constituting the strictly social life of societies that have preceded our own, even those going back to protohistory. In these ‘total’ social phenomena, as we propose calling them, all kinds of institutions are given expression at one and the same time –religious, juridical, and moral, which relate to both politics and the family; likewise economic ones, which suppose special forms of production and consumption, or rather, of performing total services and of distribution. This is not to take into

9 The concept of “gifts” is a key category in anthropological studies of social exchanges. Gifts refer not only to “property and wealth, movable and immovable goods, and things economically useful. In particular, such exchanges are acts of politeness: banquets, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals, and fairs, in which economic transaction is only one element, and in which the passing on of wealth is only one feature of a much more general and enduring contract. Finally, these total services and counter-services are committed to in a somewhat voluntary form by presents and gifts, although in the final analysis they are strictly compulsory, on pain of private or public warfare” (Mauss, 2002 [1950], pp.6-7).

account the aesthetic phenomena to which the facts lead, and the counters of the phenomena that these institutions manifest (Mauss, 2002 [1950], p.3).

Levi-Strauss (1991[1949], p.91) complements Mauss' theory, establishing that kinship also constitutes a "total social fact". He argues that it is the elementary structure of the systems of social prestation, given that their logics organise and are interwoven with symbolic, religious constructions, the mobility of people, and the pacts of alliance and conflict between groups. That is, with the various possible forms of circulation of gifts. Thus, kinship systems –in their structuring of prohibiting incest and, particularly, donating women– are also forms (the primary ones) of exchange established through the obligation to give, receive, and reciprocate. In this sense, "the exchange of brides is merely the conclusion to an uninterrupted process of reciprocal gifts, which effects the transition from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship" (Levi-Strauss, 1991[1949], p.108). With this, he shows that the appropriation of women as an element of exchange between groups is an elementary structure of the forms of social bonding that, in various parts of the world, have constituted the genesis of economic relations. Women are the founding forms of the gift, and their exchange between groups marks the beginning of total provision systems.

Until the late twentieth century, classic Andeanism held that the mythological construction of *Panipacha* pointed to a communal notion of equality within difference: as if the male and the female parts were equally recognised. Since the nineties, this reading was challenged with new questions on gender in anthropology. For example, Strathern (1990) demonstrated that systems of total prestation were the structural basis of gender inequality, where the movement of objects, things, and persons through the obligation to give, receive and reciprocate configured gender setup. That is, people and things become gendered in mobility: action is central to this process (Strathern, 1990). Contradictorily, all this is limited by the unequal way in which men and women access communal gifts (Comas, 2017).

Within the framework of these feminists' reflections, the historical-cultural construction of gender among Aymara communities is conceived as changing and conflictive, while intrinsically connected to religious symbolism (Gavilán & Carrasco, 2001, p.718), political alliances and ruptures, moral and ethical frameworks accepted by the community, and their social representations (Carrasco, 1998, p.318). The union through marriage is called *chachawarmi* and is the basis of gender relations (Carrasco & Gavilán, 2018, p.113). When they marry, people are considered adults and are called *warmi* (women) and *chacha* (men)

(Carrasco, 1998, p.318). In most Aymara communities, brides do not inherit (patrilineality), and on marrying, they go and live on their husband's family's lands (patrifocality), where they are received by the women of the husband's lineage (Carrasco, 1998).

Becoming and maintaining a stable relationship as a couple is considered proof that men and women have the necessary attributes to be whole persons: an aptitude for work and becoming parents (Gavilán, 2020). Families exert intense pressure on their youth to get married. When they fail to do so, they are expected to self-marginalise from community activities, especially women (Agar, 2010). This community and intra-family control is a serious problem for those who suffer violence perpetrated by their partners, mothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law because separating is frowned upon (Van Vleet, 2002, p.12). Moreover, being able to work is considered a moral mandate for both men and women. However, for women, the failure to comply with expectations opens the door to male violence (Gavilán, 2020, p.356).

In addition, there are dominant androcentric symbolic representations among the Aymara groups and these, even when they are not univocal, stress that social relations are marked by a predominance of male power (Gavilán, 2020, p.354). The association of women with the *Pachamama* (Mother Nature) elevates the female figure to an important status of symbolic power, but it assigns them the responsibility for domestic and care tasks in relation to children, animals, plants, and older people (Agar, 2010, p.16). Thus, this worldview is also linked to the gender division of labour: men and women perform “productive” functions, but the “reproductive” ones are female by antonomasia (Agar, 2010; Carrasco & Gavilán, 2014). The inequity in the division of labour for social reproduction between men and women implies an overload for and the expropriation of the female workforce.

Engendered Labour Inequalities

Agriculture is one of the main sectors for productive insertion for women in Bolivia (and this holds for the women interviewed in this study). In 2016, the country's female population numbered around 5.5 million, of which 1.6 million (30%) lived in rural perimeters. Bolivian rural women have the highest levels of labour overload (Ramírez, 2010), working some 15 hours/day in productive and reproductive tasks (frequently with no remuneration) (Llanque, 2015)¹⁰. Their

¹⁰ The 2013 National Agricultural Census of Bolivia stated that 30% of the productive agricultural units of the country did not offer job opportunities to women, 18% offered paid

reproductive activities are key to the families and communities' survival (Sánchez-García, 2012). Furthermore, “rural women engaged in productive agricultural activities have gaps in their access to education when compared to men, which widen even more with respect to urban men and women” (Llanque, Dorrego, Costanzo, Bishelly & Catacora-Vargas, 2018, p.124).

In rural communities, Bolivian women often do not have food sovereignty for themselves or their children (Bishelly, 2013). They face inequalities participating in community decision-making bodies, suffer gender violence within the family, and are responsible for seeking productive solutions to ecological problems. However, rural indigenous women are also protagonists in political organisations dedicated to fighting for women's rights.

