



Western Washington University
Western CEDAR

WWU Graduate School Collection

WWU Graduate and Undergraduate Scholarship

2012

Resiliency strategies in transnational families: case study with highland Guatemalan women

Katie M. Fawell

Western Washington University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://cedar.wwu.edu/wwuet>

 Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fawell, Katie M., "Resiliency strategies in transnational families: case study with highland Guatemalan women" (2012). *WWU Graduate School Collection*. 223.
<https://cedar.wwu.edu/wwuet/223>

This Masters Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the WWU Graduate and Undergraduate Scholarship at Western CEDAR. It has been accepted for inclusion in WWU Graduate School Collection by an authorized administrator of Western CEDAR. For more information, please contact westerncedar@wwu.edu.

**Resiliency Strategies in Transnational Families: Case Study with Highland
Guatemalan Women**

By

Katie M. Fawell

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Kathleen L. Kitto, Dean of the Graduate School

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chair, Dr. James Loucky

Dr. Joan C. Stevenson

Dr. Joyce D. Hammond

MASTER'S THESIS

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master's degree at Western Washington University, I grant to Western Washington University the non-exclusive royalty-free right to archive, reproduce, dispute, and display the thesis in any and all forms, including electronic format, via any digital library mechanisms maintained by WWU.

I represent and warrant this is my original work, and does not infringe or violate any rights of others. I warrant that I have obtained written permissions from the owner of any third party copyrighted material included in these files.

I acknowledge that I retain ownership rights to the copyright of this work, including but not limited to the right to use all or part of this work in future works, such as articles of books.

Library users are granted permission for individual, research and non-commercial reproduction of this work for educational purposes only. Any further digital posting of this document requires specific permission from the author.

Any copying or publication of this thesis for commercial purposes, or for financial gain, is not allowed without my written permission.

Katie M. Fawell
July 16, 2012

**Resiliency Strategies in Transnational Families: Case Study with Highland
Guatemalan Women**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Katie M. Fawell
July 2012

Abstract

The Maya from highland Guatemala are now involved in transnational migration that separates families. Most commonly men migrate first to the United States, leaving women and children behind. This leads to new challenges for women and children in Guatemala who must adapt to male absent households. One such community that faces these challenges is Aguacatán, Guatemala. The women in the Guatemalan homeland community, Aguacatán, are often married to men who have immigrated to the United States. Whatcom County, Washington is the destination for many families from Aguacatán due to both conflict within Guatemala and the need for families to give their children a better life. Local relationships with Aguacatecos in Whatcom County allowed for a visit to Aguacatán. Twenty-five women were interviewed regarding their “indirect” migration experiences, measured here as how connected they were to their husband, e.g., frequency of communication and remittances from husband, and connectedness with their local community and their perceptions about the impacts on family. Family resilience framework provides the structure for the analysis. Successful coping was defined as having a consistent world view that included good communication with partner and connections to community. The most resilient women received consistent remittances, talked more often to husband, and exhibited the extra resources to connect with their community.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my thesis advisor, Dr. James Loucky, for his academic guidance, mentorship, and friendship. I would also like to thank my committee, Dr. Joan Stevenson and Dr. Joyce Hammond, for their continual support, editing and feedback. This research would not have been possible without each research participant and the community of Aguacatán, Guatemala. I am grateful for their involvement, contribution and on-going relationships. I would like to thank the 2010 fall cohort, my friends, my family and my fiancé for their encouragement, support and patience during graduate school.

Table of Contents

Abstract:	iv
Acknowledgements:	v
<u>Chapter One: Introduction</u>	1
Setting	4
Methods	8
<u>Chapter Two: Culture of Migration</u>	13
The Maya Diaspora	13
Case Study: Aguacatán	17
The World System	19
<u>Chapter Three: Women in Contemporary Migration</u>	22
Women’s Agency	22
Theory on Resiliency	29
<u>Chapter Four: The Emic Perspective</u>	33
Salient Concerns	35
Coping Strategies	41
<u>Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions</u>	59
Works Cited	67
Appendices:	
A. Interview Schedule	75
B. Interview Consent Form	77
C. IRB Approval	78

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Map of Guatemala	5
Figure 2: Linguistic Map of Department of Huehuetenango in Guatemala	7
Figure 3: Percent Distribution of Population in the United States by Hispanic Origin and Nativity.....	15
Figure 4: Percent Distribution of the Foreign Born Population by World Region.....	16
Figure 5: Distribution of Foreign-Born Hispanic Population in the United States	17
Figure 6: Relationship Status of Sample	34
Figure 7: Use of Remittances Reported by Sample.....	41
Figure 8: Frequency of Communication Reported by Sample.....	45
Figure 9: Reported Length of Phone Calls in Minutes between Women in Sample and Male Spouse.....	46
Figure 10: Future Plans Regarding Male Spouses Return to Guatemala Reported by Sample.....	51
Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Sample	33
Table 2: Current Country Totals of Blog Viewers from 5 Nov 2010 to 4 May 2012.....	50

Chapter One: Introduction

Over 38 million immigrants live and work in the United States and 18.1 million of these immigrants report Hispanic or Latino origins (MPI 2010). Many of the immigrants leave children behind and families undergo transformations, complicated by extended periods of separation from parents, particularly from male parents. Specific aspects of migration-induced separation have been identified relative to the change to non-migrant single parent, including: changes in the power between husband and wife, how a wife handles new responsibilities formerly her husband's, (Aysa and Massey 2004; Parreñas 2005), and how she redefines her role especially relative to parenting (Menjívar and Agadjanian 2007). While changes to families are accelerated due to modern communication and economic pressures with globalization (Glick-Schiller 1992), how women adapt to these pressures is mediated partly through their culture and their local setting. Few scholars have looked at the coping strategies that non-migrating women utilize to successfully manage their family during separation (Schmalzbauer 2005; Dreby 2007).

Women, long neglected in migration literature, have received increased attention in the last decade (Salgado de Synder 1993; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Archambault 2010). Previously, most research examined the implications for those who migrate (Massey 1990; Massey et al. 1994; Massey et al. 2002); however, more recent studies look at how separation is financially, emotionally and socially challenging to the remaining adult (Aysa and Massey 2004; Parreñas 2005; Moran-Taylor 2008; McKenzie and Menjívar 2010; De Haas and Rooij 2010; Donato et al. 2010; Agadjanian et al. 2011). Women

with migrant spouses in the United States report suffering from anxiety, stress and depression (Salgado de Synder 1993; Camus 2008).

Children of immigrants are also affected as the father may be absent for long periods and his ability to parent can be dramatically curtailed (Taylor and Behnke 2005). Children often experience feelings of abandonment and may act out by joining gangs, drinking alcohol and using drugs at young ages (Moran-Taylor 2008; Coe 2011; Coe et al. 2011). Difficulties in single parenting and risks associated with the precarious immigration system are seen to be offset by the benefits of remittances and use of technology to maintain communication and family cohesion. Remittances allow children to attend school, and families to receive health services and live in safer housing, to name a few typical expenditures (Aysa and Massey 2004; Lindstrom and Muñoz-Franco 2006).

Migration to another country leads to adjustments that can cause stress for immigrants and their families, but especially for husband or father-absent households (Coe 2011; Dreby 2006; Parreñas 2005). Research on transnational parenting and families highlights the dismal outcomes for non-migrating women and children (Levitt 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2002; Artico 2003; Menjívar and Agadjanian 2007). The stresses are well established. Marriages often disintegrate, remittances are cut off, and children grow up without a father figure which can lead to poor educational, social and depressive symptoms among youth.

And yet, there are families who appear to do well in spite of the well-established challenges. Specifically, some women appear resilient, that is, showing adaptive functioning despite facing profound adversity (Schoon 2006). The goal here is to interview women facing these challenges in order to learn more about how they manage. Many women raise their

children, find additional work when remittances are insufficient, and take on new roles in their community (Camus 2008), often successfully (Schmalzbauer 2005). I examine how women cope with absence of a male spouse, parenting their children in a community with a high proportion of transnational families.

The holistic anthropological approach provided a useful discipline because the migration process is complex and affects many layers (Kearney 1995; Brettell 2003). I apply the family attachment network model (FANM), which synthesizes Bowlby's landmark attachment theory (1969) and Bowen's family systems theory (1966). There is ample reason to believe that parent separation adversely affects child development, emotional attachment and parenting. However, these theories taken separately may not adequately illustrate family risks and resiliency through successful coping strategies. The FANM considers the criteria that is necessary for an at risk family to attain resiliency. I adapt the family resilience framework (FRF), which is grounded in family systems theory in order to discuss the three systems necessary to achieve resiliency. According to Walsh (1996, 2002, 2006), women will be resilient despite hardships if they successfully establish the three systems: family belief systems, organizational patterns and communication processes.

My methods include participant observation and various informal interviews and semi-structured interviews. The fieldwork site selection was simplified when I discovered that there were as many as 250 Guatemalan immigrants living in Whatcom County, Washington, from the highland community of Aguacatán in Guatemala. My methods included participant observation, various informal interviews and semi-structured interviews. The fieldwork site selection was simplified when I discovered that there were as many as 250 Guatemalan

immigrants living in Whatcom County, Washington from the highland community of Aguacatán in Guatemala.

The Maya residing in Whatcom County, Washington migrated in hopes of finding work and income to support their families (personal communication, Loucky, April 6, 2011). Violence between the 1950s and 1990s repressed the Maya as they fought for survival. A 36-year civil war in Guatemala precipitated families to flee as refugees in the 1970s and 1980s. The Maya continue to be marginalized in Guatemala and receive fewer social services and government assistance than non-Maya counterparts. As a result, landlessness, poverty and discrimination push Maya from their homeland (Robinson 2003; Camus 2008). Approximately 10 to 15 percent of Guatemala's population migrates to the United States (Moran-Taylor 2008). This percentage is higher in Aguacatán, where approximately 25 percent of the population has immigrated to the United States (ALMG 2005). Most commonly men migrate first because of the financial cost, uncertainty, and dangers associated with migration into the United States. They leave their wives and children behind. The goal here was to understand how the women and their families cope while husbands are away.

Setting

Aguacatán is a municipality in the northwestern Guatemalan Department of Huehuetenango and borders the Mexican state of Chiapas. Aguacatán is located outside the city of Huehuetenango (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of Guatemala (Lonely Planet 2012)

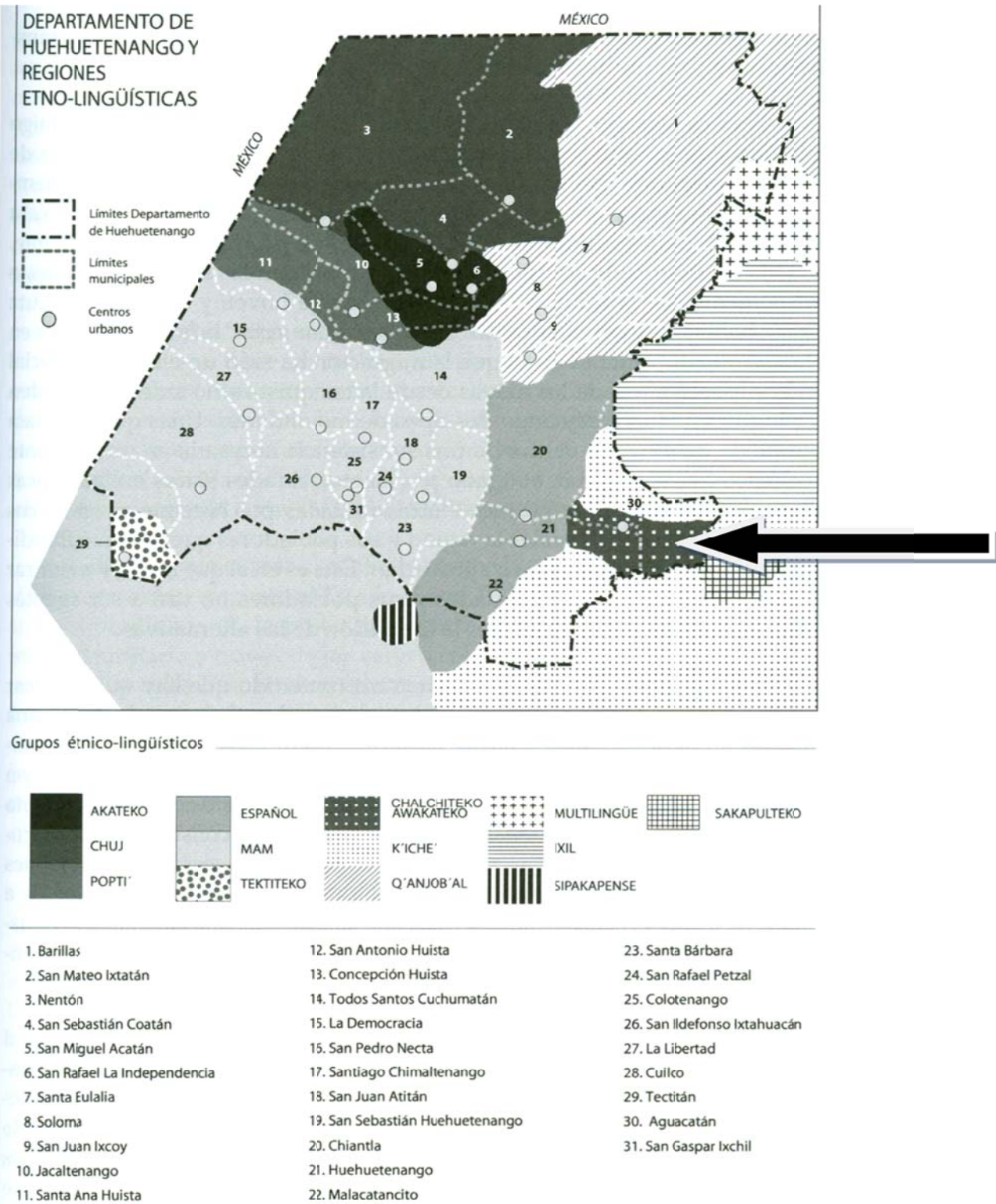


The site is in the Cuchumatanes Mountains, the largest mountain range in Central America (ALMG 2005). According to the 2002 Guatemalan Census, there are approximately 41,671 inhabitants in Aguacatán, of which there are 19,280 males and 22,391 females. The municipality performed a participatory survey between 2000 and 2004 and found that 781 males had left for United States; but only 35 females migrated to the United States (Escobar Mendez 2004). This does not accurately convey information regarding current migration statistics nor does it reflect internal migration with Guatemala. However, it does accurately portray that Aguacatán is experiencing a phenomenon of male-out migration.

