

The Movement of Household Workers in Evo Morales'  
Bolivia: Demands and Policies (2006-2016)

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*A mi madre y a mi padre*

*A Arthur*

*A las que luchan, allí y aquí*

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Wherever contributions of others are involved, these are clearly acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Pablo', followed by a long horizontal flourish.

Pablo Castaño Tierno, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2017

## Abstract

Household workers occupy the lowest position in Bolivian gender, ethnic and class hierarchies: the great majority of them are rural, indigenous and working-class women. In 1993, they created the National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob) and they began their struggle for the protection of household workers' rights. The major result of this campaign was the creation 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work, which gave household workers almost equivalent legal rights to the rest of the Bolivarian workforce.

In 2006, the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS, in Spanish) left-*indigenist* party, with Evo Morales as president, won state power, pledging to improve the situation of household workers across Bolivia. In this MPhil thesis, I analyse the main demands of the social movement of household workers during the first ten years of Evo Morales in government (2006-2016) and the policies that the government implemented to fulfil the demands of the movement. I explain the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement through the analysis of the relations between the movement and the government (institutionalization, as it is denominated by social movement scholars).

The research contributes to the literature on household workers' mobilisations, social movements outcomes and social movement institutionalization. The research is based on thematic content analysis of documents produced by Fenatrahob and the Bolivian government, semi-structured interviews with Bolivian officials and activists, and secondary sources.

## Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Domestic Work and Household Workers' Mobilisations in Latin America and Bolivia</b> .....	<b>16</b>
2. The Origins of Evo Morales' and MAS Government .....	17
2. Domestic Work in Latin America and Bolivia .....	19
2.1. Domestic Work, Migration and Indigenous Identity .....	21
2.2. Domestic Work and Colonialism .....	25
3. Household Workers' Mobilisations in Bolivia .....	30
3.1. The First Household Workers' Mobilisations in Bolivia: The Union of Cooks .....	30
3.2. Fenatrahob (1993-2005): The Long Way to the 2450/2003 Law.....	33
Conclusion .....	39
<b>Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework, Research Question and Research Objectives</b> .....	<b>41</b>
1. Literature on Household Workers' Mobilisations in Bolivia .....	41
2. Main Concepts of the Theoretical Framework .....	46
2.1. Social Movement Outcomes .....	46
2.2. Social Movement Institutionalization .....	50
3. Research Question, Research Objectives and Structure of the Thesis .....	53
Conclusion .....	55
<b>Chapter 3: Ethical Issues and Methodology</b> .....	<b>56</b>
1. Ethical Issues .....	56
1.1. The Risk of Epistemic Extractivism .....	56
1.2. A Politically Engaged Research.....	58
2. Methodology.....	61
2.1. Content Analysis of Documents .....	62
2.2. Semi-Structured Interviews with Activists and Officials .....	65
Conclusion .....	73
<b>Chapter 4: The Policy Demands of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers (2006-2016)</b> .....	<b>74</b>

1. Fair Wages and Free Time from Work .....	75
2. Health Insurance Coverage .....	77
3. Access to Education .....	81
4. Access to Pensions .....	83
5. Non-Discrimination and Protection Against Violence .....	85
6. The Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention .....	87
7. The Establishment of a Compulsory Written Contract and ‘Salaries Book’ .	89
8. The Inclusion of Household Workers’ Rights in the General Labour Act.....	90
Conclusion .....	91
<b>Chapter 5: The Policies Promoted by the Bolivian Government on Household Workers’ Rights (2006-2016).....</b>	<b>93</b>
1. The New 2009 Constitution .....	95
2. The Establishment of the National Day of Household Workers .....	98
3. The Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention .....	100
4. The 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution on the Written Contract.....	104
5. The Introduction of Household Workers’ Rights in the New General Labour Act	107
6. The Creation of a Specific Program of Secondary Education for Household Workers.....	109
7. Assessment of the Degree of Satisfaction of the Movement’s Demands	109
7.1. Fair Wages and Free Time from Work .....	110
7.2. Health Insurance Coverage .....	111
7.3. Access to Education .....	111
7.4. Access to Pensions .....	112
7.5. Non-Discrimination and Protection Against Violence .....	112
7.6. Demands of Specific Policies .....	113
Conclusion .....	114
<b>Chapter 6: Explaining the Outcomes of the Movement Through Institutionalization .....</b>	<b>117</b>
1. Reasons for the Scarcity of Substantive Policies on Household Workers’ Rights .....	117
2. Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of the Institutionalization of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers.....	120

3. The Institutionalization of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers	126
3.1. Fenatrahob, a Part of the Social Base of the New State...?	127
3.2. Household Workers, the Shadow of the Process of Change?	131
4. The Influence of the Institutionalization of the Movement on the Movement Policy Outcomes.....	136
Conclusion .....	138
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>140</b>
Contributions to the Literature .....	144
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>149</b>

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## Introduction

Household workers<sup>1</sup> occupy the lowest position in Bolivian gender, ethnic and class hierarchies; for the great majority of them are rural, indigenous and working-class women. Despite their subaltern position within society, a small group of household workers succeeded in creating their own unions in the 1980s, after the end of the military dictatorship. In 1993 they founded the National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob), which got the support of a growing group of NGOs, unions and other progressive social organisations, forming the Bolivian social movement of household workers. After a ten-years campaign, the movement achieved the passing of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work, which attributes to household workers similar rights to those of the rest of Bolivian workers, putting an end to the most serious features of the historical legal discrimination of household workers. However, the Law did not improve the living and working conditions of Bolivian household workers overnight.

Between 2003 and 2005, Fenatrahob participated in the wave of anti-neoliberal protests that provoked the resignation of president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada and led left-*indigenist*<sup>2</sup> party Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) and its leader Evo Morales to state power. The landslide national electoral victory of MAS in 2005 brought high hopes to Fenatrahob, as MAS had decisively supported the 2450/2003 Law in Parliament. In addition, one of the first decisions of president Evo Morales was the appointment of Casimira Rodríguez, former executive

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<sup>1</sup> A conceptual specification is necessary. Even though “domestic workers” is the most frequently used concept in the global literature on this issue, I will instead use the term “household workers” throughout this thesis. In Bolivia, the term *empleada doméstica* (“domestic employee” in Spanish) has a derogatory content related with the colonial, racial and gender-based oppression traditionally suffered by such workers. Therefore, organized household workers have struggled for being called *trabajadoras del hogar* (“household workers” in Spanish). As far as the latter term does not have any derogatory connotations, it seems to me the most accurate in the Bolivian context. However, I will refer to “domestic work” rather than “household work” in order to bring my reflections in close dialogue with the international literature on domestic work.

<sup>2</sup> *Indigenism* is the translation of the Spanish word “indigenismo”, which is defined by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (2017) as the “Doctrine and party that advocates political, social and economic claims for Indians and mixed-race individuals in the Latin American republics”.

secretary of Fenatrahob, as minister of justice - an extremely significant gesture as she was the first representative of household workers to holding such a significant governmental position.

Ten years later, MAS's policy record on household workers' rights is ambivalent. On the one hand, the government has made multiple gestures towards improving the social prestige of household workers -such as the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers in 2006. On the other hand, the working and living conditions of household workers do not seem to have experienced a dramatic improvement, and existing research suggests that the level of enforcement of the 2450/2003 is low (Baptista Canedo, 2011; Peredo Beltrán, 2015). This MPhil thesis intends to shed some light on this contradictory policy record during the 2006-2016 period, addressing two major issues. First, I will assess to what extent MAS and Morales' government have satisfied the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers, which did not stop campaigning for the effective enforcement of the 2450/2003 Law and the approval of policies to improve their working and living conditions after Morales' election. Second, this research intends to explore the causes of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement, focusing on the analysis of the relations between the movement and the Bolivian government (the 'institutionalization' of the movement, as the literature on social movement names it).

The Bolivian movement of household workers allows us to observe the Bolivian left-*indigenist* 'process of change' from an original perspective. The election of Evo Morales as the first indigenous president in the Americas was welcomed with great hope by progressive intellectuals and activists around the world, and the political process led by MAS party has received great scholarly attention for years, as it will be further explained in Chapter 2. However, there is very little research on the achievements and limitations of the movement of household workers and the policies relating to domestic work approved by the Morales government. The analysis of this understudied topic can provide a critical assessment of the wider

achievements and limitations of the Bolivian 'process of change'. Elizabeth Peredo<sup>3</sup> has expressed this in the following way:

*“Household workers are the shadow of the Bolivian process [of change], they reflect [its] images, the tensions, the weaknesses and the contradictions”.*

With this words, Peredo suggested that the limitations of the action of Evo Morales' government regarding the rights of household workers constitute a paradigmatic example of the limitations of the whole 'process of change'. As lower-class indigenous women, household workers constitute a symbol of all the social hierarchies that the 'process of change' intends to overcome. Therefore, the assessment of the effectiveness of the action of the government regarding the rights of household workers sheds light on the overall outcome of the 'process of change'.

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This MPhil thesis is composed of six chapters. Chapter 1 addresses the political context of the 2006-2016 period in Bolivia, dominated by the 'process of change' led by president Morales and MAS party. Chapter 1 presents as well the main features of domestic work in Latin America and Bolivia and the history of household workers' mobilisations in Bolivia before 2006.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework of the MPhil thesis, which is positioned at the intersection between the literature on household workers' mobilisations and the literature on social movements. The first part of the chapter is a review of the literature on household workers' mobilisations, social movement outcomes and social movement institutionalization. In the second part, this literature is applied to the case study of the relations between the Bolivian household workers' movement and the government, the discussions of which allows me to formulate the research question and objectives of the thesis as a whole. The research question of the MPhil thesis is as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán, researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers. Interview through Skype, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017.

*Which were the main policy outcomes of the Bolivian movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period and to what extent the institutionalization of the movement explains those outcomes?*

The research question is addressed through three research objectives: 1) Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period, 2) Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period, and 3) Explore the reasons of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement.

Chapter 3 addresses the ethical issues raised by the research and the methodology of the thesis. Regarding ethics, I explain how I try to avoid the risk of 'epistemic extractivism' and in what sense this MPhil thesis can be considered as an example of politically engaged research. As far as methodology is concerned, I explain the combination of qualitative methods on which the thesis is based: thematic content analysis of documents produced by Fenatrahob and the Bolivian government, semi-structured interviews with Bolivian officials and activists, and secondary sources.

Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapter, where I explore the main policy demands of Fenatrahob during the 2006-2016 period (Research Objective 1) through the thematic content analysis of Fenatrahob *Equity and Justice* information bulletins and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal published by Fenatrahob (2014a). In order to systematise the analysis, I identify two kinds of demands: general demands (Fenatrahob does not specify which legal tools or regulations the government should use to meet its demands) and demands of specific policies.

Chapter 5 addresses two aims. First, I analyse the policies promoted by Evo Morales' and the MAS government regarding household workers' rights during the 2006-2016 period. Second, I assess to what extent MAS and the government have met the demands of Fenatrahob during the same period (Research Objective 2). The policies of the government are conceived as outcomes of the social movement

of household workers, and are classified into two categories: *sensitizing outcomes* (policies whose main aim is the improvement of the social image of household workers<sup>4</sup>) and *substantive outcomes* (policies that address the material demands of the social movement of household workers).

Finally, Chapter 6 is devoted to the analysis of the causes of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement of household workers. Focus is placed on the institutionalization of the movement, namely the relations between the movement and the government (Research Objective 3). I carry out the analysis in three steps. First, I advance some explanations of the lack of satisfaction of the substantive policy demands of the movement. Second, I describe the main inputs of the literature on the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, and the literature on social movement institutionalization that I use to analyse my case study. Third, I analyse the institutionalization of the Bolivian household workers' movement and the influence of the institutionalization of the movement on its policy outcomes.

The overall conclusion of the thesis is twofold. Firstly, the main policy outcomes of the movement were the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act (if it finally takes place, as it will be further explained), the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers, the specification of a wide range of sources of discrimination and the recognition of the economic value of domestic work in the Constitution, the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution that establishes a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book' for all household workers, and the program to promote the access of household workers to secondary education. Secondly, the alliance established between the movement and the government -which implied easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda- has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not allowed the achievement of substantive outcomes, with the exception of the 218/2014

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<sup>4</sup> The concept of "sensitizing outcomes" was first formulated by Kriesi et al. (1995), as it will be explained in Chapter 2.

Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education.

## Chapter 1: Domestic Work and Household Workers' Mobilisations in Latin America and Bolivia

This MPhil thesis focuses on the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian government during the 2006-2016 period. I have chosen to focus on the 2006-2016 period because it corresponds to Evo Morales' and Movement Towards Socialism (MAS, in Spanish) first years in state power. As it will be further explained, the left-*indigenist* MAS party was the main parliamentary supporter of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Household Work, which dramatically expanded household workers' labour rights in Bolivia. One of the first decisions of president Evo Morales was the appointment as minister of justice of Casimira Rodríguez, former executive secretary of the National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob) and the Confederation of Latin American and Caribbean Household Workers (CONLACTRAHO). It was the first time in the history of Bolivia that a household worker and a Quechua<sup>5</sup> peasant woman held a ministry. Rodríguez's appointment as minister was interpreted as a clear sign of the engagement of MAS and Morales with the protection of household workers' rights through the effective implementation of the 2450/2003 Law. However, the implementation of the Law has not been completed yet, as it will be explained in further chapters.

Even though this research focuses on the 2006-2016 period, a basic knowledge of the origins of MAS' and Morales' government and the situation of Bolivian household workers and their mobilisations prior to 2006 is necessary to understand the demands and actions of the movement during the studied period. The aim of this introductory chapter is thus to provide that background. The chapter is divided in three sections: Section 1 focuses on the 2000-2005 cycle of protests that preceded the first electoral victory of Morales and MAS, Section 2 focuses on domestic work in Latin America and Bolivia, and Section 3 describes the main elements of the mobilisation of Bolivian household workers since the origins of the movement to 2006. Even though the study of other Latin American

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<sup>5</sup> Quechua is the most numerous indigenous ethnic group in Bolivia.

household workers' movements is out of the scope of this research, some references are made to general trends of these movements, with the aim of framing the Bolivian movement within the Latin American context.

## 2. The Origins of Evo Morales' and MAS Government

A brief reference to the cycle of social protests that is at the origin of MAS and Morales' first electoral victory is necessary to understand the general political situation in Bolivia between 2006 and 2016.

Bolivia experienced in 2000 a revival of popular protest that had languished since the triumph of neoliberal governments over labour mobilisations in the 1980s (García Linera, 2007a, p. 104). Issues related with the administration and property of gas and water triggered the most important protests, but they represented a much wider set of grievances, including demands of self-government in traditionally indigenous territories, defence of social and labour rights, and land distribution-related demands.

The first event of the 2000-2005 cycle of protest was Cochabamba 'Water War', a series of mass protests against the project of privatizing the water supply in that city, pushed by the World Bank and approved by the government (Crabtree, 2005, pp. 18–21; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2005, p. 187). The intense mobilisation of a wide alliance of social actors, gathered in the Coordination for Water and Life (*Coordinadora por el Agua y por la Vida*), made the government step back: it was forced to nationalize the service and include representatives of the *Coordinadora* in the board of the state-owned company (Webber, 2011a, p. 161). The Cochabamba victory was followed by Aymara<sup>6</sup> uprisings in Oruro and La Paz Andean regions.

In parallel to the cycle of protest, the electoral scene experimented a major upheaval in 2002, when Evo Morales-led MAS-ISPS (Movement To Socialism-Political Instrument for Peoples' Sovereignty) got almost 21 per cent of the vote in the presidential elections, just 1.5 points less than the winner, Gonzalo 'Goni' Sánchez de Lozada (Webber, 2011a, p. 181). The history of MAS dates back to the

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<sup>6</sup> Aymara is the second most numerous indigenous ethnic group in Bolivia, after Quechua.

middle of the 1990s, when it was created by coca-growers of the Chapare region, the Syndical Confederation of the Bolivian Peasant Workers (CSUTCB), the 'Bartolina Sisa' Confederation of Peasant, Indigenous and Native Women of Bolivia, the Syndical Confederation of Bolivian Colonizers (CSCB), and the Indigenous Central of the Bolivian East (CIDOB) (Oikonomakis and Espinoza, 2014).

In February 2003, low-paid policemen who protested in the street were repressed by the army, which attracted the solidarity of other people. Soon after, the government announced a new tax on workers' revenues, with the aim of meeting the target of reduction of public deficit imposed by the structural adjustment plan of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that was in effect in Bolivia at that time. The announcement of the new tax provoked the biggest and most spontaneous popular mobilisation since the 1952 left-nationalist National Revolution, which were heavily repressed by Sánchez de Lozada's government (Webber, 2011a, pp. 178–180). This uprising, known as *impuestazo* (*impuesto* means 'tax' in Spanish), included large sectors of the urban working classes of La Paz and El Alto (a nearby shanty town formed by former peasant and former miners migrants) in the cycle of mobilisations that had been mostly peasant-led until that moment (Webber, 2011a, p. 183).

In September 2003, the government announced the export of gas (privatized in 1996) through a Chilean port, provoking a series of upheavals, marches, working and hunger strikes, roadblocks and popular assemblies known as the first 'Gas War' (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2005; Webber, 2011a; Zibechi, 2010). The set of claims expressed in the 2000-2002 mobilisations was enriched with the demand of nationalization of gas and the celebration of a Constituent Assembly with the aim of building a multinational state that respected indigenous self-government. On October 17<sup>th</sup>, president Sánchez de Lozada resigned and fled the country, and his vice-president Carlos Mesa replaced him, promising a referendum on natural gas and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly (Webber, 2011a, p. 228). However, in 2005 the protests resumed and advanced elections were convoked. Morales and MAS party obtained a landslide victory (more than 53 per cent of the vote), and they acceded to government in January 2006.

## 2. Domestic Work in Latin America and Bolivia

Domestic work is one of the most important forms of female wage employment in Latin America in quantitative terms (Valenzuela et al., 2009, p. 9). This is not a novelty: according to Kuznesof's research on domestic work in the region "Everywhere in Latin America domestic service has been the most important form of female employment throughout history" (Kuznesof, 1989, p. 31).

Data produced by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) points out that 15.3 per cent of employed women in Latin America are household workers, even though in the last years there was a certain reduction in the importance of domestic work in relation to the whole of female paid work in the region (Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012, pp. 59–60). The particular quantitative significance of domestic work in Latin America is related to two elements: the region presents the highest income inequality in the world (Bárcena and Byanyima, 2016) and there has been a significant increase in women's participation in labour markets. As a consequence, there is an important demand for domestic work in order to cover the needs of the families where both partners have a paid employment, and the big difference in wages makes that big layers of the middle-classes can afford hiring a household worker (Blofield, 2013).

Domestic work is an overwhelmingly female occupation along the region: on average, 95 per cent of household workers are women in Latin America (Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012, p. 59), a figure that reaches 97 per cent in Bolivia, according to 2012 data produced by the Bolivian National Statistics Institute (INE, in Spanish) (André, 2016). Domestic work is the most feminised employment sector in Latin America (Goldsmiths, 2001, p. 8). For this reason and because the main organisation of household workers in Bolivia, Fenatrahob, is a women-only organisation, this thesis exclusively focuses on female household workers.

In Bolivia, there are contradictory figures regarding domestic work -which is not surprising, as there is a general lack of data regarding this sector due to the high prevalence of informal work. According to Wanderley's (2014) report, based on surveys elaborated by INE, in 2007 around 9 per cent of the female labour force was composed by household workers, that is to say 190,682 workers (Wanderley,

2014, p. 15). According to INE's 2012 Census, the figure had plummeted to 67,608 female household workers (INE, 2015, p. 463). By contrast, Peredo Beltrán speaks about an approximate figure of 137,000 household workers, citing Fenatrahob's data (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 17). A recent report elaborated by the United Nations Program for Development (UNPD) points out a reduction of the relative magnitude of domestic work in Bolivian cities: the percentage of people employed in domestic work in urban areas dropped from 5.4 per cent in 2001 to 3.3 per cent in 2012 (Bacarreza et al., 2013, p. 89). In the same period, the percentage of women in employment grew from 41.1 per cent in 2001 to 49.3 per cent in 2012 (Ortega, 2014).

To sum up, domestic work still occupies a considerable part of Bolivian female workers but available data suggest a certain decline, which contrasts with the growth of the percentage of women in employment. Nevertheless, further quantitative research would be necessary to confirm the existence of that decline and determine its causes, which is out of the scope of this thesis.

As it has been stated above, domestic work is an overwhelmingly female occupation. In addition, there is a gender salary gap in favour of male household workers both in Bolivia (Wanderley, 2014, p. 44) and the whole region: the average salary of Latin American female household workers represents only 76 per cent of the average salary of their male counterparts, according to ILO data cited by the NGO WIEGO (WIEGO, n.d.). Blofield (2013, p. 10) points out a possible explanation of this gap: more male workers than female ones carry out tasks that are usually considered as professional and better paid, such as driving and gardening.

Most household workers come from the lowest social classes and have a lower level of formal education than the national average (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 32; Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012, pp. 61–62; Wanderley, 2014, p. 24). In Bolivia, data produced by INE show that nearly 50 per cent of household workers only completed primary education or did not complete any formal education at all, while 45 per cent of them completed secondary education (INE, 2016, p. 2). Low levels of formal education among household workers are probably related with the fact that 9 out of 10 household workers began working when they were under

18, according to a survey conducted by Fenatrahob (André, 2016). A study on the living conditions of household workers in La Paz conducted by the Confederation of Latin American and Caribbean Household Workers (CONLACTRAHO) showed a very similar result: 96 per cent of the respondents had become household workers before the age of 21 (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 42).

#### 2.1. Domestic Work, Migration and Indigenous Identity

There is a strong link between domestic work and migration in Latin America -a relation that is also present in other regions of the world, according to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2006). Around 60 per cent of migrant workers in Latin America (both inner and international migrants) are household workers (WIEGO, n.d.). However, most of them have not emigrated to other countries but within their own countries (Blofield, 2013, p. 13).

There have been changes in the nature of migration linked to domestic work in Latin America. Some decades ago, the reality of domestic work in the region was mostly related with rural-urban migration within countries. By contrast, recent data produced by ILO has shown that nowadays the majority of the Latin American household workers have an urban origin, they are not rural immigrants (Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012, p. 61). Today's domestic work is rather inscribed in global South-North migration flows and in migration movements from poorer to richer Latin American countries (UNFPA, 2006).

That is why much of the social sciences literature links global migration and domestic work, analysing these migratory flows through the concept of "global chains of care" (Hochschild, 2000): there is a growing number of women who emigrate to work as caregivers -caregiving is one of the tasks included in the ILO's definition of domestic work, together with "cleaning the house, cooking, washing and ironing clothes" (ILO, 2013a). Many migrant caregivers have their own families and they have to pass their caring responsibilities to other people, often female relatives, constituting 'chains of care' (Blofield, 2013, p. 15; Lutz, 2011; UNFPA, 2006, p. 25). In many other cases, women who migrate to work as household workers renounce to have children (Blofield, 2013, p. 16). CONLACTRAHO's

research on La Paz household workers showed that only 12 per cent of them had children (CONACTRAHO, 2003, p. 37).

Bolivia is deeply integrated in the aforementioned care- and domestic work-related migration, as there is a large number of Bolivian women who emigrate to the global North in order to work as caregivers and household workers (OIM, 2011, p. 59). Many of them emigrate to Spain, a country that used to reserve around 50 per cent of its migration quotas to household workers (UNFPA, 2006, p. 25) and attracted a major flow of Bolivian migrants (mostly women) during the years that preceded the 2008 financial and economic crisis in Europe (Solé et al., 2010).

Despite the importance of international migration, domestic work-related rural-urban migration within Bolivia is still a major phenomenon in the Andean country. CONACTRAHO's study on the living conditions of household workers in La Paz showed that the parents of 83 per cent of the interviewed workers were peasants, which means that these workers emigrated from rural areas to La Paz (CONACTRAHO, 2003, p. 36). The authors of the research export this finding to the whole country, concluding that "the great majority of household workers are migrants who come from the countryside to the city" (CONACTRAHO, 2003, p. 33). Molina Barrios et al.'s analysis of the 2001 census in Bolivia showed that the majority of rural women who emigrated from one department (state) to another within Bolivia did it in order to work as household workers (Molina Barrios et al., 2005, p. 66), mostly in cities.

Rural-urban migration accelerated after the 1952 National Revolution led by the left-nationalist party National Revolutionary Movement (MNR). According to a number of authors (Gill, 1994, p. 59; Solé et al., 2010, p. 14), this phenomenon was a side effect of the peculiarities of the agrarian reform approved by the new leftist-nationalist government. Most peasant families in the West of the country acquired the ownership of the land they farmed, but land was progressively fragmented in subsequent decades due to the inheritance system, which provoked a major rural-urban migration. Over 80 per cent of the household workers who were interviewed by Gill in 1994 were migrants who had taken part in that rural exodus (Gill, 1994, p. 67).

The Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob) conceives domestic work as a reality that is tightly related with rural-urban migration within the country. Fenatrahob's former executive secretary Prima Ocsa has stated that 80 per cent of the 7,028 members of her organisation are migrants from rural origin (Ocsa, n.d.). Indeed, Fenatrahob quotidian work seems to take into account the assumption that most household workers are migrants of rural origin, as shown by *El camino a la ciudad* ('The way to the city'), a comic book written and drawn by the household worker Rosa Druker (2014). The book, which is published on Fenatrahob's website, describes the typical path of emigration that leads indigenous girls and women from their villages to the cities where they work as household workers. The link between domestic work and rural-urban migration was also present in the discussions on the draft law on household workers' rights that took place in Bolivia in the 1990s (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 24).

Recent data has shown a decrease of the proportion of household workers who were recent migrants, between 2001 and 2007 (Wanderley, 2014, p. 32). This change may mark the beginning of the reversal of the long historical trend that links domestic work and rural-urban migration in Bolivia. If this evolution is confirmed in later surveys, it would mean that household workers of urban origin are becoming more and more numerous in Bolivia, a trend that has been identified in other Latin American countries (Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012, p. 61).

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Bolivia is the only country in America where indigenous people constitute the majority of the population (Molina Barrios et al., 2005; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007). This data needs to be taken into account in order to understand the importance of the social, economic and political legacy of colonialism in the Andean country.

Quantitative research on the ethnic composition of Bolivian household workers have reached contradictory results, depending on the different methods that have been applied to measure the percentage of indigenous people among the respondents and the scope of the research works on the topic. On the one hand, a method based on the spoken language was used in CONLACTRAHO's research

on the living conditions of La Paz household workers. 81 per cent of the respondents stated that Aymara was their mother tongue, which was interpreted by researchers as an ethnic identification as Aymara (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 35). By contrast, Wanderley's (2014) study includes ethnic data obtained in 2007 through the auto-identification method: 47 per cent of the household workers who were interviewed declared that they identified themselves as indigenous (Wanderley, 2014, p. 32).

The wide gap existing between both figures (81 per cent and 47 per cent) can be interpreted in two ways. First, the scopes of the studies cited above are different: CONLACTRAHO's research focuses on La Paz (where a large part of the population is Aymara) while Wanderley's study is based on data that covers the whole territory of Bolivia. Second, it is possible that some household workers do not affirm that they identify themselves as indigenous even though their mother tongue is not Spanish but an indigenous one, because negative stereotypes on indigenous population are still widely present in Bolivia -the latter explanation is suggested by Molina Barrios et al. in their analysis of the 2001 Census (Molina Barrios et al., 2005, p. 27).

The hypothesis that most household workers in Bolivia are indigenous is supported by two major arguments. First, the analysis of the 2001 Census conducted by Molina Barrios et al. (2005, p. 42) reached the conclusion that 66 per cent of the Bolivian population is indigenous. The work is based on a mixed method: first language, language in which the respondents learned to speak and ethnic auto-identification. The results of the study are generally accepted in Bolivia. It seems reasonable to assume that the percentage of indigenous people is not lower among household workers than among the rest of the population.