In turn, studies that address the labour insertion of Bolivian migrants in rural Argentina point to the persistence of labour precariousness in the context of reception (Pizarro, 2011)¹¹. In South America, the daily experience of Bolivian rural workers is marked by the labour hierarchies structured by the intersection of various forms of inequality (class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, age) (Pizarro, 2011, p.337). The study of these experiences demands interpretative frameworks attentive to this intersectionality.

In Azapa, González (1998, p.14) and Tapia (2015, p.207) observed that from the end of the seventies onwards, Bolivian Aymara rural workers have only had access to land through the concepts of *mediería* or *custodia*¹². The first “consisted of agreements that implied a rent payment, normally through crops, that corresponds to half of the harvest” (Tapia, 2015, p.207). The second was “an informal agreement, almost always verbal, on the care and maintenance of a property in exchange for being able to work it, a practise especially used between relatives” (Tapia, 2015, p.207). Children getting Chilean nationality – and even migrants themselves through nationalisation – opened opportunities for acquiring arable land. This changed the position of the families in the labour hierarchies in

work, and 52% exploited the work of unpaid women (Llanque, Dorrego, Costanzo, Bishelly, & Catacora-Vargas, 2018, p.124).

11 The labour insertion of female Bolivian migrants in agriculture and trade has been studied in detail in the peripheries of Argentine cities and the border territories of this country with Bolivia, which are priority destinations of this migration in South America (Ataide, 2019). Those studies carried out in Chile are relatively more recent (twenty-first century) and are focused on paid care work in the cities of the Great North (González, Guizardi, & López, 2021; Leiva & Ross, 2016; Leiva, Mansilla, & Comelin, 2017; Romero, 2022; Roque & Tapia, 2021; Tapia & Ramos, 2013; Tapia & Chacón, 2016).

12 Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship passed the Decree Law 1939 (in 1977) which impeded foreigners from acquiring land and property in border areas of the country, such as Arica. This prohibition was revoked by Law 19.256 (in 1993).

the space of a generation. Thus, there is a relationship between the labour and economic stratification of families, migration times, and the regime of access to land. With dedicated working hours and savings ethics, a significant number of Aymara families seek to progressively move from the status of day labourers (working on other people's land) to that of custodians, *medieros* and, later, landowners (Tapia, 2015). To do so, they rely on the migratory networks built up with relatives and members of the communities of origin with whom they share productive insertion in Arica.

Research carried out in Azapa observed that this migrant social capital favours labour inclusion, but it does not improve the quality of employment, reproducing the ethnic enclave logic with “poorly regulated relations that tend towards arbitrariness, clientelism, and precariousness” (Rojas & Bueno, 2014, p.80–81). Ataide (2019, p.183), in her study on Bolivian migrant women in horticulture in Salta (on the border between Argentina and Bolivia), reaffirms these findings and complements them with a gender perspective. She shows that agreements between Bolivian tenants or landowners are made by the dominant male migrant figure, marginalising female decisions, and establishing systems of exploitation that affect the whole family but have more drastic repercussions on women.

In terms of commerce, studies carried out in Bolivian urban centres have recorded the leading role played by women in small and medium-sized trade. Informal trade often pushes women into processes of marginalisation and exploitation (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 1996, p.23). However, they develop knowledge and strategies that allow them to overcome some of these circumstances (Rivera-Cusicanqui & Choque-Quispe, 2009). In this niche, the woman is usually “the administrator of economic resources” and is in charge of expanding relational links, thus articulating “ample information and knowledge for the management and administration of her capital” (Choque-Quispe, 2014, p.161).

All of this is enhanced by the specific insertion of Bolivia in the regionalised globalisation in South America, creating a highly competitive popular commercial sector (connected with China) (Tassi et al., 2013). From the nineties onwards, transnational/transborder informal trade became an important resource for Bolivian women, who assumed a “transcendental and hegemonic role” in South American “markets and street markets” (Choque-Quispe, 2014, p.161). This led to female empowerment, which, although anchored in family ethnic networks and relationships, projected women's local political participation (Choque-Quispe, 2014, p.161). In addition, this commercial deployment had its own symbolic logic. Tassi et al. (2013, p.225) explain that this logic of Bolivian informal commercial

expansion is connected to “the Aymara cosmovision of abundance: more sales, more replenishment, more stock of products, more buyers and, therefore, more bonanza”. This allows us to link it to the notion of *Panipacha*, which, as we explained, is articulated to the Aymara construction of gender.

Research carried out in international border territories shows that trade allows the Bolivian women “greater independence in time management and the possibility of combining productive and reproductive tasks” (Moreno & Martínez, 2016, p.92). This does not mean that they succeed in reverting the inequities of gender or the exploitative regimes; on the contrary, this activity exposes them to even more overload (productive/reproductive). Between Brazil and Bolivia, the commercial protagonism of female Bolivians pushed a reorganisation of the gender division of labour: “Women carry out the trade, while men oversee transporting goods, setting up stalls, and, if necessary, taking care of the younger children. All of this has implied a new negotiation within the families, as the women explained” (Hernández & Loureiro-Ferreira, 2017, pp.46-47).

In Comodoro Rivadavia (an Argentine oil city), González and Sassone (2016) observed that local commerce (vegetables and clothes) articulated a form of female Bolivian leadership, opening possibilities of autonomy for migrant women, but without fully reconfiguring gender inequalities. Moreno and Martínez (2016, p.88) found that, for Bolivian Aymara migrant women in Mendoza (Argentina), commerce was an important labour alternative to overcome the physical wear and tear of agricultural work. It allowed them to position themselves as privileged social agents, taking their production from the peripheral ethnic rural enclaves where their communities were settled to the urban markets in the city. This relates to imaginaries spread regionally, which associate Bolivian Aymara women with strong commercial performance (Moreno & Martínez, 2016, p.92). Therefore, commercial knowledge constitutes an “ethnic resource” that legitimises these migrant women.