The people who live in Aguacatán refer to themselves as *Aguacatecos* and speak one of the 23 Mayan dialects called Awakateko (see figure 2) (Camus 2008; Little and Smith 2009). There are

approximately 18,000 speakers of the Mayan dialect. Today, children learn Awakateko at birth, followed by learning Spanish in elementary school (ALMG 2002; ALMG 2005). During the civil war, a large proportion of K'iche speakers, another Mayan dialect, moved into the area after they fled their native lands. Barrio *San Miguel*, in the city center of Aguacatán, and the surrounding mountain *aldeas*, are predominately locations of K'iche speakers. The municipality also includes speakers of the Mayan dialects, Mam and Chalchitek. Mam is the dominant language in much of Northern Guatemala and Southern Mexico. Chalchitek is closely related to Awakateko and depending on whom you ask, they are essentially the same language, only differing by about five words.

Figure 2. Linguistic Map of Department of Huehuetenango in Guatemala (Camus 2008:37)



Methods

Relationships with Aguacatecos, people from Aguacatán in Whatcom County, Washington allowed for a visit to the highland community for three months. Snowball sampling was used starting with referrals from initial contacts of Aguacatecos in Whatcom County who have relatives in Guatemala. Their family and friends, who continue to live in Aguacatán, welcomed me into the community.

Two nurses who work at the *Centro de Salud*, the health center, in Aguacatán met with me upon my arrival. I explained that I was interested in volunteering with one of their health programs as a way to talk to women who have spouses in the United States. They introduced me to a team of female community health workers. I accompanied this health team for three weeks in daily visits to different neighborhoods. The community health workers visited health posts within each neighborhood and provided vaccines for children and pregnant women and nutritional information. They took weights and measures for children, and the physician offered consults to all women. These neighborhood health posts were also the site where women came each month to receive family planning. Women knew the date that the health team made their visit each month and they knew they needed to be there to see a doctor. A representative sample of the female population was collected by visiting each neighborhood within Aguacatán because it systematically captured different social classes. This data does not capture outlying communities in the mountains that surround Aguacatán's city center because they were inaccessible. These outlying communities speak K'iche and tend to be poorer than families that live closer to the city center. This data could have provided a greater scale of stratification among participants.

The community health team was very welcoming to my research interests and allowed me to introduce myself to 35 to 50 women each day to explain my project. The health workers would start their vaccinations and physician consultation, while I introduced myself individually to women. Some women would quickly tell me that their husband was in the United States. Others were more timid, possibly protecting a husband's security in the United States. Many others would say that they did not have a spouse, but they had sons, daughters, cousins, or grandchildren in the United States.

I collected standardized data from 25 women who had a spouse or a father to their children in the United States. An oral questionnaire was administered using selected questions from The Mexican Migration Project (MMP), a collaborative research project based at the Princeton University and the University of Guadalajara. The MMP was established in 1982 after it was apparent that there was insufficient data on immigration in the Western hemisphere (Donato et al. 2010). MMP has used the same survey since 1987 which provides further credibility to my research methods. The selection of questions and my questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. I asked women while they waited for their physician consultation if I could perform a semi-structured interview. If we needed more time, I retrieved their cell phone number and did a home visit for a follow-up interview. Many women did not speak fluent Spanish. In these cases, their older daughters or female family members would translate Spanish into Awakateko. Translators would often contribute to some of the conversations. Additional interviews were conducted with three men and one woman, who had recently returned from the United States. I interviewed a school teacher and did participant observation with my host family. It was quickly apparent that I needed to clearly distinguish between

“spouses” in the United States because various women stated that they were not married anymore, but that the father of their children was in the U.S. Relationship status was determined by the informant, however, culturally and religiously it is difficult and expensive to legally become divorced in Guatemala. The “divorced” category was discarded after no women reported being divorced, but rather preferred to use term single or separated.

I was able to gather data on non-migrant households. As de Haas and van Rooji (2010:46) argue, many studies on migration tend to focus on the effects on migrants households and do not include information on a non-migrant control group. They assert that the inclusion of a control group is essential to properly evaluate the impacts of migration because women and men belonging to non-migrant households are directly and indirectly affected by “community-wide, migration-driven social and economic change” (2010:46). Unfortunately, it is very difficult to quantify a “non-migrant household” because it is a fluid concept that continually changes. Almost every male and many women have resided in the United States for a period of time. Some are saving up money to pay a human smuggler, referred to as a coyote, to cross the border and others were deported at the border, so they are waiting for their next attempt to cross the border again. Some are working seasonally on the Guatemalan coast or on coffee plantations or in factories in Guatemala City. And others have just recently returned to Guatemala after being deported. Thus the term “non-migrant” is an ambiguous concept. The fuzziness of these categories is characteristic of communities with high quantities of transnational families. Inability to distinguish a migrant versus non-migrant typifies the culture of migration in which fixed categories change with movement over time.

Women were particularly interested in participating in the research project because I was able to offer them a tangible gift in exchange for their contribution. Participants in the study were offered single use cameras to take photos of their children and family that were mailed to their spouse in the United States. I offered to take photos using my personal digital camera for three women who were unfamiliar with single use cameras. Women dressed their children in *traje*, traditional Maya dress, and allowed me to take digital photos. This was a great success because it allowed me to reciprocate the relationship. I developed the photos and mailed photos of children to fathers in the United States at no cost to the participant. I had planned on collecting data using a community-based participatory research (CBPR) tool called photo narratives (Wang and Pie 2004). A photo narrative is when each woman receives a single use camera and they are asked to take photos of people, places, and things that represent belonging to a migrant family, or whatever the topic of research pertains. This plan changed after I realized that I was able to gather credible and informative data solely with interviews.

During my fieldwork, I met William López who produces a low powered radio station through the Catholic Church. He has a degree in journalism from Guatemala City and broadcasts cultural and informational news stories on the radio. López also writes a blog, which thousands of visitors from the United States visit routinely to stay connected with Aguacatán. López introduced me to a group of young women who worked for the Oficina Municipal de la Mujer (OMM). Norma Julieta López Rodríguez, the director of OMM provided information regarding their programs. OMM is funded through the city government and they organize approximately 20 different groups of women with anywhere from 20 to 100 women in each group who clustered by *aldea* or neighborhood. Groups have specific interests. For example,

one group, Vivero Forestal focuses on forest and wood collection; DORCAS is organization of women who make bread; Caserio Calin is a group of women who work with seeds and agriculture. All the groups meet bi-monthly to learn, advocate and support women's rights. The women who worked for OMM became some of the key supporters of the study. Unfortunately, I did not collect systematic data on whether the participants in my study were involved in a women's group because I did not learn about the OMM program until my last week in Aguacatán. This may have been a critical indicator as to whether women who participated in women's group also achieved higher social status and/or income. Social class and stratification within the community were difficult to quantify and informants were not asked to report annual income. The stratification is a result of planned and unpredictable scenarios that have led some to gain more monetarily than others in the midst of migration. In hindsight, systematic data could have been collected regarding the specific amenities that each household (i.e. plumbing system, building material type of home) had in order to compare relative income levels.

This thesis addresses the coping strategies that women employ under the stressful separation from a male spouse. Through in-depth interviews with this population, we gain insight into the experiences and success stories of non-migrant women. As research shows, these coping strategies are necessary to attain resiliency. Unfortunately, economic uncertainty and anti-immigrant sentiments have given rise to a culture of fear and hostility towards immigrants (Massey and Sánchez 2010). I hope that this thesis will humanize the migration experience and explain why and how families function during migration induced separation.

Chapter Two: Culture of Migration

The Maya Diaspora

It has been twelve years since the end of the Guatemalan civil war, yet the Maya people continue to be a marginalized sector in Guatemalan life. The country has the most unequal land distribution in Latin America (Broe and Hinde 2006). As a result, the Maya continue to experience poverty, illiteracy and high rates of infant and child mortality (Lindstrom and Muñoz-Franco 2005; Broe and Hinde 2006). The historical context provides explanation for inequalities, racism and poverty and explains the necessity and culture of migration.

The indigenous Maya survived for thousands of years in the geographic region spreading across southern Mexico and northern Guatemala. The Maya were known for their complex written language, belief systems, and agricultural success. However, Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century threatened the Maya. The Spanish introduced a cultural system that differed from the religious, cultural, and political traditions of Maya people. Discrimination against indigenous Maya created impoverished conditions that led to disease, malnutrition and mortality. The Spanish enforced a feudal land system which not only destroyed traditional agricultural practices but gave rise to a conflict over land rights that endures to the present (Wolf 1959).

The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supported a coup in 1954 to overthrow the newly elected Guatemalan democratic president who appeared as communist threat to the United States. A decade of leftist economic and social reforms that supported indigenous Guatemalans was replaced with a right-wing military government. Guatemalan military confiscated Maya land with violence. Guatemala's social hierarchy reflected the racist

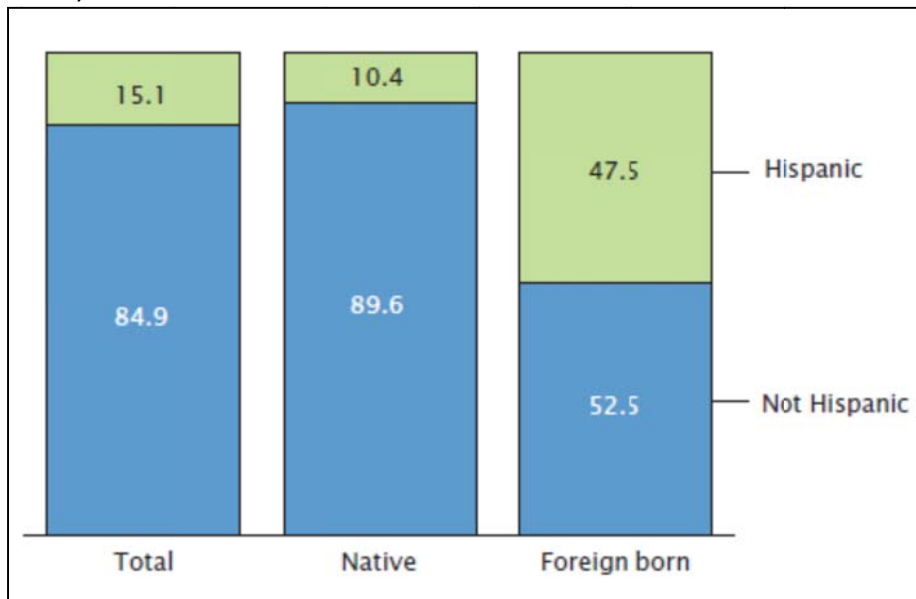
attitudes by landowners to the displaced indigenous Guatemalans. Maya laborers lost their land and had no other option but to work for minimal wages in sugar, cotton, banana and coffee plantations.

Maya peasants could no longer adhere to the inequitable conditions (Loucky and Moors 2000). The more the Maya people fought back against military forces, the greater the retaliation. The civil war began with Maya resistance, followed by repression of the Maya people and then fighting for survival. Approximately 200,000 lives and “disappearances” were claimed between the 1950s and 1990s. About 400,000 Guatemalans escaped the country in hopes for safer locales, many of which were in the United States. The 36-year civil war has now been deemed an ethnocide, or genocide against the Maya people. Peace negotiations were reached 1996 and the United Nations released a report in 1999 detailing the atrocities that were committed during the war. Cultural displacement of the Maya, or the Maya diaspora, created a surge of economic refugees in the United States who struggled to reclaim their sense of identity (Fink 2003).

Many thought the signing of the Peace Accords would accelerate return migration to Guatemala (MPI 2006). However, the country was in severe poverty after being in war for over three decades. About 60,000 Guatemalans who had fled to the United States were able to receive legal permanent resident status under the provision of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. Since then, migration from Guatemala into the United States has steadily increased with approximately 6,000 to 12,000 immigrants arriving each year. About half the foreign born population in the United States identifies with Hispanic nativity (see figure 3). This signifies the culture of migration for the Hispanic population. Leaving a homeland is difficult at

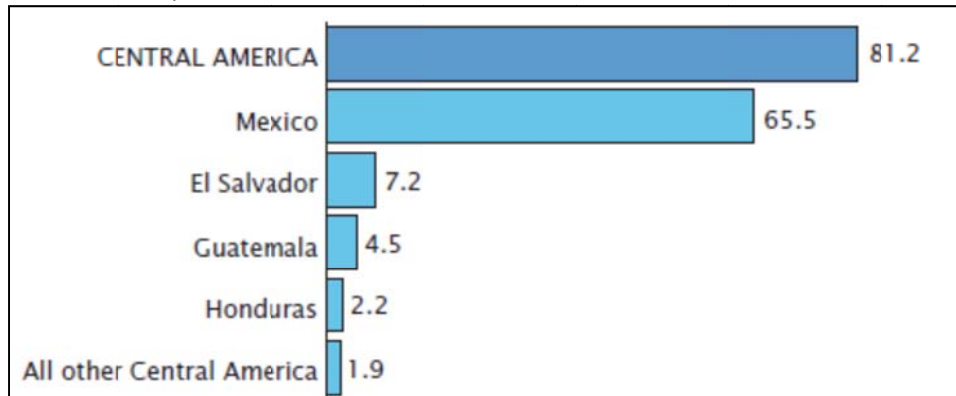
many levels. The reason to do so is also a difficult decision and not an easy one for any family. Yet, the decision is less difficult when the necessity for basic amenities outweighs fear, separation and risks. The culture of migration in Guatemala is due to a history of violence against the Maya which explains the necessity for migration and separating family members in order to survive.

