

GENDER, MIGRATION, AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES:
MAYA AND LADINO RELATIONS IN EASTERN GUATEMALA

By

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by

Debra H. Rodman

To my grandfather Charles W. Gockley,
who taught me tolerance, love for humankind and diversity.

and to my father Mark H. Rodman,
who showed me unconditional love and ceaseless support.

They are both sorely missed but forever live on in my heart and mind.

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Transnational migration research examines the flow of peoples, products, and ideas between sending and receiving communities and the subsequent creation of new cultures and identities. Therefore, transnational migration provides an excellent forum to question how the phenomenon of globalization shapes identity among migrants in both their home and host cultures. This case study of migration from Eastern Guatemala to the Northeastern United States responds to the need for greater exploration of the home communities of migrants, particularly how transnational migration reconfigures gender roles, ideologies, and ethnic relations.

The dissertation documents how transnational migration transforms lives and identities; how the absence of family members and the receipt of remittances affect gender roles; and how these processes change the historical economic and social relationship between two culturally distinct communities, one Mayan, the other Ladino¹ in the same township in Eastern Guatemala. Conducted in both the township, Pinula, in Guatemala and its corresponding migrant destination of Boston, Massachusetts, this study analyzes the transnational experience of those who migrate,

¹ Ladinos refer to the dominant class made up of people of mixed European and Mayan ancestry or those of Mayan ancestry who have adopted the dominant class' cultural markers, such as language and dress.

their family members left behind, return migrants, and migrants whose final place of residence has yet to be determined.

Moreover, this dissertation exposes how the migrant experience is translated into both material changes in local community development and more elusive transformations in gender roles and ethnic relations. The entrance of the dollar into the local economy enables housing improvements and support for children's secondary education. Transportation and communication advances replace horses with off-road pick-up trucks, and *comunitarios* (public community phones) with cell phones. As a result of remittances, an alternative land reform is taking place: properties are being redistributed from the wealthy Ladino families to the once landless Maya.

These tangible changes are directly related to the less noticeable transformations that are taking place inside households and between the Mayan and Ladino communities. Women struggle as temporary heads-of-households, balancing their new roles with more traditional community notions of gender. Traditional patron-client relations may have facilitated Maya entry into the migrant circuit, but these very same relations—with their accompanying rigid social structures—continue to prevent Maya entry into Ladino-dominated economic activities. Paradoxically, inter-ethnic marriages and the equalizing influences of U.S. racial categories (which ignore the historical differences between Mayas and Ladinos) create a new environment in Pinula in which younger migrants are likely to challenge long-standing ethnic divides. The resulting ethnic tensions and inter-ethnic dynamics in San Pedro Pinula suggest that international migration is facilitating fundamental alterations to the Guatemalan social structure, even though the changes continue to be tempered by 500 years of Ladino domination.

CHAPTER 1 GENDER, MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES

All over the world, people are experiencing the phenomenon of transnational migration: journeying across borders, living lives in the shadows, reminiscing of their hometowns and countries, and dreaming of an eventual return while struggling to embrace their new lives. The study of the transnational migration reveals the personal narratives of innumerable migrants, exposing the emerging patterns created by this particular aspect of globalization. Though immigration is nothing new, its current rate and the conditions in which it is undertaken have produced complicated societal shifts. Increased globalization manifests itself geographically. Peoples' lives are no longer based in their hometowns, but also in communities that are thousands of miles away and, for many, a world apart. While new technologies enable people to maintain seemingly close contact with one another despite these distances, they are still pulled apart by national and international policies that deny them the ability to move freely. People live their lives in a purgatory of sorts, surviving in the space between borders, between departures and returns, and between communities in great change and flux. In this space emerge the stories of people, their families, and their communities, and the lives that have been transformed by transnational migration.

This ethnography examines the lives of the people of San Pedro Pinula, Guatemala, particularly how transnational migration reconfigures the gender roles, ideologies, and ethnic relations of the home communities with migrants abroad: how transnational migration transforms lives and identities; how the absence of male family members and the receipt of remittances affect women and gender relations; and how these processes change the historical economic and

social relationship between two communities, the Maya and the Ladino². This work examines the social, economic, and psychological impact of migration at the individual and community level in an effort to increase the understanding of how gender and ethnicity mediate global forces such as capital expansion and transnational migration. By looking at households that receive remittances and how those remittances are managed, this study questions whether migration is changing gender roles and considers how those left behind negotiate their positions and attempt to build transnational ties to remain connected to the migrants abroad.