In the Chilean Great North, Bolivian Aymara women were identified as local traders (Tapia & Chacón, 2016) and as protagonists of the transnational trade that connects the Tacna Trade Free Zone (TFZ) (southern Peru) with the Iquique TFZ (northern Chile) and with regions in Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil.

Methodology and Sample Profile

This research follows the delimitations of the *Extended Case Method* (ECM). This ethnographic approach was developed by Gluckman (2006), who proposed a reorientation of classic anthropological methodology. ECM implies

four aspects that differentiate it from classical anthropological approaches: 1) It implies a particular way of treating empirical material derived from fieldwork. Instead of quoting “examples from ethnography in apt illustration of general ethnographical and analytical statements” (Evens & Handelman, 2006, p.5), it proposes “to turn this relationship between case and statement on its head: the idea is to arrive at the general through the dynamic particularity of the case” (Burawoy, 1998, p.5). 2) It focuses on the study of conflictive social interactions, *social situations*, understood as “a series of specific incidents affecting the same persons or groups, over a long period of time, and showing how these incidents, these cases, are related to the development and change of social relations among these persons or groups” (Gluckman, 2006, p.17). In social situations, the ethnographer observes how the connection between social coercion and individual action obliges subjects to situate themselves, to restrict their action to a specific interpretation of values. 3) It implies diachronically understanding the daily social situations observed, establishing interdisciplinarity with historical studies (Gluckman, 2006). 4) The analytical process should aim towards the interpretative extension of the particularities of the social situations: it presupposes identifying the link between personal trajectories and the historical, macroeconomic, and political processes that affect daily experience (Gluckman, 2006, p.17).

Our ethnographic fieldwork trips to Arica and Azapa took place in March, April, May, and September 2019. They were recorded in sixteen extensive ethnographic narratives, 2,226 photographs, 50 ethnographic video recordings, and 30 life history interviews with migrant Bolivian women. These interviews used a flexible strategy of dialogic interactions without pre-formulated questions: we suggested to the interlocutors that they start by telling us their grandparents’ stories. It was our interviewees themselves who choose the pseudonym or the initials with which they would be identified. Their narratives were transcribed, and the field diaries digitalised. This material went through a discourse analysis process which created a matrix of interpretative categories operationalised through MaxQDA software. Said matrix was made up of six macro-categories, subdivided into 130 subcodes. This article focuses on the analysis of the results of macro-category named “Labour insertion”.

Those interviewees selected met the three following criteria: 1) they were Bolivian; 2) they lived and/or worked in Arica or the Azapa valley; 3) they were of an economically active age. Table 1 gives a summary of their profiles.

Table 1. Profile of the Women Interviewed

No.	Pseudonym/ Initials	Natio- nality	Age (years)	Occupation	Marital status	Residence
1	Casimira	Bolivian	39	Fruit, vegetable and household goods seller on street stall.	Married	Azapa Valley
2	Joana	Bolivian	24	Serves public in phone call shop	Single	Arica
3	Paloma	Bolivian	56	Garlic seller in the Agricultural Market of Arica	Married	Arica
4	Muñequita Mia	Bolivian	22	Unpaid reproductive work: housewife	Lives with partner	Azapa Valley
5	XFP	Bolivian	24	Agricultural worker	Lives with partner	Azapa Valley
6	Clavel	Bolivian	27	Agricultural worker in vegetable box factory	Married	Azapa Valley
7	Rosi	Bolivian	32	Agricultural worker	Separated	Azapa Valley
8	Priscila	Bolivian	45	Hairdresser	Separated	Arica
9	Shanita	Bolivian	49	Fruit and vegetable import-export businesswoman	Married	Arica
10	Marcela	Bolivian	43	Sweets seller	Married	Arica
11	FAM	Bolivian	N/G*	<i>Humitas</i> (Native Pre-Hispanic corn dough dish) seller	Married	Arica
12	MQM	Bolivian	38	Unpaid reproductive work: housewife	Lives with partner	Azapa Valley
13	XCM	Bolivian	N/G	Importation of fruit and vegetables businesswoman	Married	Arica
14	Basilía	Bolivian	32	Agricultural worker	Married	Azapa Valley
15	Neni	Bolivian	29	Agricultural worker	Married	Azapa Valley
16	EH	Bolivian	29	Hairdresser	Single	Arica
17	Romualda	Chilean/ Bolivian	45	Owner of family plot of land and employer	Married	Azapa Valley
18	Jasmin	Bolivian	37	Agricultural worker	Separated	Azapa Valley
19	Diana	Bolivian	34	Agricultural worker	Married	Azapa Valley
20	MB	Bolivian	61	Owner of handcraft stalls	Married	Arica
21	Rosa	Bolivian	N/G	Agricultural worker in vegetable box factory	Married	Azapa Valley
22	Silvia	Bolivian	N/G	Agricultural worker in vegetable box factory	Married	Azapa Valley
23	Maira	Bolivian	N/G	Agricultural worker in vegetable box factory	Married	Azapa Valley
24	Maite	Bolivian	N/G	Agricultural worker in vegetable box factory	Married	Azapa Valley
25	JM	Bolivian	69	Owner of vegetable stand	Married	Arica
26	MMQ	Bolivian/ Chilean	70	Seller of goods for Aymara rituals	Separated	Arica

No.	Pseudonym/ Initials	Natio- nality	Age (years)	Occupation	Marital status	Residence
27	JMQ	Bolivian/ Chilean	61	Seller of goods for Aymara ri- tuals	Separated	Arica
28	AMQ	Bolivian	37	Agricultural worker	Married	Azapa Valley
29	MMC	Bolivian	N/G	Seller of goods for Aymara ri- tuals, travelling market	Married	Arica
30	Gladys	Bolivian	28	Agricultural worker	Lives with partner	Arica

* N/G: Information “Not Given” by the interviewee.
Source: compiled by the Fondecyt Project 1190056.