Second, Fenatrahob's discourse and documents draw a clear link between domestic work and indigenous identity. Casimira Rodríguez (former executive secretary of the Fenatrahob and former minister of justice) has stated that "The household workers have struggled to gain their labour rights as women and as Indians" (Rodríguez Romero 2005: 6) and has pointed out the discrimination that Bolivian household workers suffer because of "being of a different colour"

(Rodríguez Romero, 2006). The same assumption can be found in the document *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation from the Perspective of the Paid Household Workers: a Public Policy Proposal* (Fenatrahob 2014), where the Federation refers to the triple discrimination suffered by household workers (because of being women, household workers and indigenous).

## 2.2. Domestic Work and Colonialism

In 2010 the 99<sup>th</sup> Conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) took place in Geneva. In this Conference, which preceded the approval of the 189 ILO Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic workers, the United Nations' organisation for labour-related issues officially stated that domestic work "is related to the world history of slavery, colonialism and other forms of servitude" (OIT, 2010, viii). Nevertheless, no reference of this kind was included in the 189 Convention (Schwenken, 2011, p. 129). It is not surprising that such a strong assessment was excluded from the final version of the Convention, which was negotiated between representatives of governments, household workers and employers. However, the sole fact that the link between domestic work and colonialism was evoked in an official report of ILO is important from the symbolic viewpoint.

In addition, the existence of a certain link between indigenous identity and domestic work in Latin America seems to be broadly accepted among scholars and international organisations. The expert on domestic work Valenzuela (n.d., p. 3) states that indigenous and black women are overrepresented among household workers in the region and Goldsmiths (2007) has underlined in her research on Latin American household workers that they are "often" indigenous women. In a similar vein, a World Bank's report on indigenous people (Banco Mundial, 2014) refers to domestic work when speaking about kinds of employments that are usually held by indigenous women.

It is no coincidence that indigenous people and other ethnic minorities are overrepresented among household workers in Latin America: it is a heritage of the ethnic and gendered division of labour imposed by Spanish and Portuguese colonial powers, as it has been pointed out by several authors (Peredo Beltrán,

2015, p. 11; Rivera Cusicanqui and Arnold, 1996, p. 47) and will be further explained for the Bolivian case in the following paragraphs.

MP Rosario Paz, who belonged to the Women's Affairs Commission of the Bolivian parliament in the 1990s, defined the relations between household workers and their employers in the following terms (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 18):

*“Colonialism creates a mutual distrust between the employer and the employee, we do not recognise each other as peers yet, there is no solidarity among women yet, we need to demolish those barriers”.*

The history of domestic work in Bolivia is intertwined with the history of the Spanish colonial domination of the country, which lasted from 1526 to 1825. In colonial times, indigenous women were forced to work as domestic servants without any pay for a certain period every year at the houses of Spanish landlords, a system called *mita* (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 33; Rivera Cusicanqui and Arnold, 1996, p. 47). At that time, masters exerted an absolute power over servants and the state did not intervene in any way in the disputes among them (Graham, 1992).

During the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bolivia was an independent Republic, but the colonial heritage of discrimination against indigenous people persisted, and domestic work was conceived as a mechanism of subordinated socialisation for indigenous women (Cabezas Fernández, 2015; Cottle and Ruiz, 1995; Gill, 1997). Military service is still conceived to some extent as a rite of passage for indigenous men, which allows them to be considered as a legitimate part of the Bolivian society, even though holding a subordinate position because of the prevalence of structural anti-indigenous racism (Cabezas Fernández, 2015). While young men do their military service, thousands of young indigenous women emigrate to cities to work as household workers. The difference is that the latter experience is not socially recognised as “empowering”, as Gill puts it (1997, p. 545). During the first discussions on a draft law on household workers' rights, the MP Rosario Paz defined household work as a

“compulsory civil service”, in the following terms:  
(Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998):

*“Household work is the compulsory civil service for many migrant women who come [to cities] and want to integrate the supposedly called civilisation or have better living conditions”.*

References to the colonial features of contemporary relations between household workers and their employers in Bolivia were frequent in the discussions on the draft law on household workers in the 1990s. At least the following participants referred to the colonial load of household work: activist Elizabeth Peredo, MPs Clara Flores and Rosario Paz (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998). The colonial and post-colonial historical heritage is manifested in the contemporary configuration of domestic work in Bolivia at least through two elements: the frequency of violence against household workers and the use of racist-colonial arguments by the opponents to the 2450/2003 Law on household workers’ rights.

The link between domestic work and violence is symbolized in Bolivia by Inocencia Flores’ crime. In 1978, 17-years-old household worker Inocencia Flores was raped and stabbed to death by her employer, an event that had a heavy impact on the Bolivian society. Rivera Cusicanqui (2007, p. 6) has defined this crime as a case of “inter-ethnic and sexual violence”, a term that underlines the racist and sexist content of this murder and the numerous cases of aggressions of employers against their household workers. In addition, she criticizes the fact that the crimes committed by employers against the household workers who live in their houses were excluded from the 1995 Law against Intrafamily Violence (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007, p. 6).

The frequency of violence against household workers has been underlined both by scholars (Gill, 1997, p. 545; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007) and Fenatrahob (2014). Violence is highest among children who work as household workers: 72 per cent of them suffer physical and/or psychological abuse, according to a survey conducted by the Education Institute of San Andrés University (La Paz) (Instituto de Investigación e Interacción Educativa-UMSA, 2014, p. 53). According to Fenatrahob, “most household workers suffer psychological violence” (Fenatrahob,

2015). Former Fenatrahob executive secretary and former Bolivian minister of justice Casimira Rodríguez has also spoken about the “mistreatment” that she suffered by her employers when she began to work as a household worker, at the age of 13 (Rodríguez Romero, 2006).

Fenatrahob’s *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (2014) also draws a connection between the colonial content of domestic work in Bolivia and violence against household workers. The document affirms that violence against household workers “is naturalized, it is part of the patriarchal and colonial criteria that state that we do not have any other aim in our lives than serving and looking after others” (Fenatrahob 2014). As a consequence of this analysis, they demand the integration of the decolonial and depatriarchal perspectives in the policies that address the violence suffered by household workers (Fenatrahob 2014).

The colonial roots of the employer-worker relations in the sector of domestic work in contemporary Bolivia also made themselves manifest during the parliamentary debate on the 2450/2003 Law. Most of the self-defined feminist MPs did not get involved in the promotion of the Law and one of them, Mabel Cruz, was its main opponent in Parliament. According to Cabezas Fernández’s (2012) analysis, these middle-class and supposedly feminist MPs preferred to stand up for their position as household workers’ employers than defending the rights of workers, even though it is a sector overwhelmingly composed by women. Cabezas Fernández has denominated this position as “*señorial feminism*”, in a reference to the direct relation between the attitude of those MPs and their historical predecessors, who were in many cases colonial oligarchs (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, pp. 91–92).

For Blofield, the reason of the opposition of many female MPs to the improvement of household workers’ rights is clear: “the legislators’ political participation, especially female legislators given traditional gender roles, is based on having domestic workers at home” (Blofield, 2009, p. 166). In the words of household workers’ leader Basilia Catari, “the MPs represented the employers” (in Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 90). However, along the decade that lasted the processing of the draft law, it was supported by several female MPs, such as Julieta Montaña, Erika Brockmann, Alicia Muñoz, Rosario Paz and Clara Flores (Blofield, 2009, p.

180; Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 92; Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 51).

The neglect of the issue of household workers seems to have been shared by many feminist activists in other Latin American countries. Goldsmiths mentions a very illustrative anecdote in this respect: some years ago, the members of the editorial board of the Mexican magazine *Debate Feminista* (*Feminist Debate*) discussed the possibility of devoting an issue of the magazine to domestic work, but some of them stated that domestic work was not a problem in Mexico any more (Goldsmiths, 2001, p. 4). The main explanation of the lack of support of household workers' demands by many Mexican feminists is the same than in Bolivia: most feminist activists are middle-class and often employ household workers, whose services they need in order to have time for a paid employment, as far as their male partners only do a small part of domestic work (Goldsmiths, 2001, pp. 12–14).

Some of the arguments of the opponents of the Bolivian 2450/2003 Law were related with the supposed negative economic effect that the norm could have, as the rise in the cost of domestic work could undermine the economic situation of the employer's families and provoke the firing of workers (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 94). This kind of arguments have been frequent in other debates over the regulation of household workers' rights in Latin America (Blofield, 2013, pp. 51–52). Nevertheless, in addition to the economic arguments, the Bolivian MP Mabel Cruz opposed the Law by evoking the “civilizing” work that employers supposedly do for their household workers of rural and indigenous origin, as she put it in a 2008 interview with Cabezas Fernández (2012, p. 94). In affirming that employers “civilized” household workers, Cruz reproduces the colonial basic idea that the indigenous majority in Bolivia needs to be educated by the white and mixed-race minority. In doing so, she also evades the fact that household workers are workers who deserve the same rights than the rest of them. The use of arguments related with the supposedly exceptional character of domestic work in order to oppose its regulation has also being identified in other countries (Blofield, 2013, pp. 51–52).

However, in Bolivia the argument acquired a clear-cut neo-colonialist form, expressed through terms such as “civilizing”.

### 3. Household Workers’ Mobilisations in Bolivia

Insofar as household workers are particularly numerous in Latin America and they often suffer deplorable working and living conditions, it is not surprising that they have conducted protests for their rights all along the region. Household workers face more difficulties than other workers to organise themselves and mobilise: many of them completely depend on their employers (often, they do not know anyone else in the cities where they work, and they live in their employers’ homes), they are isolated from other household workers and in most cases they only enjoy some hours of free time per week, which makes it extremely difficult to attend meetings and other political activities. Despite these major obstacles, Latin American household workers have succeeded in creating organisations to defend their rights.

The literature has identified two moments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when household workers’ mobilisations experienced a peak in Latin America: the 1930s and 1940s, when the first organisations of household workers were created, and the 1980s, when a new wave of mobilisations took place (Blofield, 2013, p. 22). As it will be explained in the following sub-sections, this chronological scheme fully applies to the Bolivian case.

#### 3.1. The First Household Workers’ Mobilisations in Bolivia: The Union of Cooks

The first organisation of household workers in Bolivia was the Union of Cooks (‘Sindicato de Culinarias’), which was created in 1935 to defend the rights of domestic cooks in La Paz. They were not exactly equivalent to contemporary household workers, as the 1930s’ cooks were considered as specialized workers who constituted a higher sub-sector within household workers (Gill, 1994, p. 34). One major difference between the daily life of cooks and the rest of household workers was that the former could go to the market, a way of evading from the employers’ house for some time (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2016). According to Peredo Beltrán (2015, p. 33) in some occasions cooks even commanded *mitanis* (women who worked under the *mita* system of unpaid domestic labour). Relations

between cooks and other household workers were ambiguous: on the one hand, the cooks defended legal improvements for all of them, such as better wages and an eight-hour workday. On the other hand, Gill (1994, p. 34) considers that the cooks wanted to maintain their privileged position in relation to the rest of household workers.

The experience of the Union of Cooks has been a source of inspiration for Fenatrahob, particularly since the publication of the book *Polleras<sup>7</sup> Libertarias. Historia de la Federación Obrera Femenina 1927-1965* ('*Libertarian Polleras. History of the Feminine Workers' Federation 1927-1965*') by the feminist organisation Taller de Historia y Participación de la Mujer ('Workshop for the History and Participation of the Woman') (TAHIPAMU) in 1989 (Dibbits et al., 1989). During my fieldwork in Bolivia in 2016 I had the opportunity to attend a conference on the Union of Cooks held at the Cultural Spanish Centre of La Paz on April 1<sup>st</sup>, one day after the National Day of Household Workers -as it will be further explained, one of the policies of MAS' government towards household workers was the establishment of March 30<sup>th</sup> as the National Day of Household Workers. In that conference, former executive secretary of Fenatrahob and current organisation secretary Prima Ocsa stated that "[they had] inherited the cooks' struggle" (Ocsa, 2016).

The Union of Cooks was integrated within the anarchist Feminine Workers' Federation (FOF, in Spanish), which included other workers such as market and flower sellers. The FOF kept tight links with the Local Worker's Federation (FOL), another anarchist union who was composed by male artisans (Gill, 1994, p. 33). The Union of Cooks succeeded in getting their demands included in the platform of the FOL (ILO International Training Centre, 2014, p. 31) and the Union of Cooks' Executive Secretary Petronila Infante was also one of the leaders of the FOL (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2016).

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<sup>7</sup> 'Pollera' is the name of the traditional dress of the indigenous women from the Bolivian highlands. Women who wear pollera are usually known as *mujeres de pollera* ('pollera women') whilst women who wear Western clothes are called *mujeres de vestido* ('dress women').

The first protests of La Paz cooks had a very simple aim: the abrogation of a municipal regulation that forbade women wearing *pollera* and carrying baskets to enter the tramways, because they could allegedly rip the ladies' thin socks (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 9). A group of household workers protested in front of La Paz city council against the regulation, which was eventually abrogated (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 9; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, pp. 23–24). This first success pushed a group of cooks led by Petronila Infante to create the Union, supported by FOF and FOL anarchist organisations.

The regulation contested by household workers, which had the aim of expelling indigenous women of rural origin from the public transportation system, showed to what extent racism against the indigenous majority was a structural feature of the Bolivian society at that time -and it is still the case, even though clear-cut legal forms of racism do not exist anymore. As it will be observed in the analysis of the current demands of Fenatrahob, some of the claims of household workers are not union-style ones (such as better wages and social protection) but they are related with the racial discrimination that they suffer as indigenous individuals.

The Union of Cooks pushed for four kinds of demands. First, democratic demands such as freedom of speech and press freedom, which were probably related with the belonging of the Union to the anarchist Feminine Workers' Federation (FOF). Second, the cooks defended the recognition of cooking as a profession, which can be considered as a sectorial demand. As it will be further explained, professionalization is still seen by organised household workers as a way of improving their wages and working conditions. Finally, the Union of Cooks pushed for labour demands that were applicable to all household workers, such as the eight hours workday, the right to vacation on Sundays and better wages (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 10). In addition, the Union of Cooks claimed for the first time the importance of being called "household workers" instead of "domestic servants" and other denominations that reminded both workers and employers the colonial origins of domestic work (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 10; Goldsmiths, 2001, p. 20), a symbolic demand that has been inherited by the contemporary Bolivian movement of household workers.

Even though the Union of Cooks represented an important experience of household workers' organisation and mobilisation, it did not have any direct policy outcome. A new General Labour Act was passed at the end of the 30s but the demands of the Union of Cooks were not included in it (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 34). Later, the 1942 General Labour Act established a discriminatory legal regime for the so-called "domestics", excluding them from the regulations applied to the rest of workers. While an 8-hours workday was established as the general rule, the timing was inverted for the household workers: they had the right to 8 hours of rest per day -which implied the possibility of a 16-hours workday (1942 General Labour Act, article 39). As other Latin American countries, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Bolivia already enjoyed an advanced labour code due to the intensity of workers' mobilisations, but household workers were excluded from its regulations (Blofield, 2013).

The importance of the Union of Cooks decreased during the 40s and the 50s, a period of major political upheavals that concluded with the 1952 National Revolution. The decline of the Union of Cooks has been explained through political and socioeconomic factors. First, Gill has pointed out that anarchist organisations had to face the competence of new political parties and unions, and the ruling party National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) co-opted many of the organised workers (Gill, 1997, p. 36). In addition, after the 1952 revolution fewer upper-class families had the necessary means to employ several household workers (including a cook), and many of them opted for an only live-in multi-task worker (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2016). The Union was dissolved in 1958 (CONLACTRAHO, 2003, p. 13; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 34).

### 3.2. Fenatrahob (1993-2005): The Long Way to the 2450/2003 Law

The Bolivian movement of household workers experienced a new rise in the 1980s, on the wake of the re-establishment of democracy after more than two decades of military dictatorships that had banned unions. Household workers' organisations were also created in other Latin American countries in the 1980s (Blofield, 2013, p. 22).

The creation of household workers' unions and associations was promoted by left-wing sectors of the Catholic Church in countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Peru and Bolivia. At the beginning of the 1980s, a group of household workers began to gather on Sundays in a catholic church of the neighbourhood of Sopocachi, in La Paz, where they discussed and began to question their situation as household workers (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, pp. 88–89; Goldsmiths, 2007, p. 9). They also received the support of catholic nuns in their effort to organise themselves (López Ángel, 2012, p. 91). Household workers' unions were created in various neighbourhoods in La Paz and other Bolivian cities during the 1980s. The unions from La Paz and Cochabamba met for the first time in 1985 (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 8).

The National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob) was founded on March 28<sup>th</sup> 1993, in the First National Congress of Household Workers that took place in Cochabamba. The unions of the following neighbourhood and cities took part in the congress: Sopocachi, San Pedro, San Miguel (three neighbourhoods in La Paz), Tarija, Santa Cruz and Cochabamba (three of the biggest cities in Bolivia) (CONTRACTRAHO, 2003, p. 16).

The choice of the union organisational form seems to have been clear since the beginning for the organised Bolivian household workers, but it has not been the only organisational form of this kind of movements around the world. Ally (2005) has identified two major organisational models in household workers' activism: the union model and the association model. The choice of the first one by the Bolivian activists is probably related with the strong tradition of collective organising in that country, as it is suggested by Peredo Beltrán (2015, p. 35). The power of collective organisations such as peasant and workers' unions during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and also in current Bolivian politics has been underlined by authors such as Crabtree (2005, p. 109), Webber (2011, p. 2) and Stefanoni (2016), who has defined Bolivia as a "strongly corporatist" country. In this context, it is not surprising that Fenatrahob chose to join the Bolivian Workers' Central (COB, in Spanish), the most important union of industrial and urban workers in the country. This choice shows the will of organised household workers to be wholly integrated

within the Bolivian workers' movement, despite their frequent denunciations of the sexism of COB leaders (Casimira Rodríguez in Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 84 and author interview's with Prima Ocsa<sup>8</sup>). Nowadays, 3 per cent of Bolivian household workers are unionized (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 73). Even though it seems a very low percentage, it is much higher than the global average of household workers' unionization, which is 1 per cent (ILO, 2004).

The constitution of Fenatrahob as a Federation of unions also implied a twofold activism, oriented at the same time towards legal reform and the immediate improvement of the situation of union members through specialization courses that intend to increase their wages and improve their working conditions (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 84; Rodríguez Romero, 2005, p. 1). However, the improvement of the legal situation of household workers was the first priority of Fenatrahob since its foundation to the passing of the 2450/2003 Law in 2003, as it is explained in the following paragraphs.

In 1992, some months before the formal creation of Fenatrahob, the organised household workers presented to the Bolivian Parliament a draft law on domestic work (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 90; Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 9). Fenatrahob chose to focus on the elaboration of a new Law instead of demanding the modification of the General Labour Act to include household workers within the general regulations, a position that has been defined as "non-maximalist" (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 90).

In 1997 an important event took place: the constitution of the Committee to Promote the Law (*Comité Impulsor*, in Spanish), an alliance of organisations that supported Fenatrahob's draft law on domestic work. The Committee for the Promotion of the Law was composed by the Solón Foundation (which had a key role in the creation of the Committee), the Bolivian Ombudsman (position held at that moment by Ana María Romero de Campero), the NGO Centre of Research for the Labour and Agrarian Development (CEDLA, in Spanish), the pro-choice organisation Catholic Women for the Right to Decide, the Bolivian Section of

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<sup>8</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa, former executive secretary and current secretary of relations, Fenatrahob, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

Human Rights, Democracy and Development (DDHHDD), the feminist NGO Centre for the Information and the Development of the Woman (CIDEM), La Paz Foundation, the Women's Coordination (the national network of Bolivian women's organisations), the Association of Women for Equity and Equality (AMUPEI), the feminist NGO "Gregoria Apaza" Centre for the Promotion of the Woman, some groups of the Catholic Church, some evangelist churches and a number of MPs such as Julieta Montaña (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 90; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 51).

The constitution of the Committee was preceded by the alliance between Fenatrahob and the feminist organisation Taller de Historia y Participación de la Mujer ('Workshop for the History and Participation of the Woman') (TAHIPAMU), which was the first partnership between the Federation of household workers and a non-union actor. One of the main activities of TAHIPAMU was the celebration in 1996 of four workshops on the topic "A Law for Household Workers", which gathered representatives of NGOs, lawyers, MPs and journalists. The discussions on the proposal of elaborating a law on the rights of household workers were reflected in the volume *Una ley para las trabajadoras del hogar* ('A Law for Household Workers') (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998). According to Peredo Beltrán, who was the director of TAHIPAMU at that time, at the beginning Fenatrahob's leaders mistrusted TAHIPAMU activists because they identified them with their employers (in Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 89). However, the longevity of the alliance suggests that the kind of feminism promoted by TAHIPAMU was much more sensitive to class- and ethnic-based differences than the one promoted by Mabel Cruz and the rest of supposedly feminist MPs that were opposed to the 2450/2003 Law.

The creation of the Committee reinforced the campaign for the passing of the Law, whose main draft was presented to the government and Parliament in 1998, after several meetings between Fenatrahob and the government's Direction for Gender Issues (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 10). The draft law was blocked in Parliament in 1999, which provoked a series of actions by Fenatrahob and its allies: while Fenatrahob addressed petitions to MPs and political leaders,

celebrated a press conference where it asked for a meeting with president Hugo Bánzer and organised protests such as sittings and a signatures collection, the Committee published a series of articles in mass media, increasing the public outreach of the movement (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 91; Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 12).

In addition, some members of the Committee organised debates and conducted research on the situation of household workers in Bolivia (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 51). The importance of the analysis of domestic work published by researchers such as Wadsworth (1990), Dibbits (Dibbits et al., 1989), Condori (Condori et al., 1988) and Peredo Beltrán (2007, 2003, 1998) has been underlined by authors such as Peñaranda Davezías, Flores Carrasco and Arandia Davezías, who continued this research work after the passing of the Law, by analysing the social representations of the household workers in Sucre city (Peñaranda Davezías et al., 2006). The alliance with NGOs and other non-union organisations did not make Fenatrahob neglect its partnership with COB, the main organisation of the Bolivian workers' movements, which organised a march in support of the household workers' demands.

In the years that preceded the approval of the law, the household workers' movement received the support of the Sub-secretary of Gender of the government and the Parliament's Commission of Women's Affairs. By contrast, no support was provided by the Ministry of Justice (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, pp. 34–44). The 2450/2003 Law was finally approved in 2003, when the neoliberal government of president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada was under heavy pressure from the vast social movement against privatizations and social cuts that has been explained in Section 1 (Crabtree, 2005; Webber, 2011b). Evo Morales-led left-*indigenist* party MAS was the most important advocate of Fenatrahob's bill in Parliament (Blofield, 2013, p. 66). In the final debate on the draft, MAS MP Alberto Aguilar explicitly recognised the protagonist role played by household workers in the promotion of the Law, calling them "sisters" (in Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 97).

The 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work put Bolivian household workers in a situation of almost whole legal equality with the rest of workers. The only exception was that live-in household workers had a 10-hours working days (two hours longer than the general regime), which was justified by the need to pay back the employers for giving shelter to the worker (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998). The 2450/2003 Law recognised the right of household workers to the legal minimum salary, yearly holidays, weekly free time from work, access to education, health insurance coverage and disability and retirement pensions. The Bolivian 2450/2003 Law is one of the most progressive Laws on household workers' rights in Latin America (Blofield, 2013). However, the rights to fair wages and free time from work were immediately enforceable once the Law passed, while the right to health coverage and pension needed a Supreme Decree to become effective. Peredo Beltrán (2015, pp. 47–49) has highlighted several specific elements of the Law that expressed the will of the legislator to overcome the patriarchal and colonial traditions: the use of the term “household workers” instead of “domestics”, the explicit interdiction of the retention of household workers' belongings by employers (which was a common practice) and the need to respect the household workers' cultural identity - a reference that suggests that in many cases the workers are indigenous while their employers are white or mixed-race.

The final approval of the Law was rather due to the very particular political situation that Bolivia was experiencing at that time than to the 10-years campaign, according to Peredo Beltrán<sup>9</sup>. However, the Law would have probably never been adopted without the campaign leaded by Fenatrahob, as household workers' rights was almost wholly absent from the political agenda before the creation of the Federation. A virtuous relationship based on Fenatrahob's leadership seems to have been established between Fenatrahob and the rest of members of the Committee to Promote the Law. The positive effects of the alliance suggest that Fenatrahob has succeeded in combining elements from the two models of

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<sup>9</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán, researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers. Interview through Skype, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017.

household workers' organisations conceptualized by Ally (2005): the union model and the association model.

On the one hand, Fenatrahob has overcome the resistance of unions to the integration of household workers within them, a kind of sexist behaviour by union leaders that has been identified by Ally in other countries (Ally, 2005). On the other hand, Fenatrahob has avoided the risk of being "construct[ed] as victims and recipients of good will" (Ally, 2005) as a consequence of the help received by NGOs that are not composed by household workers. Neither the literature on the Bolivian movement nor the empirical analysis that I conducted suggested that the constitution of the Committee for the Promotion of the Law implied any loss of autonomy from Fenatrahob because of. As Peredo Beltrán (2015, pp. 74–75) has highlighted, Fenatrahob has succeeded in simultaneously building three kinds of alliances: gender-based alliances with women's organisations, class-based alliances with the Bolivian Workers' Central (COB) and an ethnicity-based alliance with MAS party.

## Conclusion

In this first chapter I have provided some preliminary contextual data that are necessary for the comprehension of the analysis of the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the policies of the government on household workers' rights during the 2006-2016 period that I carry out in further chapters.

Firstly, I have described the historical origins and the main political features of the so-called 'process of change' led by president Evo Morales and Movement to Socialism (MAS) party in Bolivia since 2006. This contextual knowledge will be particularly valuable to analyse the relations between the movement of household workers and the government. Secondly, the main features of domestic work in Latin America and Bolivia have been exposed. Emphasis has been placed on the following elements: the gendered character of paid domestic work, the class origin of household workers, the relations between domestic work and migration, the strong link that exists between domestic work and indigenous ethnic identity in

Bolivia and the colonial load of domestic work both in the Andean country and the rest of Latin America.

Finally, a section has been devoted to the history of household workers' mobilisations in Bolivia since the creation of the first union of the sector (the Union of Cooks in the 30s) to 2005, when Evo Morales and MAS won their first general election. The section focuses on the connection between the Union of Cooks and Fenatrahob, the organisational peculiarities of the contemporary social movement of household workers in Bolivia and the campaign for the approval of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work.

## Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework, Research Question and Research Objectives

In this chapter I identify the main concepts and theories that support my MPhil thesis, which is placed at the intersection between the literature on household workers' mobilisations and the general literature on social movements (or social movement studies, SMS). The combination of inputs from these fields of literature will allow me to define the research question around which the thesis is structured.

This chapter is composed by three sections. Section 1 is a literature review on household workers' mobilisations, where I describe the most relevant research on the topic, I point out its limitations and I explain how my thesis can contribute to enrich that literature. In Section 2, I identify the main concepts that will be employed in the thesis, I expose the main theoretical discussions that exist around those concepts and I explain how I will use them to analyse my case of study. The core concepts of the theoretical framework are *social movement outcomes* and *social movement institutionalization*. Finally, in Section 3 I present the research question and the research objectives of the thesis, which result from the application of the aforementioned concepts to the analysis of the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian government.