Figure 3. Percent Distribution of Population in the United States by Hispanic Origin and Nativity (Grieco 2009)



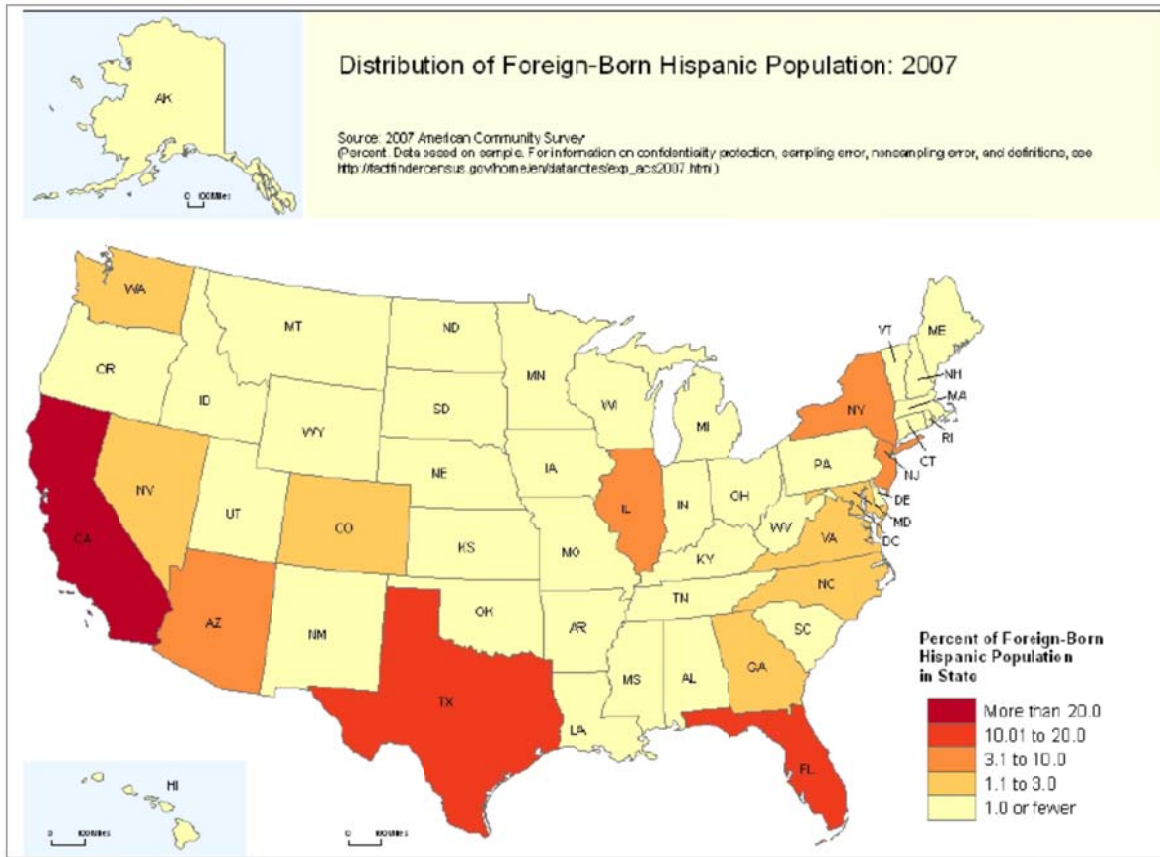
As of 2011, Guatemala had the largest population of Central America with an estimated population of 14.7 million people (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011). However, 4.2 million Guatemalans have relatives living abroad, mostly in the United States. Today, there are approximately one million Guatemalans living in the United States. Four percent of the foreign born Hispanic populations in the United States are Guatemalans (see figure 4) (U.S. Census Bureau 2007).

Figure 4. Percent Distribution of the Foreign Born Population by World Region (U.S. Census Bureau 2007)



Over the past three decades, Guatemalans have left for the United States, often to locations where there are friends and family, usually from the same part of Guatemala (Durand and Massey 1992; Lomnitz 1977; Portes and Bach 1985; Wilson 2009). The locations of foreign born Hispanic populations in the United States are directly associated with migrant networks (see figure 5). Migrants connect with family and friends in the United States who are able to make weak ties into strong ties in the migration process. These networks are critical for the support of new arrivals because of the assistance of finding temporary housing and jobs. Guatemalan communities are found across the United States but primarily reside in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Ohio, Mississippi, Delaware and Washington (Fink 2003; Loucky and Moors 2000).

Figure 5. Distribution of Foreign-Born Hispanic Population in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2007)



Case Study: Aguacatán

Contemporary migration from Aguacatán to the United States is due to a combination of historical violence, poverty, efforts to maintain or reunite the family, a scarce labor market, agricultural crisis from poor land quality, drop of prices in the international market, subsidies in the U.S., inadequate technology for cultivation and irrigation, and lastly, to pay debts that were invested for agricultural supplies (ALMG 2005; fink 2003). Aguacatecos leave looking for new opportunities with hopes of returning to their homeland to start a new business or job that will allow them to purchase land, build a house and children to attend school. However, Aguacatán

recognizes the impacts that migration has on their society, including abandonment, divorce and long spousal separation.

The first wave of migration from Aguacatán to Guatemala City began in the 1950s. People also started to migrate seasonally to the coast and lowlands for work on bananas or coffee plantations. At this time, people also looked for new land accessibility and strategies to maintain their agricultural traditions and livelihoods. Many took the opportunity to purchase land in other Guatemalan municipalities in order to cultivate corn, beans, garlic and onion, the principle commodities produced in the highlands. The violence in the 1970s and 1980s against the Maya, also lead to migration as people moved to safer locales outside of Guatemala. Many families relocated and by the 1980s substantial numbers of Maya came to the California, Florida and Texas for agricultural work and urban locations (Loucky and Moors 2000).

People blame contemporary out-migration from Aguacatán on the poor profitability of agriculture that in the past was a source of livelihood (ALMG 2002; ALMG 2005). Garlic and onion production have historically driven the local economy in Aguacatán. Agriculture is the principle economic activity. Farmers produce the traditional *milpa*, or corn and beans for domestic use along with garlic and onion for the commercial market. However, few continue to harvest garlic and onion after continual pesticide use has torched the soil and its ability to produce. About 20 years ago, Aguacatán began using non-traditional methods to cultivate agricultural products for an international market. Farmers were obligated to purchase seeds and fertilizers from the Agriculture Association with credit since they were more costly. Loans for farm pesticides have forced people into debt, so they migrate to the United States to pay off these debts that are responsible for destroying food production.

The Northern American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) exacerbated the agricultural crisis when Former President Clinton and Mexican President Salinas signed it into effect on January 1, 1994 (Castles and Miller 2009). The two claimed that NAFTA would reduce illegal migration, arguing that it would spur economic opportunities in Latin America. However, this was not the case and as predicted, the poor and middle-class were adversely affected by the agreement. For example, garlic and onion in Aguacatán was formerly sold commercially and exported throughout Central America, but the purchasing price from corporate buyers drastically decreased to levels that are not economically sound for farmers. Millions relocated externally due to NAFTA and it only increased economic dependency for Latin America on the United States (Robinson 2003). Economic dependency originates from a system that inherently creates dependency of less affluent nations on more affluent nations. This will be discussed in the subsequent section which highlights the underlying theoretical perspectives for contemporary migration.

The World System

A culture of migration exists because of the ongoing human movement between Guatemala and the United States. As discussed, genocide, inequitable land distribution and poverty against the Maya have created migration and transnational families. As a result, Maya people and peasant communities are continually changing in response to capitalistic pressure from the outside (Wolf 1959). Eric Wolf (1959) viewed the world through a systems approach that recognized peasant communities as an intricate layer in the larger society or system. The former tendency was to view the world as stagnant and societies as isolated experiences, but

Wolf saw the world in a constantly changing process. Communities adapt to the present conditions and do what is necessary to provide for their families.

Kearney reconsidered the concept of peasantry and the contemporary realities of rural people (1995). The experiences of peasants are influenced by global circumstances and rapid change with globalization. It is critical to emphasize that despite global exchange of products, ideas and even people, “we still live in a world system where the rights and exercise of citizenship are largely ordered around state sovereignty” (Boehm et al. 2011:16). Nation states implement policies and categories to define citizenship and exercise power to their advantage. This power typically undermines and subjugates less affluent countries, like Guatemala.

Historically, migration involved a departure and an arrival, but contemporary technologies allows for growth in circular or temporary migration. Immigrants leave one cultural homeland and create a new community in the United States that may resemble their native traditions. Bourne (1916) introduced the term transnationalism in the early twentieth century when he observed the character of migrants in the early migration waves. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992) began to explore the earlier underpinnings for modern transnationalism. Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc (1994) considered transnationalism as the bidirectional flow of people, commodities, ideas and behavior. This is also considered *cross border flows*, which is the exchange of money, finance, and trade across borders, but also the transmission of democracy, good governance, cultural and media products, environmental pollution and even people (Castles and Miller 2009).

Wyman (1993) has argued that present day migrants leave homelands for the same reasons that migrants left in the past. Past and present migrants tend to send remittances to

homelands and be lured to developed countries for economic prospects; however, most migration scholars argue that transnationalism is a relatively new phenomenon (Basch et al. 1992). People are not just moving from one place to another; rather, people have significant links and feelings to more than one place. Unlike previous migrants who left countries that were often under a nation-building process, contemporary migrants leave nations that are well established (Foner 1997). There is a greater relationship between the migrant and their national identity, even if they are fleeing a place in turmoil. Migrants build communities upon arrival with other migrants who share the same identity. These migrant networks create spaces where they encourage and sustain cultural ties and hometown associations.

Increasingly, migrants are able to live physically in a new place yet maintain a strong identity to their place of origin. Over time, migrants experience a loyalty to their new society, even though the majority of people who leave their place of origin intend to return (Heyman 2006; Moran-Taylor 2008; Wilson 2009). A modern transnational family involves the relocation of family members across borders and nation states, while yet still retaining an identity linked to their homeland community. In other words, transnational migration emerges when migrants develop familial, economic, social, religious, and political relationships that cross two or more nation states (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992). This process, which creates a culture of migration, is particularly evident in Aguacatán. More commonly, families separate and form new transnational identities; women adjust their households and adapt to new roles during the absence of a male spouse.

Chapter Three: Women in Contemporary Migration

WOMEN'S AGENCY

Gender Wins or Woes

Migration has historically been more favorable towards solo-men migration because the trip is dangerous and costly (Desai and Banerji 2008; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003). Men migrate first and leave family behind with plans to bring a wife and children in subsequent time. This is often called “chain” or “step” migration and the spacing between the links can vary dramatically depending on financial resources (Orellana et al. 2001). Pessar and Mahler (2003) attempt to remedy the decades of obsolete literature pertaining to the female role in migration process because contemporary migration overwhelmingly includes women. More and more women are included in the migration process because they need to provide economically for the children, particularly if a spouse abandons a woman's family. However, the journey itself is dangerous for women who are more vulnerable to rape, robbery and assault in the migratory journey (Wilson 2009). Men prefer to send for women and children to join after they have secured settlement in the United States. They leave children in order to guard them from dangers that may arise while crossing a border without legal documents and to protect children from the uncertainties upon arriving in a new country (Orellana et al. 2001).

While non-migrant women face many obstacles, Parreñas (2005) shows migration of men can improve a wives' status because she takes on more responsibility and makes crucial financial decisions for the family. Women receive remittances at the bank and purchase goods and services that legitimize and justify their spouses' absence. Women will seek additional

work outside the household if the remittances are insufficient. An outside job can increase a woman's normal workload as she takes on tasks that were typically handled by men. She may manage and care for duties traditional defined as men's work in addition to her routine domestic responsibilities (Wilson 2009). It is not uncommon for women to work in agriculture, even though these were once male dominated roles. Older daughters may act as surrogate mothers to younger siblings in order to accommodate for a mother's extra responsibilities. Aysa and Massey (2004) found that women in urban regions of Mexico experienced increased bargaining power when they went to work in the labor force after a husband's migration. However, they also report increased tension between couples when males return to their homeland and wives are more self-sufficient.

While some studies show that men's migration both internally and internationally improves women's status (Parreñas 2005), other scholars argue that this positive change is not universal. Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007) show that contact and remittances are subtle ways that men use to control women's activities from abroad. Women may begin to worry if their spouse sent more or less money than other women received. The women experience added stress when they are forced to make economic decisions for the family and spend the money properly. De Haas and van Rooji (2010) argue that migration in Morocco actually has limited influence on the improvement for women's lives because it is the responsibility of the society to change societal norms regarding women's education, health, freedom of partner choice and fertility timing opposed to solely migration of males. Further, they argue that migration of male spouses negatively influences women's autonomy in rural traditional societies that have to live and cater to in-laws (de Haas and van Rooji 2010). Desai and Banerji (2008) suggest that the

women's status and independence in a male's absence increases, only if she does not live with extended family. Non-migrant women were restricted from realizing greater autonomy when they live with relatives who counteracted any social deviance. Women who were either divorced or widowed but still lived with extended family were expected to live more autonomous and independent lives. Divorced and widowed women were far more likely to make decisions concerning the livelihood for themselves and their children than women with a migrant spouse. As shown, non-migrant women face many obstacles after a male spouse migrates. Often, female status improves but it must be accompanied by changes at the community level that support female autonomy and agency.

Separation

More commonly, relationships disintegrate after a male spouse's departure. Coe's (2011) discusses the impact on family life for transnational families in Ghana. Similar to the situation in Guatemala, living apart from a spouse and parent has become commonplace. Relationships are less characterized by the physical co-presence of spouses, but instead fulfilled by the exchange of resources over a lifetime. Women feel remittances can be pulled at any time and therefore women remain submissive and faithful to husbands in fear of abandonment (Menjívar and Agadjanian 2007). Coe (2011) also found that women complaining that their spouses offered "lack of support" were masking infidelity or other grievances towards husbands. Women remained in deeply unhappy marriages with men abroad because of their economic dependency, even if the remittances they received were meager. It was not important to know the exact whereabouts of a spouse once the financial support was pulled. Women then took this opportunity to remarry. In Ghana, women said that they often preferred

cash to phone calls. Some women receive phone calls every day but no remittances. These women are then trapped in transnational marriages without economic and emotional benefits.

International migration also appeared to increase women's concern about their husband infidelity and the likelihood of divorce. Smith (2009) discusses the contemporary changes regarding marriage in Africa. Young couples more commonly marry a partner that they choose and "love". However, the family structure is also changing in response to rural-urban migration put forth by economic pressure. Migrants lose emotional connectivity with wives and children, making fatherly abandonment easier. Smith (2009) found that distance nurtures marriage infidelity, as increased distance makes affairs easier to hide. Friends and family members in the community of origin are not able to monitor migrants' activities. Marital affairs that take place outside a community of origin also offer fewer risks to a male's reputation. Gender norms sanction men to engage in affairs, while "new social expectations about women's domestic roles exacerbate the difficulty of addressing men's infidelity" (Smith 2009:172). Community support is necessary to establish equal gender expectations and norms regarding infidelity.

Children in Global Migration

The loss of a father in order to improve household income leads to feelings of abandonment for children (Orellana et al. 2001). Parental migration for long periods of time is devastating for family dynamics and children likely suffer the most (Coe et al. 2011). Children are often the last link in the "chain" migration (Orellana et al. 2001). Literature regards children as some sort of "baggage" that parents have to maneuver during migration. However, Orellana

et al. (2001) argues that children are vital agents in keeping families connected and negotiate the emotional costs that strain families.

Children are intricately woven into human movement and their perceived needs, future and desires act as limitations and motivations for migration. The decision to leave is almost always made collaboratively and undoubtedly, children are at the forefront for the decision to move (Boehm et al. 2011). The goals of migrants include improving the lives of their children who follow and benefit from their endeavors. Money that is sent back is often used to support educational opportunities for children. For some youth, the pressure to succeed in academics in order to reciprocally support their parents in coming years can be daunting. The outcomes are often rebellion in the form of joining gangs, where they can find belonging and structure that was lost during the absence of a father (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Dreby 2010). Fatherless youth also find themselves experimenting with drugs and alcohol and parenting children at a young age.