The women were aged between 22 and 70 years old, with an average age of 40. Twenty-one of them had had access to formal education, two did not go to school, and the other seven gave no information on this issue. Of those who had accessed formal education: five did not finish primary school, one finished primary, six did not finish secondary studies, five finished secondary school, and one had unfinished university studies. Two of the women answered that they had studied but they gave no further details. Twenty-six of the women held only Bolivian nationality; three had double nationality (Bolivian and Chilean).

The majority came from a family with an average of six siblings. This index coincides with the Total Fertility Rate (TFR, the number of children born to women of child-bearing age) of 5.47 for Bolivia in 1980, the average year of birth of the interviewees (INE-Bolivia, 2020). However, they had an average of 2.6 children per woman, showing a reduction of more than 50% of the TFR when compared with their mothers. Nineteen interviewees declared they were married, while five were separated. Four said they lived with a partner (civil union), and two were single. Twenty-two women mentioned they were born in rural communities and three in urban areas. Five gave no information on this issue. Seventeen were born and grew up in the Department of La Paz, five in Oruro, three in Santa Cruz, two in Cochabamba, and two in Arica. All of the women declared themselves to be Aymara, with the exception of one interviewee (Priscila).

Discussion

Labour Niches

Among the 30 interviewees, only two (MMQ and Muñequita Mía) dedicated themselves entirely to unpaid reproductive work, self-identifying as “housewives”. Among the 28 who carried out productive activities, we observed five specific niches.

The first is agricultural work in Azapa, where the expertise of Bolivian migrants is highly valued. In our sample, nine women worked in agriculture: AMQ, Diana, Rosi, XFP, Neni, Basilia, Jasmin, Romualda, and Gladys. Among them, only Romualda was a landowner (she employed Bolivian families). Her case allows us to pick up again the discussions from the previous section and understand the social, labour, and economic differentiation among Bolivian migrants in the valley according to the length of time they have been settled in the country. Romualda was born in 1974, the daughter of Bolivian Aymaras; she had Chilean and Bolivian nationalities and identifies with both, but she was born and grew up in Azapa. As we explained, before 1993, foreigners could not acquire lands in Arica. Her family could gain access to land because of the opportunity she and her siblings had of getting Chilean nationality, in addition to the Bolivian nationality of their parents (who registered the bought land in their children's names). Thus, Romualda's labour insertion started at an early age on the family property. She had a very different experience from that of her parents, who had to work in precarious conditions for many years: as day labourers, custodians, and tenant farmers.

The other eight female agricultural workers arrived in Azapa this century and have worked on third party-owned lands establishing different labour connections. Rosi and Jasmin were *journaleras*: they sold their labour daily to different employers, moving from farm to farm. Both lived in makeshift huts at the side of a farm in the area bordering the road that cuts through the valley (with the consent of the landowner who employed them daily).

Gladys worked for a monthly salary: she had agreed with the tenant of a plot of land to work for several months at a time, for the length of the tomato season (more intense in the autumn and winter months). She lived on this same farm, also in a hut.

Diana, AMQ and Neni were *medieras*: they subleased parts of a plot of land and oversaw the agricultural input on them, all of the labour needed for the cultivating and the harvesting, packaging, transporting, and selling of the harvested product. They worked with their partners and children. Everyone in the family had to work to sustain the cost of renting the land; however, their husbands established the business deals. They delivered a percentage of their profits to those who rented them the land. In the three cases, these landlords were also Bolivian and considered "relatives" by these women; however, the women referred to them as "the boss".

Only XFP held a work contract on a rural property (established by the owner), but she did not give further details about the conditions of said contract. The fact that only one of the women had a formal contract confirms the findings of

previous studies on the high rates of informal labour among Bolivian migrants in Azapa (Rojas & Bueno, 2014, p.81). Finally, Basilia gave no details about her labour connections; she only stated that an agricultural company employed her and that the “boss” had given her, her husband and children a house to live in. It was made of plywood, with dirt floors, no running water, no electricity, like most houses for agricultural labourers in the valley.

For all our interviewees working in agriculture (no matter the type of job), the networks built with Bolivians with whom they share Aymara ethnicity, their relatives and even those from the same place of origin were fundamental. Through these connections, the women addressed their labour insertions, gained access and information about dealing with migration paperwork, found out how to access public health and education services (especially for their children), and sought solutions for their housing situation. Therefore, these Aymara networks constitute a social capital that articulates ethnic enclaves, economies, and resources.

Commerce is the second labour sector, employing nine of our interviewees: Casimira, Paloma, Marcela, FAM, JM, MMQ, JMQ, MB, and MMC. The women who entered this niche came from extremely poor backgrounds; their first productive activities had been in agriculture. Several of them had learned how to trade beside their mothers, who in turn had combined rural activities (agriculture, grazing, producing dressings, cheeses, dried meat) with the sale of the family unit’s production. Therefore, for many of our interviewees, their commercial practice is part of a rural experience, learned as a female cultural capital, framed by the gender division of labour in their families of origin¹³. This explains why all the traders involved in our study were engaged in buying and selling agricultural goods. Some even sold food or industrialised hygiene or cleaning products, but their main commercial niches were leafy vegetables, fruits, vegetables, and grains. One of them worked on a fixed stall in the street (Casimira), another sold from a street cart (Marcela). But the majority worked on market stalls found in the Agro: two of them were owners of these spaces (MB and JM), and five rented them (JMQ, MMQ, Paloma, FAM, and MMC).