### 1. Literature on Household Workers' Mobilisations in Bolivia

The Bolivian social movement of household workers and the policies implemented by Evo Morales' government to improve their living and working conditions are understudied topics. I have found only two research works that specifically focus on that object of study during the 2006-2016 period: Wanderley's (2014) report on the living and working conditions of Bolivian household workers and Peredo Beltrán's book *Paid Household Workers in Bolivia: Learnings from a Long Struggle* (2015), which focuses on the struggle of Bolivian household workers from the 1980s to 2015. The scarcity of research works on this movement is in sharp

contrast with the rich scholarship on Bolivian social movements (including women's movements) that has developed since the beginning of the 2000-2005 cycle of anti-neoliberal protests (Agreda Rodríguez, 2012; Albaine, 2015; Arnold and Spedding, 2007, 2005; Cabnal, 2012; Crabtree, 2005; Estrada Ponce, 2012; García Linera, 2007b; García Linera et al., 2008; Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2008; Hemispheric Institute, 2016; Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, 2007; Krook and Restrepo Sanín, 2016; Modonesi, 2010; Mokrani, 2011; Paredes, 2008; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2005; Quiroga and Pagliarone, 2014; Tapia Mealla, 2014, 2008; Vargas, 2002; Webber, 2011b).

My research builds on literature on domestic work and household workers' mobilisations in Latin America and other regions of the world and literature on the Bolivian movement of household workers, whose main elements are described in the following paragraphs.

Literature that specifically focuses on household workers' mobilisations is scarce (Blofield, 2009, p. 158) but there are several research papers and books on domestic work that peripherally refer to the mobilisations of household workers in Bolivia. There are social sciences research studies (Baptista Canedo, 2011; Blofield, 2013; Cabezas Fernández, 2012; Condori et al., 1988; Díaz Carrasco, 2013; Dibbits et al., 1989; Gill, 1994; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, 2007, 2003; Wadsworth, 1990), journalistic analysis (Bustillos Zamorano, 2014; Pérez, 2012; Zapana S., 2015, 2014) and documents produced by Bolivian and international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Household Workers (CONLACTRAHO) and NGOs that support household workers' rights (CONLACTRAHO, 2003; ILO, 2004; ILO International Training Centre, 2014; Mather, 2013).

The aforementioned works constitute important sources for my thesis, together with literature on domestic work in Latin America and general literature on domestic work (Ally, 2005; Blofield, 2013, 2009; Goirand, 2010; Goldsmiths, 2007, 2001, ILO, 2013a, 2004, ILO International Training Centre, 2014, 2014; Lutz, 2011; OIT, 2016, 2010a, 2010b, Schwenken, 2013, 2011; UNFPA, 2006; Valenzuela, n.d.; Valenzuela and Sjoberg, 2012). The most frequent topics in these studies are the

working and living conditions of household workers, the relation between domestic work and migration, and the successes and failures of household workers' movements from different countries in obtaining legal and policy reform to improve and protect their rights.

There are several research works that specifically focus on the Bolivian movement of household workers. One of the most important studies of this kind is Cabezas Fernández's paper "19 years Struggling for the Law, 11 in Parliament: Bolivian Paid Household Workers' Demands during the Neoliberal Period" (2012). Cabezas Fernández's research focuses on Fenatrahob's aims and mobilisations until 2006, when Evo Morales assumed the presidency of Bolivia. The author points out how important the particular Bolivian political context was for the passing of the 2450 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work in 2003 (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 98). Casimira Rodríguez has also written about the Bolivian household workers' struggle in the journal *Nouvelles questions féministes* (Rodríguez Romero, 2005) but her paper refers to the period prior to Morales' arrival to power. Rodríguez Romero's autobiography (2015) has been an useful source for this thesis as well.

Finally, Blofield has written a comparative work on the Chilean movement of household workers and the Bolivian movement (2009) and the book *Care, Work, and Class* (2013), an insightful comparative analysis on domestic work and policies on household workers' rights in Latin America, in which Bolivia is one of the studied cases. The author has underlined the importance of the autonomous organisation of household workers, prior to the establishment of alliances with other organisations and left-wing parties (Blofield, 2009). In *Care, Work and Class*, Blofield introduces the issue of framing, underlining how the same demands on household workers' rights can be framed very differently by different movements (Blofield, 2013, pp. 61–62). Blofield's comparative approach provides an extremely useful view of the situation of domestic work and household workers in Latin America, and allows to observe the Bolivian case within its regional context. However, as far as Bolivia is only one of the cases of Blofield's research, there is little specific data on the Bolivian movement of household workers and its outcomes.

As it has been previously stated, Wanderley's (2014) and Peredo Beltrán's (2015) works are the only ones that focus on the struggle of Bolivian household workers during Evo Morales' government. Wanderley's (2014) report on the living and working conditions of Bolivian household workers focuses on the sociodemographic features of Bolivian household workers and employers, and the legal framework that applies to household workers. Wanderley devotes limited attention to the social movement. By contrast, Peredo Beltrán's book *Paid Household Workers in Bolivia: Learnings from a Long Struggle* (2015) focuses on the struggle of Bolivian household workers from the 1980s to 2015. Insofar as it is the closest existing research work on my research topic, I devote the following paragraphs to describe its main contents, point out its limitations and explain in which ways my research builds up on Peredo Beltrán's work.

*Paid Household Workers in Bolivia* (Peredo Beltrán, 2015) can be considered as a social movement study, even though the author does not explicitly frame her research within that field. She makes explicit her aim of "identifying the strengths, weaknesses and learnings of the advocacy process of the organisations of Bolivian household workers, which allowed them to generate changes in policies and legislation" -she refers to the approval of 2450 Law in 2003 and the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention by Bolivia in 2013 (2015, pp. 11–12). The book presents two limitations. First, it lacks a specific thematic focus. The author intends to cover a very wide range of topics, such as mobilisation strategies, alliances between the household workers' movement and other organisations, relations between the movement and the Bolivian government, history of household workers' mobilisations and analysis of the legal outcomes of the movement's action. The scope of the research is so wide that some of the topics are not analysed deeply enough. The second limitation of Peredo Beltrán's work is the lack of a clear organisation of the book, which is composed by 32 sections.

Despite its limitations, Peredo Beltrán's book provides several relevant insights for the analysis of the household workers' movement and public policies on household workers' rights in Bolivia. First, along the book it is possible to identify some of the factors that could explain the main legislative outcomes of

Fenatrahob: the favourable political context (pp. 24–25), the construction of effective alliances with other organisations (p. 70), and the organisational capacity of household workers (p. 77). In my explanation of the outcomes of the movement (Chapter 6), I focus on the relations between the movement and the government, which is tightly related to the favourable political context highlighted by Peredo Beltrán.

In addition, the book suggests two factors to explain the lack of substantial improvements in the household workers' living and working conditions despite the important legal progress achieved since 2003: the lack of "solid public policies and [...] systems for the implementation [...] of existing norms" (a reality applicable to other fields of action of the Bolivian state) and the "lack of information, formation and control of the work done by state officials who should process household workers' complains" (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 19). I address these issues in Chapter 5, where I analyse the policies of MAS government on household workers' rights.

Finally, Peredo Beltrán's book is a recent account that allows to get an overall picture of the situation of the Bolivian household workers' struggle and the current priorities of their social movement: respect of the existing legal framework, access to healthcare and long-term social security, an 8-hours working week for all household workers, and respect and recognition of their work (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 65). Regarding legal reform, Peredo Beltrán considers that the main aim of the movement is the integration of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act, which has been under discussion since 2009, and the whole equalizing of their rights and those of the rest of workers (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 64).

There are some important differences between Peredo Beltrán's work and my research. First, she focuses on the movement of household workers itself while I focus on the demands of the movement and their fulfilment by the Bolivian government through policy. Therefore, her book can be considered as a pure social movement analysis while mine occupies an intermediate space between social movement studies and research on public policies on household workers' rights.

Second, her methodology is composed by focus groups and interviews while my research is based on content analysis of written documents, semi-structured interviews with key actors in the struggle of Bolivian household workers and secondary sources. Finally, Peredo Beltrán identifies the most important outcomes of the Bolivian movement of household workers and she sketches some explanations of them, but she does not systematically address the potential explanations. By contrast, in my research I devote a specific chapter (Chapter 6) to the explanation of the partial fulfilment of the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers by the government, with a focus on the institutionalization of the movement.

## 2. Main Concepts of the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the thesis is composed by the following key concepts: *social movement outcomes* and *social movement institutionalization*. In this section I expose the main theoretical discussions that exist around these concepts and I explain how I will use those concepts to analyse my case study.

### 2.1. Social Movement Outcomes

The analysis of social movement outcomes is one of the richest subfields within social movement studies. Works on movement outcomes focus on topics such as policy impact of social movement mobilisations (Gamson, 1975; Giugni and Yamasaki, 2009; Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995; Kriesi et al., 1995; Silva, 2015), impact on the movement itself (Gelb and Hart, 1999; Kriesi et al., 1995; Suh, 2014), implementation of policies (Silva, 2015), impact on public opinion (Giugni, 1998), and impact on the structure of political opportunities (Kitschelt, 1986). Despite the large number of works devoted to this issue, the study of social movement outcomes is still hampered by two difficulties: (1) defining and classifying the different kinds of impacts of the action of movements, and (2) identifying a relation of causality between the action of the movement and its supposed effects (Amenta and Young, 1999; Béland, 2007; Bush, 1992; Giugni, 1999; Kriesi et al., 1995; Suh, 2014; Tilly, 1999). The analysis of the outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers will contribute to the efforts of the literature to

design methods to identify relations of causality between the actions of the movements and their supposed effect, as it is detailed in Chapter 5.

There have been some terminological discussions in the literature on whether it is more accurate to speak about the 'impacts', 'outcomes' or 'success' of movements. Kriesi et al. (1995, p. 211) convincingly argue that 'impact' and 'outcome' are "more neutral and more encompassing [terms] than the notion of success" because they eliminate the subjective component of 'success'. Therefore, I indistinctly use the terms 'impacts' and 'outcomes' in my research, as most authors do.

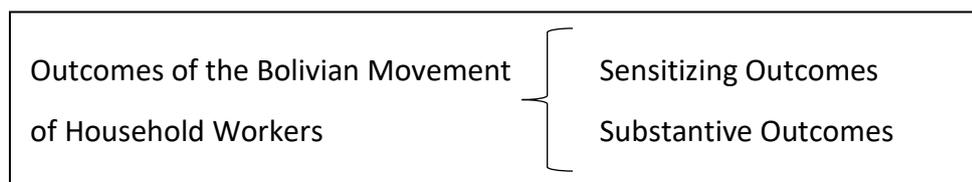
The most frequently studied outcomes are policy outcomes, that can be identified through different methods. On the one hand, Amenta and Young propose the "collective goods criterion", which allows to take into account not only policy outcomes of movements regarding their stated aims, but also unattended impacts of the actions of movements (Amenta and Young, 1999, p. 25). On the other hand, Gamson (1975) and Burstein, Einwohner and Hollander (1995) "determine the success of movements by analyzing how much of their programs has been achieved", in Amenta and Young's words (1999, p. 26). I have decided to follow the latter method in order to identify the policy outcomes of the Bolivian household workers' movement, because it presents the advantage of drawing the attention to the "specific ends of collective action" (Amenta and Young, 1999, p. 26). Insofar as my research is based on the analysis of documents produced by the household workers' movement itself, it makes sense to focus on the stated aims of the movement. In addition, including in my analysis the unexpected impacts of the actions of the movement would excessively enlarge the scope of the research.

The classification of movement outcomes has also received great attention from scholars, who have conceived several typologies (Amenta and Young, 1999; Gamson, 1975; Giugni, 1998; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1995). Kriesi et al. (1995) propose a twofold typology that draws a distinction between the internal impacts of movements (on the identity and organization of the movement) and external impacts of movements. These authors divide external impacts into two categories, following Kitschelt's (1986) classification: "procedural" impacts and "substantive"

impacts. Procedural impacts “open new channels of participation to protest actors and involve their recognition as legitimate representatives of demands” while “substantive gains are changes of policy in response to protest” (Kitschelt, 1986, p. 67). Finally, Kriesi et al. (1995) introduce a third kind of external impact: sensitizing impacts, which they define as “the possibility that a movement will provoke a sensitizing of some social actor in the political arena or in the public arena”.

I have decided to follow Kriesi et al.’s advice of elaborating an ad-hoc typology for each research on social movement outcomes (2015, p. 236). Thus, I have built on the aforementioned contributions to create an original typology for the analysis of the outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, which is adapted to the focus of my research and the constraints of a MPhil thesis. I consider two kinds of outcomes: *sensitizing outcomes* and *substantive outcomes*. I define *sensitizing outcomes* as the policies whose main aim is to improve the social image of household workers and paid household work. Thus, they have a symbolic character. By contrast, *substantive outcomes* are the policies that address the material demands of the social movement of household workers, particularly regarding social rights. Some authors consider that all political acts are to some extent symbolic (Marion and Oliver, 2010), and sensitizing and substantive features are often conflated in the same policy. However, the analysis of the Bolivian policies on household workers’ rights shows that some of the regulations and laws promoted by the government had a predominantly sensitizing aim while others focused on improving the working and living conditions of household workers, which justifies the classification.

Figure 1: Classification of the outcomes of the movement of household workers



Within the topic of social movement outcomes, it is particularly important for my research to refer to the literature that specifically focuses on the outcomes of women's movements and household workers' movements. The outcomes of women's movements have been analysed by a number of authors, often in relation to the frames used by those movements and their relation with states (movement institutionalization) (Álvarez, 1990; Banaszak, 2010; Beckwith, 2011; Bush, 1992; Eckstein, 2001; Haas, 2011; Haussman and Sauer, 2007; Horton, 2015; Katzenstein, 1998; McBride and Mazur, 2010; McBride et al., 1995; McCammon et al., 2008; Outshoorn, 2010; Outshoorn and Kantola, 2007; Suh, 2014; Vargas, 2002). More precisely, the literature on 'state feminism' has extensively addressed the issue of the convergence between the frames of women's movements and the framing of gender issues by governments in Western developed countries. In their analysis of the database of the Research Network on Gender Politics and the State (RNGS) (composed by the so-called 'state feminist' scholars), McBride and Mazur found that the convergence between the framing of gender policy practiced by women's movements and the frames of governments was the most powerful predictor of the policy success of women's movements (McBride and Mazur, 2010, p. 110). Therefore, they established a connection between framing and movement outcomes.

Despite the relevance of the 'state feminism' literature, I have decided to focus on the direct relations between the Bolivian movement of household workers and MAS government rather than explore the institutionalization of the movement through the analysis of their frames, as 'state feminism' scholars do. The choice is due to the limitations of length and time of a MPhil thesis, which prevented me to conduct a deep research on movement outcomes, institutionalization and framing.

The topic of outcomes has also been treated by literature on household workers' mobilisations: a few authors have tried to determine the most relevant explanatory factors of the policy outcomes of this kind of movements, as it has been pointed out in Section 1 of this chapter (Blofield, 2013, 2009; Cabezas Fernández, 2012; Peredo Beltrán, 2015). In addition, there are other works that

mention the impacts of household workers' movements, even if they do not constitute their main focus (CONACTRAHO, 2003; Goldsmiths, 2007, 2001; Mather, 2013; OIT, 2010b; Peredo Beltrán, 2003; Valenzuela, n.d.).

The literature on social movement outcomes that have been described in this section constitutes a major theoretical input for the MPhil thesis, as the first aim of my research is to determine which were the main outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period.

## 2.2. Social Movement Institutionalization

The second concept of the theoretical framework of the thesis is '*social movement institutionalization*'. While institutionalization can take very different forms and reach various degrees (Katzenstein, 1998, pp. 211–212; Suh, 2011, p. 447), it can be generally defined in the following terms (Suh, 2011, p. 443):

*“A process of social movements traversing the official terrain of formal politics and engaging with authoritative institutions such as the legislature, the judiciary, the state, and political parties to enhance their collective ability to achieve the movement’s goals”.*

Suh's wide definition matches the needs of my research because it includes several sorts of state actors, not only the government -as it will be observed in the analysis of the institutionalization of the Bolivian movement of household workers, the movement interacted not only with government officials but also with MPs and MAS party leaders (in many cases, government officials and MPs hold positions in the structure of MAS party as well). As Stearns and Almeida (2004, p. 479) have highlighted, the state is not a unipolar entity but it is composed by a diversity of actors, which include state agencies, local governments, courts and opposition parties (Stearns and Almeida, 2004, p. 479).

In the following paragraphs, I explain the most relevant inputs for my research of the literature on social movement institutionalization. I pay particular attention to the literature that focuses on the institutionalization on women's movements, household workers' movements and Bolivian social movements, as these topics are directly related with my case study.

Institutionalization has received great attention from social movement scholars, particularly regarding Latin American social movements (Bastian Duarte, 2012; Beckwith, 2011; Bedregal, 2011; Bush, 1992; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Foweraker, 1995; Goirand, 2010; Grupo de Mujeres Ixchell, 2011; Hellman, 1992; Horton, 2015; Katzenstein, 1998; Meyer, 2007; Ruzza, 1997; Suh, 2011; Vargas, 2002). The literature has identified a series of positive and negative consequences of institutionalization processes. Some positive consequences are the higher likelihood of organizational survival (Ruzza, 1997, p. 117), the possibility of seizing more political opportunities (Beckwith, 2011, p. 1064), the capacity of a small number of activist to exert significant influence on policy due to their position in the state bureaucracy (Haas, 2011, p. 886), and, more generally, the higher capacity of obtaining “stable and influential policies that respond to movement goals” (Suh, 2011, p. 444).

Some of the negative consequences of movement institutionalization are economic dependence (Ruzza, 1997, pp. 13–14), the risk of depoliticization of demands by their bureaucratic treatment (Bush, 1992, p. 599; Horton, 2015, p. 84; Meyer, 2007, p. 174; Ruzza, 1997, p. 115), the lack of representativeness of the institutionalized members in relation to the whole movement (Haas, 2011, p. 886), and the risk of divisions in movements (Horton, 2015, p. 84; Meyer, 2007, p. 131). In Chapter 6, I analyse the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the influence of that institutionalization on the policy outcomes of the movement (that I explore in Chapters 4 and 5). This assessment will constitute a contribution to the aforementioned literature on the positive and negative effects of social movement institutionalization.

The issue of institutionalization has also been addressed by many women’s movements scholars, both in Latin America and elsewhere (Bastian Duarte, 2012; Beckwith, 2011; Bedregal, 2011; Cabezas Fernández, 2013; Cobo, 2012; Grupo de Mujeres Ixchell, 2011; Haas, 2011; Horton, 2015; Katzenstein, 1998; Suh, 2011; Vargas, 2002). Among these authors, ‘state feminism’ researchers are the ones who keep the most positive stance on the institutionalization of women’s movements: the scholars integrated in the Research Network on Gender Politics

and the State (RNGS) have identified a positive correlation between the institutionalization of women's movements in Europe and North America, and their policy impact (Katzenstein, 1998; McBride and Mazur, 2010; Suh, 2014, 2011).

In the literature on household workers' mobilisations the question of institutionalization is not denominated as such, insofar as most authors who have treated the topic do not frame their research within social movement studies. However, references to the relations between household workers' movements and state actors are frequent in the literature on these movements. Scholars have often referred to the links between movements, on the one hand, and parties, governments and international organisations, on the other hand (Blofield, 2013, 2009; Cabezas Fernández, 2013; CONLACTRAHO, 2003; Goldsmiths, 2007; ILO International Training Centre, 2014; Mather, 2013; Moors, 2003; Peredo Beltrán, 2015; Schwenken, 2013, 2011). The relations between the Bolivian household workers' movement and Bolivian state actors (MAS-led governments and previous governments, MPs and parties) have been analysed by Peredo Beltrán (2015), Blofield (2013, 2009) and Cabezas Fernández (2012).

The issue of the relations between social movements and governments has received great attention in the Bolivian context as well, since MAS and Evo Morales' first national electoral victory in 2005, after a five-years cycle of anti-neoliberal protests (Crabtree, 2005; Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2008; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2005; Webber, 2011b). Some authors have taken MAS government as the example of a virtuous relation between social movements and governments (De la Torre and Arnson, 2013; Prevost, 2012; Quiroga and Pagliarone, 2014), and MAS vice-president García Linera has often defined the government to which he belongs as "the government of social movements" (García Linera, 2011, p. 12).

However, most authors who have specifically focused on the relations between Morales' government and Bolivian social movements have proposed a more nuanced description. Between 2006 and 2009, it seems that MAS government and the most important progressive social movements in Bolivia kept essentially

united against the right-wing opposition to the new government, even though there were some social conflicts, mostly in relation to the rights of indigenous peoples and working class economic demands (Galindo and Creando, 2006; Hylton et al., 2007; Oikonomakis and Espinoza, 2014; Svampa, 2010). After the approval of the new Constitution in 2009 and the second landslide electoral victory of MAS in 2010, conflicts with indigenous organisations became more frequent and more serious, according to several authors (Almaraz et al., 2012; Barroso Mendizábal, 2013; García Linera, 2012; Mokrani, 2011; Oikonomakis and Espinoza, 2014; Tapia Mealla, 2014). These scholars have focused on the relations between the Bolivian government, peasant and urban workers' unions and indigenous organisations. None of the aforementioned authors has devoted much attention to the relations between MAS government and the household workers' movement. However, this topic has been treated in the most insightful analysis of the movement (Blofield, 2013, 2009; Cabezas Fernández, 2012; Peredo Beltrán, 2015, 2003). In Chapter 6, I address the main findings of Blofield, Cabezas Fernández and Peredo Beltrán regarding the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers.

As it will be further explained in the following section, after determining which have been the main outcomes of the movement of household workers between 2006 and 2016, I will analyse to what extent the movement was institutionalized during the same period and in which ways that institutionalization influenced the policy outcomes of the movement. This analysis will be conducted through content analysis of documents produced by the movement and the Bolivian government, semi-structured interviews with key actors and analysis of secondary sources.

### 3. Research Question, Research Objectives and Structure of the Thesis

In the previous sections I have exposed a literature review on household workers' mobilisations in Bolivia and I have identified the main concepts that sustain this thesis: *social movement outcomes* and *social movement institutionalization*. The

application of these concepts to the case study of the Bolivian household workers' movement has allowed me to identify the research question of the MPhil thesis:

*Which were the main policy outcomes of the Bolivian movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period and to what extent the institutionalization of the movement explains those outcomes?*

This research question (RQ) is addressed through three research objectives:

RO1) *Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period.*

RO2) *Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period.*

RO3) *Explore the reasons of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement.*

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The research objectives are addressed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 -which are the analysis chapters of the thesis- as follows:

In Chapter 4 I identify the main policy demands of the movement. In Chapter 5 I identify the policies on household worker's rights that were carried out by the Bolivian government during the 2006-2016 period and I assess to what extent these policies met the demands of the movement. Therefore, in Chapters 4 and 5 I address O1 (*Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period*) and O2 (*Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period*). In Chapter 6 I explore the reasons of the partial fulfilment of the demands of the movement of household workers by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement (O3).

## Conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to the theoretical framework, the research question and the research objectives of the MPhil thesis. In Section 1 I have described the most relevant research on household workers' mobilisations and social movements outcomes and institutionalization, and I have advanced two ways in which my research will enrich that literature. First, the analysis of the outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers that I carry out in Chapter 5 constitutes a contribution to the efforts of the literature to design methods to identify relations of causality between the actions of the movements and their supposed effect. Second, the assessment of the effects of the institutionalization of the movement of household workers on the outcomes of the movement will enrich the literature on the positive and negative effects of social movement institutionalization.

In the second section of the chapter I have identified the main concepts around which my thesis is structured (*social movement outcomes* and *social movement institutionalization*), I have exposed the main theoretical discussions that exist around those concepts and I have explained how I will use these concepts to analyse my case of study. Finally, in Section 3 I have presented the research question and the research objectives of the thesis, which result from the application of the aforementioned concepts to the analysis of the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian government between 2006 and 2016.

## Chapter 3: Ethical Issues and Methodology

This chapter is divided into two sections. In Section 1 I address the ethical issues raised by my research, which are tightly related with the positioning of the researcher vis-à-vis the subjects of the research. Section 2 of the chapter is devoted to the explanation of the mix of qualitative methods that I have used in the research.

### 1. Ethical Issues

I address the ethical issues raised during my research by foregrounding two different conceptions of research in social sciences: epistemic extractivism and politically engaged research.

#### 1.1. The Risk of Epistemic Extractivism

Conducting research on a global South country from the North implies the political and epistemological risk of committing “epistemic extractivism”, a concept formulated by Grosfoguel following the inputs of Betasamosak Simpson and Rivera Cusicanqui (Grosfoguel, 2015; Klein, 2013; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010, 2007; Rivera Cusicanqui and De Sousa Santos, 2014). These authors draw a parallel between the exploitation of natural resources of the colonised countries by Western powers both during colonial and post-colonial times (economic extractivism), and the exploitation of their intellectual resources. This process has been defined as “cognitive extractivism” by Betasamosake Simpson, an indigenous intellectual who belongs to the Missiassauga Nishanaabeg indigenous people, in Canada (in Klein, 2013). Grosfoguel has specified the idea of cognitive extractivism by formulating the concept of ‘epistemic extractivism’, which he defines as follows (Grosfoguel, 2015, p. 38):

*“Epistemic extractivism extracts ideas [...] from indigenous communities, removing them from the context where they were produced with the aim of depoliticizing and resignifying them following Western-centred logics”.*

As the Indian feminist author Vandana Shiva has pointed out, the parallel between economic extractivism and epistemic extractivism is not only a theoretical construction. According to Shiva, the international system of knowledge promoted

by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) does not consider the knowledge generated by indigenous people as real knowledge, particularly in the field of agriculture and the medicinal properties of plants. This racist conception of knowledge allows private companies to fill patents on plants and seeds, expropriating the expertise acquired by indigenous peoples over the centuries (Shiva et al., 2000). This form of expropriation particularly affects women, as they are usually the ones who develop and transfer the knowledge on agriculture and medicine within their communities (Mohanty, 2008, p. 423).

Focusing on epistemic extractivism, Rivera Cusicanqui draws a comparison between economic exploitation and intellectual exploitation: according to the Aymara Bolivian sociologist, in the international academic system “We [the people from the formerly colonised countries] produce raw materials and we get back finished goods” (Rivera Cusicanqui and De Sousa Santos, 2014, cited in Grosfoguel, 2015). She gives the specific example of a number of well-known Western academics that have built on notions produced by Latin American indigenous intellectuals without citing them (Grosfoguel, 2015, p. 40; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010, p. 66).

The latter example and the appropriation of traditional knowledge by transnational companies to register patents (Grosfoguel, 2015, pp. 38–39) are extreme cases of cognitive or epistemic extractivism. However, these concepts could be applied to any decontextualization and depoliticization of knowledge produced by indigenous communities. Betasamosake Simpson, Rivera Cusicanqui and Grosfoguel apply the idea of cognitive or epistemic extractivism both to natural sciences and social sciences, and it is probably applicable to any form of knowledge that is susceptible of being appropriated by Western scholars or companies.

The discussion on epistemic extractivism is particularly relevant for my research, insofar as Bolivia has an indigenous majority, which implies that indigenous peoples cannot be treated as a minority in the Bolivian context, as Rivera Cusicanqui rightly highlights (2007, p. 1). Instead, indigenous political, social, cultural and economic elements (*lo indígena*, in Spanish) are inextricably mixed

with realities originated in the West and brought to Bolivia by the Spanish invaders and settlers -among other peoples, such as the African ones. Therefore, epistemic extractivism can appear in any social research on Bolivia, particularly when focusing on a sector of the society which is mostly composed by indigenous individuals, such as household workers. It is not fortuitous that Rivera Cusicanqui, an Aymara Bolivian sociologist, has vigorously denounced this practice. She goes even further than Grosfoguel, criticizing how some academics build a “discourse on and around the Indians” taking into account the opinions of foreign researchers rather than the voices of the individuals and peoples who they are studying (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007, p. 1).

In conclusion, the concept of epistemic extractivism points out the need to avoid three risks in my research: contributing to a discourse on indigenous peoples and individuals that does not give enough importance to the inputs of those peoples, decontextualizing the knowledge produced in Bolivia and the depoliticizing that knowledge. In the following section I expose the strategies that I have used to avoid these dangers in this MPhil thesis.