Parreñas' (2005) research in the Philippines show that children are more prone to the negative effects of separated parenting when a mother migrates for work. She attributes this to children's gender ideologies that lead them to believe that mothers provide emotional support and intimacy in childrearing years. Rather, migration of a male parent only reestablishes gender roles. Distance can exacerbate stereotype gender roles as women carry on as the primary nurturers, while also taking on extra workloads to accommodate for insufficient remittances. Parreñas states that children must adjust to becoming a transnational household. Children maintain distant relationships with their fathers, which inevitably lead to social and emotional

discomfort. She states, “Both temporal and geographic separation breeds unfamiliarity, which in turn may lead to variegated feelings of insecurity and loss for children” (Parreñas 2005:67).

Coe (2011) found that many children do not feel neglected by a male parent if he continues to send material goods. Financial contributions coupled with phone calls and visits from a migrant father were considered sufficient signs of love and affection to children. However, Ghanaian children often worried about being forgotten and abandoned. Men that had started new relationships and families felt obligated to their new commitments and neglected to send funds to previous relationships. Children are critical figures in shaping goals and desires for migrant fathers. Children inevitably face the consequences of separated parenting. Yet, children are also coming into the digital age that allows modern communication. The future for non-migrant children will be dynamic as youth learn to communicate with modern technology.

Staying Digitally Connected

New technologies facilitate mobility and connectedness in the transnational process (Castles and Miller 2009:55). Basch et al (1994) argue that increased technologies for transportation and communication allow migrants to easily maintain close links to areas of origin while living somewhere else. Twenty-first century technological innovations have allowed transnational families “to negotiate family and household matters transnationally, to direct hometown associations, and even political campaigns and businesses across borders” (Mahler 2001:610). Escobar (1994) introduced the term *cyberia* in 1994, when he challenged anthropologists to view information and communication technologies (ICTs) as an opportunity to transform technoculture.

Former innovative technologies like the radio, television and telephones are all seen today as commonplace household items (Wilding 2006). Like these, the future of cell phones, video conferencing calls and the Internet are critical to receding and blurring distance since informational technologies provide instant communication. Wilding (2006) argues that families separated by national and international borders are concerned with incorporating modern technology into routine social activities. Families perceived ICTs as miracles that eliminated time and space barriers and allowed parents to have greater and instant connectivity to their children or aging parents (Wilding 2006).

According to Moran-Taylor (2008), there is lessening distance when it comes to spatial and temporal distance between loved ones in the United States and those remaining in Guatemala. Low cost internet and social networking connect homeland communities to host destinations. The increase in technological communication allows for the existence of transnational families. Families are increasingly accessing modern technology to communicate across borders (Orellana et al. 2001). Home video cameras serve as an important tool for recording critical life events. Participants in Orellana's (2001) study reported using technology to capture a funeral procession in Guatemala. Family members in the United States reported purchasing computers with video access for educational purposes, but quickly realized the benefits to communicating and sending photos to Central America.

There are numerous benefits to modern advancements but there are also psychological risks and economic barriers (Orellana 2001; Mahler 2001). Visual images of parents and loved ones can provoke emotional unrest among distant individuals. The accessibility for people in the United States is highly contrasted to rural communities that have little to no access to high

speed internet that can support video conferencing. Mahler (2001) states differential access to technology is a reflection of the unequal power and dependency of rural peoples. Her research on technological advancements of transmigrants in El Salvador and Long Island, New York, depict the uneven distribution of communication technologies. She argues the disparities among accessibility to these tools, or telecommunications, is only another example of the imbalanced expansion of global capitalism. Women must negotiate these arenas and determine if technology is a necessity for survival or a luxury. I will evaluate issues around this in the next section.

THEORY ON RESILIENCY

Resiliency or Survival

Are women surviving or do they positively adjust to adverse situations (Schoon 2006)? Resilience is “the ability to withstand and rebound from adversity” (Walsh 2002:130). Rapid social change, economic uncertainty and family disintegration prompt psychological and emotional unrest amongst non-migrant women (Schoon 2006) and social structures influence individual adaptation to adversity. Social services and governmental institutions contribute to wellbeing of people by providing resources and stability, but these resources are less available in less affluent countries.

Much research has been done on the coping strategies that are employed during times of stress. Lazarus (1993) said that coping involves a reaction to changes in psychological stress within the context of an unfavorable personal environment. Cervantes and Castro (1985) developed a culturally appropriate theoretical framework based on systems theory and the prior works of Lazarus (1993) and Lazarus and Folkman (1984). The framework reviewed

variables that contributed to life stressors among Latinos/Latinas. Hispanic families generally exhibit social support and religiousness, which seem to be protective factors in times of stress (Dunn and O'Brien 2009). Many of the coping strategies address resiliency factors for immigrants working in the United States, facing anti-immigrant sentiments, discrimination, and unfavorable conditions (Menjívar 2006; Massey and Sanchez 2010). Although immigrants leave undesirable and impoverished conditions, they often end up facing harsher conditions upon arrival in the United States.

The family attachment network model is used to explain the psychological impacts and coping strategies that occur during spousal and parental separation. The model was created by integrating the empirical foundations of Bowlby's attachment theory (1969) and Bowen's family systems theory (1966). Riggs and Riggs (2011) apply the family attachment network model to military families, who exhibit characteristics of both risks and resiliency during a male parent's deployment and reintegration upon return. The male absence during deployment resembles the separation the migrant families undergo. Bowlby's attachment theory is critical in the field of attachment and family psychology (1969). Attachment theory conjures that it is essential for children to receive consistent and predictable care from a primary caregiver. The amount of consistency and affection from the caregiver determines the quality of the parent-child attachment. This can be a useful model and many migration scholars use it to explain the depressive symptoms that occur when parental separation takes place for extended periods of time from biological children. Bowlby felt that the internal working model (IWM), a mental representation of the thought process, determines attachment related risk and resilience (1980). The IWM forms early during attachment forming relationships and determines coping

abilities for future experiences with stress, regulating emotions, and interactions in close relationships. Individuals with positive IWM tend to have secure and trusted relationships and are associated with “adaptive coping, high self-efficacy, and psychological well-being” (Riggs and Riggs 2011:676). Adults with positive IWM’s also tend to have secure spousal relationships, which provide a foundation for responsive parenting and secure attachments for children. Insecure adults with negative IWM’s would then have the opposite response to stress and create dis-attachment for children through unresponsive parenting.

Similarly, family systems theory argues that no one acts as an individual without affecting other persons because individuals and relationships develop within the larger network (Riggs and Riggs 2011). The three major family patterns of adaptive, disengaged, and enmeshed resemble the three primary attachment categories of secure, avoidant/submissive, and anxious-ambivalent/preoccupied. The FANM contains multiple layers and relationships that impart rules upon other layers of the system. The separate systems are inextricably intertwined with other levels of the larger system. Likewise, each attachment relationship to an individual or caregiver can differ and is unique to the child’s behavior. Children are impacted by the departure of male parent however, the child’s development and behavior is a direct reflection of the spousal attachment style. Therefore, a positive attachment styles between spouses is critical to the resilient functioning of children within the larger family context.

Family Resilience Framework

Resiliency is defined as a transformative process where individuals show adaptive functioning despite facing profound adversity (Schoon 2006). The non-migrant parent is crucial to providing the security that children will need after a male parent departs. The FANM shows

that children are more likely to be resilient if they develop in a setting with secure parenting, which helps them cope adaptively and ensure their psychological well-being (Riggs and Riggs 2011). The FANM also hypothesizes, based on previous research, that the emotional and developmental stages of children are greatly influenced by the parent's psychological regulation, parenting practices, and coping abilities.

Walsh's (2006) family resilience framework (FRF) shows the components that are necessary for there to be resiliency during disruption. The approach is used to strengthen families in crisis (e.g. major trauma; loss); in disruptive transitions (separation, divorce; migration); and facing challenges of persistent, multi-stress conditions (e.g. illness, disability; economic hardship). FRM postulates that there are three systems which need to be in place to achieve resiliency: family belief systems, organizational patterns and communication processes (Walsh 2006). Wives and children who stay behind after a male's migration "make meaning" of the situation. Belief systems and spirituality contribute to successful coping strategies. Family organization and resources includes a flexible structure that can be modified, being connected, and supported by social and economic networks. Communication processes include consistent and clear messages between family members, openly expressing emotions, and using collaborative problem solving to discover new opportunities. I will evaluate whether women in Aguacatán utilize these three systems of beliefs system, organization and communication to manage their families successfully.

Chapter Four: The Emic Perspective

Aguacatán is a case study on the contemporary realities in a culture of migration.

Guatemalans are dependent on economic opportunities in the United States to ensure the wellbeing for loved ones who remain in Aguacatán. Non-migrant wives utilize coping strategies to manage their families during stressful circumstances and separation. All names in the following sections have been given pseudonyms to assure confidentiality. Ethnographic data was collected from 25 women regarding the direct and indirect impact of migration of male spouses. Descriptive data was collected from my sample (see table 1).

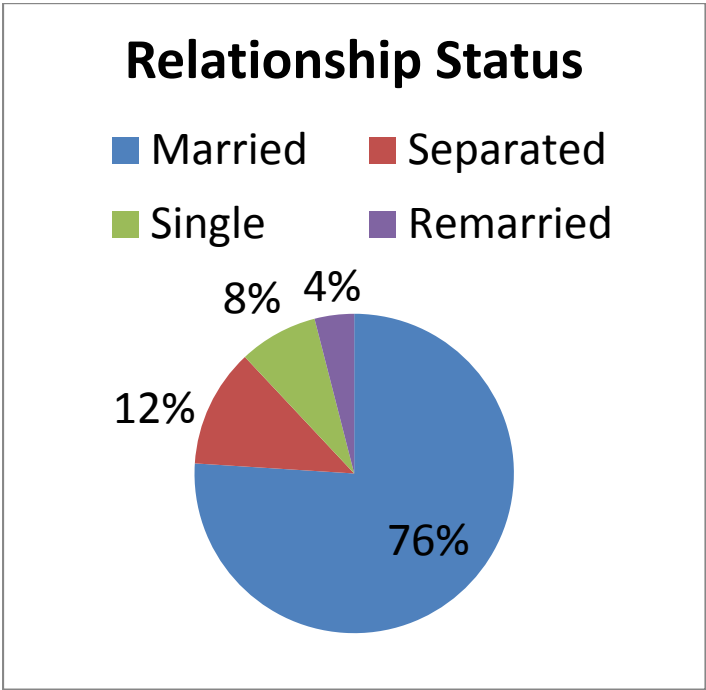
Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Sample

	Min	Max	Mean
Age of Women	21	54	36
Number of Children	1	8	3.04
Years Spouse left (to the nearest six month)	.5	15	6.16

The relationship status was reported by the non-migrant spouses in the sample (see figure 6).

Divorced was never reported as a relationship status; these categories were used to best reflect current relationship types.

Figure 6. Relationship Status of Sample



The results of this study are organized into two parts: the first section presents salient concerns that non-migrant women experience while having a spouse in the United States; the second part presents the coping strategies women employ to navigate their fractured families.

SALIENT CONCERNS

I don't know why they built such a nice hotel in Aguacatán! People don't stop here on the way to the States. They just leave from here! - Alejandra, 39 years old

Motives

People continue to migrate to the United States despite the increased militarization at the border and a poor job market in the U.S. Many Aguacatecos are attempting to make a viable income for themselves so they do not have to make the costly and risky trip to the United States. Yet, women whose husbands are in Aguacatán are mentally prepared for a spouse to leave at any point. They understand that the risks are necessary in order to provide a better future and wellbeing for their family.

Right now we work in the milpa and farm garlic and onion. But it is really hard because there is no work right now in Aguacatán. Lucha por la vida (fight for our lives)...my husband wants to go back for his fourth time but it is too hard to cross, very dangerous, and costs a lot. –Jessica, 50 years old

Process

Typically migrants get three opportunities to cross the border with the fee they pay the *coyote*. The trip from Aguacatán to the United States typically cost US\$5,000 and this is a financial debt that must be paid. I interviewed a young man who was recently deported from Alabama. He said that it is cheaper to go with *coyotes* from Huehuetenango but safer and more likely to get across the border with *coyotes* from Aguacatán. Felix stated:

Here we say, "si es la voluntad de Dios pasa" (it is up to God or God's will if you pass). Most are passing through Agua Prieta because the Zetas killed some Guatemaltecos in Tamaulipas recently. But look, it is the same for me. I want to go again because there is no work here. I tried in March [2011] but I can't get in because I have a DUI. –Felix, 27 years old

The Zetas in Mexico are very dangerous and ask you for money or its death all the way through Mexico. And it's all about money. If you have money to pay them off, you're okay but if not, well there are a lot of risks. – Pedro, 37 years old

Lack of work and necessity leaves people with no other choice but to migrate. Meanwhile, women anxiously wait for a phone call to hear if their spouse crossed the border safely and successfully. Women have knowledge of the deadly risks that drug cartels pose in Mexico and the risks crossing through the Sonoran desert. Women have to psychologically handle the potential death of a spouse every time he crosses the border. They ease the pain by normalizing the risks since most women in the community are experiencing the same situation. A woman explained to me common knowledge of the coyotes, who are the wealthiest families in Aguacatán. Due to their success in running a human smuggling business, they have symbols of status and wealth.

People don't know here in Guatemala that it is illegal to traffic people so they don't think it's bad. There are two families in Aguacatán who are coyotes. We know them. They are nice people. It's funny because the first thing the coyotes always do is build hotels. They all did that at first at La Mesilla [Guatemala-Mexico border] and it was smart because they knew people coming through on way up north needed a place to stay. But I don't know why they built such a nice hotel in Aguacatán! People don't stop here on the way to the States. They just leave from here! - Alejandra, 39 years old

Dangers

Women are under extreme stress as they have to constantly fear that their spouse could possibly be deported. All 25 women in my sample had spouses in the United States that did not have legal documentation to reside in the United States. Deportations are increasing and these directly influence the community morale in the sending community. Deportations affect families by uprooting economic contributions and disrupting families. This indirectly influences the wellbeing of the community because there is less capital to invest back into the local

economy. Children are often taken out of private schooling or trade schools, which prevents the youth from attaining jobs. Without jobs, youth learn that they must migrate to attain work. When I discussed the feelings of being deported or knowing a loved one who had been deported, the majority of participants stated first and foremost that it was saddening. How do women manage their families in the midst of a stressful separation and fearing a spouse's possible death? These responses were offered when I asked about the community morale after a known deportation.