Those female agricultural workers who owned properties (Romualda) or were tenant farmers (Diana, AMQ, and Neni) also traded. Together with their partners, they would take their produce to the wholesale patio floor in the Agro, where they sold to distributing businesspeople (national or international), as Romualda told us. Jasmin, who worked as a farm day labourer, said she took

13 González and Sassone (2016, p.5), have verified the same among Bolivian migrant communities in Argentina.

advantage of the opportunity to sell ice cream at her children's school's gates (Jasmin, farm labourer; 17 September 2019). Thus, commerce is an activity linked to rural insertion: a resource used to leave behind the hard work in the fields (as Casimira told us) or complement their income as farmers. For all women, their insertion into commercial activities allowed them to improve their income, access to education, and consumption.

The third niche leads us to Shanita and XCM, who are fruit and vegetable import/export businesswomen. Shanita managed a large-scale business where she employed and directed a male labour force (she recruited Chileans and Venezuelan migrants as well as her oldest son, born in Chile). Her company had an industrial cold storage plant, a vast storage warehouse (both in Lluta) and four trucks. Her company's commercial routes covered business in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. XCM's company also traded over long-distance South American transnational routes. She held the general manager's position, overseeing her husband and children's work and that of hired Chileans, Peruvians, and Bolivians. Her company also owns cold storage chambers, trucks, and industrial warehouses.

The cases of these two women confirm the findings of Hernández and Loureiro-Ferreira (2017) on the protagonism of female Bolivians (and their business leadership in their family's productive unit) in commerce. However, complementarily, they point to other considerations: XCM and Shanita explicitly defined themselves as "farmers". Like the small-scale traders, both began their labour activities in childhood, working with their mothers in agriculture. They learned to trade accompanying their rural mothers.

The fourth niche is working in manufacturing. Five women (Clavel, Maité, Silvia, Maira, and Rosa) are employed in this field in factories in Azapa that make boxes for packing agricultural products. These factories are called *cajoneras*, and the boxes they make *toritos*.

The female migrants lived on the same land that houses the factory, and they worked with the partners of four of them. These partners are brothers who drew up a collective regime in which their wives were included: they subleased the facilities which belonged to a Chilean man. One of the women was a cousin of one of the workers. She had come to Chile for some months with her two children after being the victim of violence at the hands of her ex-partner in Bolivia. Everyone's children ran freely in the factory's premises, where there were piles of untreated lumber, worktables with industrial cutting and assembly tools, and several *toritos* already put together or in the process of being so. The wooden huts where the families lived were on the land, behind or to the side of the factory: they had no running water or electricity. In the space in front of three of the houses, there was

a flat area where the women cooked on woodfires (using leftovers from the boxes) and washed clothes.

The fifth niche is services. Two of the women worked as hairdressers; Priscila in her own salon, while EH worked in a salon found in one of the Agro's patios. Joana served the public in her uncle's phone call shop on a street adjacent to the commercial complex. In the cases of EH and Joana, labour insertion was fostered through ethnic-family networks.

We recorded reiterated comments about how difficult the working conditions were for Bolivian migrants in all these employment niches. This was an opinion shared by Arica's population and Bolivian migrants alike. Bolivian women described their works as *duro* [hard] (Diana, Paloma), *esforzado* [tough] (Neni), *trabajoso* [difficult] (Basilía), *sin descanso* [relentless] (AMQ). Even though they considered their productive functions in Bolivia had demanded a lot of effort, they believed their jobs in Chile entailed greater exploitation: "Here we work as if we were... I don't know. As if we were slaves, I say. In Bolivia, it's not like that; it's more relaxed" (Casimira, saleswoman, 8 May 2019).

Work as Cultural and Social Capital

Work is a form of family cultural capital for our interviewees. They learned their productive and reproductive functions through socialisation in their rural families of origin. Indeed, their testimonies show a gender division in the socialisation of girls regarding these functions. Knowledge about reproductive chores was transmitted exclusively by female figures, although not necessarily by mothers. Muñequita Mía and Basilía told us that they learned kitchen chores through the teachings of their mother and grandmother, respectively. Diana pointed out that girls could turn to their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and sisters to learn about the house and farm chores. Furthermore, if this was not done in childhood, they suffered later in life, when this knowledge was essential to be considered "good wives" by their mothers-in-law.

Consequently, women were univocal transmitters of knowledge about reproductive activities in the families of origin, while socialisation to productive tasks was shared with male figures. MQM narrated this division explicitly, highlighting that her father only taught her duties related to the farm while her mother took charge of all those related to the home and care. Diana also told us that it was her father who taught her how to grow grains and leafy vegetables. However, agricultural know-how was not solely transmitted by male family members from a previous generation: it was also carried out by mothers, fathers, sisters,

and brothers. Rosa, for example, learned these tasks thanks to her older sister. And Maira, with friends and neighbours, making it a community transmission of labour cultural capital. As previously stated, all the women in trade in our sample started in this activity at an early age, accompanying their mothers and learning from them: “Well, my mother taught me by including me in her work when I was very small [...]. My mother and I, we sold juice, carrot juice” (Shanita, businesswoman, 11 Sep. 2019).

Furthermore, the interviewees consider business knowledge a legacy exclusively passed on by the previous female generations in their families (grandmothers, mothers, aunts). In their assessment, this set of complex knowledge and skills that are necessary for strong business performance gives distinction to those who hold it. Among the skills that they highlighted as fundamental; we list three.