## 1.2. A Politically Engaged Research

Conducting research on social movements raises interesting questions when oneself is a social activist, as it is my case. On the one hand, I sympathise with the movement of Bolivian household workers, which implies that I have not try to write a politically neutral study -indeed, I believe that all social science research implies a political stance, even when it is not explicitly assumed by the researcher. My sympathy for the aims of the movement makes me want to be useful to it through my research. However, as an activist in Spanish progressive and anti-austerity organisations, I am conscious of the limited political efficacy of social research on social movements. If my first aim would have been to help the movement of household workers, I would have just asked them how I could help the movement instead of writing a thesis on them. Therefore, the main justification of this research work is not political but intellectual; saying the opposite would be pretentious.

Even though political engagement is not the first motivation for my research, I believe that my thesis on the Bolivian household workers could be politically useful in two ways. First, domestic work and household workers' rights have been and still are understudied topics, and research on these issues have shown its usefulness for the struggles of household workers. For instance, a group of scholars led by Law professor D'Arcy du Toit was key in the negotiations that led to the approval of the 189 ILO Convention in 2011, according to her own testimony and Mather's account of the negotiations (Mather, 2013, p. 58). I hope that my research will also be useful in future legal negotiations or struggles for the improvement and protection of household workers' rights.

Second, my research could be useful for similar social movements in the following way. The Portuguese sociologist Boaventura De Sousa Santos has extensively worked on (and with) social movements in countries of the global South. His long academic-activist experience has allowed him to conceptualize how scholars can be useful for social movements: they can support social movements by telling activists about the experiences of other movements -how they function and which have been their achievements and failures (De Sousa Santos, 2015). This seems to me a quite humble and adequate aim, which implies that researchers can never intend to control or determine the priorities or strategies of social movements. It is always very difficult to 'import' forms of action or political strategies from different contexts but nobody is better prepared than social movements to decide whether the examples of other movements are pertinent and useful for them or not.

Finally, my research might be useful for the Bolivian social movement of household workers to the extent that it will provide a systematic analysis of some aspects of the movement from an external but sympathetic point of view. As an activist of the Spanish union of precarious workers *Oficina Precaria* ('Precarious Office'), I was interviewed by two sociology students who were conducting research on our organisation. At the end, one of them told me that she had found out that strong and unjustified imbalances of power existed within our organisation, which was supposed to be a wholly democratic and horizontal. The

work of the sociology students allowed us to be conscious of a problem whose existence we only guessed, and try to solve it. In a similar vein, the former executive secretary of the Women's Coordination and current director of the feminist NGO "Conexión" who I interviewed during my 2016 fieldwork in Bolivia asked me to send her my research. She told me that it could be useful for her and complained about social science researchers who never contacted her again after having interviewed her<sup>10</sup>. In conclusion, I do not think that my MPhil thesis will constitute a life-changing input for the Bolivian household workers' movement but I do believe that it could be helpful for them to a certain extent, and this has constituted one important motivation for my work.

The intention of making my research useful for the movement that I am studying and other social movements implies that a strategy for the dissemination of my thesis is needed. As far as Spanish is both my mother tongue and the most widely spoken language in Bolivia, it will be a priority for me to translate into Spanish the MPhil thesis or a synthesized version of it. In addition, I have volunteered to write policy or organisational briefs for the NGO 'Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing' (WIEGO), who support informal workers' struggles around the world. This kind of documents are published in various languages and they allow unions of informal workers from various regions of the world to learn from the experiences of other organisations, including household workers' organisations. It is easy to see the link between WIEGO publications and Boaventura de Sousa's view on how social sciences scholars can support social movements. In addition, the fact of translating my research into Spanish will allow me to avoid the risk of repeating vis-à-vis the Bolivian people the scheme of a conversation about indigenous peoples in a language which is not theirs, as denounced by Rivera Cusicanqui (2007, p. 1)

As it has been explained above, I believe that my research could have a positive effect on the struggle of Bolivian household workers. However, the criticism towards MAS government that my thesis implies may also be instrumentalized by

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<sup>10</sup> Author's interview with Diana Urioste, former executive secretary of the Women's Coordination and current director of the NGO "Conexión", La Paz, March 30<sup>th</sup> 2016.

the political rivals of the Bolivian government to delegitimize the whole 'process of change' conducted by MAS. This risk was pointed out by Cabezas Fernández in her research on the debates on gender issues that took place within the MAS parliamentary group between 2006 and 2010 (Cabezas Fernández, 2013).

The best way of avoiding that risk of instrumentalization is clearly stating my position towards the Bolivian 'process of change', which could be defined as critical support. Evo Morales' election in 2005 constituted a major source of hope for progressive political forces worldwide and the MAS party has achieved major progress for the Bolivian people along the 2006-2016 period, such as the reduction of poverty and inequality, economic growth and a new multinational constitutional framework that is better adapted to the reality of Bolivia than the previous Constitution. However, MAS-led 'process of change' has been disappointing regarding other fields, such as the transformation of the productive model to overcome extractivism and the concentration of the property of land in the hands of the agribusiness oligarchy. Regarding gender equality and LGBT rights, the improvement of the legal framework constitutes an unquestionable progress but the implementation of the new laws is extremely poor.

As a consequence of my position of critical support to the process of change, I do not conceive my research as a general impugnation of the performance of MAS regarding household workers' rights but as a critical assessment of it. Therefore, my thesis underlines the contrast that exists between the strong discursive commitment of MAS' leaders with household workers' rights and the serious limitations of the public policies that have been approved on that field during the 2006-2016 period.

## 2. Methodology

The research is based on a mixed qualitative methodology, whose main method is thematic content analysis of documents produced by Fenatrahob and the Bolivian government. Analysis of documents is complemented by semi-structured interviews with Bolivian officials and activists, which were conducted during a pilot fieldwork carried out in Bolivia in March and April 2016 and through Skype, from April to June 2017. Finally, the research also draws on and secondary sources.

## 2.1. Content Analysis of Documents

The main method of my research is the specific variety of thematic analysis conceived by Braun and Clarke (2006), which I explain below. There are three reasons for choosing content analysis of documents as the main source of data. First, it is a method that allows to obtain reliable data in a relatively short time, which fits the needs and time limitations of a MPhil thesis. Second, public documents produced by social movements and governments are collectively elaborated texts, which allow to grasp the consensus that exist among the movement members or leaders about the priorities of the movement regarding demands, and the agreements reached within government agencies regarding public policies. By contrast, in an interview an individual may try to present his or her position as the position of the whole movement. Therefore, I have chosen to combine content analysis with interviews. Finally, conducting content analysis constitutes an originality in the field of empirical research on household workers' movements and public policies on domestic work, where interviews are the most frequent source of data.

The content analysis of documents has pursued three aims: identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers (Research Objective 1), assess to what extent the demands have been met by the government through the analysis of the policies implemented by the government (Research Objective 2), and analyse the relations between the government and the movement, identifying meetings and other forms of direct interaction between the movement and the Bolivian government (Research Objective 3).

In the following pages, I explain Braun and Clarke's method, which has been the sample of documents that I have analysed, and how that sample has been designed.

Braun and Clarke have defined thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 6). In thematic analysis, "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning

within the data set” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 10). The researcher enjoys quite a large flexibility to define what is considered as a theme, depending on each research; themes do not need to appear in all data items (in all documents, in my research) to be considered as themes. In the same vein, Braun and Clarke state that the importance of each theme does not always depend on how frequently it appears within the dataset but on how important it is in relation to research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 10). This flexibility does not imply lack of rigor: Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 11) highlight the need to be consistent in how themes are determined.

Thematic analysis can be used to provide a rich description of the whole dataset, focusing on which are the most predominant themes, or rather doing a more detailed account of a reduced group of themes that are particularly relevant for the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 11). My research falls into the second kind: many of the documents that I have analysed include a wide range of topics but I have exclusively focused on the themes that are directly related with my research question and objectives. Indeed, policy demands are not the most frequent content of Fenatrahob’s *Equity and Justice* bulletins but I have focused on the references to policy demands that exist in the bulletins because they constitute a priority object of my research.

Thematic content analysis can be inductive or deductive. In inductive analysis, data is codified “without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 12). By contrast, deductive or theory-driven analysis is directly derived from the research question. Insofar as the demands of the movement, the policies of the government and the nature of the relations between both actors were not pre-determined before I started the thematic analysis, I have carried out inductive content analysis.

Finally, the researcher needs to decide whether she or he will analyse semantic or latent themes. In Braun and Clarke’s words (2006, p. 13), a semantic approach implies that “the themes are identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written”, while “a thematic analysis at the latent level goes

beyond the semantic content of the data, and starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations -and ideologies- that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data”.

It may be tempting to affirm that the latent approach is superior to the semantic one because it goes deeper in the analysis of content than the latter. However, the choice of either approach depends on the kind of research. In my case, I have used thematic analysis with three aims: identifying the main demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, identifying the policies on household workers’ rights that the Bolivian government has approved during the 2006-2016 period, and analysing the relations between the government and the movement (the institutionalization of the movement). I am interested in the official positions of Fenatrahob and the government, not in the underlying ideas that shape the semantic content of the analysed documents. Therefore, semantic content analysis is the most useful variety of Braun and Clarke’s method for the aims of my research.

The selection of the documents has been based on an intentional sampling strategy, a selection method that implies restricting the analysis to a small sample of exemplary texts (Lindekilde, 2014). Regarding the household workers’ movement, I have analysed two kind of documents. First, the informative *Equidad y Justicia* bulletins (*‘Equity and Justice’*, in Spanish), which are published by the Federation two or three times per year. I have analysed all the bulletins that were published between 2005 and 2016 (21 bulletins) -I have included the 2005 bulletins so I could assess to what extent the policies approved by Morales’ government in 2006 constituted a response to the demands of Fenatrahob. Most of the bulletins are available online and I was given a copy of the ones that were not available when I visited the central office of Fenatrahob in La Paz, in April 2016. The main contents of the bulletins are the following: information about the activities developed by the Federation in the previous months, a report of the activities of the Executive Committee (accountability addressed mainly to affiliates), internal information about the organisation such as the appointment of a new Committee, information about the rights granted by law to household

workers and information about how to join the Federation and its local unions. Several bulletins refer to specific policy demands as well, thus they allow to get a quite accurate view of the evolution of the policy priorities of the Federation along the studied period -and to what extent the demands were satisfied by Evo Morales' government. Cabezas Fernández (2012) has also referred to a few of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins in her research on the Bolivian movement of household workers, but they were not her main source of data.

In addition to the *Equity and Justice* bulletins, I have analysed the document *Depatriarchalisation and Decolonisation from the Perspective of Paid Household Workers: a Public Policy Proposal* (Fenatrahob, 2014a), which was elaborated and published by Fenatrahob with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The document presents an account of the working and living conditions of Bolivian household workers in 2014, and it proposes several public policies to address the violations of rights and discriminations suffered by household workers.

As far as the government is concerned, I have analysed communiqués of the Ministry of Labour on household workers' rights and the laws and regulations approved or promoted by the government on the same topic. The following norms have been analysed: the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work (even though it is out of the temporary scope of the research, as it was approved before 2006), the 2009 Bolivian Constitution, the 28655/2006 Supreme Decree that established the National Day of Household Workers, the 65/2010 Law on Pensions and its two regulation Decrees, the 181/2011 Law that confirms the establishment of the National Day of Household Workers, the 309/2012 Law of Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, and the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution, which established the compulsory written contract for household workers.

## 2.2. Semi-Structured Interviews with Activists and Officials

The second method of my research is interviewing, which has been defined as the central resource through which contemporary social science engages with issues that concern it (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997, cited in Rapley, 2004, p. 4). In addition, Rathbun (2008, p. 686-691) has pointed out that doing interviews is a useful method to explore the influence of non-governmental actors (such as social

movements) on political decision-makers. Even though this research is framed within the literature on social movements, the focus on institutionalization and movement outcomes implies that I am also interested in the process of political decision-making in the field of household workers' rights in Bolivia.

Interviews have been used to address the three research objectives defined in Chapter 2: Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers (RO1), assess to what extent the policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government (RO2) and explore the explanations of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement (RO3).

Two broad categories of interviews are identified by literature: structured and semi-structured interviews. In structured interviews, the researcher uses a pre-established questionnaire (set of questions) that she or he strictly respects, asking the same questions in the same order to all respondents. Questions are usually short and there are often precoded response categories. These features are supposed to allow the comparison of the data obtained (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 92; Smith, 1995, p. 11).

By contrast, in semi-structured interviews the interviewer has a much more flexible relation with her or his set of questions, which is conceived as a guide. The order of the questions can be switched in each interview, and different questions can be asked to different respondents. The researcher may follow topics that emerge during the interview even if she or he had not included them in the interviews guide. Therefore, semi-structured interviewing implies for the researcher the need to keep an open mind about her or his initial literature review and hypothesis, as they can be transformed by the interviewees' responses (Smith, 1995, pp. 22–23). The flexibility of semi-structured interviewing makes it easier to establish a conversational rapport with the respondent than in structured interviewing (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 92; Smith, 1995, p. 12). As Rapley (2004) has pointed out, semi-structured interviewing has many elements in common with

real-life social encounters, but the interviewer holds a certain control of the conversation and methodological concerns need to be taken into account.

There are two reasons that have led me to choose semi-structured interviewing for my research. First, it is a more economic method to obtain rich and detailed data on social movements than methods that imply a long-term insertion in social movements activities, such as participant observation (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 93; Rapley, 2004, p. 35). The limitations of time and economic resources of a MPhil thesis made it advisable to use this method instead of more costly methods such as observation. In addition, insofar as my research focuses rather on the satisfaction of the demands of the Bolivian household workers' movement than the mobilisations of the movement, observation would have not been as useful as it is in pure social movement studies focused on topics such as repertoires of action and the internal organisation of movements.

To sum up, the advantages of semi-structured interviewing outweigh those of structured interviewing as far as my research is concerned. The comparability of the responses of different interviewees, which is easier in structured interviewing, is not a concern in my research. By contrast, I have interviewed individuals who belong to different organisations in order to obtain different kinds of data, as it will be detailed below. In addition, my research has a qualitative character and I share Smith's stance on the existence of a "natural fit" between qualitative analyses and semi-structured interviewing (Smith, 1995, p. 9).

#### *The Symbolic Gap between the Interviewer and the Respondents*

The encounter between the interviewer and the respondent never takes place within "a historico-socio-cultural vacuum", as Rapley (2004, p. 28) has rightly pointed out. This implies that respondents do not only speak as individuals but also as representatives of organisations and people belonging to different social groups, defined by class, gender and ethnicity, among other categories (Rapley, 2004, p. 36). This reflection must be extended to interviewers, who also speak as individuals who belong to specific social groups.

Therefore, reflexivity is a key methodological concern for social sciences researchers who conduct interviews. In the context of interviewing, reflexivity

implies that the researcher needs to take into account “his or her own and the interviewee's social locations and how they might affect the research relationship” (Reinharz and Chase, 2011, p. 233). Addressing this issue is particularly important when there are sharp differences in social location between the interviewer and the interviewee, which was the case in my research.

I am a white, European, middle-class man while the people that I interviewed were Bolivian women -some of them were middle-class, others had peasant or working-class origins (the ensemble of peasants and workers is often denominated in Latin America as “popular classes”, a concept that refers not only to the low income of those groups and their position in the economic system, but also to the protagonist role that they often play in progressive political movements). Also, there was a clear relation between ethnicity and class among the respondents: the middle-class interviewees were white or mixed-race while the respondents who belonged to popular classes were indigenous.

The ethnic, gender and class gap that existed between me and some of my respondents was widened by the fact of me being Spanish. Spain invaded and colonised for three centuries the territory that today is Bolivia and still keeps neo-colonial links with the Andean country -several Spanish multinational companies exploit Bolivian natural resources and a branch of one of them was expropriated by Evo Morales' government in 2012 (Azcuí, 2012). Even though it is obvious that I do not have any personal responsibility on any imperialist aggression performed in the past or the present by the Spanish government or Spanish companies, the fact of being Spanish is not anodyne when doing social research in Bolivia, as I explain below.

The contestation of the neo-colonial relations existing both within the Bolivian society and in the international relations between Bolivia and other countries (mostly through the extraction and export of Bolivian natural resources) has become an important element in Bolivian politics during the last decades. While a rise of indigenous movements took place all along Latin America in the 1990s (Goirand, 2010), in Bolivia the 2000-2005 cycle of protests linked anti-neoliberalism, nationalism and *indigenism*, a political ‘mix’ that constitutes the

core ideological platform of MAS party (Crabtree, 2005; García Linera, 2006; Webber, 2011b).

The combination of anti-colonial nationalism, *indigenism* and rejection of neoliberal policies also constitutes the political basis of the National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob). As it will be further explained, the analysis of documents published by Fenatrahob suggests that its leaders conceive the Federation as one of the actors that support the so-called 'process of change' led by Evo Morales and MAS since their arrival to state power in 2006. Therefore, the fact of coming from Spain (the colonial power that used to dominate Bolivia) probably widened the symbolic gap that existed between myself and the household workers with whom I spoke.

The issue of the effects of symbolic gaps between the social researcher and the respondents has been treated by Vidal, a male French sociologist who conducted research on Brazilian household workers (Vidal, 2007). His analysis of the question is particularly relevant for my work, as we hold a similar position as white European men studying household workers in Latin America. Vidal stands that his social position helped him to get easy access to household workers due to their "need for recognition", which, according to him, they addressed mostly to European men like himself (Vidal, 2007, pp. 29–32).

Nevertheless, Vidal also points out that the women that he interviewed and observed did not address certain sensitive topics in their conversations when he was present, while they treated them when there were only women around (Vidal, 2007, pp. 29–32). A similar pattern of behaviour was found by Padfield and Procter (1996) in their research on the work and family lives of 29 young women: the respondents were more eager to speak about their experiences of abortion to the female interviewer (Padfield) than to the male one (Procter). Treviño also experienced the symbolic gap between him (a man) and the subjects of his research (female members of Alcoholics Anonymous): in his case, the problem was that very few women accepted to be interviewed (Reinharz and Chase, 2011; Treviño, 1992).

The aforementioned cases suggest that men who interview women face a very particular symbolic situation that needs to be taken into account when planning, conducting and analysing interviews. Male researchers have the responsibility of tackling the unbalanced relationship that often appears when interviewing women, with the aim of limiting the existent symbolic gap between the interviewer and the respondents -even though the gap will never completely disappear. Vidal does not refer in his chapter on ethical issues to any attempt on his part to bridge the gap vis-à-vis the respondents. By contrast, Treviño “made efforts to downplay his gender and desexualize the research encounter”, as Reinharz and Chase (2011) report in their chapter on “Interviewing Women”. For instance, at the beginning Treviño planned to do the interviews in his office, but he changed his mind when “he discovered that some women were reluctant to meet with him there out of discovered concern for their safety” (Reinharz and Chase, 2011).

In my case, I experienced two difficulties related with the symbolic gap that existed between me and some of my respondents. First, I experienced a certain mistrust from one of the Fenatrahob leaders that I intended to interview. After showing interest in my research, she did not accept to be interviewed, mentioning in one occasion that you can never know for what ends someone wants to do an interview -even though I had carefully explained to her the context and aims of the interview. This only happened to me once, the rest of Fenatrahob leaders and activists that I approached were happy to speak to me. The second problem was related with language. As it has been mentioned in previous chapters, most Bolivian household workers (at least in La Paz) are indigenous women, whose mother tongue is Quechua or Aymara, not Spanish. In addition, their dialect when speaking in Spanish is very different from mine (from Extremadura, a region in the south-west of Spain), which made that the conversations among us were less fluid than the ones that I had with middle-class white or mixed-race people, whose Spanish is very similar to mine. This language gap did not prevent my interviewees and me to perfectly understand each other, but it is worth mentioning the relative lack of fluidity of these conversations because it may have had the unconscious

effect of me giving a bigger relevance in my research to the testimonies of white and mixed-race interviewees than to indigenous interviewees. As a consequence of this reflection, I have consciously tried to avoid that bias.

The symbolic gap between me and the respondents that I have described in the precedent paragraphs was compensated to a certain extent by my political engagement in the Spanish party Podemos. Many people in this party have friendship and political ties with militants of the Bolivian MAS, which allowed me to get access to a considerable number of MAS officials and activists of women's movements in a short time, using the snowball method (Rathbun, 2008, p. 696) -I asked the first interviewees about other people that could be interesting for my research. In addition, the majority of my interviewees supported the main political aims of MAS and Evo Morales. I always clarified that the research that I was conducting had an academic and individual character, without any direct link with Podemos. However, the fact of being engaged in the Spanish party helped me to get an open attitude from most of the interviewees.

#### *Sampling Strategy and Theoretical Aims of the Interviews*

The design of the sample of interviewees and the recruiting process are vital steps in the research process, as they decisively determine the data on which the research will be based. That is why Rapley recommends to include in the report of the research a section on the recruitment process (Rapley, 2004, p. 8). In the following paragraphs, I expose the criteria that I followed to choose the respondents, how I contacted them (the recruitment process) and to which organisations belonged the individuals who were interviewed for this research.

In March and April 2016, I carried out a pilot fieldwork in Bolivia that allowed me to get important contextual data about the general socio-political situation in the country, women's movements and gender policy in Bolivia. Soon after my arrival to La Paz, I met a MAS MP who I already knew and he provided me with the contact details of several women's movements activists and MAS members. I contacted the first of them and then I asked them for other contacts, which allowed me to enlarge and diversify my list of potential interviewees using the snowball method (Rathbun, 2008, p. 696). I interviewed sixteen people during my stay in Bolivia

(fifteen women and one man, who is a LGBT activist). Five of them were current or former government officials or MPs, the other eleven were activists belonging to women's movements or LGBT movements.

Once I decided to focus on the movement of household workers and I started the specific research for this MPhil thesis, I established the criteria for the composition of the sample of interviews (intentional design of the sample). I intended to interview members of Fenatrahob, activists of the social movement of household workers who did not belong to Fenatrahob, and MAS officials or representatives who knew well the policies promoted by Evo Morales regarding household workers' rights. Three of the interviews that I conducted during my pilot fieldwork in 2016 matched these criteria, so I carried out a new analysis of the transcripts of the interviews and I included them in the sample of this MPhil thesis. The respondents included in this group are Prima Ocsa (former executive secretary and current secretary of relations, Fenatrahob), Eliana Mariaca (executive secretary of La Paz "Max Paredes" household workers' union) and Teresa Morales (former advisor of the Constituent Assembly in 2008 and former minister of productive development between 2011 and 2015). As I was not able to do another fieldwork in Bolivia, I completed my sample with interviews conducted through Skype with Adolfo Mendoza (former MAS senator and former advisor of the Unity Pact) and Elizabeth Peredo (researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers).

The interviews had two major theoretical aims. First, complementing the data provided by content analysis of documents about the demands of the social movement of household workers. Indeed, there were details about the demands and outcomes of the movement that were not described in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins neither in the *Depatriarchalisation and Decolonisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a). The second aim of the interviews was to better understand the kinds of relations that the movement kept with MAS and Evo Morales' government during the studied period. Interviews were particularly useful for the analysis of institutionalization, as the attitudes of activists towards the

government expressed in the interviews constituted a deeper data than the official positions adopted in Fenatrahob's public documents. In a similar vein, my conversations with Morales and Mendoza were extremely useful to understand how different MAS representatives conceive the place of Fenatrahob within the so-called 'process of change'. The interviews have been analysed through Braun and Clarke's (2006) variety of content analysis.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have reflected about the ethical issues raised by the research and my positioning as researcher, and I have explained the methodology of the MPhil thesis. The ethical reflection has departed from the concept of 'epistemic extractivism', which refers to the risk of contributing to a discourse on indigenous peoples and individuals that does not give enough importance to the inputs of those peoples, decontextualizing and depoliticizing the knowledge produced in Bolivia. I have explained how I have tried to avoid the risk of epistemic extractivism, and in which sense I have conducted a politically engaged research, characterized by a position of critical support to the main political orientations of the Bolivian 'process of change' and complete sympathy towards the social movement of household workers.

Section 2 is devoted to the explanation of the methodology of the thesis. The research is based on a mixed qualitative methodology, whose main method is thematic content analysis of documents produced by Fenatrahob and the Bolivian government. Analysis of documents is complemented by semi-structured interviews with Bolivian officials and activists, which were conducted at two moments: during a pilot fieldwork carried out in Bolivia in March and April 2016, and through Skype, from April to June 2017. Finally, the research also draws on and secondary sources.

## Chapter 4: The Policy Demands of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers (2006-2016)

The thematic content analysis of the *Equity and Justice* informative bulletins published by Fenatrahob and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) allows to identify the main policy demands of the Federation during the 2006-2016 period, which is the Research Objective 1 of the MPhil thesis. For the ends of my research, I define 'policy demands' as "demands that can be satisfied by the Bolivian government through the promoting, passing and implementation of legislation and regulations". The information obtained through the analysis of the bulletins and the policy proposal has been complemented with data obtained from interviews with key actors and secondary sources.

The aim of this chapter is not to make a list of all the policy demands that Fenatrahob formulated from 2006 to 2016 but to identify and explain which have been its priorities. This approach has implied the exclusion from the research of demands such as the improvement of the housing situation of household workers (Fenatrahob, 2014a), the demand of a venue to install the offices of the Federation and the elimination of employment agencies (Fenatrahob, 2014b), for these demands have not constituted top priorities for Fenatrahob or they have held an important place in the agenda of the Federation only for a short period of time.

As it was explained in Chapter 3, I have analysed two kinds of documents produced by Fenatrahob: the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) and the informative *Equity and Justice* bulletins that were published between 2005 and 2016 (21 bulletins) -I have included the 2005 bulletins so I could assess to what extent the policies approved by Morales' government in 2006 constituted a response to the demands of Fenatrahob. Most of the bulletins are available online and I was given a copy of the ones that were not available when I visited the central office of Fenatrahob in La Paz, in April 2016.

The analysis has shown that Fenatrahob put forward two kinds of demands: *general demands* (where Fenatrahob focuses on the definition of the situation and

the setting of its general aims on each topic, without always specifying which legal tools or regulations the government should use to meet the demands) and *demands of specific policies*. Most of the policy priorities of Fenatrahob along the studied period were synthesized in the March 2010 *Equity and Justice* bulletin, published some months after the second national electoral victory of Evo Morales and MAS (Fenatrahob, 2010a):

*“We fight for a well-remunerated job, short-term and long-term health insurance, we claim our right to a weekly and yearly leave, and a better education, without discrimination”.*

Therefore, the first sections of this chapter are devoted to the demands formulated by Fenatrahob in relation to 1) Fair wages and free time from work, 2) Access to health insurance, 3) Access to education, 4) Access to pensions and 5) Non-discrimination and the right to work and live without suffering violence - insofar as discrimination and violence are often jointly treated in Fenatrahob documents, I address both topics in a unique section. These five demands are *general demands*. In addition, the Federation has formulated three *demands of specific policies*: the ratification by Bolivia of the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, the introduction of a compulsory written contract and ‘salaries book’, and the inclusion of household workers’ rights in the Bolivian General Labour Act. The three *demands of specific policies* are analysed in Sections 6, 7 and 8 of this chapter.

### 1. Fair Wages and Free Time from Work

The demands of fair wages and free time from work have historically been at the centre of the agenda of workers’ movements. In the same vein, perceiving the legal minimum wage, an 8-hours workday, a 6-days working week and enjoying the same holidays as the rest of workers are central demands for the social movement of Bolivian household workers.