It is sad when someone is deported. Very sad, very sad. They don't get to take anything when they get caught. They just have to leave right then, no backpack, no money, everything they had and owned stays there [United States]. -Lucia, 18 years old

Everyone needs work so it is sad for them. We are not criminals. It is true that some Hispanics are criminals but we are not all the same! Some police are just racist. There is a joke that our taxes from work are for our prisons and flight back! -Felix, 27 years old

We are not embarrassed to be deported, just really sad. I didn't get to say goodbye to my family. It was hard being separated and leaving my family. They put us all on a bus to Miami. Then we got on a plane of all the deported. Everyone on the plane back to Guatemala. It was every kind of person. There were women 50 years old, kids, men, everyone. -Pedro, 37 years old

Maria stated in response to whether more people were returning to Guatemala, "Yes because more people are being deported, especially because the end of the year. Usually there are fireworks for someone's homecoming if they choose to return but if there is no party, then you know it's a deportation." These represent some of the perceived concerns that women experience while having a spouse in the United States without documentation.

Aguacatecos know the trip into the United States is dangerous as José explained after spending a cumulative 22 years between Texas and Florida. Our interview was in English because he learned English while living and working in the United States. This is not

uncommon. In the relatively remote community of Aguacatán, a surprisingly large portion of males know some English because of living in the United States. José has been in the Aguacatán for the last seven years, but prior to that, he spent time in U.S. jails and crossed the border repeatedly.

Well if you don't pay a coyote then you're just bait because either way you'll have to pay, you either get robbed by the coyotes or you pay the coyotes. If you pay the coyotes you're okay. But some people don't know what they're getting into and they just leave alone and they don't know the right places to hide in the desert and they are just ignorant. But if you pay a coyote then you leave with like 15 to 20 people, in a group, you have to have a group. If you leave with 15 to 20 people then seven or eight will actually get across. – José, 42 years old

I spoke with an incredibly poor family whose son had attempted four times in the last four years to cross the Arizona border. His father stated:

Yes the first time, he got caught in Arizona, the second and third time in Mexico, and the fourth time in Los Angeles, California. –Name and age unknown

Defeat becomes tragic for families who do not succeed in sending a male breadwinner across the U.S.-Mexico border. This poverty stricken family blames the impermissibility of the border for their grim future. The family was notably poorer than other families and had unsafe housing conditions. There is not a decrease in business for coyotes, because people will repeatedly cross the border to provide for their family.

I met Natalia, an 11 year old girl and her two siblings with her Aunt Linda at the health post. Linda was working on coastal banana plantations, but came back seven months ago to care for her niece and nephews when their mom left for the United States to reunite with her husband in Mississippi. Linda also has a son that lives with them, but is divorced to her son's biological father who immigrated to Florida nine years ago. I restricted my interviews to women who had spouses in the United States but as mentioned, wives and mothers also make this

journey. I found Linda's situation particularly interesting since her son's father and was in Florida and she claimed to be "remarried". I offered to take photos of Linda's son to send to Florida and of Natalia and her siblings to mail to her mom and dad in Mississippi. Natalia eagerly called her mom using a cell phone to get their address. Linda told me that Natalia was very scared when her mom crossed the border to reunite with her father in Mississippi, who has been gone four years. She got deported the first time, but was successful the second time in crossing with a coyote. Their mom plans to return in three months, but they are uncertain when the father will return. I asked Linda about Natalia's wellbeing during her mother's departure. She stated, "She was crying a lot when her mom went to cross border. She knows a lot of other kids in her classes with kids in the States so it's normal though". Children understand human smuggling at a young age, concepts that many U.S. children do not learn till adulthood. Furthermore, children are also included in the normalization of migration as they acquire second-hand knowledge of the migratory process. Like Natalia, classmates experience the same situation and it is not uncommon to have one, even both parents working in the United States.

I have discussed the perceived concerns and risks that men endure in order to show the stress, anxiety and fear that women may experience with the absence of a male parent. The normalization of migration fosters further migration, and the lack of economic opportunities forces people to move in order to provide for their children and families. Women make up for the saddening effects of a culture of migration and deportations by normalizing the events. Normalizing mentally accommodates any guilt, shame and stress that a woman may experience. In the next section, I take a micro level approach to see how single mother

households navigate spousal separation and highlight their coping strategies. Despite feelings of abandonment and physical barriers, women successfully learn to manage their households by becoming participants in the migration narrative.

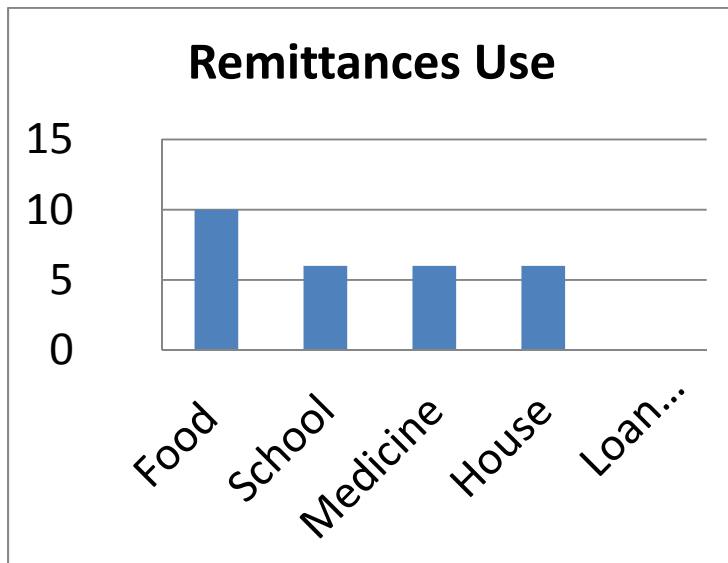
COPING STATAGIES

Then I think, if my dad came back, I really don't know what I'd do. Would I hug him? Would I be mad at him? Would I cry? I don't know. - Ana, 19 years old

Remittances

Remittances are Guatemala's number one source of income and far exceed the earnings people receive from export crops like coffee, bananas, and sugar (Moran-Taylor 2009). It is not secret that Guatemalans are essentially dependent on the United States for cash flow. The country proudly discusses the lives of their migrants abroad by displaying pictures and stories in the most popular newspaper, *Prensa Libre*. Western Union, other banks, and even cell phone plans offer immediate and reliable transfers of wired money from the United States to Guatemala. Cash remittances are the predominant source of income for most Guatemalans. According to my data collection analysis, 40 percent of my sample report using remittances for food (corn, crops and market items), 24 percent report using remittances on school, medicine, and housing, and four percent on loan repayments (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Use of Remittances Reported by Sample



Many men initially left because they needed money to pay for medicine or treatment for a serious illness in the family. This was an interview with a young woman whose father is in Ohio.

My dad first left six years ago to pay for cancer treatment for my younger brother. He was getting help in Guatemala City but died. He stayed and then we started using money to build our house but my grandfather is very ill so now we just use for his medical bills. - Katarina, 23 years old

Thirteen years ago the remittances were very good. We were able to buy a house in Aguacatán with remittances and before did not have windows. We also got a computer with internet since my son is studying technology. Right now all the money is spent on school. But the last three years, the remittances have been less. It is hard because he has to pay for lights, telephone, water, and rent up there [United States]. –Cecilia, 48 years old

Remittances are often used for schooling and this is often private schooling. Private schools are more rigorous, similar to the quality of U.S. schools and parents desire these schools so their children will be able to obtain professional jobs in the future. Marcilena and her husband made the decision for her spouse to go to the United States for the third time with the sole objective to pay for private school for their children. I interviewed Marcilena. She said, “He is going to come back when the kids finish school, but now my oldest is earning teacher credential so paying for that too. And Paola starts her teaching program soon.” Maria’s husband left 15 years ago for Florida where he works as a night time custodian. He used to have two jobs but recently lost one job. Maria said, “He sends less now than in the past. Like \$100 a month. It used to go to corn and our house but now just towards Laura’s schooling”. It was evident that this family was doing better economically than other families. They had a nice house and had the luxury to spend money on school instead of an essential commodity like food. Another woman had a daughter named Laura, who just completed her Master’s Degree in Business. She would like to do her Doctorate in Costa Rica or the United States, but only if she

can get a scholarship. These examples show how Aguacateco families become accustomed on the cash remittances provided via dependency on the United States. These families who have dependent flow of remittances appear to have more economic resources and higher status than those who did not receive consistent remittances.

Return Flow

Since the 2008 Global Economic Crisis, there has been an increase in return flow migration because of the lack of job and economic opportunities for immigrants. Emigration or “return migration is defined as the movement of individuals back to their places of origin” (Moran-Taylor 2009:289). The current economic crisis has affected all job tiers and the impact is significant. The decline in remittances from the United States to Aguacateco families determines the ability to purchase food, medicine and schooling for children. Many migrants have decided that the expenses to stay in United States cannot be justified by the meager wages they earn with two to three days of work a week.

In the U.S. if you don't have work you can't live very long. So for this reason people aren't going as much. People know there is less work in the States because the economy is low there too. So people return because here you can at least live on a little a day but there you have to pay rent every month and bills. –Pedro, 37 years old

Women must successfully spend out the remittances and decipher the most optimal way to use the money. While their husbands often tell them how to spend the money, women are responsible for accessing and purchasing items for the house, schooling, and food. Women have also taken on non-traditional roles. Unlike the past when men dominated the agricultural work, women now work in the fields to harvest food for their families and to sell at the market. Working in the harvest is in addition to taking care of all the domestic duties that they originally had. Now they must tend to the males' duties while maintaining the female role.

Exchange of Knowledge

Non-monetary remittances are other ways cultural transmission is realized across borders. Families experience a cultural exchange of knowledge as they send packages of goods from Guatemala to the United States and vice versa. This flow of products across borders is an example of how culture is tangibly sent and received. Migrants maintain strong transnational connections to their sending regions by exchanging products that reflect their livelihoods in the present location and from their place of origin. It provides an avenue for families to be more resilient as they maintain greater communication with a spouse.

We mail him pepita, chili, medicine, things he likes from here. He mails us shoes and clothes but mostly for the kids [her child and his grandchildren].-Katarina, 23 years old

The cultural exchange of products essentially advertises and legitimizes the migration experience.

Well I guess you could say all the stuff that people have to show that they've made the "American dream". Like those big houses around town. And the kids at Juan's school with dads in the States send them money for nice cell phone just to show that they're making money up there. But it works because it's kind of like when you see someone with nice things and you think, 'wow what do they do to be able to buy that?' So people see nice things and it makes them want to go. -Alejandra, 39 years old

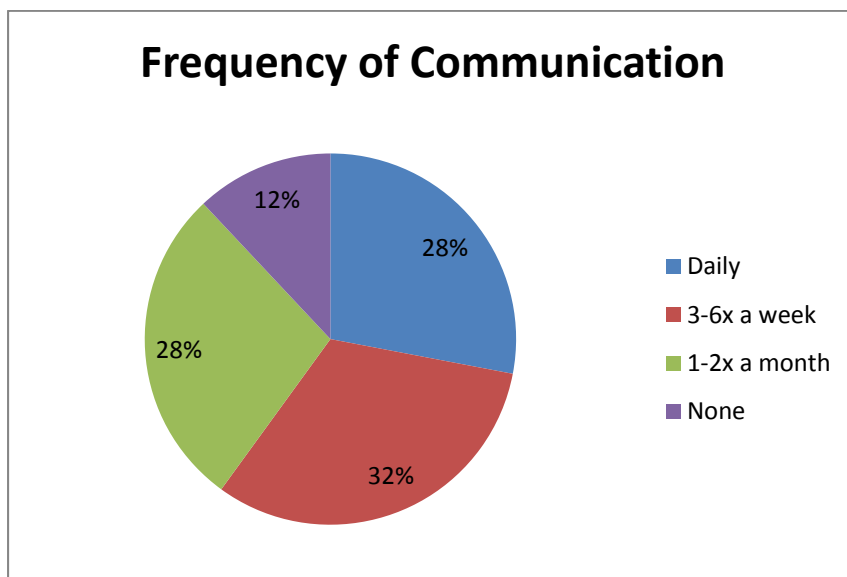
Alejandra and her son see evidence of transnationalism through the exchange of goods and ideas between two or more locations. Women and children equate these products with the United States and they symbolize and legitimize a migrant's laborious efforts. Therefore, individuals, predominately women and children, who stay behind, are incorporated into the migratory process by seeing and experiencing international products. This is also the way women learn to navigate and understand the life of a male parent. The items that are received symbolize the bidirectional flow of commodities, ideas and behavior (Basch, Glick Schiller,

Szanton Blanc 1994). This is also considered *cross border flows*, which is the exchange of money, finance, and trade across borders, but also the transmission of democracy, good governance, cultural and media products, environmental pollution and even people (Castles and Miller 2009). These items serve as medians to the transnational experience for women who stay behind. Women demonstrate agency in the transculture experience by mailing their spouse Guatemalan products and by receiving “American” products.

Communication

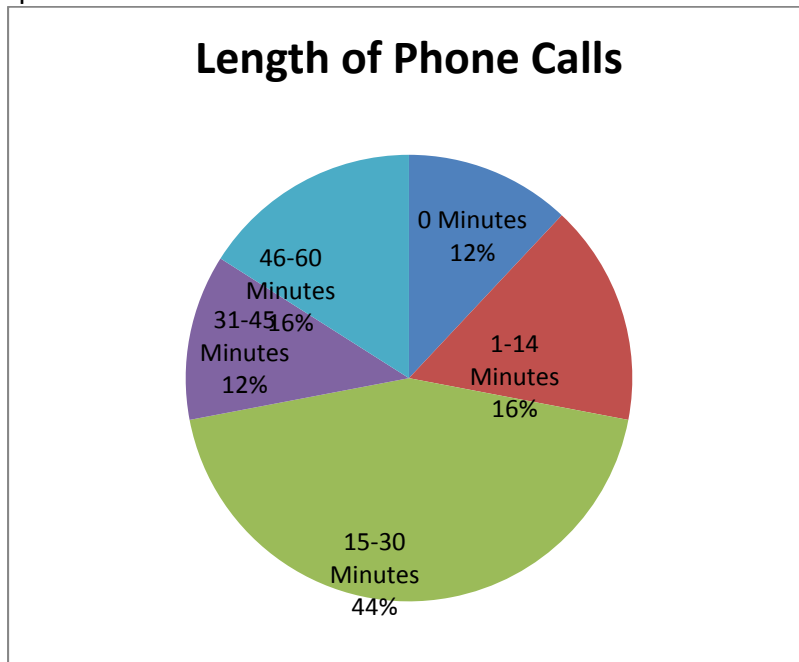
The transfer of monetary remittances and cultural goods are made further possible by the accessibility to instant international communication. Seven women or 28 percent reported speaking daily with their spouse. Eight women or 32 percent of women reported speaking to their spouse three to six times a week. Seven women or 28 percent reported speaking one to two times a month and three women or 12 percent did not have any communication their former spouse (see figure 8).