My research is a comparative study of two culturally distinct Guatemalan communities, one Mayan, the other Ladino, in the Eastern Highlands of Guatemala. This study was conducted in the municipality of San Pedro Pinula in the state of Jalapa, primarily in the town of San Pedro Pinula, henceforth Pinula. (Since the municipal capital and municipality share the same name, I will use the name San Pedro Pinula when referring to the municipality and simply Pinula when referring to the town, which is also the municipal capital.) San Pedro Pinula, an area that covers 2063 square kilometers, with 26 villages, 25 hamlets, and one municipal capital is located about 100 kilometers east of Guatemala City. Research was also conducted in various surrounding villages, including Aguacate, Pinalito, and Agua Zarca, as well as in the United States in the cities of Boston and Attleboro, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Stamford, Connecticut; and Atlanta, Georgia. This work is based on over twenty-two months of fieldwork beginning in 1999. Before formally investigating the community, I lived among migrants of this municipality in the receiving community in Boston (Dorchester) for one year in 1997. I then spent two months in San Pedro Pinula doing preliminary research in the summer of 1999. In

² Ladinos refer to the dominant class made up of people of mixed European and Mayan ancestry or those of Mayan ancestry who have adopted the dominant class cultural markers, such as language and dress.

2001 and 2002, I returned to San Pedro Pinula to carry out my doctoral work for a total of eighteen months, during which I spent two periods of time in Boston.

In the spring and summer of 2003, I began to film a documentary based on the dissertation research in conjunction with funding from the University of Miami and co-produced with Professor of Cinematography, Ed Talavera. We chose a migrant family who had recently received permanent residency, following their journey back to Guatemala after fifteen years in the United States. In 2006, I accompanied the family back to Guatemala to celebrate their daughter's quinceañera (sweet fifteen party). Although the daughter was born and grew up in the United States, she had dreamed of celebrating this important event in Guatemala since childhood, because of the strong connection between her and her transmigrant family in Guatemala. Similar to Patricia Foxen's fieldwork experience in both Xinxuc, Guatemala and Providence, Rhode Island (2002), my research travels between the sending and receiving community gave me a unique understanding of transmigrants and their families, particularly the emotional and economic impacts of migration. The privilege of my mobility and immediate access to both groups and locations was a strong reminder of the disparities between those living abroad and those in the home community and reinforced the struggle migrants were making to close that gap. Traveling from Guatemala to Boston, I was able to act as a courier and bring gifts and videos back and forth. More importantly, I brought salutations and reminders of the home the migrants had left behind. To those in Guatemala, I acted as a connection to those who were in the United States and to a place they could only ever imagine.

In the home community in Guatemala, the economic and social relationship between the Maya and Ladinos reflects their history, as the Maya have traditionally supplied the Ladinos of San Pedro Pinula with the labor essential to sustain the region's agricultural economy and have

maintained such essential social exchanges as *compadrazgo* (godparental relationships). This relationship is also evinced in the maturity of their migration patterns to the United States, which have moved along ethnic lines—paralleling the social structure of these two communities. The Ladinos went first over thirty years ago; then, with the assistance of their Ladino patrons, the Mayans began migrating ten years ago. This research documents this relationship and how migration has changed the local social structure to benefit the Maya but not without resistance from the dominant land-holding Ladinos.

Literature Review

This research is important to several areas in the field of anthropology: anthropological studies of gender roles; anthropological contributions to the study of gender and development; the literature on migration and gender; ethnicity and migration; and Guatemalan ethnography.

In my interest in for the issue of gender and women's roles, I draw upon anthropological literature on gender that is concerned with the role and status of women, gender asymmetry, and the historical particulars in which these inequalities arise (di Leonardo 1991; Ferree et al. 1999; Moore 1988). Feminist anthropology centers on Marxist issues of oppression, social relations of power, and women's access to the modes of production, using cross-cultural research to reinforce gender as a cultural construct. More recently, scholarship has been concerned with gender as an analytical concept and introduces the importance of looking at categories of race and class. The race, class, and gender framework draws from theories that seek to explain the inextricable ties between gender, class, and ethnicity in order to understand how gender is shaped by different systems of belief (Sacks 1989; Smith 1995). This framework is especially significant for comparative research in Guatemala to understand "two interactive cultural systems, one part of the dominant national ideology, the other, not" (Smith 1995:724).