The right to fair wages and free time from work is highlighted in several *Equity and Justice* bulletins as one of the most important elements of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work and a key claim for Fenatrahob (Fenatrahob, 2015, 2011a, 2010a, 2009a, 2009b). These rights -together with to the right to

health insurance- were also highlighted in the bulletin that reported the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention by Bolivia (Fenatrahob, 2013a). The importance given by Fenatrahob to the right to an 8-hours workday, holidays and a fair wage (including the payment of overtime working hours and the Christmas bonus) was also present in the discussions between the Federation and the government on the new General Labour Act, as it was specified in the December 2010 and October 2013 bulletins (Fenatrahob, 2013b, 2010b).

Household workers' right to fair wages and the respect of the daily and weekly limits of working time are established in the 2450/2003 Law but they are violated in various ways by employers, as denounced in several *Equity and Justice* bulletins. Firstly, the March 2015 bulletin points out that many household workers still work "between 12 and 14 hours" per day, many working hours are not paid and they work on Sundays and public holidays as well (Fenatrahob, 2015). Secondly, the wages of household workers are still below the Bolivian average, according to a statistic included in the March 2015 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2015): 20 per cent of household workers earn less than the minimum salary, 60 per cent earn the minimum salary and only 20 per cent of them earn more than the minimum salary. In 2015, when the statistic was published, the legal minimum salary in Bolivia was 1656 bolivianos (240 US dollars). Salaries are particularly low among children household workers, as it is denounced in the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a). The aim of Fenatrahob is that all household workers earn the legal minimum wage (Fenatrahob, 2008a).

The third form of violation of the right to fair wages highlighted by Fenatrahob is delayed payment. This practice is denounced in the March 2005 bulletin, in which a household worker reports that her employer owed her two years of wages (Fenatrahob, 2005a). Finally, many employers misinterpret the legal disposition that recognises the household workers' right to 15 days of annual leave: they only allow household workers to enjoy two weeks of holidays -including the Sundays of both weeks- which reduces in two days the effective time of annual holidays (Fenatrahob, 2015).

Particular attention is devoted by Fenatrahob to the right to a Christmas bonus established in Article 8 of the 2450/2003 Law. The December 2005 *Equity and Justice* bulletin defines this bonus as “an additional wage that is paid to all workers at the end of the year” (Fenatrahob, 2005b). The amount of the bonus depends on how long the worker has been at the service of the same employer. If the worker has been working for the same employer for a whole year, the bonus corresponds to a month of salary. Otherwise, the amount of the Christmas bonus is proportional to the number of months that the worker has spent at the service of her current employer.

Even though the employers are the immediate responsible for respecting the legal limits of working time and the minimum wage, Fenatrahob has also called the government for the implementation of policies to enforce these rights. In its 2014 policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a), the Federation directly addresses the Ministry of Labour, demanding the approval and implementation of “the necessary administrative regulation to allow the labour inspection to supervise the working conditions of household workers” and the publication of a guide that explains the workers how to legally claim their rights. Therefore, the adoption of policies for the enforcement of the legal dispositions on working limits and minimum wages for household workers constitutes a central demand of Fenatrahob.

## 2. Health Insurance Coverage

The first attempt to establish a health coverage system for household workers dates back to the 1970s, when the 16523 Supreme Decree declared the affiliation of household workers (who were called “domestics” at that time) to the health insurance system. In the 1980s, some progressive MPs tried to elevate the Decree to the rank of Law, but the opposition of employers and MPs impeded it (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, pp. 16–17). The right of household workers to health insurance was first recognised by Article 8 of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work, in the following terms: “All

household work carried out under on a dependent basis<sup>11</sup> is subject to the following rights: [...] affiliation to the National Health Insurance”. Article 9 of the same Law specifies that the affiliation of the worker to the Health Insurance must take place after having spent three months working for the same employer.

According to article 24 of the 2450/2003 Law, the government has the obligation to approve a Supreme Decree to implement the provision regarding the integration of household workers in the National Health Insurance system. However, no Supreme Decree of this kind has been approved so far. As a consequence, in 2014 only 5 per cent of Bolivian household workers had a health insurance, according to data provided by Prima Ocsa, who was at that time the executive secretary of Fenatrahob (Zapana S., 2014).

The demand of the integration of household workers in the National Health Insurance system appears several times in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins published during the 2005-2016 period. The demand is mentioned for the first time in the December 2007 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2007), which states that “the negotiations for the implementation of Article 24 of the Law that Regulates Household Work have reached its final phase after 12 months of intensive work”. The piece in the bulletin points out that the negotiations between Fenatrahob and the government regarding the implementation of Article 24 began in December 2006 (when former executive secretary of Fenatrahob Casimira Rodríguez was still minister of justice). The December 2007 bulletin reported that an agreement had been reached between Fenatrahob and the government and a Decree on the health insurance system for household workers had been drafted. According to the bulletin, the draft would be “analysed by technical departments in government in the following weeks” before presenting it to president Evo Morales for its final approval (Fenatrahob, 2007).

Some months later, the May 2008 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2008b) revealed some contents of the draft Supreme Decree on health insurance. The Decree established that the employers’ contribution for the funding of the

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<sup>11</sup> “A dependent basis” means that there is a remunerated labour relation between an employer and an employee.

insurance would represent 10 per cent of the national minimum wage and the insurance would be administered by the departmental (regional) authorities. Finally, the bulletin specified that household workers would need to join Fenatrahob to benefit from the health insurance system, which shows the corporatists features of the Bolivian welfare system.

Despite the promises of the government and the optimism of Fenatrahob, in October 2008 the draft Decree had not been approved yet and the demand for the inclusion of household workers in the National Health Insurance system appeared again in the *Equity and Justice* bulletin that was published that month (Fenatrahob, 2008c). In that bulletin, the Federation stated that it had “decided to turn to the president of the Republic, as far as [they] were not listened by other authorities”. The decision to directly address Evo Morales on this issue was taken by the ruling body of Fenatrahob after it was informed by the Executive Committee of Fenatrahob of the negotiations that had taken place during the previous two years. The recourse to directly address president Evo Morales is relevant, because it is the only time that a public document issued by Fenatrahob directly points out the president as responsible for the unfulfillment of one demand of the movement. In addition, the reference to the Health Insurance system in the October 2008 bulletin is the first criticism addressed by Fenatrahob to the government through the *Equity and Justice* bulletin since Morales’ arrival to power in January 2006.

There was another article about the topic of Health Insurance in the March 2009 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2009a), which reported that the Federation had addressed Evo Morales again: “Fenatrahob asked the president for support in the struggle for our rights”. In that text, the Federation explained that it had sent a letter to president Morales asking him for support in the issue of the affiliation of household workers to the National Health Insurance system. In addition, the article reveals the existence of a report from the National Institute of the Social Security that supported the inclusion of household workers in the National Health Insurance system, but the process was blocked by the National Council for the Political Economy (Fenatrahob, 2009a). The creation of a health insurance for

household workers or the inclusion of these workers in the national system was demanded again in the March 2010 and July 2010 bulletins (Fenatrahob, 2010a, 2010c), after president Evo Morales was re-elected with more than 60 per cent of the vote in 2009.

Four years later, the March 2014 bulletin denounced that the household workers from the Potosí region did not have a health insurance yet (Fenatrahob, 2014c) - the rest of Bolivian household workers were in the same situation. That same year, the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) pointed out the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour in guaranteeing the access of household workers to health insurance. The only *Equity and Justice* bulletin that was published in 2015 (Fenatrahob, 2015) denounced that the household workers' right to health insurance was systematically violated.

Finally, the March 2016 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2016) was almost wholly devoted to the struggle for the health insurance and the wider demand of integrating household workers in the social security system (including pensions). For the first time since the Fenatrahob *Equity and Justice* bulletins are published, the cover is dedicated to health insurance (it says "Health Insurance for Paid Household Workers Now!"). The March 2016 bulletin also informs about the International Meeting on Social Security that took place in November 2015 in La Paz. In that encounter, representatives of organisations of household workers from ten Latin American countries exchanged their experiences and reached a common platform of demands, including the integration of household workers in national security systems. The right to health insurance was defined in the March 2016 bulletin as a "responsibility of states, governments, employers and us, household workers". In addition, the bulletin demanded that the insurance cover work-related accidents and it highlighted the role that must be played by the household workers' organisations in the administration of the health insurance systems (Fenatrahob, 2016).

The publication of a bulletin on this topic was accompanied by a demonstration for the health insurance that took place in La Paz on March 30<sup>th</sup> 2016, National

Day of Household Workers (Abi y Correo del Sur, 2016). Also in 2016, Executive Secretary of La Paz “Max Paredes” household workers’ union Eliana Mariaca stated that the implementation of a national health insurance system for household workers was her priority as union leader<sup>12</sup>.

Mariaca’s statement, the mobilisation on health insurance, the focus of one on the most recent *Equity and Justice* bulletins on this topic and the fact that Fenatrahob hosted an international encounter on health insurance suggests that it has become one of the main demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers during the last years. In addition, the topic was addressed again in the policy proposal published by Fenatrahob in 2014, which highlighted the urgency of guaranteeing the access of children household workers to a health insurance.

### 3. Access to Education

A better access to formal education for household workers is one of the most frequently repeated demands in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the right to education is highlighted as one of the most important elements of the 2450/2003 Law (Fenatrahob, 2010a, 2009a). The September 2011 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2011a), which focuses on the celebration of the Day of the Bolivian Women, includes data that show the gender educational gap that exists in Bolivia: most girls in rural areas do not complete primary education and there are three times more illiterate women than illiterate men. The bulletin also includes data that specifically refer to household workers: only 40 per cent of household workers complete secondary education and only 2 per cent of them access university (Fenatrahob, 2011a). In a similar vein, a Peruvian household worker leader that took part in the workshops on the draft law on household workers’ rights in Bolivia in 1996 affirmed that between 80 and 90 per cent of Bolivian household workers were “illiterate or semi-illiterate” (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 46).

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<sup>12</sup> Author’s interview with Eliana Mariaca, Executive Secretary of La Paz “Max Paredes” household workers’ union, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

The interest of Fenatrahob in education is shown by the celebration of courses in several offices of the Federation along the country. The topics of the courses can be divided into three groups: courses related with the well-being of household workers (self-esteem and sexual and reproductive health), courses related with union activism (leadership, rhetoric, labour legal demands and co-habitation rules in meetings) and professional courses (first aid, childcare, hostelry and cooking) (Fenatrahob, 2006a). According to the September 2006 bulletin, the efforts of Fenatrahob on the field of education have two major aims: “provide technical formation to household workers in order to improve the services that they carry out” and “form new leaders”.

On the one hand, professionalization has been identified by Fenatrahob as a mean to overcome the figure of the “multitask household work” and “decolonise household work” (Fenatrahob, 2009b). Most specifically, the recognition of the complexity and diversity of tasks carried out by household workers intends to improve their working conditions (Fenatrahob, 2014b) and their salaries. On the other hand, the formation of new leaders is a key aim for Fenatrahob, as the directive posts of the Federation are renewed on a frequent basis (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 73).

The importance given by Fenatrahob to the education of household workers makes itself manifest again in the May 2008 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2008b), which celebrates the attainment of official Certificates of Competencies in Household Administration by several workers belonging to Cochabamba, Santa Cruz and La Paz unions. The Federation has also established partnerships with NGOs to fund courses (Fenatrahob, 2009b, 2008c). At least since 2010, the scope of the courses organised by the Federation has been enlarged to topics such as mechanics, electricity, dressmaking and IT skills, responding to the affiliates’ demands (Fenatrahob, 2010a, 2010c). The issue of education appears again in the October 2013 bulletin, which refers to the adoption by Fenatrahob of an Educational Plan that has the aim of helping in the “planning, execution and control of the educational [...] activities of Fenatrahob and its member unions” (Fenatrahob, 2013b).

Finally, the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) devotes a whole section to education and states that the Ministry of Education is “responsible for generating the conditions for the access of household workers -particularly girls- to the education system, considering their special situation”. The document also highlights the responsibility of employers, who “often do not allow [workers] to attend school”, because they do not deem it necessary or because they are afraid of workers receiving “bad influences” in school (Fenatrahob, 2014a). The Federation calls for the improvement of household workers’ access to education through the creation of courses of alphabetisation for those who could not attend school when they were girls, courses for the professional specialisation of workers and scholarships. The importance of the professionalization of household workers has been discussed since the 1990s. For instance, the former executive secretary of the Women’s Coordination Diana Urioste highlighted in the workshops organised by TAHIPAMU, Fenatrahob and the Solón Foundation the importance of professionalising household work to increase the legitimacy of household workers when demanding the respect of their rights (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 19).

The *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal dedicates particular attention to child household workers: the Federation does not demand the immediate interdiction of child labour, but it underlines the need of a “strategy that guarantees the girls who work in the sector the whole exercise of their rights and that they start working as late as possible”. More specifically, Fenatrahob calls for the respect of children’s rights to attend school following a regular timing (Fenatrahob, 2014a, p. 14). In conclusion, education is a central topic for Fenatrahob. Even though the Federation and its unions assume an important role on this field by organising courses for their affiliates, they also demand public policies to promote a better access of household workers to the public education system.

#### 4. Access to Pensions

Access to the pension system was included in the first draft law on household workers’ rights that Fenatrahob presented to the Bolivian parliament

(Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 33) and the right to pension coverage was recognised by the 2450/2003 Law but the implementation of this right was conditioned to the approval of a Decree<sup>13</sup>.

In the December 2009 *Equity and Justice* bulletin, Fenatrahob demanded “a pension to recognise our years of work” (Fenatrahob, 2009b). One year later, the Bolivian Parliament passed the 65/2010 Pensions Act, which was implemented by Supreme Decrees 778 and 822. As the Ministry of Economy reminded in a public communiqué, household workers were included in the scope of the 65/2010 Act, as it covers all workers (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas de Bolivia, 2011). According to data from the research centre CENAC, in 2010 90 per cent of Bolivian household workers did not have access to the pensions system (CENAC-Bolivia, 2010).

However, it seems that the 65/2010 Act and its decrees did not guarantee the effective access of household workers to the pensions system, and this demand has occupied a growing place in Fenatrahob’s platform. In a short documentary on the situation of Bolivian household workers produced by ILO in 2013, a member of Fenatrahob called for a special pensions regime for household workers that takes into account the fact that many of them start working when they are children, which should allow them “to retire at 45 years old”, according to that worker. Other workers highlights that many household workers are dismissed by their employers when they get old and they did not get any revenue, after having worked in many cases for 30 or 35 years (ILO, 2013b). References to the demand of perceiving a pension were also included in the October 2014 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2014b) and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal, where the responsibility of the Ministry of Economy is highlighted (Fenatrahob, 2014a).

The claim on pensions coverage gained importance in 2016, when representatives of household workers’ organisations gathered in La Paz to celebrate the

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<sup>13</sup> Author’s interview with Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán, researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers. Interview through Skype, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017.

International Meeting on Social Security (Fenatrahob, 2016). The conclusions of the meeting included the following statement:

*“We demand the access to the retirement or handicap pension as dependent [workers], a right derived from the 189 Convention of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), in conditions that are not less favourable than those of the rest of workers”.*

As it will be further explained in Chapter 5, the approval of the 189 Convention and its ratification by Bolivia reinforced the legitimacy of the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers.

## 5. Non-Discrimination and Protection Against Violence

The discrimination suffered by household workers is identified by Fenatrahob as the common source of all the violations of their rights denounced in the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a):

*“All the problems identified [in the document] have a common root, which is discrimination. It is discrimination that prevents us household workers from exerting our labour rights, accessing education and technical formation, [it is discrimination] which creates precarious working and living conditions and provokes unacceptable situations of violence”.*

As it has been explained in Chapter 1, violence against household workers is legitimised by the colonial reminiscences of domestic work in Bolivia, as well as the gender- and ethnic-based discrimination suffered by many household workers because they are indigenous women (Gill, 1997; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007). In this vein, the Fenatrahob’s policy proposal (2014a) states that violence against household workers “is naturalized, it is part of the patriarchal and colonial criteria that state that we do not have any other aim in our lives than serving and looking after others” and “in the case of household workers, [violence] has an additional load of racism and discrimination”. Insofar as discrimination and violence are often jointly treated in Fenatrahob’s documents, I address both topics in a unique section.

Violence against household workers is mentioned in the December 2005 and the May 2011 *Equity and Justice* bulletins and it is one of the most important topics of

the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a). In the May 2011 bulletin, a connection is drawn between the violence suffered by household workers and violence against women in general: according to Fenatrahob, 9 out of 10 women suffer “some kind of psychological, sexual or physical violence” (Fenatrahob, 2011a), a figure that was confirmed by Yoriko Yasukawa, who was at that time the representative of the United Nations in Bolivia (Opini3n.com, 2012).

The 2014 policy proposal points out that household workers suffer “a situation of high vulnerability to physical and psychological mistreatment and -in households where there are men- to sexual violence” (Fenatrahob, 2014a). The same document states that this vulnerability is aggravated because victims of violence who dare suiting a judicial plaint against their aggressors are often falsely accused of stealing. The policy proposal underlines the fact that violence against household workers “have the same features of any kind of intra-family violence, therefore it is a problem of public interest on which the State has the capacity and the obligation to intervene” (Fenatrahob, 2014a). This statement reminds Rivera Cusicanqui’s criticism on the exclusion of violence against household workers from the scope of laws against gender-based and other forms of domestic violence (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2007, p. 6).

In addition to the improvement of the response of the authorities to the claims of aggressions, the Fenatrahob’s policy proposal calls the government for the implementation of “massive campaigns of communication with [...] transformative criteria on the culture of discrimination, oriented towards employers, workers and authorities” (Fenatrahob, 2014a). Tackling discrimination and prejudice against household workers is seen by Fenatrahob as a key element of the struggle against the violence that many of them suffer. As it was stated in Chapter 1, child household workers are particularly vulnerable to violence: 72 per cent of them are victims of physical and/or psychological abuse, according to a survey conducted by the Education Institute of San Andr3s University (La Paz) (Instituto de Investigaci3n e Interacci3n Educativa-UMSA, 2014, p. 53). The higher vulnerability to violence of children and teenagers who work as household workers has also

been underlined by Fenatrahob (2014a), which demands specific policies to protect them.

## 6. The Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention

As it was explained in Chapter 1, the elaboration and passing of an International Convention on household workers' rights by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) was a priority for several organisations of household workers around the world during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Mather, 2013). This was also the case for Fenatrahob, which took part in the negotiations that led to the passing of the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers in Geneva in 2011. The participation of the Federation to the negotiations has been pointed out by Prima Ocsa -secretary of relations of Fenatrahob and former executive secretary of the Federation- as one of the main successes of Fenatrahob in the last years<sup>14</sup>.

The participation of the Federation in the ILO Conference that discussed the Convention is reported in the July 2010 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2010c). The Federation was represented by Zenobia Mamani and Marina Salgado, members of the Executive Committee of the Federation, and Daniela Quenta, who had been elected as the executive secretary of the Federation in June 2010 (Fenatrahob, 2010c). The representatives of the Federation in Geneva participated to the ILO Conference as delegates of the Bolivian Workers' Union (COB) (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 23), which shows the success of the alliance between Fenatrahob and COB that was described in Chapter 1. The struggle for the passing of the Convention was also mentioned in the March 2011 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2011b), where the Federation underlined the role of the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Household Workers (CONLACTRAHO) in the ILO negotiations. The references to other Latin American examples of legislation on household workers' rights appear in early stages of the Bolivian discussions on the topic, such as one of the workshops on the draft law on household workers' rights that took place in 1996, where the household worker leader Basilia Catari referred to the growing protection of household workers'

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<sup>14</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa, former executive secretary and current secretary of relations, Fenatrahob, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

rights in the continent as an example that Bolivia should follow (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 21)

After the passing of the Convention in 2011, Fenatrahob focused on the dissemination of its contents among the Bolivian public, together with the contents of the 2450/2003 Law (Fenatrahob, 2011a) and campaigned for the ratification of the Convention by the Bolivian government. Ratification was important for symbolic reasons but also for legal reasons: the Convention would become binding only after having been ratified by two ILO Member States and the ratification by Bolivia implied the inclusion of the Convention in the Bolivian legal system. The Convention was ratified by president Evo Morales on November 20<sup>th</sup> 2012, a decision that was defined by Fenatrahob as “an important support for our demands, as reflected in the 2450 Law” (Fenatrahob, 2013a). The Convention came into force a year later, after having been ratified by eight Member States of the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2013c). The event was reported in the October 2013 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2013b).

References to the 189 Convention are frequent in further bulletins. The March 2014 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2014c) includes a synthesis of the rights granted by the Convention while the May 2014 bulletin focuses on Article 7 of the Convention, which establishes that “all states must carry out the necessary measures to make sure that its workers are adequately informed about their working conditions through written contracts” (Fenatrahob, 2014d) -as it will be explained in the next section, the May 2014 bulletin focuses on the demand of a compulsory written contract for all household workers.

The analysis of *Equity and Justice* bulletins, secondary sources and an interview with former Fenatrahob Secretary Executive Prima Osca have shown that the approval of the 189 Convention by ILO and its ratification by the Bolivian State constituted a priority for the Bolivian movement of household workers. In the following chapter, the main contents of the Convention will be analysed.

## 7. The Establishment of a Compulsory Written Contract and 'Salaries Book'

The 2450/2003 Law established that only the contracts between household workers and employers that last more than one year must compulsorily have a written form, while the rest of contracts could be written or verbal (Article 2). According to Prima Ocsa, in 2016 only 5 percent of Bolivian workers had written contracts<sup>15</sup>. In 2014, a new demand appears in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins: the establishment of a compulsory written contract and a 'salaries book' for all household workers. These documents are conceived by Fenatrahob as tools to "regulate the labour relation", establishing the "rights and obligations" of the employers and the workers (Fenatrahob, 2014c). Ocsa highlights the following advantages of written contracts: they allow to "make visible the wage that will be received, the working hours, identify who is our employer, know for how many people we are going to work, and also whether meals will be provided at work"<sup>16</sup>. In the March 2014 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2014c), Fenatrahob "calls for the immediate implementation of the written contract and the 'salaries book'". The bulletin specifies that the leaders of the Federation were negotiating at that time with the Ministry of Labour to obtain the implementation of both documents, following the agreement that had been reached in November 2013 between Fenatrahob, the League of Housewives (organisation of employers) and the government. The agreement was that both documents would become compulsory by January 2014 but by March the government had not done it yet. The most recent measure of pressure had been the sending of a letter on this topic from Fenatrahob leaders to the government (Fenatrahob, 2014c).

The May 2014 bulletin focuses on Article 7 of the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, which establishes that "all states must carry out the necessary measures to make sure that its workers are adequately informed about their working conditions through written contracts" (Fenatrahob, 2014d). This reference shows that Fenatrahob has used the Convention as a source of legitimacy for some of its policy demands, as suggested by Peredo Beltrán (2015,

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<sup>15</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

p. 94). In conclusion, the establishing of a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book' for all household workers has been an important demand of Fenatrahob since 2014. As it will be explained in the following chapter, the demand of adopting a regulation on that sense was quickly fulfilled by the Bolivian Ministry of Labour but its implementation has been extremely limited so far.

#### 8. The Inclusion of Household Workers' Rights in the General Labour Act

The approval of a specific Law on the rights of household workers was the priority of Fenatrahob since its creation in 1993 to the passing of the 2450 Law in 2003 (Cabezas Fernández, 2012; Peredo Beltrán, 2015). However, from 2010 Fenatrahob adopted a new legal demand: the inclusion of the rights of household workers in the General Labour Act (Wanderley, 2014).

This demand appears for the first time in the July 2010 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2010c), which reports the elaboration by Fenatrahob of a proposal for the reform of the 2450/2003 Law and the inclusion of the rights of household workers in the future General Labour Act. The proposal was presented to the Human Rights and Social Policy Commissions of Parliament, the Ministry of Labour and the Bolivian Workers' Confederation (COB). Following bulletins (Fenatrahob, 2011b, 2010b) reported that the Federation had succeeded in introducing household workers' labour rights in the draft General Labour Act, which has been confirmed by former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza<sup>17</sup>.

According to Mendoza, the government also included in the draft Act contents derived from the 189 ILO Convention, which forms part of the Bolivian "constitutional block" -which means that the Convention, insofar as it is an International Treaty ratified by the Bolivian state, has a constitutional status in the Bolivian legal system. However, Baptista Canedo (2011, p. 24) has conducted a comparative analysis of the 2450/2003 Law and the proposals made both by the government and the Fenatrahob for the new General Labour Act, reaching the conclusion that the government's initial proposal was in some points less

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<sup>17</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza, former MAS senator and former advisor of the Unity Pact. Interview through Skype, April 4<sup>th</sup> 2017.

protective than the 2450/2003 Law. Finally, Prima Ocsa has stated that it is not clear to what extent the demands of household workers will be included in the new General Labour Act, as it has not been approved yet<sup>18</sup>.

The March 2011 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2011b) points out the importance of guaranteeing that the proposal formulated by the Federation is respected in the new General Labour Act. The topic is also extensively treated in the October 2014 bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2014b) in an article that highlights the quantitative importance of the sector of household work (it is composed by 137,000 workers, according to the INE Census), the high variety of tasks carried out by household workers and the deficient working conditions that they often suffer. Finally, the bulletin points out that the last national meeting of Fenatrahob had formulated the demand of including the household workers' rights in the General Labour Act. To sum up, the analysis of *Equity and Justice* bulletins, secondary sources and interviews with key actors show that the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act is currently an important demand of Fenatrahob.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have described and analysed the policy demands to which Fenatrahob has dedicated more attention in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins published between 2005 and 2016 and the 2014 *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal. This analysis has fulfilled the Research Objective 1 of the thesis: *Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period.*

The analysed demands have been divided into two groups for its analysis: general demands and demands of specific policies. The first group is composed by the demand of fair wages and free time from work, access to a health insurance, access to education, access to pensions, and non-discrimination and protection against violence. In all these cases, Fenatrahob has focused on the definition of the situation and the setting of its general aims on each topic, without specifying

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<sup>18</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa.

which legal tools or regulations the government should use to meet the demands. By contrast, the demands of specific policies call for the passing of a specific norm. Three demands of this kind have been identified through analysis: the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the introduction of a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book' and the inclusion of household workers' rights in the General Labour Act.

In the following chapter, I analyse the most important pieces of legislation and regulations passed or promoted by the Bolivian government on household workers' rights during the 2006-2016 period in response to the demands formulated by Fenatrahob (social movement outcomes). The comparison between the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers identified in this chapter and the policies of the government that will be analysed in the following chapter will allow to assess to what extent the government satisfied the demands of the movement, which is the second research objective of the MPhil thesis.

## Chapter 5: The Policies Promoted by the Bolivian Government on Household Workers' Rights (2006-2016)

Evo Morales' and MAS government promoted or passed during their first ten years in office (2006-2016) a series of legal reforms and regulations that intended to improve the working and living conditions of household workers and protect their rights, previously recognised by the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work. For the purposes of this research, the concept of 'policy' includes all kinds of norms of regulations that intend to protect household workers' rights. This MPhil thesis focuses on the policies of the Bolivian government that had the explicit purpose of protecting household workers' rights, even an exception is made in Section 1, which refers to one article of the 2009 Constitution that cannot be considered as an outcome of the movement of household workers. The analysis of the policies promoted by the government will allow to fulfil Research Objective 2 of the MPhil thesis: *Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period.*

The influence of the actions of the household workers' movement on policy has been identified by checking the concurrence of one or more than one among the following elements:

- 1) *The norm is self-defined as a result of the campaigning activity of the movement.* This is the case of the Decree that established the National Day of Household workers and the program to promote secondary education for household workers, for instance.
  
- 2) *The policy is defined as an outcome of the movement by one or several of the following actors: movement activists, officials or neutral organisations.* For example, the approval of the 189 ILO Convention was presented as an outcome of the action of Fenatrahob both by Prima Ocsa and ILO.