Figure 8. Frequency of Communication Reported by Sample



It appeared the length and frequency of phone calls was dependent on the spouse's income in the United States. Unless a couple was separated, the number one reason that couples in my sample did not speak as frequently was due to the cost of phone calls. The most common length of conversations was 14 to thirty minutes, with 11 women in my sample represented in this category (see figure 9).

Figure 9. Reported Length of Phone Calls in Minutes between Women in Sample and Male Spouse



Of my sample, 12 women stated that everyone in the household, including children spoke to the male parent during phone calls. Nine women said they only spoke to their spouse on matters of concern and their children did not speak to their father. Four women said they did not speak to their former spouse but their children spoke to their male parent. Males that did not have work in the United States, often did not talk to their wife on a regular basis. The costs for phone calls are more expensive for males in the United States than in Guatemala, so women

also tend to initiate the phone calls. This essentially increases her power in terms of controlling the conversations.

As few as eight years ago, women reported still sending letters via international mail. Yet, today every woman owns a cell phone and uses it to participate in global activities. Although internet is becoming more readily available, only two women reported using internet (Skype or email) as a means to communicate with their male spouse. I suspect this will change as the majority of youth and children were accessing Facebook and other social media websites on a regular basis.

One participant, Cecilia has three children. Her husband returned to Guatemala 13 years ago to have a third child and left for the United States a second time about 10 years ago. It was not uncommon to meet women whose spouse had made repeated trips to the United States. The mean number of trips to the United States, or periodicity in my study was 1.28 trips, meaning many males had made more than one different trip to the United States. Increased border fears and a sharp increase in coyote cost has decreased the frequencies in trips between the United States and Guatemala. In my interview, Cecilia stated in response to their communication with her spouse:

I usually call to know when the money is coming! But yes, we talk almost every day for a half an hour. Usually we both call each other but sometimes I call more because it is cheaper for me to initiate call. Also talking depends on his work schedule. –Cecilia, 48 years old

Cecilia speaks to her spouse every day despite geographic distance and years apart. Physical distance has kept them disconnected but modern telecommunications sustains their relationship. Cecilia and her 18 year old daughter, who translated Spanish to Awakateko for her mom, said they each get a turn to talk and say hello. They do not normally use Skype to call, but

they did use video call one time. She said her dad was really concerned about her weight from looking at her in the camera. She was somewhat ill, but he was worried if she was eating. She noticed that he was heavier and gained weight. Video conferencing was a new form of communication for this family and it was apparent that the first visual may have had some emotional or psychological impacts on the family. This, again, is an example of the pros and cons of modern telecommunications.

Communication varied and many women no longer had communication with their spouse or father to their children. This was the case with Lydia and her 19 year old daughter Ana. Ana only speaks with her father and her two younger brothers do not have any interest in having contact with their father who left 12 years ago. Only two other participants stated they had used Skype as a means of communication. Video conference calls were never the primary source of communication. Cell phones were used by every participant. In this situation, video conferencing actually damaged the young woman more.






We usually talk like every week or every two weeks. Call on days with "triple" (Tigo). 30 minutes is like US\$6. When he is with his woman we don't hear from him or get as much money, but if not he calls more. She works at a foundation (NGO) to help children in schools. My dad didn't tell her he was married, just told her he had kids in Guate. She has two other kids with someone else and they have one together. I've seen her because we Skyped once to see my half brother but I didn't like it at all. I got a bad feeling because they had all these nice things in the house and we don't even have a floor, food, shoes, money for school! –Ana, 19 years old

The cell phone rang during my interview with Lydia and Ana. It was Lydia's son saying that her mother-in-law just died. I asked if they needed to leave, but she said that they never had a close relationship. Minutes following, Lydia saw that it was Ana's dad calling from the United States and handed the phone to her because she does not talk to him anymore. Ana's eyes welled up with tears and she hung up the phone. Lydia knew what had happened and said,

“How sad, his mom just died and he is too drunk to even talk to his family”. Unfortunately, this family suffered from the affects of losing a parenting father. He did not send consistent remittances to the family because he had a new girlfriend and child that he was supporting in the United States. The wife did not have communication with her former spouse and also did not receive consistent remittances to provide for her children. For this reason, they lived in greater poverty in comparison to women who maintained communication with a spouse and received funds.

Another modern type of communication includes internet and low-powered radio that helps keep families connected and migrants in touch with their cultural heritage, community events and homeland. Parroquia de Aguacatán, a website organized and sponsored through the Catholic Church is a blog that streams low-powered radio programs via the Internet. William López, the blog designer and journalist, publishes frequent articles regarding cultural events, upcoming activities and local and national news on the blog. The radio program visits rural communities in the highlands surrounding Aguacatán, so that people can transmit live messages to family in the United States. Migrants and families living in the United States regularly visit the blog to maintain cultural ties with their homeland. A chart is shown on the website and lists the top U.S. states and countries that had listeners and visitors to the blog (see table 2). The blog shows that most listeners are listening online from Florida, Kansas and Washington.

Table 2. Current Country Totals of Blog Viewers from 5 Nov 2010 to 4 May 2012 (Parroquia de Aguacatán 2012)

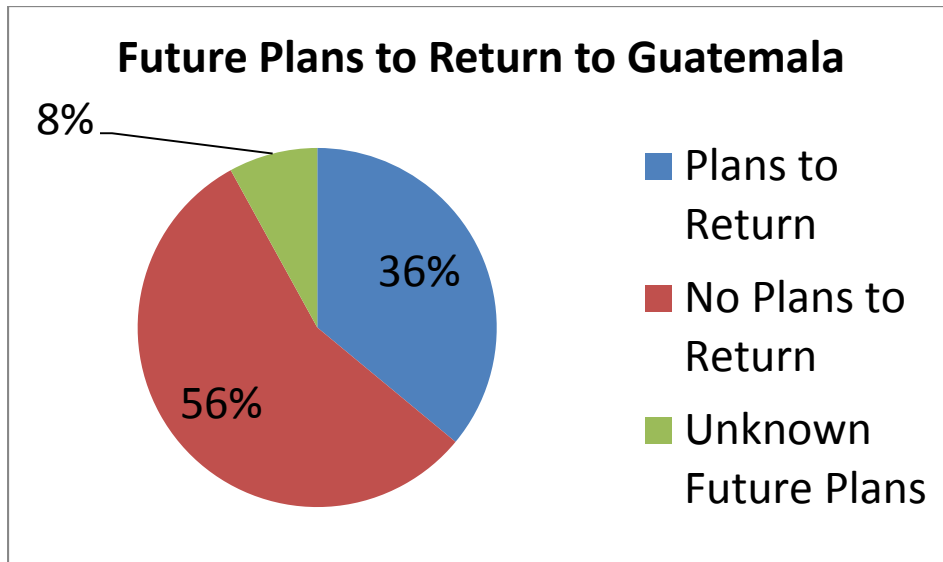
	United States (US)	20,270
	Florida (FL)	2,705
	Kansas (KS)	1,522
	Washington (WA)	1,500
	North Carolina (NC)	1,434
	Georgia (GA)	1,368
	Ohio (OH)	1,283
	California (CA)	1,253
	Guatemala (GT)	3,907
	Mexico (MX)	339
	Canada (CA)	192
	Spain (ES)	104

This form of communication offers resources to the local community and to their migrant communities abroad. It allows for the continuation of community and cultural involvement that transcends international borders. The radio is essentially a form of social organizing and support. I gained relationships with women and members of female led grassroots organizations through activities sponsored by the radio. The radio provided all the publicity for the annual march for “International No More Violence Against Women Day”, among many other human rights concerns. The information was broadcast throughout the town and the world using the Internet. It appears that technology and access to the Internet lessens the negative impacts that occur from the distance and separation between spouses.

Abandonment

Menjívar and Agadjanian (2007) state that many women feel they can be cut off from financial support from a spouse in the United States at any point. From my sample, the mean for number years since a male spouse departed for the United States was six years ago. According to the female spouses’ reports, 64 percent of males have either no plans to return or unknown plans of returning to Guatemala (see figure 10). That is, only 36 percent of women reported that their husband had plans of returning to Guatemala in the future. Women prepare for a future without a co-parent.

Figure 10. Future Plans Regarding Male Spouses Return to Guatemala Reported by Sample



Karina’s husband left eight years ago when she was 20 years old and after their first son was one year old. He made the decision to leave because he wanted to build a house, apart from his parents’ home. Karina and her husband used to talk every day until two years ago when the phone calls and money stopped. Karina said:

I used to talk to him every day for 15 minutes. My son has never wanted to talk to him. He doesn’t want anything to do with him. But two years ago he just stopped calling and

sending money. We don't know where he is now but I think he is in Texas with a new woman. Now I can't remarry because I'm legally married to him. It is too expensive to get a divorce. I'm trying to just make money for my son to go to school. He was attending private school but I recently had to switch to public school because I couldn't afford to pay for it after he stopped sending money. –Karina, 28 years old

My dad left first [to U.S.] but he stayed so long, then my parents had problems when he got back so they separated. It was very hard for me, like I went back and forth about whether to live with my mom or dad. But now my dad has a new woman. So since my mom was single, they all went to Ohio. There are 10 of us siblings but one was murdered here [Aguacatán]. So my mom is with my four brothers and their kids in Ohio. I was so young when it happened [the divorce/separation] so I was the last kid they had together. –Lucia, 18 years old

Yeah and I remember when he left because I went with him and the coyotes to Huehue (from Guate). I was seven years old but I remember it so well. I kept saying "I want to go with you! Take me with you or don't go!" But he kept saying to me 'only two years' then I'll come back! Before they took him [the coyotes] my dad and I were playing and running outside in the street. Then the coyote came and they all had to get in the van. I was crying. "I want to go, I want to go!" But then, he left. I just stood in the middle of street sobbing and crying. My grandparents, parent of my dad, said, 'venga'. Ellos no sienten nada en sus corazons' they just said, "Come. You have to get back to help your mom with your brothers. But two years passed and he didn't come back. Then he said, I'll buy you this. But it didn't matter. I just wanted him to come back. Then he'd say, 'I'll come back for your 15th birthday'. But he didn't come and I felt so much en mi Corazon. He said 'for your 18th birthday! But I don't believe, it's come and gone. -Ana, 19 years old

These situations have become normal despite the grievances it causes for parent-child separation. Women recognize their separation as an ordinary occurrence calling for measures that must be taken to provide for their children. I spoke with Norma Julieta López Rodríguez at the Oficina Municipal de la Mujer (OMM). She meets with hundreds of women in the community to discuss women's roles and rights. We discussed the impacts on women and children when a male leaves for the United States. She stated:

The family disintegrates. The man usually has a new woman up there and the woman has 5 kids here so she starts looking for a new marriage. This is what happens a lot. She gets a new man to take care of her and the family disintegrates. -Norma, 25 years old

Lucia and Marta's cases are examples of the disruption that occurs when a male migrates and stays too long. Marriages disintegrate and women inevitably must make decisions for them to have a personal income. Women exert agency in times of necessity; abandoned wives initiate economic activities. In this case, Lucia and Marta's mom chose to go to Ohio with her sons and become a cook for migrant farm workers.

Well, it's hard when the mom's go because women are usually closer to their mom. You know they teach you things, cook, work...A lot of girls aren't close with their dads. They are sometimes afraid of them or don't want to talk to them on phone or really care if they come back. It's harder because usually girls are closer with their moms but I don't have that. And she's with the rest of my other siblings and cousins. I only know my nieces and nephews by photo (she showed me photos). -Lucia, 18 years old

Maria's husband left for the United States 15 years ago and Maria said he has no plans to return because, "easy to leave but too hard to go back". Just as males form new relationships in the United States to meet needs, abandoned non-migrant women may also form new relationships to provide for her family and emotional needs. New marriages and relationships are one coping strategy that abandoned women employ to survive and manage their family.

Many children resent the abandonment. A young lady told me that her friend's dad just returned to Guatemala. She said, "My friend's dad came home recently who'd been gone for eight years. She didn't want anything to do with him". She said, "Yeah he gave money and bought food, but he's not my dad." Ana also stated, "Then I think, if my dad came back, I really don't know what I'd do. Would I hug him? Would I be mad at him? Would I cry? I don't know!". Children are faced with the reality and the pressure to know that they could have their father physically present, but at the cost of food, school and hopefully a better future. Eighteen year old Paola said, "It's hard because we don't know him or remember him well. I'd like to know him more and have him around, but it is good we have been able to go to private school and

get a better education. The hope is that we can then get better jobs.” Children are left with pressure to reciprocate for their families. Some youth take advantage of these opportunities, but others are overwhelmed by the responsibility and fall into harmful activities such as drugs and alcohol which ultimately destroy any educational and professional opportunities.

Parenting

When I asked 18 year old Alejandra if she had a boyfriend, she said, “No my dad says I’m too young”. Interestingly, Alejandra’s father enforces this rule despite geographic distance. Distant fathers attempt to maintain their familial duties even though children may feel neglected by this father figure. The family unit acts as nuclear family only differing by spatial distance. “They [fathers] provide material security, impose discipline, show authority, and finally enforce order” (Parreñas 2005:78). Paola translated our interview for her mom, Marcilena from Spanish into Awakateko. She also contributed statements during our conversation. Paola said, “He gives us *consejo*, advice. Like he tells us what he thinks. Says not to drink, gives us rules”. It seemed from these statements that some fathers are actively parenting. Parenting is also easier when both parents are working together for similar outcomes for their children. However, this becomes difficult if couples are geographically separated. Another woman, Marcilena chose to “visit” her husband in Oklahoma. Marcilena went six years ago and crossed with coyote to visit her husband. She just went to visit him for two months and came back for her children who were being temporarily cared for by an aunt. Marcilena said that visiting her husband helped maintain their marriage and family.