The first skill refers to knowledge about sales rhythms and price dynamics, accounting, and supply and demand logic (which according to the sisters JMQ and MMQ, their mother had mastered ‘to perfection’). These skills are related to a special form of feminine sensitivity: “We women, we have that kind of instinct, we do very well in business” (Shanita, businesswoman, 11 September 2019). This “instinct” constitutes a gender specialisation: an exclusively female ability, differentiated from male capacities. Moreover, this difference is supported by expertise in relational time. While women are developing the ability to bargain without haste (observing with empathy their counterpart’s reactions), men are more focused on closing the deal quickly (which prevents them from getting the best deals). This “rhythmic” female knowledge is built up over time: it takes a lot of experience, calm, and attention:

Well, this aunt of mine, one day says to me: “Daughter, you always must have an eye on what there is, what there isn’t, how things work, where you can make a sale. But always in silence, observing. You have to have vision, to see the present, it’s not like being at the races”. And so, when I had it [that vision], I opened my grocery store. I used to come to the Agro [...]. I sold two apples, an avocado, two tomatoes in my shop, and as I would come here to buy, I would buy five kilos of this and another five of that. Customers were buying by the box, and I thought to myself: “if they can sell [these quantities], what’s stopping me from coming here and selling too?” (Shanita, businesswoman, 11 September. 2019).

Shanita learned how to insert herself in relationships throughout the different areas of the Agro through her observations in productive spaces. In

two decades, she went from selling juices walking among clients and vendors to owning an import-export company. Her aunt's words taught her that decisions were not taken as if you were at "the races". Finishing first, therefore, is not the most important thing. This female knowledge focuses on the relational quality of connections, not on measures that seek more accumulation in less time. Her commerce ethics is not guided by the logics of "time is money", but rather by the assumption that "the empathic bond guarantees good trading".

Second, this "focus on quality" implies a specifically female knowledge of how to offer, negotiate, and relate with clients and fellow vendors. Thus, a particular skill is employed that cultivates relational networks, allowing and facilitating commercial activities. And, according to our interviewees, the female traders in their families were experts in this field: in building and sustaining the social capital that enables the economic reproduction of commercial activity. In the Agro, this social capital is built on personal and community trust *among women*. Shanita and XCM learned about the importance of *honouring* informal deals, and of building *trustworthy* connections directly from their mothers. EH narrates that her mother and aunt taught her how to gain said trust with the key actors in the market: "One has to win *trust* on your own merits. You must be *honest*. My aunt always told me: 'even if you see \$100 [Chilean pesos], you leave them there, or even better you return them' [...]. Yes, your mother or your aunt [...] always stress that you must be honest" (EH, hairdresser, 16 September 2019. Emphasis added).

We see how the mother and maternal aunt transmit this legacy of *honour* and *trust*, which the women portray as a fundamental vehicle of their productive performance. As Tassi et al. (2013, p.169) also observed, this is a complex arrangement: it involves exchanges that go beyond the economic and are based on affective, ethical, ethnic, and moral ties. Many commercial transactions, especially initial ones, start as loans of money or goods that will be paid back in the future. These deals are reached verbally, based on trust, and are established over time, through daily relationships of mutual knowledge (as social capital). It is not only the amount of money that is at stake but also the women's personal legitimacy, which is based on the trust they inspire and are able to honour (as their cultural capital). Moreover, this knowledge transforms the body of the bearer. According to our interviewees, it is possible to identify and be identified by "embodied" trust. Thus, women who bear the trust can be recognised because they act and move with a principle of *kindness*. They are always ready to respond reciprocally to the needs of others, to the same extent that they receive, in return for this kindness, the trust of others.

Third, although they worked as merchants now, several interviewees (MB, JMQ, MMQ and Shanita) had not wanted to do so in their youth. They had been pushed into this work in adulthood due to vulnerable situations. The early experience of labour vulnerabilities faced by mothers also constitutes a particular female cultural capital. Women, from a very early age, learn about the difficulties and limitations of female productive insertion. By fostering women's awareness of these limitations, the productive experience of mothers provides them with knowledge on how to "get ahead": how to build resources and tools to cope with situations of vulnerability.

Work as a Gender Mandate

Our interviewees centralise work as a moral value, a component of their sense of ethnic (Aymara) and national (Bolivian) identity. However, the moral mandate of work was articulated with other aspects: it was the principle of their gender identity, particularly in adult life. Their comments on the difference between male and female work are revealing. Due to the gender division of labour, female figures always faced a greater work overload than men. Female migrants employed in different niches made it clear that all the reproductive work fell exclusively on their shoulders:

We have two jobs. I've always said that women work more. Well, it's not to belittle men because I also have three boys. But it's true, we women have much more work. It's because we take on more responsibilities than correspond to us. But, why? [...]. To a certain extent, we are taking the responsibility off the men. Because in my case, well look: [there was the] taking care of the children when they were small, and you know having a small child is a big responsibility. Then we have the issue of school, materials, homework to check, clothes, so many things. So, with respect to the children, it is a responsibility. We women, we start very early to leave everything ready. When I had my first child, I had the vehicle, and I took everything ready and then I would take him to the nursery school. And then, he was growing up, and I had my other, my second son. And then the third [...]. Meanwhile, you must be on the ball at work: with perishable merchandise that can go to waste. So, it's work, double the work: the home and then work itself. Men, ok they work, yes, but they are not worried about what's needed at home, whether the housework has been done or not, if the kids have their school materials, never mind the meetings [at school]. So, yes, a woman works more while the man doesn't. If dinner must be made, then the woman is there in the kitchen and a man is waiting to be served, and that's it (Shanita, businesswoman, 11 September 2019. Emphasis added).