- 3) *The policy is the result of a negotiation in which the movement participated.* The clearest example is the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution, which constitutes the outcome of a tripartite negotiation between Fenatrahob, the League of Housewives and the Ministry of Labour.
- 4) *The policy is jointly presented by officials and activists in a public event.* For example, the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution was jointly presented by Minister of Labour Daniel Santalla and representatives of Fenatrahob.

This checklist can be helpful to analyse the relations between the actions of any social movement and its outcomes. Therefore, the analysis conducted in this chapter constitutes a contribution to the literature on social movement outcomes, as it was advanced in Chapter 2.

The outcomes analysed in this chapter are classified into two groups: *sensitizing outcomes* and *substantive outcomes*. This is an original binary classification inspired by the work of Kitschelt (1986), Kriesi et al. (1995) on the typologies of social movement outcomes. In my classification, *sensitizing outcomes* are the policies whose main aim is the improvement of the social image of household workers and paid household work. Thus, they have a symbolic character. By contrast, *substantive outcomes* are the policies that address the material demands of the social movement of household workers, mostly regarding social rights. Some authors consider that all political acts are to some extent symbolic (Marion and Oliver, 2010), and in some cases the sensitizing and substantive characters are conflated in the same policy. However, the analysis of the Bolivian policies on household workers' rights shows that some of the regulations and laws promoted by the government have a predominantly sensitizing aim while others focus on improving the working and living conditions of household workers, which justifies the classification.

The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first six sections are devoted to the main legal reforms, new norms or regulations on household workers' rights that were approved during the 2006-2016 period: 1) The new 2009 Constitution, 2) The establishment of the National Day of Household Workers, 3) The ratification of the

189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, 4) The 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution on written contract and 'salaries book', 5) The inclusion of household workers' rights in the new General Labour Act, and 6) The creation of a specific program of secondary education for household workers. In Section 7 I analyse to what extent the identified policies satisfied the main policy demands expressed by Fenatrahob, addressing Research Objective 2.

#### 1. The New 2009 Constitution

A new Political Constitution of the State was approved in 2009 by a Constituent Assembly where MAS party held the majority. Two articles of the new fundamental norm are particularly important for household workers' rights: Article 14 -which establishes the principle of non-discrimination- and Article 338 - which recognises the economic importance of domestic work. Article 14 does not exclusively target household workers and cannot be considered as an outcome of the action of the movement of household workers but it has been included in the analysis for its special relevance for household workers.

Article 14 reads as follows:

*"The State prohibits and sanctions all forms of discrimination based on sex, colour, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, origin, culture, nationality, citizenship, language, religious beliefs, ideology, political or philosophical belonging, civil state, social or economic condition, kind of professional occupation, degree of education, handicap, pregnancy or any other form [of discrimination] whose aim or result is the annulation or undermining of the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of the rights that every person enjoys in equal conditions".*

The formulation of the principle of equality in the Bolivian Constitution is extremely detailed and several forms of discrimination included in Article 14 are particularly relevant for household workers. As it has been explained in Chapters 1 and 4, household workers hold a subaltern position in the gender, ethnicity, class and even territorial hierarchies in Bolivian society. Most of them are indigenous women of rural origin and their occupation is widely disregarded and often is not considered as a real job -even COB unionists have often manifested this view

(Catari Torres, 2000, p. 73, and interview with Prima Ocsa<sup>19</sup>). Therefore, it is important for household workers' rights that the supreme norm of the Bolivian legal system explicitly forbids discriminations based on sex, colour, culture, language, social or economic condition, kind of professional occupation and degree of education. In addition, Fenatrahob has denounced that many employers do not respect the leave that labour legislation recognises to pregnant household workers (Fenatrahob, 2015), which makes the constitutional protection against pregnancy-based discrimination particularly relevant for this sector.

Article 338 of the 2009 Political Constitution of the State has also a major significance for household workers. Article 338 reads as follows:

*“The state recognises the economic value of household work as a source of wealth and it will be quantified in the public accounts”.*

As Peredo Beltrán (2015, p. 15) has pointed out, the recognition of the economic value of household work (or domestic work, as it is usually known in the social sciences literature) contests the argument that household work is not productive, and therefore the rights of household workers do not need to be equalised to those of the rest of workers. This argument has also been contested by Basilia Catari, former executive secretary of Fenatrahob, in the following terms (Catari Torres, 2000, p. 5-73):

*“We depend on an employer as well. Even if we do not generate any product, we depend on an employer” [...] “Without us, the ladies who are professionals could not work because they would need to take care of their homes. Thus, we help a lot in production”.*

In the quoted sentences, Catari synthesizes two arguments that justify the consideration of household workers as workers in their own right. First, the main feature of waged labour is dependency on an employer (which means working on behalf of someone, as stated in Article 2 of the Bolivian General Labour Act). Second, the reproductive work carried out by household workers (and housewives) is necessary for productive work, an argument that was put forward by Fenatrahob leader Julia Madiana in one of the workshops on the draft law on

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<sup>19</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa, former executive secretary and current secretary of relations, Fenatrahob, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

household workers' rights that took place in March 1996 (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 15). Therefore, the constitutional recognition of the economic value of (paid and unpaid) household work constitutes a symbolic success for household workers, and gives solid ground to sustain their legal demands. However, the quantification of the economic value of household work established by Article 338 of the Constitution has not been implemented so far<sup>20</sup>.

In my interview with former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza, I asked him why Article 338 has not been implemented yet. Mendoza told me that the lack of implementation of this disposition is due to the existing "correlation of forces" around gender issues in Bolivia, without giving me more details<sup>21</sup>. This answer suggests that the lack of implementation of the provision is not due to administrative inefficacy but to lack of will of some of the administrations that should implement it -the reasons for the weak implementation of legal provisions on household work will be addressed in Chapter 6.

The demand of recognising in the Constitution the economic value of domestic work is not present in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins published before the approval of the 2009 Constitution. However, when I spoke to Fenatrahob Secretary of Relations Prima Ocsa in the central office of the Federation in La Paz<sup>22</sup>, she told me that the inclusion of Article 338 was a consequence of the participation of Fenatrahob representatives in the debates on the new Constitution. In addition, Fenatrahob called for the implementation of Article 338 "as soon as possible" in the August 2009 bulletin, six months after the approval of the Constitution (Fenatrahob, 2009c). Therefore, Article 338 of the Constitution can be considered as a (sensitizing) outcome of the movement's action.

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<sup>20</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa.

<sup>21</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza, former MAS senator and former advisor of the Unity Pact. Interview through Skype, April 4<sup>th</sup> 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa.

## 2. The Establishment of the National Day of Household Workers

On March 30<sup>th</sup> 1988, organisations of household workers from eleven Latin American countries created the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Household Workers (CONLACTRAHO). March 30<sup>th</sup> has become for Bolivian household workers a day of mobilisation and reaffirmation of their identity. The celebration of annual demonstrations, educative fairs and other street events on the same day every year has allowed Fenatrahob to attract media attention to their demands at least once a year, as shown by the peak of news on household workers' rights around that date (Abi y Correo del Sur, 2016; ANF, 2017; Bustillos Zamorano, 2014; Zapana S., 2015).

The National Day of Household Workers was officially established in Bolivia by the 28655/2006 Supreme Decree, issued by president Evo Morales on March 26<sup>th</sup> 2006, only a few months after his electoral victory in December 2005 and the inauguration of his first term in government. The Decree is a very brief text (less than one page) composed by two parts: the recitals and the Unique Article. First of all, the Supreme Decree explicitly states that it responds to the demand expressed by CONLACTRAHO and Fenatrahob of officially recognising the National Day of Household Workers. The Decree frames the decision of recognising the National Day as a compensation for the legal and social discrimination traditionally suffered by household workers, "a sector which is essentially formed by migrant women from the countryside, indigenous of humble origins", which shows that the Decree is an outcome of the actions of Fenatrahob.

The Decree also recognises the economic importance of household work because "with their work, they allow thousands of compatriots to do their own [jobs]". The Supreme Decree refers to the 2450/2003 Law as well, stating that its approval was a direct consequence of the struggle of household workers through Fenatrahob, and recognises that the labour rights established by the 2450/2003 Law have "some limitations". Finally, the Decree draws a direct link between the struggle of household workers and the broader struggle for social justice in Bolivia, in the following terms:

*“The work of household workers, often rendered invisible by everyday life, must be recognised [...] their struggle against discrimination is the same struggle to get a country with more justice”.*

The recitals section is followed by the Unique Article of the Decree, which reads as follows:

*“It is declared the Day of the Bolivian Household Worker every March 30<sup>th</sup>. On March 30<sup>th</sup> every year, household workers will enjoy a paid holiday”.*

A Supreme Decree is an executive order directly issued by the president. It has an infra-legal rank in the Bolivian legal system and it can thus be annulated by another Supreme Decree issued by the government. Fenatrahob feared that a change in government would imply the revocation of the 28655/2006 Supreme Decree, therefore they campaigned for the passing of a Law on the same issue<sup>23</sup>. On October 25<sup>th</sup> 2011, the Bolivian parliament passed the 181/2011 Law, which confirmed the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers and the paid holiday for household workers every March 30<sup>th</sup>.

The 181/2011 Law is even shorter than the 28655/2006 Supreme Decree. There is no recitals section and its Unique Article reads as follows:

*“It is declared March 30<sup>th</sup> every year as the “National Day of the Household Worker” in all the territory of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, giving them rest for the whole working day, with the correspondent pay, as a recognition of their unflagging labour”.*

The analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins published between 2005 and 2016 shows that Fenatrahob celebrated the National Day of Household Workers every year and carried out street mobilisations on that day. In addition, the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers through the 28655/2006 Supreme Decree is celebrated in the May 2008 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2008b).

The creation of a National Day of Household Workers constitutes a sensitizing impact of the movement’s action, for it is a powerful symbol of public recognition of the importance of household work for Bolivian society. However, the

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<sup>23</sup> Author’s interview with Prima Ocsa.

28655/2006 Supreme Decree and the 181/2011 Law also include a small substantive component: they recognise a new paid holiday for household workers.

### 3. The Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention

On November 20<sup>th</sup> 2012, president Evo Morales sanctioned the 309/2012 Law, through which the Bolivian State ratified the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers. The Convention had been adopted on June 16<sup>th</sup> 2011, at the 100<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the International Labour Organisation. The 309/2012 Law is composed by two Articles. Article 1 declares the ratification of the Convention and Article 2 allocates to the Ministry of the Labour the responsibility for its implementation, “according to the existing constitutional and legal dispositions”. The text of the 309/2012 Law is followed by the Convention, whose main contents are synthesized in the following paragraphs.

The articles of the 189 Convention are preceded by several recitals. After reminding that the Treaty was adopted at the 100<sup>th</sup> International Conference of ILO, the text recognises the significant contribution of domestic workers to the global economy, which includes increasing paid job opportunities for female and male workers with family responsibilities, greater scope for caring for ageing populations, children and persons with a disability, and substantial income transfers within and between countries. It is interesting that the Convention refers to the economic value of domestic work in a similar way as Article 338 of the 2009 Bolivian Constitution, grounding the rights of household workers not only on the principle of equality before the law but also on the economic importance of their work.

The recitals of the Convention pay particular attention to the following features of domestic work: it “continues to be undervalued and invisible” and “is mainly carried out by women and girls, many of whom are migrants or members of disadvantaged communities and who are particularly vulnerable to discrimination in respect of conditions of employment and of work, and to other abuses of human rights”. Here, the Conventions identifies two linked elements that favour the violation of household workers’ rights: the social invisibility of their job and the fact that household workers often suffer multiple discrimination. There is not any

explicit reference in the Convention to the fact that many household workers belong to indigenous peoples, an issue that is particularly relevant in the Bolivian case, but the allusion to “disadvantaged communities” can be interpreted as including indigenous peoples. The 189 ILO Convention devotes great attention to household workers who are international migrants. The focus on the link between domestic work and migration is reflected in the recitals, which refer to the “income transfers within and between countries” and international treaties related with migrants’ rights such as the 97 ILO Convention on Migration for Employment (1945).

The first article of the 189 ILO Convention defines “domestic work” and “domestic worker”: “domestic work” means “work performed in or for a household or households” while the term “domestic worker” refers to “any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relation”. Article 3 establishes the basic rights of domestic workers: freedom of association and right to collective bargaining, elimination of discrimination and elimination of compulsory labour and child labour. As it has been explained in Chapter 4, Fenatrahob does not demand the immediate elimination of child labour in the sector of domestic work, but claims for a “strategy that guarantees the girls who work in the sector the whole exercise of their rights and that they begin to work as late as possible” (Fenatrahob, 2014a). Waged children work is legal in Bolivia from 12 years old with certain restrictions, and the 2450/2003 Law does not include any special provision on this topic. However, the Ministry of Labour has specified that children “can work only when it does not limit their right to education and health” (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2017). Article 4 of the 189 ILO Convention also refers to the need to avoid that their job deprives under-18 household workers from compulsory education or further education.

Article 6 of the Convention states that “Each Member shall take measures to ensure that domestic workers [...] enjoy fair terms of employment as well as decent working conditions”. The Convention also allocates to the states the responsibility of ensuring that “domestic workers are informed of their terms and conditions of employment in an appropriate [...] manner and preferably, where

possible, through written contracts” (Article 7). However, the ILO Convention does not impose a compulsory written contract for household workers. As it has been said in Chapter 4, Article 3 of the 2450/2003 Bolivian Law established that a written contract is compulsory in Bolivia when the labour relation is set to last more than a year, a provision that is more advanced than Article 7 of the ILO Convention. The ILO Convention also adopts a less ambitious approach than the Bolivian legislation regarding the equalizing of household workers’ rights and the rights of other workers as far as wages and working time are concerned. Article 10 of the Convention establishes that “Each Member [state] shall take measures towards ensuring equal treatment between domestic workers and workers generally in relation to normal hours of work, overtime compensation, periods of daily and weekly rest and paid annual leave in accordance with national laws, regulations or collective agreements, taking into account the special characteristics of domestic work”.

This article clearly shows the transactions between negotiating parties that are so frequent in International Treaties: on the one hand, the Convention adopts the principle of equality between household workers and other workers; on the other hand, it states that domestic work has “special characteristics” that justify the existence of certain legal differentiations between household workers and other workers. Again, the Bolivian legal system is more advanced than the Convention, insofar as the only major legal differentiation between household workers and other workers in the 2450/2003 Law is that live-in household workers have a 10-hours working days.

The Convention is more clear-cut in relation to other rights: it establishes that household workers are entitled to the same rights as the rest of workers regarding minimum wage coverage (Article 11), limitation of the proportion of the total remuneration that can be paid in kind (Article 12), occupational safety (Article 13), social security and protection of maternity (Article 14), and effective access to courts and dispute resolution mechanisms (Article 16). Regarding the mechanisms oriented to guarantee the enforcement of household workers’ rights, the Convention includes the obligation of states to “develop and implement measures

for labour inspection enforcement and penalties [...] Such measures shall specify the conditions under which access to household premises may be granted” (Article 17). This provision leaves an open door to the legal authorization of labour inspections in households, but this possibility has not been included in the Bolivian legislation so far, even though the Ministry of Labour has underlined the importance of creating a system of inspections and promised to create it “by August or September” 2015 (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2015a). Blofield has underlined in her research on household workers’ rights in Latin America that the lack of legal provisions to allow labour inspections in households is one of the obstacles to the effective implementation of legislation on household workers’ rights in several Latin American countries (Blofield, 2013, p. 76).

As it has been stated in Chapter 4, the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention by president Evo Morales and the Bolivian parliament in 2012 through the 309/2012 Law was welcomed by Fenatrahob as “an important support for our demands, as reflected in the 2450 Law” (Fenatrahob, 2013a). The influence of Fenatrahob activism on the ratification of the Convention has been highlighted by authors such as Peredo Betrán (2015) and Canedo (2011), and the NGO Capítulo Boliviano de Derechos Humanos (‘Bolivian Human Rights Section’), which defined the process of ratification of the Convention in the following terms (Capítulo Boliviano de Derechos Humanos, 2012):

*“After several months of mobilisations, advocacy actions and positioning of the issue in the public agenda, the National Federation of Bolivian Paid Household Workers (Fenatrahob) and the Committee for the Application of the 2450 Law and the Ratification of the 189 ILO Convention achieved on August 21<sup>st</sup> that the Deputies’ Chamber of the Plurinational Legislative Assembly unanimously approved the Law that ratifies the 189 ILO Convention”.*

In addition, members of Fenatrahob were invited to the ceremony of promulgation of the 309/2012 Law, where Morales said that he was “happy to see the sisters again”. He even called household workers to “organize themselves” in order to guarantee the effective application of the Law (Presidencia del Gobierno, 2012). In my interview with Fenatrahob Secretary of Relations Prima Ocsa I asked

her which had been the main achievements of the Federation in the last years. She answered the following<sup>24</sup>:

*“The main achievement that we have got [...] has been contributing to the approval of the 189 Convention in Geneva. As Bolivia, we have participated with our proposals for that Convention. That is why the 189 Convention was approved on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2011. It has been a very important conquest for household workers at the international level, and also for Bolivia, as it allows us to actualise the norm [on household workers’ rights] in Bolivia, speak about inspections within household work, it also allows us to be the same... to be considered as equals to other workers”.*

Therefore, Ocsa considers that the approval of the Convention and its ratification by Bolivia was the main outcome of the action of Fenatrahob in the last years and. In addition, the ratification of the Convention by the Bolivian government has been recognised by ILO as an outcome of the campaigning of the Bolivian movement of household workers (ILO, 2013b).

The ratification of the ILO Convention can be considered at the same time as a substantive outcome and a sensitizing outcome of the Bolivian social movement of household workers. As it has been previously explained, the Convention did not create any new right for Bolivian household workers -as the 2450/2003 Law was more advanced than the Convention- and its ratification did not have any immediate impact on their working and living conditions. However, the ratification opened the door to further legal improvements, such as the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution, and conferred renewed legitimacy to the demands of the Bolivian household workers’ movement, strengthening the position of Fenatrahob in further negotiations, such as the debates over the inclusion of household workers’ rights in the future General Labour Act.

#### 4. The 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution on the Written Contract

On April 1st 2014, the Ministry of Labour issued the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution, which established the mandatory nature of a written contract and a ‘salaries book’ for all household workers (Fenatrahob, 2014d). The approval of the

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<sup>24</sup> Author’s interview with Prima Ocsa.

Resolution was followed by a local campaign organized by the Ministry of Labour in La Paz to improve the knowledge of the new norm by the public (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2015b). The Ministry also announced the organisation of a door-to-door campaign to raise awareness about the Resolution but there is no report on the effective carrying out of that campaign.

The 218/2014 Resolution refers to three norms: the 2009 Constitution, the 189 ILO Convention and the 2450/2003 Law. The influence of the 189 ILO Convention can be perceived in two points of the Resolution. First of all, one of the recitals of the Resolution refers to Article 7 of the Convention, which establishes that states must “take measures to ensure that domestic workers are informed of their terms and conditions of employment in an appropriate, verifiable and easily understandable manner and preferably, where possible, through written contracts”. In addition, the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution constitutes the outcome of a tripartite negotiation between Fenatrahob, the League of Housewives and the Ministry of Labour, a collective bargaining that was coordinated by the International Labour Organisation, as it is stated in the 7<sup>th</sup> recital of the Resolution.

The recitals are followed by eight articles which specify the bureaucratic processes that entail the creation of the written contract and the ‘salaries book’ (Articles 1 to 5) and allocates the responsibility for implementing the Resolution to the General Direction of Work, Hygiene and Occupational Health and the General Direction of Social Policy, two organs of the Ministry of Labour (Article 7). Finally, Article 6 of the Resolution reminds that household workers who are under 18 “must not be deprived from compulsory schooling” and working must not “compromise their opportunities to access higher education or professional formation”.

A model contract and ‘salaries book’ were reproduced in the May 2014 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2014c), in which the Federation described the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution as “the result of the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, which attributes to household workers all the rights and obligations established in the General Labour Act”. The May 2014 bulletin also specifies that

model contracts can be obtained “in the bureaus of the Ministry of Labour and the unions’ bureaus” (Fenatrahob, 2014c). The attribution of this administrative function to Fenatrahob recalls the role that the Federation was supposed to play in the administration of the household workers’ public health insurance system (Fenatrahob, 2008b), which shows the corporatist features of the Bolivian welfare system.

The model contract of the May 2014 *Equity and Justice* bulletin includes the personal data of the employer and the worker, the specification of the kinds of services that must be carried out by the worker (cooking, cleaning, laundry, child-rearing, assistance and other services), daily working time, working week and salaries (Fenatrahob, 2014c). In addition, the contract must specify whether the worker is attending an educational centre, which reflects the importance given by Fenatrahob to the improvement of the educational level of household workers. These contents approximately match the list of items established in Article 7 of the 189 ILO Convention for household workers’ contracts.

The bulletin also reminds the obligations of employers and workers, established in Articles 21 and 22 of the 2450/2003 Law. The main obligations of employers are the respectful treatment of their workers, the provision of correct hygienic conditions and nutrition, the covering of their health expenses if the worker is not included in the National Health System and the respect of the workers’ cultural identity. For their part, workers have the duty of respectfully treat their employers, take care of their belongings and carry out the duties established in their contract. Finally, the May 2014 bulletin includes the instructions to fill the contract and the ‘salaries book’, and specifies that the workers must only sign the ‘salaries book’ when the payments have been wholly made.

Even though the passing of the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution was welcomed as a key achievement by Fenatrahob, its implementation has been deficient. In 2015, one year after the approval of the Resolution, the representative of the Bolivian Ombudsman in La Paz Department, Teófila Guarachi, stated that “the contract is not being applied in the country, but the worst thing is that the administration is not implementing the norm that they approved themselves” (Erbol, 2015). Only

50 contracts were registered during the first two years of validity of the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution, according to the Ministry of Labour (Zapana S., 2016).

Prima Ocsa pointed out several reasons for the poor implementation of the Resolution in the interview that I had with her<sup>25</sup>. First, “lack of budget of the Bolivian state, which is responsible for informing of the existence of these contracts”. Second, “the state has not forced the employers to present their contracts, for example, or they have not been sanctioned when it has been revealed that they did not had a written contract”. Third, the content of the 218/2014 Resolution has not been “spread by media”. Finally, Ocsa highlighted that Fenatrahob has made efforts to disseminate the contracts among the affiliates of the unions of household workers and in media, but “resources are not enough”.

The influence of Fenatrahob campaigning on the approval of the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution that allows to consider it as an outcome of the social movement’s action is shown by three elements. First, the Resolution was jointly presented by Minister of Labour Daniel Santalla and representatives of Fenatrahob (Fenatrahob, 2014d). Second, the Resolution was approved some months after the tripartite negotiation that took place between Fenatrahob, the League of Housewives and the Ministry of Labour. Finally, Prima Ocsa defined the approval of the Resolution as “something good that we have achieved, a success”<sup>26</sup>. The 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution is the neatest example of a substantive policy outcome of the Bolivian social movement of household workers. It constitutes the most tangible improvement in their rights since Evo Morales’ and MAS arrival to power in 2006.

##### 5. The Introduction of Household Workers’ Rights in the New General Labour Act

The flexibilization of labour relations by the governments that preceded MAS and Evo Morales’ arrival to state power in 2006 was denounced by the first National

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<sup>25</sup> Author’s interview with Prima Ocsa.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Development Plan approved by the new government. The Plan announced the “recuperation of the capacity of the state to correct the asymmetries in labour relations” (Gobierno de Bolivia, 2006, p. 107), which suggested a possible reform of labour legislation. The current General Labour Act dates back to 1942 but it has been complemented or amended by thousands of Laws and regulations ever since. In 2009, ILO sent a number proposals for the reform of the General Labour Act to the Bolivian government, employers and unions. In 2016, the government and COB were drafting a draft law (Eróstegui Torres, 2016), but it had not been published yet when this thesis was submitted. As it has been explained in Chapter 4, since 2010 the inclusion of household workers’ rights in the General Labour Act became a key demand for the Bolivian social movement of household workers.

In April 2017, the discussions on this topic were still “frozen”, in Adolfo Mendoza’s words<sup>27</sup>, which explains the preoccupation of Fenatrahob about keeping pressure on the government. In June 2017, the Bolivian parliament was debating a reform of the Criminal Code (Rodríguez, 2017) and the reform of the General Labour Act will probably be one of the following issues in the parliamentary agenda<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the topic of the inclusion of the household workers’ rights in the general framework of workers’ rights will probably be at the centre of Fenatrahob agenda in the following months, but it is still soon to confirm this.

If the rights of household workers are included in the General Labour Act, this will constitute a substantive outcome of Fenatrahob’s action, for it will improve the legal situation of household workers. The link between Fenatrahob’s campaigning and the likely inclusion of household workers’ rights in the new Act has been drawn by Mendoza, who told me that the Bolivian government has accepted the demands of Fenatrahob on this topic<sup>29</sup>. Baptista Canedo (2011, p. 4) and Prima Ocsa<sup>30</sup> have reported as well that Fenatrahob addressed to the government the demand of including household workers’ rights in the General Labour Act.

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<sup>27</sup> Author’s interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Author’s interview with Prima Ocsa.

## 6. The Creation of a Specific Program of Secondary Education for Household Workers

In May 2014, Fenatrahob reported the creation by the government of a specific program of secondary education for household workers (Fenatrahob, 2014d). The aim of the program is to allow household workers to attend secondary education on a partial-time basis and obtain their degrees in a short time, attending classes on Sundays instead of Monday to Friday. The program was presented by Vice-Minister of Alternative Education Noel Aguirre, who pointed out that that it “would allow them [household workers] to access university with equal opportunities”. The program is the product of the collaboration between Fenatrahob and the government since 2013 with the aim of “adequate the educational system to the [...] availability of free time” of household workers (Fenatrahob, 2014d). In addition, an official communiqué of the Ministry of Education on the program affirmed that the program had been created “to attend the demand of Fenatrahob” (Ministerio de Educación, 2016). Therefore, this policy can be considered as an outcome of the movement. Insofar as the program addresses the demand of a better access to formal education, it must be considered as a substantive outcome.

In December 2016, the Ministry of Education reported that 14 workers had completed secondary education through the program, which would allow them to access university and high-level professional education. In December 2016, other 34 household workers were enrolled in the program (Ministerio de Educación, 2016). These figures show the extremely limited scope of the program.

## 7. Assessment of the Degree of Satisfaction of the Movement’s Demands

In Chapter 4, the analysis of the *Equity and Justice* informative bulletins published by the Federation and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) allowed to identify the main policy demands of the National Federation of Bolivian Household Workers (Fenatrahob) during the 2006-2016 period. The analysis showed the coexistence of two kinds of demands: *general demands* (Fenatrahob focuses on the definition of the situation and the setting of its general aims on each topic, without specifying which legal tools or regulations

the government should use to meet the demands) and *demands of specific policies* (Fenatrahob calls for the passing of a specific norm).

Four major general demands were identified: a fair wage and enough free time from work, access to health insurance coverage, access to education, pensions coverage, and non-discrimination and protection against violence. The analysis showed as well that Fenatrahob pursued three demands of specific policies during the 2006-2016 period: the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the introduction of a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book', and the inclusion of household workers' rights in the General Labour Act. In Chapter 5, I have analysed the main policies of the Bolivian government on household workers' rights during the 2006-2016 period, which allows to assess to what extent the government satisfied each one of the eight major demands of Fenatrahob (Research Objective 2 of the thesis). This analysis is conducted in the following pages.

#### 7.1. Fair Wages and Free Time from Work

The 2450/2003 Law recognised the legal equality between household workers and the rest of Bolivian workers with only one exception: it established a 10-hours workday for live-in workers. The establishment of the principle of equality in very detailed terms by Article 14 of the 2009 Constitution confirmed the interdiction of any discrimination based on the professional occupation, which reinforced the right of household workers to a fair pay and enjoying the holidays, working week and workday established in labour legislation. In addition, the creation of a national holiday on March 30<sup>th</sup> for household workers eliminated the inequality that existed in respect to other sectors, as it is frequent in Bolivia that each labour sector has a national yearly holiday that commemorates the creation of its respective union (Fenatrahob/TAHIPAMU/Fundación Solón, 1998, p. 54).