Unfortunately, active parenting and setting the boundaries that youth need cannot always be provided by migrant fathers. This is also not necessarily because they do not love

their children, but due to physical distance. Fathers who do try to impose rules may fail because children feel disconnected and rebel. Male family members such as uncles may take on a male parental role to accommodate for male parent's absence. This additional parenting restructures traditional male authority within the household. Women provide intensive parenting to ameliorate the effects of a male parent's absence. Yet, there is ultimately less paternal bond. I spoke to Norma at the OMM further about the impacts on families when a spouse migrates to the United States. She said:

Yes, a lot of women say it is good for their spouse to go but it's not. They give money but there is no love, no father, and no relationship. Many times these children have a lot of problems. There is no dad to enforce rules. Boys don't respect their mom and kids 11 to 16 years old start drinking or smoking marijuana. And sometimes women come in here and don't know what to do. They say, "My daughter is pregnant. I don't know who with and my husband is in the States." This happens a lot. Young girls like 14 or 15 get pregnant. They don't have a dad here that would be saying "no".-Norma, OMM Director, 25 years old

I heard similar responses from a school teacher who I interviewed to see what differences she saw in students with both parents living in Aguacatán versus a parent in the United States. She is also the school counselor and meets with students who are struggling academically. Maria said in response to behavior and attitudes from younger children with a father in the United States, "Most don't care. All they care is if they have good shoes, money all the time and nice clothes. But it changes with the older kids. They start saying that I rather have him here and not the stuff." This is consistent with Tetteh's (2008) findings in Ghanaian families who were initially not disrupted by a father's migration if he sent material goods. Children did not feel abandoned if fathers provided financial support coupled with phone calls. Maria said another impact is on children's nutritional health. This past year, Guatemala initiated a program that requires schools to weigh children and notify parents if their children are under or over weight.

According to Maria, there is less nutritional food and cooking when a father goes to the United States. She said:

You would think it would be the opposite because they have more money to buy food but instead they [women with migrant spouses] don't cook anymore. The only reason she cooks is for the husband. Now the kids just eat more junk food because their mom, aunt or grandparent, or whoever is taking care of them just gives them money to buy snacks. - Maria, School Counselor and Teacher

Families also know the repercussions. Maria and her daughters told me what happened with their brother when their dad left 15 years ago. The siblings discussed the effects on kids without fathers in Aguacatán. The children with fathers in the United States tend to, "Hang in streets, drink a lot and, get into trouble". All the female siblings stated, "Yeah, like our brother started drinking at 15 years old". I asked if he still had this problem to Margarita, "No, thanks to God". Laura said, "Yes, thanks to God, we all turned out okay despite father being away".

I was presented with another scenario of a male in the United States and the wife and children in Aguacatán. Except this time, the wife had returned with her two children because her brother-in-laws were deported and she lost her job, making it less attractive to stay in Atlanta, Georgia. Her husband is expected to return in six months. Parenting now proposes another alternative and Anastacia must manage her household after bearing and raising her children in the United States. In response to the adjustment, Anastacia said:

Vanessa was really shy when we came back and didn't like playing with her cousins but she is slowly doing better. She is so shy here. She was not like this in Atlanta. She had lots of friends and loved music! She liked Shakira, Justin Beiber but here, nothing. She got timid. Every day Vanessa asks me why we had to leave (Atlanta) and that she wants me to let her move back and live with her aunts there. I say, she can when she is older but right now we are living here. She told me she was going to move back when she got older. The week after we moved back to Guatemala she kept saying, "Mommy let's go back. Come on let's go. When I told her I couldn't go back because I don't have papers she said, 'No it's okay you can use my papers and pretend to be me!'. -Anastacia, 32 years old

Anastacia says she prefers Aguacatán because she has the support of her family and it was not economically feasible to stay in Georgia after she lost her job in a restaurant. However, she feels responsible for her daughter's difficulty in transitioning into a new place. "Yes, I have guilt all the time. I feel like it's my fault. But I tell my daughter that it is good we are with our family". She preferred the school system in the United States, particularly because her daughter loved her teachers who thought she was a good student at her elementary school in Georgia. Anastacia said, "Now, Vanessa feels left out at school. She used to know English. I talked to the teachers because she doesn't speak Awakateko and the teacher said she does about half and half of the day in Spanish and Awakateko." There is a language disruption for returning immigrants. There is also a lack of intensity of public schools in Guatemala. Children and parents who desire a more rigorous education need to pay for private school. Despite the challenges, Anastacia made the decision to move home to Guatemala to have the support and assistance of family.

Oficina Municipal de la Mujer (OMM)

As these interviews reveal, many women and children do struggle through the separation of a male parent. The need is immense for counseling and psychological services to help children who feel the loss of a father, but these services are not culturally integrated. Women do not have time or money to attend a counseling appointment as Western culture would advise. Instead, they are harvesting corn, planting in the fields, selling products at the market and simultaneously running their households. Women without economic support are barely surviving and are presented with extremely adverse situations. These circumstances are presented to highlight the stress that some women experience. It is evident which women rise

above the stress and employ creative techniques to manage their families successfully. When I spoke with Norma at OMM, I was interested in what programs the office had to help women who had a spouse in the United States. She stated:

Sometimes our office gives a little food to these women who are the most poor but because often times they are just waiting, waiting for him to come back and he doesn't call, he doesn't send any money, nothing. I try and tell these women to work they need to work because they are just waiting for him to come back. They should have their oldest child watch the others so she can go get a job. She needs to do something otherwise they do not have food or corn. - Norma, OMM Director, 25 years old

And this is what OMM can tangibly offer to women. Aguacatán cannot bring fathers back to Guatemala, but OMM can educate women on their rights and promote agency. They educate women who participate in common interest groups. All women's groups focus on two objectives: political formation, which is less about electing the next women president and more about teaching women their basics rights and reading the laws for Guatemalan women. Rights include right to work, right to health care, right to family planning, right to education, and right to nutritional food. The second objective is right to reproductive and sexual education. They teach a woman that she has the right to decide how many children she wants. They also use skits to help women prepare for the conversation with her spouse about family planning. What does this tell us? Women who have access to family planning will have smaller families. Fewer children requires less financial burden on families. Women also learn of their right to education and right to work so they can support the family with an additional income. Empowering women on these opportunities will lessen need for men to migrate in order to provide for their wives and children.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Implications

Literature may claim that women are forgotten figures in the migration narrative. However, women are not passive followers or “left-behind wives”, as they are often referred to in migration literature. These terms presume women cannot adapt or manipulate the situation to their advantage (Arias 2008). Women are an integral part to the migration process and are reclaiming rights and mobility in order to manage and successfully parent their children. Women tend exhibit better outcomes when they realize their own agency and achieve empowerment (Murray 2008). With the commitment of organizations like OMM that support women’s rights, women will have greater opportunities for learning and implementing practices that support their livelihoods. Through education, women learn they have the power and courage to delay childbirth, attend school, advocate for healthcare, and demand rights to arenas that they had historically been denied. Although many women are involved in international migration, more likely, women stay behind and are responsible for carrying for their households. Although this can produce dismal outcomes, it allows opportunities for women to realize their own voice and power within the contemporary family structure (Parreñas 2005).

Mothers are discredited in their efforts to maintain familial relations despite transnational marriages and relationships. Male absent households force mothers to adjust accordingly and offer intensive parenting to their children who are suffering the effects of disruptive transitions. They take on traditionally male responsibilities and fulfill both the father and mother roles in the household to make up for shortcomings. Non-migrant women employ coping strategies to ease the negative effects of spousal separation.

Communication

The digital era provides new opportunities than were possible in former years for migrant families. Technology has rapidly increased the opportunities for families to stay connected. It appears there is a strong relationship between remittances received and the amount of communication that goes on between spouses. Many women reported that the number one reason for infrequent and irregular communications was cost barriers. Marital status also plays a role in this as separated couples do not receive remittances (unless for mutual children) and/or phone calls. This was evident in the cases of Karina and Lydia, who had zero communication with their former spouse. Their children did not attend private schooling. They lived on meager incomes since they did not receive a monthly stipend like other women who had communication with spouses in the United States. Lydia and Karina's homes appeared to have fewer amenities and they expressed statements of concern regarding their ability to survive.

This was contrasted by Cecilia's husband who had departed for the United States thirteen years ago. Although Cecilia reported receiving fewer remittances now than in the past, they still received a monthly stipend that allowed them to send their children to private school, to buy a computer and internet access in the home and to build a nice house. Cecilia stated that her family speaks to her spouse everyday for approximately thirty minutes, which seems to improve the wellbeing and resiliency of this family. Cecilia also appeared to have agency over her future. She is very involved and a leader in her church. She also sewed Maya dresses and sold them to make extra money to support her family.

Marcilena's family also showed the benefits of consistent communication with a spouse. Marcilena spoke to her husband once a week for approximately forty minutes. She said that they would talk more but restricted due to costs of telephone calls. She reported that her husband used their conversation time to talk to his children and give them advice and rules. Marcilena chose to visit her husband in Oklahoma despite the cost and risks, so she could maintain their marriage. They have plans for her spouse's future return, which is when his children graduate from college. The examples of Cecilia and Marcilena are used to contrast the unfortunate outcomes for Karina and Lydia. It shows the importance that communication plays in a family's ability to cope successfully during male separation.

Fatalism

"Si es la voluntad de Dios pasa" or it is up to God or God's will if you pass the border. The words I often heard from the people in Aguacatán. Religious rituals based on a hybrid between traditional Maya and Christian belief systems guide thought processes and decision making in Aguacatán. Some might call it serendipity, or being in the right place at the right time, but syncretic Maya-Christian belief systems keep families intact and hopeful for positive future outcomes. There is a meaning behind everything and everything happens for a reason in order to make sense of adversity. According to Walsh (2006), religious rituals also reinforce and contextualize larger values and keep people focused on strengths.

Families in the study mitigated separated parenting by normalizing the situation, which justifies family separation. The culture of migration creates a sense of normalcy for families to be separated for extended periods of time. Normalization is achieved through feelings of transnationalism, which occurs when there is a culture of migration. That is, that you can

belong to two places at the same time because as one male told me, “we are all children of the same God”. Normalization serves to legitimize the emotional and physical costs of distance. Inevitably, parents feel guilt and shame for the decision to separate their family. Many of the women in my study made the decision collaboratively with their spouse to go to the United States knowing that it would provide a more hopeful future for their children. Beliefs were anchored in an intergenerational system. Doubt and worries that prolong after the male’s departure can be daunting. Women and children know that the majority of families are undergoing the same separation so it desensitizes the loss.

Capacity for Change

Families stay connected despite geographic distance. Organizational patterns bridge cultural barriers to maintain support and commitment to loved ones. For example, one family reported mailing their father *pepita*, a cooking product native to Aguacatán. In exchange, he would mail American made products or clothing items as an offering of financial support and security. It allows the continuation of community and cultural involvement both in U.S. locations and in Aguacatán. Other examples of kinship support, taking care children or kin, offering financial assistance to family in times of need, rotating care for elderly were all forms of organizational support that were universal and numerous. Location of spouses in the United States was also solely driven by migrant networks. It was not uncommon for many sisters or sister-in-laws to have male spouses all living in the same location in the United States. This organization not only provides kin support to new arriving migrants, but also can reassure the non-migrant female of her spouses’ safety and activities in the United States.

The Oficina Municipal de la Mujer offers support to Aguacatán with programs to increase female agency. OMM is an advocate for women in financial need and a member in solidarity for women seeking change and justice. OMM was an example of an organization that sought to provide mutual support. Programs like this provide avenues for women to attain resiliency.

Resiliency in Poverty

I applied the family resiliency framework to the data but after going to Guatemala I questioned whether there could even be resiliency in such extreme poverty. Can there be resiliency in poverty? Yes, with adequate other structures in place and in particular a belief system appeared to be important factor. Undoubtedly, shortcomings influenced results in this area, since I did not perform psychological surveys. I made observations on house structure, clothing, sanitary accessibility, and land ownership to assess relative poverty level. Women took opportunities to work, send their children to school, and these were examples of withstanding and rebounding in the face of adversity (Walsh 2002). There were women who did exhibit these traits and these are apparent in the dialogue. As participant Jessica also stated, “luchando por la vida” or we are fighting for our life. Lydia’s family was also surviving. They were visibly poorer than other families. They did not have electricity, running water, or a latrine at their house. This was different than other families that had these amenities. I attribute her as only surviving opposed to being resilient because her former spouse abandoned her family. Women, who continued to receive remittances and emotional connectivity with a spouse, like the two examples of Cecilia and Marcilena, appeared to have characteristics of resiliency. Women who

were abandoned financially and emotionally to a former partner, like Lydia and Karina's cases, struggled and did not have the time or money to reach a resilient state.

Women who successfully attain all three areas of belief systems, organization and communication appear to be resilient. However, as stated, women who were cut off from their spouse do not meet the "communication" criteria, and I find this to be the factor that limits them from attaining resiliency. In other words, they are treading water to survive. A lack of communication means that no money is being sent, since this requires some form of communication. Not receiving remittances prevents women from attaining resiliency, because time is spent just trying to put food on the table, working and surviving. Women without a supportive and communicative spouse do not have the security of resources to meet basic amenities. Instead they are living out of poverty, which does not allow for time or mental capacity to reach a resilient state. My participant observations are evidence to this conclusion. Women who were single, divorced, or separated had less modern household amenities. Kin members supplemented financial support if able. A few examples of disproportionate home amenities included dirt floors instead of concrete, latrines instead of modern plumbing, adobe walls instead of cinder concrete blocks (which are also unsafe for earthquakes and heavy rains), and lack of transportation as some families had means to purchase a *moto* (small motorcycle). These are just a few examples and retrospectively, I could have taken more copious and systematic field notes on these predictors of wealth and overall wellbeing.

Implications for the Future

The recent Pew Hispanic Center report shows that migration, specifically Mexican migration, has finally stalled after 20 years of migration flow into the United States (Pew

Hispanic Center 2012). The immigration issue in political debates may consider this a success or a detriment, depending on whose talking. There are pros and cons to immigration for male parents, but the current system is not sustainable. People cross the border illegally; there are deaths and rises in drug cartel activity. Female migration is intensifying as an economic strategy, which will only leave more children left without parents. I met many children living with grandparents and aunts, as many women who had reunited with a spouse to work temporarily in the United States. We need to reevaluate the broken U.S. immigration system and see what the long-term impact will be for separated families. The receiving countries must restore immigration policies to accommodate for family reunification and cohesion. Currently, migrants are forced to choose one country over the other because of austere border policies that restrict people from having fluidity at the border. Men cannot come home more frequently because of fear that they will not be able to reenter the United States. Instead people should be able to be emotionally *and physically* be connected to two places at the same time. As discussed, women and children in Aguacatán already experience feelings of transnational ties in order to cope with the absence of a male parent. They are as much a part of the migration process as the male parent who actually migrates to the United States. Migration is a way life for an Aguacateco families and it is seen in the products and lives that they are able to now have in Guatemala because of loved ones supporting their families in the United States. They utilize modern benefits of technology (cell phones, internet, and instant money transfers) to maintain spousal attachments and then in turn, provide secure attachments for their children despite growing up without a father. Future research could include incorporating SKYPE or other low cost internet services to keep transnational families more connected. Increasing

access to these technologies will provide greater access to communicating with loved ones and make families more resilient.