The women narrated the complete lack of (or insufficient) male participation in the reproduction of family life and the problems they faced in trying to talk about the issue: “Only I had to do chores. He never did a thing, no support, ever. He was always working. I worked too, and I, more than anybody else, had to take care of the babies” (Rosi, agricultural worker, 11 September 2019). For women like Rosi, agricultural work gets very difficult, given they must juggle physically demanding tasks with looking after minors. We were witness to this when we met Jasmin, a rural worker in Azapa. The person who led us to her was her six-year-old daughter, whom we found playing alone at the side of the road while her mother was planting leafy greens (Fieldwork diary, 17 September 2019). When we approached Jasmin, we saw that she carried her other child, a little under three years old, on her back while working on her hunkers. Her strength and agility impressed us as she moved down the long line planting the greens with so much weight on her back, inserting the seeds carefully and watching her step so as not to crush anything already planted. Jasmin had separated from the father of her two children because he was an alcoholic who went off with another woman. JM also narrated taking on full responsibility for bringing up her children:

No, he never helped me. He liked the drink; those who like the drink are a waste of time. You try and advise them, get them on the right track, but no, they're locked in the vice, and nobody can change them [...]. In my case, it was the suffering, how I suffered from that lack of family warmth, I felt no support, so I brought my kids on alone. I never freed my children; I had a lot of problems with their father, but I never freed them and thanks to me, they all did well and here I am still fighting; I never left them (JM, vegetable seller, 19 September 2019).

However, female overload is not always linked to male absenteeism or alcoholism. It is a transversal phenomenon that affects all the married women (Casimira, Paloma, Marcela, XCM, Basilia, Neni, Romualda, Diana, MB, JM, AMQ), those living with partners (XFP), those separated (Rosi, Shanita), as well as single women (EH). This productive and reproductive overload is associated with a series of everyday aspects that impact their labour insertion.

First, they accept jobs that are more precarious, more informal, or with more exploitation if these reconcile with their reproductive activities:

Now, I'm here; with this, I'm going to be here for months yet. I started in December, and as it was very hot, I didn't have any more work; my babies were small too. So, I couldn't leave them, either. So, 'what am I going to do?', I asked

myself. 'Ok, I'm going to start selling for these days, until the job starts.' And now the kids are at school; they're still small. And, at work, they won't let me take the children [...]. So, I'll just keep on doing this, so I can see them when they finish school. I put them on the bus, I'm there for them. I'm watching them [...]. That's why I'm doing this now (Marcela, saleswoman, 12 September 2019).

Many women have had to change jobs or leave, at different times, to meet family responsibilities:

After, I couldn't work either [as an agricultural worker] because I had to do the care work. As they were little girls [her daughters], I couldn't. I can't work, apart from doing this [as a trader]. I can't because my daughters are very little: I need to drop them off and pick them up. And if I was employed in a company, or something similar, I would have to start early. And who would drop off my daughter? Who would pick her up? I can't. So, I decided to work here and sell every day (Casimira, saleswoman, 8 May 2019).

Second, the women's working day starts much earlier than the men's, because they must prepare the clothes and food for their partners and children. In addition, they coordinate the minors getting to school: "We work by torchlight, we're up at the crack of dawn" (Neni, agricultural worker, 14 September 2019). Rosi, Shanita, AMQ, Neni, JM and Paloma highlighted that their work did not finish until late into the night.

Third, all of this implies that the women never had a free moment: "I never stop, not one day" (Paloma, saleswoman, 10 September 2019); "we work from Monday to Sunday" (Basilia, agricultural worker, 12 September 2019).

Conclusions

Throughout the text, we have seen that the labour insertion of the female migrants is conditioned by their productive and reproductive overload. From the seventies onwards, feminist studies have used the concept of "double presence" to refer to this overload on women who, unable to share the burden of the family's sustenance and reproductive work with male figures, pay with their own health the burden of reconciling these spheres (González & Sassone, 2016). The concept problematises the centrality of reproductive tasks and their impact on the organisation of women's productive time.

When telling us that women “have two jobs”, Shanita came close to the core of the debate put forward by these authors. The interviewees’ descriptions of their responsibilities broaden this reflection on the productive-reproductive dialectic and, as other researchers have done by studying the overload of Bolivian Aymara migrants in Argentina, speak not of the double but of “multiple presence” (Magliano, 2013, p.168). This implies focusing on how women equalise the difficulties of reconciling spheres and “roles traditionally defined as different and separate –family and work, private and public, productive and reproductive, domestic and extra domestic– and, likewise, the strategies aimed at combining, negotiating, reproducing, inventing and/or transcending these spheres and roles” (Magliano, 2013, p.168).

Let us go back to Shanita’s case; she explained that it was thanks to her careful monitoring of the products that ensured the family business would not make losses. Through keeping an eye on the goods –that “they didn’t spoil”– sales were not affected. The same applied to the customers. Due to her attentive service to them and their needs, they stayed “loyal” and kept buying from her. However, her “presence” also extended to attending her children’s food, clothing, health, and education; cleaning the house; making sure there was food; going to school meetings and countless other activities. The female overload thus alluded to the multiplication of the dimensions whose daily maintenance depended on women’s presence and unpaid work. These circumstances were not restricted to the experience of businesswomen such as Shanita; they were reported by women in all the other employment niches (agriculture, manufacturing, services, and commerce).