The ratification of the 189 ILO Convention reinforced the legitimacy of the demands of household workers regarding pay and rest for work, even though the Convention did not create new rights for Bolivian household workers on this topic. Finally, the establishment of a compulsory written contract and a 'salaries book' for household workers could be a useful instrument to guarantee the respect of the legal minimum wage and the limitations of working time by employers.

However, the implementation of the Resolution has been very limited so far (Zapana S., 2016) even though Daniel Santalla (Minister of Labour between 2012 and 2015) publicly recognised the problem that low salaries and lack of enough free time from work represent for Bolivian household workers (ILO, 2013b).

In addition, the Ministry of Labour has not issued “the necessary administrative regulation to allow the labour inspection to supervise the working conditions of household workers” neither it has published a guide that explains workers how to legally claim their rights, as demanded by Fenatrahob in relation to the right to get fair wages and free time work and other rights (Fenatrahob, 2014a).

### 7.2. Health Insurance Coverage

Article 8 of the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Work guarantees the right of household workers to health coverage, and negotiations between Fenatrahob and the Bolivian government on this topic took place as soon as in 2007 (Fenatrahob, 2007). However, Bolivian household workers have not been included in the National Health Insurance system yet, and no specific system of health insurance for household workers has been created either. The only existing regulation on this topic seems to be the agreement between La Paz household workers’ union “Max Paredes” and the local government to guarantee that household workers are attended at the health centres of the capital city by paying only 5 bolivianos (0.70 US dollars) per medical appointment<sup>31</sup>.

### 7.3. Access to Education

As it was explained in Chapter 4, a better access to formal education for household workers is one of the most frequently repeated demands in the *Equity and Justice* bulletins. On this issue, the most important policy has been the creation of a specific program of secondary education for household workers that allow them to attend official courses on a part-time basis (Fenatrahob, 2014d; Ministerio de Educación, 2016). The program was welcomed by Fenatrahob but its scope is still extremely limited: only 14 workers have completed the program so far and 34 workers more were enrolled in it in December 2016. Therefore, Fenatrahob

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<sup>31</sup> Author’s interview with Eliana Mariaca, executive secretary of La Paz “Max Paredes” household workers’ union, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

Executive Secretary Gregoria Gabriel has called for the extension of the program to other departments (regions) of Bolivia (Cambio, 2016).

#### 7.4. Access to Pensions

Only a small minority of household workers get access to an old-age pension (CENAC-Bolivia, 2010), even though the right to access the pensions system was included in the 2450/2003 Law. In 2010 the Parliament approved the 65/2010 Pensions Act and the Ministry of Economy published in 2011 a long communiqué where it stated that the Act would meet the needs of household workers regarding pension coverage because its scope is universal (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas de Bolivia, 2011). However, Fenatrahob reinforced its claims for an effective pensions coverage in the following years, what suggests that the 65/2010 Act and its Supreme Decrees were not effective for the sector of household workers.

Elizabeth Peredo has pointed out two reasons for the lack of pensions coverage of most household workers<sup>32</sup>. First, the 2450/2003 Law did not recognise the immediate right of household workers to retirement pensions, it was conditioned to the approval of a Decree. Second, almost no household worker contributes to the social security system because their labour situation is informal in most cases and the government has not carried out any campaign to raise the workers' awareness about the importance of contributing to the system to get the right to a pension. A campaign of this kind was carried out by Tabaré Vázquez's government in Uruguay to promote the inscription of household workers in the social security system in 2006, while in Argentina and Brazil household workers' social security contributions tax were made deductible (Blofield, 2013, p. 79).

#### 7.5. Non-Discrimination and Protection Against Violence

Discrimination has been pointed out by Fenatrahob as the source of all the violations of household workers' rights reported in the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a). Legal discrimination of this sector was almost completely eliminated by 2450/2003 Law and Morales'

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<sup>32</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán, researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers. Interview through Skype, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017.

government and MAS party have taken important symbolic decisions to tackle the social disregarding and social invisibility of household workers. First, the establishment and the legal confirmation of the National Day of Household Workers implies the recognition of paid household work as a job in its own right. Second, the 2009 Constitution explicitly forbids the causes of discrimination that household workers often face: discriminations based on sex, colour, culture, language, social or economic condition, kind of professional occupation and degree of education. Finally, the recognition of the economic value of domestic work by Article 338 of the Constitution is an important symbolic support for the struggle of household workers.

To a certain extent, the aforementioned symbolic measures could have the indirect effect of reducing violence against household workers, as they challenge the neo-colonial and racist beliefs on which that violence is based. However, no empirical analysis has confirmed this hypothesis and the government has not promoted any specific policy to address violence against household workers so far, even though Fenatrahob has called the government for the implementation of “massive campaigns of communication with [...] transformative criteria on the culture of discrimination, oriented towards employers, workers and authorities” (Fenatrahob, 2014a). No specific policy has been approved to protect children who work as household workers from violence either, despite the specific demand of Federation on this issue (Fenatrahob, 2014a).

#### 7.6. Demands of Specific Policies

In addition of the general demands explained above, the Bolivian social movement of household workers addressed three *demands of specific policies* to MAS government: the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the establishment of a compulsory written contract and ‘salaries’ book and the inclusion of household workers’ rights in the future General Labour Act.

The 189 ILO Convention was approved in 2011, with the participation of representatives of Fenatrahob in the negotiations. Bolivia ratified it only one year later, a short delay if it is compared with most decisions taken by Evo Morales’ government on the rights of household workers. As it has been explained before,

the 189 Convention did not allocate any new right to Bolivian household workers, as the 2450/2003 Law provides more complete guarantees than the Convention. However, the ratification of the ILO Convention by Bolivia conferred renewed legitimacy to the demands of the Bolivian household workers' movement.

The analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins shows that the passing of the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution was also quite fast. The decision of establishing a compulsory written contract for all household workers was the outcome of the November 2013 negotiations between Fenatrahob, the League of Housewives and the government, and the Ministry of Labour issued the Resolution on April 2014.

The demand of including household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act that is currently being discussed appeared for the first time in the July 2010 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2010c). The analysis of the following bulletins, interviews with key actors and secondary sources such as the study conducted by Baptista Canedo (2011) suggests advances and regressions in the inclusion of household workers' rights in the draft Act. At this stage, it seems clear that household worker's rights will be included in the General Labour Act, which should be approved in the following years. According to former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza, the Act will also include legal improvements derived from the 189 ILO Convention<sup>33</sup>. However, it is still too soon to know whether the Law will include all the legal demands expressed by Fenatrahob, specially the establishing of an 8-hours workday for all household workers (including live-in workers).

## Conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to the analysis of the policies approved or promoted by the Bolivian government on household workers' rights by comparing them with the stated demand of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, a methodology for the analysis of social movements' outcomes proposed by Gamson (1975) and Burstein, Einwohner and Hollander (1995). The assessment of the response of the government to Fenatrahob demands was the second research objective of the thesis: *Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian*

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<sup>33</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

*social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period.*

The first conclusion is that Evo Morales' government has satisfied two demands of specific norms expressed by Fenatrahob (the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention and the approval of a Resolution on the written contract) and seems to have the intention of satisfying the third demand of this kind (the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act).

Secondly, the analysis has shown that the Bolivian government has promoted several policies that intend to improve the social image of household workers, doing an effort to counter the historical discrimination suffered by them. v, the sensitizing outcomes of the action of the movement are key in future improvements of their working and living conditions. The main sensitizing outcomes obtained between 2006 and 2016 have been the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers, the specification of a wide range of sources of discrimination and the recognition of the economic value of domestic work in the Constitution, the ratification of the ILO Convention and (if it finally takes place) the introduction of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act.

The third conclusion of the analysis carried out in this chapter is that Evo Morales' government has a very poor record regarding the satisfaction of the substantive demands of the movement of household workers. The only important measures taken by the government that can be considered as substantive outcomes of the movement are the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution and the creation of a specific program to promote the access of household workers to secondary education. The lack of public health coverage for household workers thirteen years after the approval of the 2450/2013 Law and the lack of specific policies to tackle violence against household workers are particularly serious failures in the action of MAS and Morales' government regarding household workers' living and working conditions. In addition, the analysis has shown that the average level of implementation of the legislation on household workers' rights is extremely deficient, an issue that will be further addressed in Chapter 6.



## Chapter 6: Explaining the Outcomes of the Movement Through Institutionalization

Chapter 4 and 5 have been devoted to the analysis of the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period and the degree to which these demands were satisfied by Evo Morales' government and MAS party. In Chapter 6 I analyse the reasons of the outcomes of the movement, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement and how that institutionalization influenced the policy outcomes of the movement. I explore both issues through content analysis of documents produced by the movement and the Bolivian government, semi-structured interviews with key actors and secondary sources. Thus, this chapter addresses the third research objective of the thesis: *Explore the reasons of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement.*

Chapter 6 is composed by 4 sections. In Section 1 I advance some explanations to the lack of satisfaction of the substantive policy demands of the movement, based on the existing literature and the analysis conducted in Chapters 4 and 5. In Section 2 I describe the main inputs of the literature on the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, and the literature on social movement institutionalization that I use to analyse my case study. Section 3 is dedicated to the analysis of the institutionalization of the Bolivian household workers' movement, and in Section 4 I explore the influence of the institutionalization of the movement on its policy outcomes, addressing Research Objective 3.

### 1. Reasons for the Scarcity of Substantive Policies on Household Workers' Rights

One of the conclusions of Chapter 5 was that Evo Morales' government has a very poor record regarding the production of substantive policies on household workers' rights. In this section I address some explanations concerning the scarcity

of substantive policies, based on the existent literature on the topic and the analysis conducted in Chapters 4 and 5.

Blofield (2013, p. 78) and Peredo Beltrán (2015, p. 19) have pointed out poor state capacity as a key factor in the lack of implementation of legislation on household workers' rights in several Latin American countries, including Bolivia. Evo Morales himself stated the following when he ratified the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers: "It is easy to approve norms and it is difficult to enforce them" (Pérez, 2012). Fenatrahob has affirmed as well that "state institutions do not have enough strength to enforce the labour laws" (Fenatrahob, 2007). Thus, the general weakness of the Bolivian state explains to a certain extent the lack of effectivity of the rights granted by 2450/2003 Law and other norms.

The analysis conducted in this MPhil thesis has allowed to identify one serious manifestation of the weakness of the Bolivian state pointed out by the literature: the confusion that exists regarding the distribution of competences between the different Ministries and other organs of the government. Current Fenatrahob Executive Secretary Gregoria Gabriel has affirmed that state "bureaucracy" is responsible for the lack of regulation of 2450/2003 Law regarding health insurance coverage (ANF, 2017). Gabriel reported that she had inquired three administrations about the elaboration of the Supreme Decree on the issue -the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Employment and the National Insurance Institute- and the three of them denied their respective responsibility in the drafting of the Decree. In a similar vein, the public policy proposal *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* (Fenatrahob, 2014a) refers both to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health regarding access to the health insurance, which shows the bureaucratic confusion that exists about the distribution of responsibilities on this topic.

The unclear distribution of competences between different ministries was explained by former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza when I interviewed him in the following terms<sup>34</sup>:

*“The structure of the directive organ [the government] has not changed since the old state form [the state previous to the 2009 Constitution], the structure of the liberal state is still there”.*

The bureaucratic confusion is aggravated by the lack of “solid public policies and [...] systems for the implementation [...] of existing norms” (a reality applicable to other fields of action of the Bolivian state) and the “lack of information, formation and control of the work done by state officials who should process household workers’ complains” (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 19).

However, the lack of satisfaction of the substantive demands of the movement of household workers by Morales’ government is not only due to the weakness of the Bolivian state, but also to lack of political will from president Evo Morales and the other leaders of MAS and the government. As it was explained in Chapter 4, in 2008 Fenatrahob addressed Morales to ask for his direct intervention regarding the issue of health coverage, due to the lack of effective action from ministers and officials on this topic (Fenatrahob, 2008c). In a similar vein, Mendoza has explained the limitations in the implementation of the legislation on household workers’ rights through the correlations of forces between the Ministry of Economy (which usually opposed measures that imply the increase of public spending) and other Ministries that have a rather social orientation.

Regarding health insurance and other topics, the president has not intervened to palliate the lack of action from ministers or take a decision to overcome the confusion about the distribution of competences, which shows a lack of political will on his part. This lack of involvement suggests that Elizabeth Peredo was right when he told me that the demands of household workers have lost the relative political centrality that they enjoyed during the first years of Morales and MAS in

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<sup>34</sup> Author’s interview with Adolfo Mendoza, former MAS senator and former advisor of the Unity Pact. Interview through Skype, April 4<sup>th</sup> 2017.

government, and they have been relegated to a secondary position in the agenda similar to the one that they held in the pre-MAS period<sup>35</sup>.

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In the following sections of the chapter I go one step forward in the explanation of the (limited) outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers between 2006 and 2016. To do so I explore the existing literature on the institutionalization of this specific movement and I expose the literature on social movements' institutionalization (Section 2) that I use in my analysis of the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers (Section 3). Finally, I explore the influence of the institutionalization of the movement on its policy outcomes (Section 4).

## 2. Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of the Institutionalization of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers

A few authors have carried out research on the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and Bolivian state actors (mostly the government and Parliament), as it was advanced in Chapter 2 (Blofield, 2013, 2009; Cabezas Fernández, 2012; Peredo Beltrán, 2015). Cabezas Fernández's research focuses on the resistance that Fenatrahob had to face from Parliament when it pushed for a law on household workers' rights in the 1990s. The author pays particular attention to the hostility of some feminist female MPs that belonged to the Bolivian Union of Women MPs (UMPABOL) -whose stated aim was the creation of alliances with women's organisations- and the lack of support of the Political Forum of Women (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, pp. 85–86). The opposition to the law in Parliament was headed by MP Mabel Cruz, around which the Association for the Defence of Housewives was articulated, according to Cabezas Fernández's account (2012, p. 93). However, other female MPs supported the demands of Fenatrahob along the 1990s, as explained in Chapter 1.

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<sup>35</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo Beltrán, researcher and activist of the social movement of household workers. Interview through Skype, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017.

In addition to the critical analysis of the role played by some female MPs in the parliamentary processing of the draft law, Cabezas Fernández has underlined that in 2003, when the draft law was finally debated in Parliament, MAS party MPs “criticized the long blocking of the law in Parliament, recognising the advocacy work of Fenatrahob and including that organisation in their political ‘us’” (Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 97). MAS MP Alberto Aguilar celebrated the approval of the 2450/2003 Law in the following terms (statement pronounced on April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2003 and cited in Cabezas Fernández, 2012, p. 98):

*“Our communities are happy today because our sisters, our comrades who migrate from the countryside to the city, today have found in Parliament a response [...] to their most vital needs, because this law is going to help our sisters and comrades in being respected as human beings”.*

Cabezas Fernández (2012, p. 99) has pointed out that, despite the support that MAS gave to the draft law in Parliament, Casimira Rodríguez only lasted one year as Evo Morales’ minister of justice and the enforcement of the 2450/2003 Law was not a priority for his government during his first term in office.

Blofield (2009) has also focused on the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian political elite in her analysis of the legal reforms on household workers’ rights in Bolivia and Chile. Blofield has analysed the factors that explain the success of Fenatrahob in getting the 2450/2003 Law passed, underlying the importance of the growing politicization of ethnicity in Bolivia along the 1990s and the role played by MAS in Bolivian politics (Blofield, 2009, pp. 179–183). In a similar vein to Cabezas Fernández, Blofield has stated that “although the current political climate has been favourable, progress has been uneven” (Blofield, 2009, p. 183).

Finally, Peredo Beltrán (2015) has been the author who has devoted the greatest attention to the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and Evo Morales’ government. Regarding the relation between the government and social movements in general, Peredo Beltrán (2015, pp. 26–27) has underlined the fact that the government established an alliance with peasant

and indigenous social organisations, but she defines their relation through the concept of “co-optation”, underlining that many activists became members of the government or MAS MPs. By contrast, she sustains that the organised household workers “were able to keep their own agenda” without being co-opted by the government. Therefore, Peredo seems to understand ‘co-optation’ as the loss of the autonomy of the political agenda of a social movement. The author suggests that the movement of household workers benefited from the preservation of its autonomy vis-à-vis the government, a premise that I will further discuss in this chapter.

According to the account exposed by Peredo Beltrán, organized household workers were not co-opted by the government but they often enjoyed easy access to the government and to MAS MPs for two reasons. First, they had shared struggles in the past with many current MAS members -Fenatrahob joined in 2003 the Pact of Unity that led the anti-neoliberal protests that preceded MAS first electoral victory in 2005<sup>36</sup>. The long-term connections between leaders of the household workers’ movements and MAS are confirmed by the account of Casimira Rodríguez, who first met Evo Morales in a protest against the military dictatorship in the 1980s, and shared with him many political encounters and protest actions (Rodríguez Romero, 2015, pp. 295–299). In addition, MAS was the main parliamentary supporter of Fenatrahob during the long campaign for the passing of the 2450/2003 Law. However, not all MAS politicians have the same interest and favourable stance on household workers’ rights. For instance, Peredo Beltrán points out that when the Ministry of Labour was processing the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, it initially refused to keep in touch with Fenatrahob to coordinate the process with the Federation (Peredo Beltrán, 2015, p. 85).

In addition to the specific literature on the institutionalization of the Bolivian social movement of household workers that has been exposed above, there are a few inputs of the general literature on social movements’ institutionalization that will

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<sup>36</sup> Author’s interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

be particularly useful for my analysis: the works of Álvarez (1990), Hangan (1998) and Meyer (2007).

Álvarez (1990) and Hangan (1998) provide two insightful typologies for the study of the relations between social movements and state actors in their respective works on the institutionalization of women's movements in Latin America and the relations between the labour movement and left-wing parties in Europe. Hangan (1998) proposes a typology composed by five kinds of social movement-party relations: 1) Articulation (social movements are organized around the program of the party and contribute to its aims by mobilizing the masses), 2) Permeation (social movements are "loyal" to the party and they routinely exert influence within the party structures), 3) Alliances (social movements negotiate ad hoc alliances with parties or factions within the parties that imply a close collaboration on certain policy issues, but the social movements keep their autonomy), 4) Independence (social movements are completely independent from parties and they may pressure them from outside), and 5) Competition (social movements create political parties to compete with the established ones). At this point of the analysis it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between party, state and government, which has been addressed in Chapter 2.

For her part, Álvarez identifies four ideal types of responses from the state to the demands of women's movements that works as a typology of institutionalization as well: 1) Dual response (the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate and the policy content matches the demands of the movement), 2) Co-optation (the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate but the policy content does not match the demands of the movement), 3) Pre-emption (the state does not accept the participation of the movement in the policy debate but the policy content matches the demands of the movement), and 4) Non-response (the state neither accepts the participation of the movement in the debate nor the policy matches the demands of the movement). By elaborating this typology, Álvarez focuses on two dimensions: the participation of social movements in the elaboration of policy and the coincidence between the policy and the demands of movements.

Finally, Meyer (2007, pp. 126–129) adopts a different approach, as he proposes a list of mechanisms of institutionalization that may be accepted by governments in their relation with social movements: (1) policymakers' consultation with representatives of movements, (2) offering of platforms to express the claims of movements, such as parliamentary hearings, (3) creation of agencies devoted to dealing with the claims of movements, (4) inclusion of movement actors within deliberative processes (e.g. the inclusion of environmentalist organisations in the processes for filing environmental impact statements), 5) funding activists' services such as feminists counseling and advocacy centres for rape victims, and (6) the appropriation of the rhetoric of social movements by officials, sometimes redefining it. At least one mechanism must be added to the list: the appointing of social movement members to official positions, insofar as counting the number of movement's leaders in that situation has been identified as a method to assess the degree of institutionalization of movements (Ruzza, 1997, p. 113).

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In the next sections, the theoretical contributions described above are applied to the analysis of the institutionalization of the Bolivian movement of household workers in the following ways. First, Meyer's list of mechanisms of institutionalization (Meyer, 2007, pp. 126–129) helps me to identify which forms has taken the institutionalization of the movement of household workers, by matching the mechanisms revealed by the analysis and the categories proposed by Meyer.

Second, I discuss in which category of Hangan's (1998) typology of social movement-party relations should the Bolivian social movement of household workers be placed (these categories can also be applied to movement-government relations). A preliminary analysis will suggest that the relation between the movement of household workers and the government would fall somewhere between Hagan's notions of 'articulation' (social movements are organized around the program of the party and contribute to its aims by mobilizing the masses) and 'permeation' (social movements are "loyal" to the party and they routinely exert influence within the party structures) (Hangan, 1998). However, a

deeper analysis of the studied documents and interviews will reach the conclusion that the relations between both actors best fit Hangan's notion of 'alliance', as the movement closely collaborated with government on issues related with household workers' rights but it kept an autonomous agenda from the government.

*Figure 2:* Typology for the analysis of the relations between the Bolivian movement of household workers and the government, based on Hangan (1998)

*Articulation:* the social movement is organized around the program of the party and contributes to its aims by mobilizing the masses.

*Permeation:* the social movement is loyal to the party and it exerts influence routinely within the party structures.

*Alliance:* the social movement negotiates ad hoc alliances with the party or factions within the party that imply a close collaboration on certain policy issues, but the social movement keeps its autonomy.

Finally, in Section 4 I analyse the influence of the institutionalization of the movement on the movement outcomes through Álvarez's typology (1990). The analysis will show a dual picture, as it will be further explained. Regarding sensitizing policies, there is a high degree of coincidence between the movement's demands and the policies, which allows to speak about 'dual response' (Álvarez, 1990): the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate and the policy content matches the demands of the movement. By contrast, regarding substantive policies, the term of Álvarez's typology that defines the best the relation between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian government is 'co-optation' (Álvarez, 1990): the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate but the policy content does not match the demands of the movement.

Figure 3: Typology for the analysis of the influence of the institutionalization of the Bolivian movement of household workers on the outcomes of the movement, based on Álvarez (1990)

*Dual response*: the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate and the policy content matches the demands of the movement.

*Co-optation*: the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate but the policy content does not match the demands of the movement.

### 3. The Institutionalization of the Bolivian Movement of Household Workers

Authors such as Peredo Beltrán (2015), Cabezas Fernández (2012) and Blofield (2013, 2009) have referred to the relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and MAS government, but no research has specifically focused on the degree and forms of institutionalization of this movement. This section intends to fill that gap through the analyses of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a), the interviews conducted with key actors and secondary sources. The analysis is guided by Meyer's typology of the mechanism of institutionalization that may be accepted by governments in their relation with social movements (Meyer, 2007, pp. 126–129).

In the first subsection, I identify the elements of the data that suggest a close relation between the social movement of household workers and the government. This vision was synthesized by former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza, who considers that household workers are “part of the social base for the construction of the new state”<sup>37</sup>. In the second subsection, I problematize the view of a close and positive relation between the social movement of household workers and Morales' government, identifying in the data elements that challenge that vision. This less optimistic view corresponds to one sentence pronounced by the researcher and activist Elizabeth Peredo: “household workers are the shadow of the process of change”<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

<sup>38</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

### 3.1. Fenatrahob, a Part of the Social Base of the New State...?

The relations between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and MAS government was one of the main topics of the interview that I had with former MAS senator Adolfo Mendoza. When I asked him about the relation between both actors, he responded in the following terms<sup>39</sup>:

*“They [household workers] are part of the social base for the construction of the new state”.*

Indeed, the analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the interviews conducted with key actors suggests that the movement kept overall good relations with Evo Morales’ government and MAS party during the studied period (2006-2016), particularly during their first term in office (2006-2009). In 2003, Fenatrahob joined the Unity Pact, the alliance of social movements and progressive parties that led the anti-neoliberal mobilisations during the 2003-2005 period<sup>40</sup>. The Federation took part in several meetings of the Pact for the elaboration of the proposal of new Constitution, by the bias of the ‘Bartolina Sisa’ Federation of Indigenous and Peasant women<sup>41</sup>. Later on, Fenatrahob became a member of the National Coordination for Change, a coalition of social movements created to promote the writing of a new Constitution after first MAS’ national electoral victory in 2005 (Mira Bolivia, 2007).

The analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins published in 2005 and 2006 suggests as well a deep engagement of Fenatrahob with MAS-led ‘process of change’. First of all, the March 2005 bulletin includes an article about the autonomist demands in some regions, framed within the wide debate about the need of launching a constituent process in Bolivia (Fenatrahob, 2005a). The March 2006 bulletin included an interview with Casimira Rodríguez, former executive secretary of the Fenatrahob who had just been appointed as minister of justice by president Evo Morales, and an article about the approval of the Act that convoked the Constituent Assembly (Fenatrahob, 2006a). The second 2006 bulletin included the names of some household workers who had run to the elections to compose

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<sup>39</sup> Author’s interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

<sup>40</sup> Author’s interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

<sup>41</sup> Author’s interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

the Constituent Assembly, even though none of them was elected (Fenatrahob, 2006b).

According to Mendoza's account<sup>42</sup>, the demands of the movement of household workers were discussed in the Constituent Assembly due to the action of an alliance of female constituents known as 'Women Present in History' (MPH, in Spanish). Prima Ocsa also underlined the participation of Fenatrahob in the constitutional debate when I interviewed her<sup>43</sup>. In addition, the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of Fenatrahob created within the inner structure of the Federation a Commission on the Constituent Assembly (Fenatrahob, 2006b). The participation of Fenatrahob in the Constituent Assembly corresponds to one of the mechanism of institutionalization identified by Meyer: offering of platforms to express movements' claims, such as parliamentary hearings (Meyer, 2007).

In 2006, Casimira Rodríguez was appointed as minister of justice by Evo Morales. Elizabeth Peredo, who was with Rodríguez when Morales called her to propose her the post, told me that Rodríguez and Morales had a relationship of "deep confidence" at that time<sup>44</sup>. In the December 2007 *Equity and Justice* bulletin, Fenatrahob stated that the appointment of Casimira Rodríguez as minister of justice increased the self-esteem of household workers and created a more favourable environment for the demands of the movement (Fenatrahob, 2007). According to Mendoza, the presence of Rodríguez in the government allowed to advance to "a strategic rather than conjunctural relation" between Fenatrahob and the government<sup>45</sup>. Rodríguez herself has underlined the importance of her appointment in her autobiography, where she specified that her destitution in 2007 "in no way implied a disengagement with the political project nor a disagreement with the process of change" (Rodríguez Romero, 2015, p. 404). However, in the following subsection the record of the participation of Rodríguez in Morales' government will be nuanced.

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<sup>42</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

<sup>43</sup> Author's interview with Prima Ocsa, former executive secretary and current secretary of relations, Fenatrahob, La Paz, April 1<sup>st</sup> 2016.

<sup>44</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

<sup>45</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

From Rodríguez's removal from the government in January 2007 to 2009, the *Equity and Justice* bulletins only referred twice to the relations between Fenatrahob and the government. First, Fenatrahob Executive Secretary Miguelina Colque was selected by the Embassy of Bolivia in Ecuador to represent Bolivia in an International Gastronomic Fair organised to raise fund for the people affected by inundations that had taken place in Ecuador (Fenatrahob, 2008b). That same year, the local office of the Ombudsman supported the creation of a household workers' union in Ombudsman in Puerto Suárez, a small town in Santa Cruz department (Fenatrahob, 2008c). In addition, between 2006 and 2008, the Bolivian Ombudsman Ana María Campero worked closely with Fenatrahob raising data about violence against children household workers<sup>46</sup>.