This thesis was started because of its local relationships in Whatcom County and to recognize the importance of immigrants living in our community. It is critical to understand the culture and livelihoods of migrant families. More importantly, children who are born outside the United States but relocate to Washington provide a local need for future involvement concerning multiculturalism and identity. The tendency is to view migration as a 'migration problem' but much can be learned from migrant communities including values, customs, and language that can benefit local people. There is a need for further research to understand the barriers to integration that Aguacatecos experience in Northwest Washington. There are local possibilities for future work with second generation Guatemalan youth and among gender changes for Aguacateca women in Whatcom County. Lastly, an understanding of the impact among deported youth back to Guatemalan requires investigation.

Family research and migration studies provide much insight into the future for the United States. Women successfully manage their households despite the hardships and difficulties that strain families. Women proactively maintain their families and ameliorate the negative impacts from the migration process that separates her from her husband by providing intensive parenting, utilizing remittances effectively and efficiently and lastly, by tapping into technology and communication services to maintain family cohesion. Women's resiliency in the face of extreme stress and risks allow their children to receive responsive parenting. This study shows the importance of understanding the dynamics among transnational families who are adapting to a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected by global relationships.

Works Cited

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG)
2002 Introducción a la Monografía del Municipio de Aguacatán. *In* ALMG. Juan Antonio Morán, Abelino Román, Juan Alvarez Ramírez, and José Sanic Chanchavac, eds.
- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG)
2005 Elementos de la Cultura Maya Awakateko.
- Agadjanian, Victor, Scott Yabik and Cau Boaventura
2011 Men's Migration and Women's Fertility in Rural Mozambique. *Demography* 48(3):1029-1048.
- Archambault, Caroline
2010 Women Left Behind? Migration, Spousal Separation, and the Autonomy of Rural Women in Ugweno, Tanzania. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 35(4):919-942.
- Arias, Patricia
2008 Women in Rural Mexico Agendas and Transitions. *Lasa Forum* XXXIX(4):25-30.
- Artico, Ceres
2003 Latino Families Broken by Immigration. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Aysa, Maria and Douglas Massey
2004 Wives left behind: The Labor market behavior of women in Migrant communities. *In* Crossing the border. Research from the Mexican Migration Project. Jorge Durand and Douglas Massey, eds. Pp. 172-190. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Barry, Tom
1992 Inside Guatemala. Albuquerque: New Mexico.
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc
1994 Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach.
- Boehm, Deborah, Julia Meredith Hess, Cati Coe, Heather Rae-Espinoza, and Rachel Reynolds
2011 Introduction: Children, Youth, and the Everyday Ruptures of Migration. *In* Everyday Ruptures: Children, Youth, and Migration in Global Perspective. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

- Bowen, Murray
 1966 The Use of Family Theory in Clinical Practice. *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 7:345-374.
- _____. 1978 *Family Therapy in Clinical Practice*. New York: Aronson Inc.
- Bowlby, John
 1969 Attachment and Loss, Vol. 1. Separation. New York: Basic Books.
- _____. 1973 Attachment and Loss, Vol. 2. Separation. New York: Basic Books.
- _____. 1980 Attachment and Loss: Vol. 3. Loss, Sadness and Depression. New York: Basic Books.
- _____. 1988 A Secure Base: Parent-Child Attachment and Healthy Human Development. New York: Basic Books.
- Bourne, Randolph
 1916 Trans-national America. *Atlantic Monthly* 118:778-786.
- Brettell, Caroline
 2003 Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Brintall, Douglas
 1979 Revolt Against the Dead: The Modernization of a Mayan Community in the Highlands of Guatemala. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Broe, Sophie de and Andrew Hinde
 2006 Diversity of fertility patterns in Guatemala. *Population, Space and Place* 12:435-459.
- Camus, Manuela
 2008 La Sorpresita del Norte: Migracion Internacional y Comunidad en Huehuetenango. Guatemala: Instituto Centroamericano de Desarrollo y Estudios Sociales.
- Castles, Stephen and Mark Miller
 2009 The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave-Macmillan and Guilford Books.
- Coe, Cati
 2011 What is the Impact of Transnational Migration on Family Life? *American Ethnologist* 38(1):148-163.

- Cohen, Sheldon and Harry Hoberman
1983 Positive Life Events and Social Supports as Buffers of Life Change Stress. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 13:99-125.
- De Haas, Hein and Aleida Van Rooij
2010 Migration as Emancipation? The Impact of Internal and International Migration on the Position of Women Left Behind in Rural Morocco. *Oxford Development Studies* 38(1):43-62.
- Desai, Sonalde, and Manjistha Banerji
2008 Negotiated Identities: Male Migration and Wives in India. *Journal of Population Research* 25(3):337-355.
- Donato, Katharine, Jonathon Hiskey, Jorge Durand and Douglas Massey
2010 Migration in the Americas: Mexico and Latin America in comparative context. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 630(1):6-17.
- Dreby, Joanna
2007 Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69(4):1050-1064.
- _____. 2010 *Divided by Borders: Mexican families and their Children*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Durand, Jorge and Douglas Massey
1992 Mexican Migration in the United States: A Critical Review. *Latin American Research Review* 27:3-42.
- _____. 2003 *Clandestinos. Migración México-Estados Unidos en los albores del siglo XXI*. México: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecos-Miguel Ángel Porrúa.
- Escobar, Arturo
1994 Welcome to Cyberia: Notes on the Anthropology of Cyberspace. *Current Anthropology* 35:211-231.
- Escobar Mendez, P.
2004 Diagnóstico Participativo del Municipio de Aguacatán. Electronic document, <http://www.inforpressca.com/Aguacatán /diagno.php>, accessed March 6, 2011.
- Estrada, Larry and James Loucky
2006 Families. *In Immigration in America Today: An Encyclopedia*. James Loucky, Jeanne Armstrong, Larry Estrada, eds. Pp. 108-114. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

- Fink, Leon
2003 *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Foner, Nancy
1997 What's New About Transnationalism? New York Immigrants Today and at the Turn of the Century. *Diaspora* 6(3):355-375.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton
1992 *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Goldfrank, Walter
2000 Paradigm Regained? The Rules of Wallerstein's World-System Method. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 6(2):150-195.
- Grieco, Elizabeth
2009 Race and Hispanic Origin of the Foreign-born Population in the United States: 2007. American Community Survey, ACS-11, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC.
- Heyman, Josiah
2006 Migration Processes. *In Immigration in America Today: An Encyclopedia*. James Loucky, Jeanne Armstrong, Larry Estrada, eds. Pp. 236-240. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Ho, Christine and James Loucky
2012 *Humane Migration: Establishing Legitimacy and Rights for Displaced People*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette
2003 *Gender and U.S. Migration: Contemporary Trends*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística
2011 Índice de Precios al Consumidor Enero. Electronic document, <http://www.ine.gob.gt/>, accessed, May 2, 2011.
- Kearney, Michael
1995 The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:547-565.
- Lazarus, Richard
1993 From Psychological Stress to the Emotions: A History of Changing Outlooks. *Annual Review of Psychology* 44:1-21.

- Lazarus, Richard and Susan Folkman
1984 Stress, Appraisal and Coping. New York: Springer.
- Little, Walter and Timothy Smith
2009 Mayas in postwar Guatemala: Harvest of Violence Revisited. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Lindstrom, David and Elisa Muñoz-Franco
2005 Migration and the Diffusion of Modern Contraceptive Knowledge and Use in Rural Guatemala. *Studies in Family Planning* 36(4):277-288.
- _____. 2006 Migration and Maternal Health Services Utilization in Rural Guatemala. *Social Science and Medicine* 63(3):706-721.
- Levitt, Peggy
2001 The Transnational Villagers. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lomnitz, Larissa Adler de
1977 Networks and Marginality: Life in Mexican Shantytown. New York: Academic Press.
- Loucky, James and Marilyn Moors
2000 The Maya Diaspora: Guatemalan Roots, New American Lives. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mahler, Sarah
2001 Transnational Relationships: The Struggle to Communicate Across Borders. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7(4):583-619.
- Mahler, Sarah and Patricia Pessar
2006 Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1):27-63.
- Massey, Douglas
1990 Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. *Population Index* 56(1):3-26.
- Massey, Douglas and Brendan Mullan
1984 A Demonstration on the Effect of Seasonal Migration on Fertility. *Demography* 21:501-517.
- Massey, Douglas, Luin Goldring and Jorge Durand
1994 Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities. *American Journal of Sociology* 99:1492-1533.

- Massey, Douglas and Magaly Sánchez
2010 *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Massey, Douglas and Jorge Durand
2011 Princeton University. Mexican Migration Project. Electronic document, mmp.opr.princeton.edu, accessed June 11, 2011.
- Menjívar, Cecilia
2006 *Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants' Lives in the United States*. *Journal of Sociology* 111:999-1037.
- Menjívar, Cecilia and Victor Agadjanian
2007 *Men's Migration and Women's Lives: Views from Rural Armenia and Guatemala*. *Social Science Quarterly* 88(5):1243-1262.
- Moran-Taylor, Michelle
2006 *Transnationalism*. In *Immigration in America Today: An Encyclopedia*. James Loucky, Jeanne Armstrong, Larry Estrada, eds. Pp. 327-331. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- _____. 2008 *When Mothers and Fathers Migrate North: Caretakers, Children, and Child Rearing in Guatemala*. *Latin American Perspectives* 35(4):79-95.
- Migration Information Source (MPI)
2006 *Guatemala: Economic Migrants Replace Political Refugees*. Electronic document, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=392>, accessed February 24, 2012.
- Murray, Anne Firth
2008 *From Outrage to Courage: Women Taking action for Health and Justice*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.
- Orellano, Majorie, Barrie Thorne, Anna Chee, and Wan Shun Eva Lam
2001 *Transnational Childhoods: The Participation of Children in Processes of Family Migration*. *Social Problems* 48(4):572-592.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar
2005 *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pessar, Patricia and Sarah Mahler
2003 *Transnational Migration: Brining Gender In*. *International Migration Review* 37(3):812-846.

Pew Hispanic Center

2012 Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero-and Perhaps Less. Electronic document, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/>, accessed May 3, 2012.

Portes, Alejandro and Robert Bach

1985 *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Riggs, Shelley and David Riggs

2011 Risk and Resilience in Military Families Experiencing Deployment: The Role of Family Attachment Network. *Journal of Family Psychology* 25(5):675-687.

Robinson, William

2003 *Transnational Conflicts: Central America, Social Change, and Globalization*. London: Verso Press.

Salgado de Synder, Nelly

1993 Family Life Across the Border: Mexican Wives Left Behind. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 15(3):391-401.

Schoon, Ingrid

2006 *Risk and Resilience: Adaptations in changing times*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Daniel Jordan

2009 Managing Men, Marriage, and Modern Love: Women's Perspectives on Intimacy and Male Infidelity in Southeastern Nigeria. *In Love in Africa*. Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas, eds. Pp. 157–180. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Suárez-Orozco, Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco

2001 *Children of Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, Carola, I. Todorova and J. Louie.

2002 Making up for Lost Time: The Experience of Separation and Reunification Among Immigrant Families. *Family Processes* 41:625-643.

Taylor, Brent and Andrew Behnke

2005 Fathering Across the Border: Latino Fathers in Mexico and the U.S. *Fathering* 3(2):99-120.

Tetteh, Ernestina

2008 *Voices of Left Behind Children: A Study of International Families in Accra, Ghana*. M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Tromsø, Norway.

- U.S. Census Bureau
2007 Hispanics by Country of Birth in the United States. American Community Survey.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel
1974 The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York: Academic Press.
- Walsh, Froma
1996 The Concept of Family Resilience: Crisis and challenge. Family Process 35:261-281.
- _____. 2002 A Family Resilience Framework: Innovative Practice Applications. Family Relations 51(2):130.
- _____. 2006 Strengthening Family Resilience (Second Edition). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Wang, Caroline and Cheri Pies
2004 Family, Maternal, and Child Health Through Photovoice. Maternal and Child Health Journal 8(2):95-102.
- Wilding, Raelene
2006 'Virtual Intimacies' Families Communicating Across Transnational Contexts. Global Networks 6(2):125-142.
- Wilson, Tamar Diana
2009 Women's Migration Networks in Mexico and Beyond: Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Wolf, Eric
1959 Sons of the Shaking Earth. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wyman, Mark
1993 Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Appendix A: Interview Schedule

1. Demographics

Name:

Community/Aldea:

Age:

Religion:

Children:

Maternal Language:

Marital Status:

2. Immigration History

Where (U.S. State):

Job in the U.S.:

Number of Years since he went to U.S.:

Why left:

Future plans:

3. Communication:

Type: Telephone, Text, Email, Skype

How often:

How long:

Topics of Conversation:

Who talks:

Initiates phone call:

4. Remittances

How much does your spouse/FOC send?

Less or more than in past (if applicable for those there for more years):

How often sent: none, monthly, bi-monthly, weekly, other: _____

Type of Use:

Non-migrant women's job:

5. Social Support

Do women with migrant spouses receive *more, less or the same support* as women who do not have migrant spouses?

Do you receive help?

If so, who helps you?

6. Border

Is the border *more, less, or the same dangerous* compared to the past?

How have migration affected your family, you individually, your community?

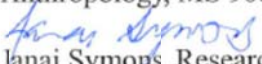
Deportation

1. Name:
2. How old are you?
3. Male or Female?
4. Where do you currently live?
5. In what city and country were you born?
6. What is your current marital status?
7. Do you have any children? (Yes/No) _____ If yes, how many? _____
8. If you are currently working, what is your job? (please describe the primary activity and the place where you work)
9. How many hours per week do you work at this job? _____
10. What are the impacts on individuals, families, and communities when a person is deported?
11. Embarrassed, sad or angry when deported?
12. Were you (if applicable) found by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)? Where? How transported back?
13. Who else is deported?
14. Are people still going north? Less or more?
15. In general, who has been to the United States? Age? Gender?
16. Who is going? Age? Gender?
17. What hazards do people know about crossing?
18. Who is benefitting from, even encouraging, migration?
19. What household items do people have in Guatemala that are sent from the United States?

WESTERN WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Office of Research and Support Programs

MEMORANDUM

TO: **Katie Fawell**
Anthropology, MS 9083

FROM: 
Janai Symons, Research Compliance Officer, Office of Research and
Support Programs MS 9038

DATE: September 16, 2011

SUBJECT: Human Subjects Review- Expedited Approval

Thank you for submitting a human subject research exemption request for your research project 12-001, Synergies of the Nexus of Child and Sustainable Development for review by the Human Subjects Review Committee (HSRC). The HSRC has reviewed the materials you submitted and found the project described falls into category expedited category #6 because it involves interviewing subjects and reviewing pictures taken by the subjects.

If the involvement of human subjects changes over the course of the study in a way that would increase risks, please submit a revised protocol. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 650-3082 or janai.symons@wwu.edu.

Cc: James Loucky, Daniel Boxberger