Labour markets in international border territories have engendered increasingly violent systems of labour exploitation that discriminate based on the ethnicity, race, gender, and lack of paperwork of those exploited. Women are the majority in these “cross-border circuits” of ultra-exploitative labour, precisely because they feel unilaterally responsible for family reproduction (Sassen, 2003), and this pushes them to accept increasingly precarious working conditions (as borne out by the testimonies). Thus, this heavy female burden provokes the *feminisation of survival* (Sassen, 2003). However, this is not something that is observed only among Bolivian Aymara women in Arica. Different studies on female Bolivian migration in South America allow us to establish common elements to interpret the multiple presence of these female migrants and their connection with borders and the feminisation of survival:

Although there is no single way of experiencing the multiple presence, Bolivian migrants’ accounts depict a multiple set of images and representations of the

female Bolivian migrant, which highlights her status as a *fighter*, *defender* of the family unit, *guardian of affection*, pillar of the family through her role in the productive and reproductive world, and *mediator between the cultures* of origin and destination. The reconstruction of these images and representations allows us to infer the meanings of these presences in the migratory trajectories of Bolivian women. (Magliano, 2013, p.168).

In our interviewees' testimonies, we find these same symbolic elements in the link between the *multiple presence* of women, the moral perspective on their vital obligations, and in how they conceived their sense of female identity and their personality. Several alluded to the mandate referring to *fighters*, *defenders*: "Here, women rock! [laughter]. We rock, because what is important is that we are work warriors, I believe that if we fall, we get straight back up again" (XCM, businesswoman, 12 September 2019). Said mandate does not necessarily imply female subordination. Performing as warriors or defenders of the community can position the women as leaders. JM explained that Bolivian Aymara women were the majority among traders in the Agro precisely because of this fighting character: "Yes, they are [the] majority. Women are fighters; the Bolivian woman likes to work, both in the field and here; she doesn't give up" (JM, vegetable stand owner, 19 September 2019).

Once again, this fighting spirit appears as an empowering element: a tool that prevents collapse in moments of crisis or instability when things do not go to plan. However, in their narratives, this same fighting character is linked to being the economic and productive provider for the household. Fifteen of the 30 interviewees stated that they felt overloaded in terms of their responsibilities. Interpreting these findings means abandoning dualistic visions of gender relations and observing that women build strategies of resistance that, in the end, do not break inequalities, but they do open the way to important transformations for them and the new generations.

Let us recall that Hernández and Loureiro-Ferreira (2017) observed that the commercial protagonism of Bolivian females on the Bolivia-Brazil border led to a reorganisation of the gender division of reproductive labour in Aymara families. Our study did not verify these processes among women traders, but we did verify an economic and personal empowerment thanks to the activity. In this sense, we follow the findings on Bolivian migration in Argentina by González and Sassone (2016, p.2): that commerce articulated a form of Bolivian female leadership, opening possibilities of autonomy for migrant women, however, without reconfiguring the totality of gender inequalities.

However, while the phenomenon of multiple presence affects every Aymara migrant woman interviewed in this study (whether working in agriculture, trade, or services), we found those who are formal or informal traders, in particular, were empowered through the legacy of mutual honour and trust they embodied as cultural capital. Through this legacy, the traders mobilise and utilise their Aymara cultural capital to achieve financial and moral success in the ethnic niche of business.

Our findings also accompany the debates proposed by Strathern (1990) and establish reflections on the gender specificity in the organisation of systems of total prestation among Bolivian Aymara families. In particular, on the specific way women build the social networks that allow their labour insertion and the reproduction of their family groups. Let us recall, regarding this purpose, the interviewees' accounts of the knowledge their female family predecessors (aunts, mothers, grandmothers) shared and that socialised them in the logic of the "gift", structured around a "triad" of values and practices.

Like other interviewees, EH spoke of her aunt as a transmitter of this legacy of *honour*, portrayed by the women as a fundamental vehicle for the women's productive commercial performance. This disposition engenders exchanges that extrapolate the economic, settling on the affective, ethical, and moral ties based on *trust* (Tassi et al., 2013, p.169). All of this is cultivated over time in daily relationships of mutual recognition. What is at stake here is the women's personal legitimacy: the *trust* they inspire and *honour*. They also reported that trust transforms the body of its bearer; it is an "embodied experience". The bearers of trust are identified because they act and move with *kindness*: they reciprocally recognise the needs of others while receiving in return the trust of others.

Consequently, the women incorporate *kindness*, *trust*, and *honour* as cultural capital when they perform the three practices that sustain the circulation of gifts: giving, receiving, and reciprocating. This is a system of total prestations but based on the logic of Aymara *Panipacha*. It constitutes, simultaneously, a corporal mark of the women's ethnicised ability to trade and cultivate. In sum, it is an embodied cultural capital. By "giving", they embody "kindness"; in "receiving", they embody trust; and in "reciprocating", they embody "honour". As Bourdieu (2004, p.136) indicates, ethnic solidarity (which we see cultivated here in the labour connections embodied by women) can ensure shared forms of collective mobility (in social, economic and/or political terms).

These findings are close to the discussions of Tassi et al. (2013, p.161) who, in studying the expansion of informal trade in Bolivia, observed that the networks woven through these links of reciprocity "guarantee certain levels of

trust between different actors [...], in a context where traditional institutions have failed to provide an economic regulatory framework". Moreover, "they create a web of relationships that functions as an extensive form of control and prevention of antisocial activities and practices in the informal economy" (Tassi et al., 2013, p.161). Hence it can be affirmed that "social capital, in the context of popular commerce, fulfils a much more extensive and complex function than that of a simple 'lubricant' of the economic system" (Tassi et al., 2013, p.161).

However, we complement these debates by observing that *gift and reciprocity are gendered* in the construction of this social capital: they move and articulate different ways of constructing relationships that endow women with specific capacities (Comas, 2017). These capacities can only be properly appreciated if they are understood as part of the spread of the *multiple presence of women* because they constitute a productive expansion of the reproductive relational logic that women develop in Aymara family environments.

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