In 2010 and 2011, three *Equity and Justice* bulletins referred to the participation of Fenatrahob in negotiations with the government to improve the legal rights of household workers. First, the July 2010 bulletin draws a balance of the 2008-2010 period in the following terms (Fenatrahob, 2010c):

*“Despite the difficulties, Fenatrahob has succeeded in being visible before the government and the society in general, for example to work on the ILO proposal and the labour reforms that are being analysed”.*

Later on, two bulletins (Fenatrahob, 2011b, 2010b) reported the successful participation of Fenatrahob in the negotiations for the elaboration of a new General Labour Act with the Bolivian Workers' Confederation (COB) and the government. As it has been explained in Chapter 5, it is not clear yet to what extent the Act will satisfy all the demands of household workers but the government engaged itself in that sense. The participation of Fenatrahob in the aforementioned negotiations corresponds to the first mechanism of institutionalization identified by Meyer (2007): policymakers' consultation with representatives of movements.

In 2014, Fenatrahob reports its collaboration with two Ministries. First, a program for the access of household workers to secondary education was conjointly elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Fenatrahob (Fenatrahob, 2014d), as

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<sup>46</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

it was advanced in Chapter 5. Second, the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution on the written contract and the 'salaries book' was an outcome of the negotiation between the Ministry of Labour, Fenatrahob and the League of Housewives, and it was jointly presented by Minister of Labour Daniel Santalla and representatives of Fenatrahob (Fenatrahob, 2014d). The two cases of collaboration can be considered as particularly deep cases of inclusion of movement actors within deliberative processes, which is one of the mechanisms of institutionalization identified by Meyer (2007).

The Ministry of Labour highlighted its good relations with Fenatrahob through several communiqués published in its website. In 2013 the Ministry celebrated a ceremony to recognise the work of the Fenatrahob during its 20 years of existence (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2013) and in 2014 government officials attended the activities organized by Fenatrahob to celebrate the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the organisation (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2014). Finally, the Ministry published a communiqué on the meetings with Fenatrahob that preceded the approval of the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution (Ministerio de Trabajo de Bolivia, 2015a).

When I spoke to him, Adolfo Mendoza detailed three forms in which the movement of household workers and the government have been connected along the 2006-2016 period. First, through the movement 'Women Present in History' and the 'Bartolina Sisa' Federation of Indigenous and Peasant Women. Second, several activists of Fenatrahob hold offices at departmental or local administrations. When he told me that, Mendoza quickly specified that "it is not an issue of distribution of posts but an opening to participation [of household workers] in spaces of decision". The appointing of social movement members to official positions is a very frequent mechanism of institutionalization of social movements (Ruzza, 1997, p. 113). Finally, Mendoza told me that there are strong links between the social movement of household workers and the Parliament through the president of the lower chamber of the Bolivian parliament, Gabriela Montaña, who is one of the MAS MPs and officials who promoted the most important gender-related norms in Bolivia during the 2006-2016 period.

According to this first analysis, the relation between the Bolivian movement of household workers and the government would fall somewhere between Hagan's notions of 'articulation' (social movements are organized around the program of the party and contribute to its aims by mobilizing the masses) and 'permeation' (social movements are "loyal" to the party and they exert influence routinely within the party structures) (Hangan, 1998). In the following subsection, I identify some elements that suggest that this first picture should be nuanced.

### 3.2. Household Workers, the Shadow of the Process of Change?

When I interviewed Elizabeth Peredo, she defined the movement of household workers in the following terms<sup>47</sup>:

*"Household workers are the shadow of the Bolivian process [of change], they [household workers] reflect the images, the tensions, the weaknesses and the contradictions".*

Indeed, a careful analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and Fenatrahob *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a), together with the interviews, suggests that the picture of a relation of 'articulation' or 'permeation' (Hangan, 1998) between the movement and MAS' government needs to be nuanced.

When I spoke to Peredo, she confirmed that the political position of Fenatrahob was strengthened by Evo Morales' electoral victory in December 2005<sup>48</sup>, as the literature has suggested (Blofield, 2009; Cabezas Fernández, 2012). However, her view on the participation of Fenatrahob in the Constituent Assembly is less optimistic than Mendoza's one. According to Peredo, household workers' claims occupied a very small space in the debates on the new Constitution, due to the harsh class- and ethnic-based polarization that Bolivia experienced in the years that followed MAS electoral victory. The traditional oligarchy did not easily accept the landslide victory of Evo Morales' left-indigenous party and his plans to write a new Constitution for Bolivia. During the Constituent Assembly, Bolivia was "on the brink of civil war", in Peredo's words, and a right-wing attempt of coup d'état

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<sup>47</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

against Morales took place in 2008. In this context, organised household workers failed in putting their sectorial demands at the centre of the political agenda.

In a similar vein, the outcomes of the designation of Casimira Rodríguez as minister of justice in 2006 were disappointing. Having an indigenous female household worker at the head of that important Ministry was a strong symbolic gesture and suggested that Morales' government was deeply engaged with household workers' demands. However, as it has been explained in Chapter 5, neither the working and living conditions nor the legal situation of Bolivian household workers experienced a major improvement during the year that Rodríguez was in office. The only progress was the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers.

Teresa Morales, an official who has been one of the most important promoters of the gender agenda of Morales' government, explained in the following terms the lack of progress in household workers' rights during Casimira Rodríguez's mandate<sup>49</sup>:

*“She was not able to consolidate her personality as a woman victim of injustice. When she went to meetings, her advisors spoke in her name [...] She was invaded by the bureaucratic logic. Well, we were all invaded [by that logic] when we came into government, no minister had any knowledge in public administration, which is a science in its own. You need to know procedures and norms that constitute a web that is made to prevent you from doing many things. If this was difficult for ministers who were professionals, it was even harder for a woman who was semi-illiterate”.*

In his explanation of the limitations of Rodríguez's performance as minister, Mendoza highlighted the patriarchal character of the bureaucratic structures of the Bolivian state. Regarding the attitude of lawyers and advisors towards Rodríguez, he blamed the prevalence of sexist and classist beliefs, linked to the “old-style education, of a 19<sup>th</sup> century type” of the lawyers of the Ministry of

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<sup>49</sup> Author's interview with Teresa Morales, former advisor of the Constituent Assembly (2008) and former minister of productive development (2011-2015), La Paz, April 6<sup>th</sup> 2016.

Justice<sup>50</sup>. He also underlined that, after her removal from the Ministry, Rodríguez held official positions in the departmental administration of Cochabamba.

The contrast between the appointment of Rodríguez as minister and the lack of important advances in household workers' rights during her mandate reminds Álvarez's definition of co-optation: "the state accepts movements' participation in the policy debate but the policy content does not match the demands of the movement" (Álvarez, 1990). However, it is unclear to what extent the limitation of progress was a consequence of the lack of a sincere will of Morales, his ministers and MAS leaders or to the structural limitations in the political action of a low-educated woman who is appointed to head a patriarchal and conservative bureaucratic structure such as the Bolivian Ministry of Justice in 2006 (which is Teresa Morales' hypothesis).

The ratification of the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers also showed some tensions between the government and the movement of household workers. Fenatrahob and its allies wanted the Bolivian government to be the first one in ratifying the Convention, which would have constituted a powerful symbol. However, Fenatrahob found it difficult to convince civil servants in the Ministry of Labour to ratify the Convention, which retarded the decision to 2012. According to Peredo, at that point the demands of household workers had lost the relative political centrality that they had enjoyed during the first years of Evo Morales Morales and MAS in government, and they were relegated to a secondary position similar to the one that they held in the pre-MAS period<sup>51</sup>.

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In her 2015 book, Peredo Beltrán (2015, pp. 26–27) affirmed that the movement was not co-opted by MAS, insofar as it kept its own agenda. The analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the Fenatrahob's *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) confirms that view, as it will be explained in the following paragraphs.

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<sup>50</sup> Author's interview with Adolfo Mendoza.

<sup>51</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

The 2009-2018 Strategic Plan of Fenatrahob and the conclusions of its 2008 Congress did not include any political aim directly related with the constituent process that was taking place at that time (Fenatrahob, 2008a). This finding suggests that the Federation considered the MAS-led 'process of change' as a favourable political context for its demands but it did not consider the promoting of the political aims of Morales' government or MAS party as a specific objective of Fenatrahob. This implies that the social movement did not lose the control over its own political agenda, which confirms Peredo Beltrán's position on the topic (2015).

In August 2009, representatives of Fenatrahob participated in the 'civic parade' that took place in La Paz to celebrate the 184<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the independence of Bolivia. In the bulletin that reports the celebration, the following paragraphs are particularly relevant (Fenatrahob, 2009c):

*"The leaders [of Fenatrahob] highlighted that this year's national celebration was special, because it took place within a new constitutional framework that was ratified by the people through popular vote for the first time in our history.*

*The event allowed to confirm the will to work now so the postulates of the Constitution are applied, particularly regarding the creation of employment with dignity and social security, and [guaranteeing that] the labour rights of our sector are respected".*

This quote seems to condensate quite well the position of Fenatrahob towards the Bolivian 'process of change': they support it while continuously demanding the government the satisfaction of their demands. This position corresponds quite exactly to Hangan's (1998) concept of 'alliance': the social movement negotiates ad hoc alliances with parties or factions within the parties that imply a close collaboration on certain policy issues, but the movement keep its autonomy.

The March 2010 *Equity and Justice* bulletin (Fenatrahob, 2010a), which reports the celebration of a workshop on leadership in La Paz, suggests a purposely distancing of Fenatrahob from the ruling party. It reads as follows:

*"In the encounter, we have analysed how a good leader is formed, [a leader] who must permanently go down to the grassroots, who has the*

*responsibility to represent her sector in an honest way, who cannot act without the grassroots because she is their spokesperson. This is what defines our political action, which is very different from the functioning of a political party”.*

It is interesting to see how the Federation tries to explicitly differentiate its functioning and its concept of leadership from those of political parties. In a similar vein, the last section of the *Decolonization and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a) portrays Fenatrahob as an outsider actor in relation to the government:

*“The state has the obligation and the responsibility to adopt a public policy that involves all the competent institutions to achieve the aim of dignifying paid household work, guaranteeing the respect of our rights and promoting a social change in collective behaviour [...] We, household workers, will exert our right to social control and participation, through our strengthen union, to be sure that this proposal is received and implemented”.*

It is also worth noting that Fenatrahob has directly addressed demands to government or has denounced the lack of fulfilment of its promises in several *Equity and Justice* bulletins, regarding topics such as health insurance coverage or pensions (Fenatrahob, 2014c, 2009a, 2008c) -which a co-opted movement would not do.

Finally, Peredo told me something that confirms the autonomy of the movement vis-à-vis the government. In February 2016 took place a referendum convoked by Evo Morales to change the limitation of terms of office of the president, and he lost it with a short margin. In the aftermath of the defeat, leaders of social organisations allied to the government such as Executive Secretary of the ‘Bartolina Sisa’ Federation of Indigenous and Peasant Women Juanita Ancieta supported a new presidential candidacy of Morales despite the result of the referendum (Sputnik News, 2016), a possibility that was rejected by Fenatrahob Executive Secretary Gregoria Gabriel<sup>52</sup>. The manifestation of a divergent position

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<sup>52</sup> Author’s interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

in such a sensitive topic for the president shows a high level of autonomy of the movement vis-à-vis the government.

To conclude, a deeper analysis of the data has nuanced the picture of a close-knit articulation between the movement of household workers and the government. Instead, the relation between both actors seems to correspond to Hangan's (1998) concept of alliance, as the movement closely collaborated with government on issues related with household workers' rights but it kept an autonomous agenda from the government.

#### 4. The Influence of the Institutionalization of the Movement on the Movement Policy Outcomes

In Section 3 I have analysed the institutionalisation of the Bolivian social movement of household workers, reaching the conclusion that its relation with Evo Morales' and MAS' government during the 2006-2016 period can be defined through Hangan's (1998) concept of 'alliance'. In this section, I intend to explain which has been the influence of that movement-government alliance on the policy outcomes of the movement.

The analysis shows that Fenatrahob has enjoyed quite easy access to government during the studied period (2006-2016): the Federation participated in the debates on the new Constitution and in following years there were several meetings between the Federation and the government to discuss or even jointly elaborate policies on household workers' rights. In addition, a former leader of Fenatrahob was minister of justice for one year and several members of the Federation hold offices at the subnational levels of administration. Therefore, Fenatrahob has participated to an important extent to the elaboration of policies, which constitutes one of the two dimensions of institutionalization included in Álvarez's typology (1990).

However, the picture is quite different regarding the second dimension of the institutionalization considered by Álvarez (1990): the degree of coincidence between the policy and the demands of the movement. The analysis carried out in Chapter 5 on this issue has allowed to reach three conclusions. First, the

government has satisfied two demands of specific norms expressed by Fenatrahob (the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention and the approval of a Resolution on the written contract) and seems to have the intention of satisfying the third demand of this kind (the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act). Second, the government has promoted several policies that intend to improve the social image of household workers (sensitizing outcomes of the movement): the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers, the specification of a wide range of sources of discrimination and the recognition of the economic value of domestic work in the Constitution, the ratification of the ILO Convention, and (if it finally takes place) the introduction of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act. Finally, the government has a very poor record regarding substantive policies -the only important measures taken by the government that can be considered as substantive outcomes of the action of the movement are the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution and the creation of a specific program to promote the access of household workers to secondary education- and the implementation of existing policies is extremely poor.

Therefore, we have a dual picture. Regarding sensitizing policies, there is a high degree of coincidence between the movement's demands and the policies approved or promoted by the government, which allows to speak about 'dual response' (Álvarez, 1990): the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate and the policy content matches the demands of the movement. By contrast, regarding substantive policies, the term of Álvarez's typology that defines the best the relation between the Bolivian social movement of household workers and the Bolivian government is 'co-optation' (Álvarez, 1990): the state accepts the participation of the movement in the policy debate but the policy content does not match the demands of the movement.

The conclusion of the analysis of the influence of the institutionalization on the outcomes of movement during the 2006-2016 period is the following: the Bolivian social movement of household workers has enjoyed easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda, which has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not allowed the

achievement of substantive outcomes, with the exception of the 218/2014 Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education.

#### Conclusion

Chapter 6 has intended to explain the outcomes of the Bolivian social movement of household workers that were described in Chapter 5, addressing the third research objective of the thesis (*Explore the reasons of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement*). To do so, I have begun the analysis by identifying the immediate reasons for the scarcity of substantive policies on households' rights during the 2006-2016 period: the weakness of the Bolivian state and the lack of political will of Evo Morales' government (Section 1).

In further sections, I have gone one step forward in the explanation of the outcomes of the movement of household workers, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement. In Section 2 I have elaborated a theoretical framework for the analysis of the institutionalisation of the movement. In Section 3, the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a), the interviews with key actors and secondary sources have been analysed to determine the forms that the institutionalization of the movement has taken. I have reached the conclusion that the relation between the movement and the government can be defined through Hangan's (1998) concept of 'alliance': the movement closely collaborated with the government on issues related with household workers' rights but it kept an autonomous agenda from the government.

Finally, in Section 4 I have established a connection between the institutionalization of the movement and its outcomes, reaching the following conclusion: the Bolivian social movement of household workers has enjoyed easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda, which has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not allowed the achieving of substantive outcomes, with the exception of the

218/2014 Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education.

## Conclusion

The Bolivian social movement of household workers has obtained a considerable number of important achievements through restless political campaigning. The best-known examples are the 2450/2003 Law that Regulates Paid Household Workers and the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers. However, the lack of social visibility and recognition of household workers seems to affect social sciences research as well, as the struggle of the Bolivian household workers and the relation of their social movement with MAS and Evo Morales' government is an understudied topic. This MPhil thesis has intended to fill this gap and improve knowledge of the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers, the policies relating to household workers' rights approved by MAS government between 2006 and 2016, and the relations between both actors. To do so, the following research question has been addressed:

*Which were the main policy outcomes of the Bolivian movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period and to what extent the institutionalization of the movement explains those outcomes?*

The research question has been addressed through three research objectives: 1) Identify the main policy demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers during the 2006-2016 period, 2) Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government during the 2006-2016 period, and 3) Explore the reasons of the partial satisfaction of the demands of the movement by the government, focusing on the institutionalization of the movement.

The first research objective has been addressed in Chapter 4, where I have conducted thematic content analysis of the Fenatrahob *Equity and Justice* information bulletins and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal published by Fenatrahob (2014a). Two kinds of demands have been identified: general demands (Fenatrahob does not specify which legal tools or regulations the government should use to meet its demands) and demands of specific policies. The analysis has shown that the first group is composed by the

demand for fair wages and free time from work, access to health insurance, education, pensions, the right to non-discrimination and protection against violence. Three demands of specific policies have been identified: the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the introduction of a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book' and the inclusion of household workers' rights in the General Labour Act.

The second research objective (*Assess to what extent the demands of the Bolivian social movement of household workers were satisfied by the government*) has been addressed in Chapter 5, where I have analysed the policies promoted by Evo Morales' and MAS government regarding household workers' rights during the 2006-2016 period, and I have assessed to what extent MAS and the government have met the demands of Fenatrahob during the same period. The analysis has allowed me to identify two kinds of policies: sensitizing outcomes of the movement and substantive outcomes of the movement.

Three conclusions have been reached regarding the outcomes of the movement. First, Evo Morales' government has satisfied two demands of specific norms expressed by Fenatrahob (the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention and the approval of a Resolution on the written contract) and seems to have the intention of satisfying the third demand of this kind (the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act).

Secondly, the Bolivian government has promoted several policies that intend to improve the social image of household workers, making an effort to counter the historical discrimination suffered by this labour sector (sensitizing outcomes of the movement). The main sensitizing outcomes between 2006 and 2016 have been the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers, the specification of a wide range of sources of discrimination in the Constitution and the constitutional recognition of the economic value of domestic work, the ratification of the ILO Convention and (if it finally takes place) the introduction of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act.

The third conclusion regarding the satisfaction of the policy demands of the movement is that Evo Morales' government has a very poor record regarding the

satisfaction of the substantive demands of the movement of household workers. The only important measures taken by the government that can be considered as substantive outcomes of the movement are the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution and the creation of a specific program to promote the access of household workers to secondary education. In addition, the analysis has shown that the average level of implementation of the legislation on household workers' rights is extremely deficient.

Finally, the third research objective of the thesis has been addressed in Chapter 6. I have reached the conclusion that the relation between the movement and the government can be defined through Hangan's (1998) concept of 'alliance': the movement closely collaborated with the government on issues related with household workers' rights but it kept an autonomous agenda from the government, as it is further explained in the following paragraphs.

The analysis of the *Equity and Justice* bulletins and the *Decolonisation and Depatriarchalisation* policy proposal (Fenatrahob, 2014a), the interviews conducted with key actors and secondary sources has allowed to identify the following mechanisms of institutionalization of the movement (Meyer, 2007): the participation of Fenatrahob in the Constituent Assembly, the appointment of Casimira Rodríguez as minister of justice and the appointment of other leaders of the movement to other official positions, the participation of Fenatrahob in the negotiations for including the rights of household workers in the future General Labour Act, and the collaboration of the Federation with the Ministries of Education of Labour to elaborate policies related with household workers' rights. The analysis has also shown that the movement has kept an autonomous agenda despite its alliance with the government. This autonomy is shown by the continuous criticism expressed by Fenatrahob in several *Equity and Justice* bulletins to the lack of action of the government on household workers' rights, the stated aim of keeping its autonomy from MAS (Fenatrahob, 2010a), the self-positioning of Fenatrahob as an outsider actor in relation to the government (Fenatrahob, 2014a) and the rejection of a new presidential candidacy of Evo

Morales expressed by current Executive Secretary of Fenatrahob Gregoria Gabriel<sup>53</sup>.

The analysis of the influence of the institutionalization of the movement on its policy outcomes has allowed me to reach the following conclusion: the Bolivian social movement of household workers has enjoyed easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda. This has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not enabled the movement to achieve substantive outcomes, with the exception of the 218/2014 Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education.

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The analysis explained in the previous paragraphs has allowed to reach an overall conclusion that answers the research question of the thesis. The conclusion is twofold. First, the main policy outcomes of the movement were the ratification of the 189 ILO Convention, the inclusion of household workers' rights in the future General Labour Act (if it finally takes place), the official recognition of the National Day of Household Workers, the specification of a wide range of sources of discrimination and the recognition of the economic value of domestic work in the Constitution, the 218/2014 Ministerial Resolution that establishes a compulsory written contract and 'salaries book' for all household workers, and the program to promote the access of household workers to secondary education. Second, the alliance established between the movement and the government -which implied easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda- has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not allowed the achievement of substantive outcomes, with the exception of the 218/2014 Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education.

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<sup>53</sup> Author's interview with Elizabeth Peredo.

## Contributions to the Literature

The theoretical framework of this MPhil thesis is composed of inputs from the literature on household workers' mobilisations and the literature on social movements, and this research constitutes a contribution for both fields.

As it was explained in Chapter 2, the scarce research works on household workers' mobilisations in Bolivia have constituted very relevant inputs for this thesis. The most important work of this kind is Peredo Beltrán's book *Paid Household Workers in Bolivia: Learnings from a Long Struggle* (2015), which has provided two key elements for my research. First, Peredo Beltrán identified the favourable political context as one of the factors that explain the relative policy success of the Bolivian movement of household workers. Second, she found that the movement enjoyed easy access to the government due to the struggles that organised household workers and MAS militants shared in the past, but this easy access did not prevent Fenatrahob from keeping an autonomous agenda from Morales' government.

I have tested both findings by thoroughly analysing the relations between the movement and MAS government. The analysis of Fenatrahob *Equity and Justice* bulletins, other documents and interviews with key actors has allowed me to confirm that Fenatrahob enjoyed easy access to the government while keeping an autonomous political agenda from it (see Chapter 6). In addition, the classification of the outcomes of the movement in two categories (sensitizing outcomes and substantive outcomes) has allowed me to nuance Peredo Beltrán's conclusions: I have found that the alliance established between the movement and the government has allowed the achievement of important sensitizing outcomes, but it has not allowed the achievement of substantive outcomes, with the exception of the 218/2014 Resolution on the written contract and the program for access of household workers to secondary education. Therefore, my research has allowed to specify which kind of outcomes were obtained by the movement due to its relation with the government, reaching a higher degree of specificity than Peredo Beltrán's work.

The two main theoretical concepts of this MPhil thesis are *social movement outcomes* and *social movement institutionalization*, as it was explained in Chapter

2. In the following paragraphs, I discuss the most relevant inputs for my research of the literature on both topics and how my research contributes to current discussions on the fields of social movement outcomes and social movement institutionalization.

First, the analysis of the outcomes of the movement of household workers conducted in Chapter 5 has allowed me to propose some ways of identifying relations between the actions of social movements and their supposed outcomes. As it was explained in Chapter 2, the difficulty of establishing this kind of relationship is one of the main weaknesses of the literature on social movement outcomes effects (Amenta and Young, 1999; Béland, 2007; Bush, 1992; Giugni, 1999; Kriesi et al., 1995; Suh, 2014; Tilly, 1999). In Chapter 5, I have identified four factors that suggest a connection between the actions of a movement and its supposed policy effects: 1) the policy is self-defined as a result of the movement's activism; 2) the policy is defined as an outcome of the movement by one or several of the following actors: movement's activists, officials or neutral organisations; 3) the policy is the result of a negotiation in which the movement participated; and 4) the policy is jointly presented by officials and activists in a public event. This checklist has allowed me to identify relations between the actions of the movement of household workers and the policies of the Bolivian government on household workers' rights, and can be used on a case-by-case basis as a tool that can help researchers in social movement to identify relations between the activism of social movements and their outcomes.

Regarding the institutionalization of social movements, my thesis has contributed to current debates in two ways. On the one hand, my analysis has confirmed one major positive effect of institutionalization identified by the literature on social movements: the higher capacity of obtaining "stable and influential policies that respond to movement goals" (Suh, 2011, p. 444). Indeed, in Chapter 6 I have explained how the alliance constituted between the movement of household workers and the government has allowed the movement to obtain several important policy outcomes. By contrast, the capacity of a small number of activists to exert significant influence on policy due to their position in the state

bureaucracy identified by Haas (2011, p. 886) was not confirmed by the appointment of Casimira Rodríguez as minister.

On the other hand, the analysis conducted in Chapter 6 suggests that the high degree of autonomy that Fenatrahob kept vis-à-vis MAS government prevented the emergence of the most serious risks linked to institutionalization identified by social movement scholars, such as economic dependence (Ruzza, 1997, pp. 13–14), depoliticization of demands due to their bureaucratic treatment (Bush, 1992, p. 599; Horton, 2015, p. 84; Meyer, 2007, p. 174; Ruzza, 1997, p. 115), lack of representativeness of the institutionalized members in relation to the whole movement (Haas, 2011, p. 886) and divisions in movements (Horton, 2015, p. 84; Meyer, 2007, p. 131). None of these risks have been identified in the analysis.

Finally, this MPhil thesis constitutes a contribution to the burgeoning literature on the relation between social movements and Evo Morales' government that was reviewed in Chapter 2. While some authors maintain a very optimistic view of the relations between social movements and the government (De la Torre, 2013; García Linera, 2011; Prevost, 2012; Quiroga and Pagliarone, 2014), others have highlighted the increase in the conflicts between some social movements and Morales' government since 2010 (Oikonomakis and Espinoza, 2014; Svampa, 2010). The findings of my research only refer to the movement of household workers but constitute a relevant contribution for an overall assessment of the relations between the government and social movements, ten years after the first national electoral victory of president Evo Morales and the beginning of the 'process of change'. On the one hand, I have defined the relations between the movement of household workers and the government as an alliance. On the other hand, this alliance has not implied the fulfilment of some of the most important demands of household workers, which implies rejecting García Linera's definition of the MAS government as "the government of social movements" (García Linera, 2011, p. 12).

To sum up, this MPhil thesis has allowed to improve the knowledge of the knowledge on the demands of the Bolivian movement of household workers, the policies approved by MAS government between 2006 and 2016 to meet these

demands, and the relations between both actors during the first ten years of the so-called 'process of change'. In addition, this research has contributed to the literature on household workers' mobilisations in Bolivia, social movement outcomes, social movement institutionalization and the relations between social movements and MAS government in Bolivia.

Further research works on other understudied Bolivian social movements would be useful to elaborate an overall assessment of the relations between Evo Morales' government and social movements, with the aim of testing how much is left in practice of the notion of a "government of social movements". It would be particularly interesting to test to what extent the MAS government has fulfilled its promises regarding the demands of other women's organisations, such as the feminist organisations that struggle for the effective implementation of the women's right to a life free of violence, and the women's right to equality in political participation -which implies the eradication of the violence exerted against female politicians as a strategy to expulse them from the political sphere.

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As I explained in Chapter 3, I do not believe that social sciences research can provoke major social changes by itself. However, I am more convinced than ever that Boaventura de Sousa Santos is right when he explains how social science researchers can make themselves useful for social movements, spreading their example not only among academics but, most importantly, among other social movements. I hope that this thesis fulfils that function, increasing the knowledge on the Bolivian movement of household workers, and making available to others their example of restless struggle for their rights.

Each reader will retain what she or he finds more interesting from the experience of Fenatrahob and its allies, but I dare to suggest that one of the most striking findings from the Bolivian social movement of household workers is their ability to keep their autonomy from Evo Morales' government and MAS party while collaborating with them on specific issues. This alliance seems to be not only a useful strategy, but also a manifestation of the political coherence of Fenatrahob leaders. The organisation joined the Unity Pact established between MAS and the

main working-class, peasant and indigenous social organisations of Bolivia, they celebrated the election of Evo Morales as the first indigenous president in the Americas and they contributed to the constituent process led by MAS during its first years in government. However, the organised Bolivian household workers have also been able to keep distance vis-à-vis the ruling party, pointing out its failures and claiming for their rights. I hope that this experience is useful for other social movements in countries with progressive governments that are generally sympathetic to their demands but fail to produce or enforce the necessary policies to meet these demands.

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