To date, research on Mayan women and gender roles has focused on the Western Highlands of Guatemala and communities of Mexico (Bossen 1984; Ehlers 1990, 1991; Rosenbaum 1993; Recruz 1998), overlooking the isolated Mayan communities of the Oriente (Eastern Highlands) of Guatemala. Research that does examine both Maya and Ladino women has tended to concentrate on their differences based on the dichotomies created by Guatemalan society and women's "place" within that society (Bossen 1984; Maynard 1963; Mitchell 1982; Smith 1995). In order to locate women's position within Guatemalan society in the context of capital expansion, Bossen and Ehlers (1984 and 1991) employed a comparative analysis of Maya and Ladina women, using a Marxist approach to investigate women's status based on their relation to production. Ladina women are not as essential to the survival of the household and less valued than Maya women and findings show that capitalism further reduces women's status, especially for Maya women.

The impact of economic remittances on the local development of sending communities illustrates the far-reaching effects of global capitalism and global restructuring. Money sent from the United States to developing countries in the form of remittances has created rapid and transformative effects for communities in the form of land purchases, home construction, business formation, and public works projects (Cohen 2004; Durrand et al. 1996; Massey 1987; Massey and Parrado 1998; Massey et al. 1994; Orozco 2002). Earlier research, which studied how development impacts Guatemalan communities, illustrates how capitalist expansion in the form of market integration and export agriculture proved detrimental to women's status (Bossen 1984; Ehlers 1990, 1991; Katz 1995); however, migration research suggests that migration-driven economic changes improve women's position (Grimes 1998). In countries where the male head-of-household migrates first, researchers theorized that women would become the primary

dispensers of remittances and, furthermore, that their newfound access to cash would manifest in greater autonomy and control over household decision-making (Conway and Cohen 1998).

While increased income has shown to benefit the welfare of the family, it did not solely determine women's status: women's access to cash and control over resources are at least equally important. My own research shows that gendered access and control over resources determines who benefits from the remittances, demonstrating the dynamics of power inherent in the migration process.

While gender has become an important lens through which to look at individual and community reaction to global processes such as transnational migration, Pessar and Mahler have developed a framework called "gendered geographies of power" to also consider asymmetrical power relationships such as race and class (Pessar and Mahler 2001:816). In considering the importance of gender, they promote an intersectional approach to understanding migration, including how race and class affect people's status, power, and individual agency. Women's and minority's "social location" within the community structure largely influences their (in)ability to negotiate their situation. In other words, people's position in their society according to race, class, and gender affects their access to resources, mobility, and social networks. But this paradigm allows for individual empowerment by noting the importance of people's own actions and initiatives in changing their situation. Therefore, not only people's place within society, but also individuals' own agency influences the transformative qualities of transnational migration. By focusing on ethnicity and class, as well as gender, my own research acknowledges the interdependence of gender and social location; this causal web is especially significant given the Pinultecos' history and the stratified power dynamics between the Maya and Ladinos.

Past Guatemalan ethnographies and ethnic studies in this region of Guatemala were completed over fifty years ago in the nearby town of San Luis Jilotepeque, located in the valley adjacent to San Pedro Pinula (Gillen 1951; Tumin 1945). San Pedro Pinula refocuses attention on the Eastern Highlands, historically a region with a large percentage of Ladinos where ethnic relations have always been strained (Handy 1984). Current ethnic labels and identities in the Eastern Highlands challenge the dualistic model of Indian/Ladino ethnic classifications (Little-Siebold 2001). So, while some studies suggest migration strengthens Mayan ethnic identity (Burns 1993; Kearney 1990), the Eastern Highlands constitute a new and unique arena to contemplate how Maya–Ladino identities are reformulated in light of historically particular community relations as well as transnational migration.

Central Research Questions

I asked four fundamental questions about how transnational migration impacts gender, ethnic relations, and local development. These central inquiries, along with a review of past research on transnational migration, led me to four hypotheses. The following questions framed my data collection and methodology.

First, were remittances being used for reproductive activities, such as sustaining the household, or were they being used for productive activities, such as purchasing cattle and starting businesses? My first hypothesis was that Ladino households would be more likely to use remittances for investment because of their dominance in the local economy and longer history of international migration. I investigated whether there is a correlation between ethnicity and the use of remittances for either productive or reproductive activities. More specifically, did local social and economic conditions limit Maya ability to enter productive Ladino-dominated enterprises such as cattle ranching?

Second, did gender roles change with increased financial resources? In other words, did women use remittances for reproductive or productive activities? This research defined productive activities as formal and informal businesses, such as cattle ranching, coffee cultivation, and grain sales; and milk and cheese production. Reproductive activities were those that sustained the household and contributed to the purchase of housing, food, clothes, education, and firewood. Land purchases for home construction and home improvements were considered productive activities. Small homebound stores were not considered productive since they did not conflict with traditional gender roles, helped sustain the household, and rarely implied profit. I hypothesized that in households with members abroad, there would be a shift in gender roles once women began using more household resources for investment.

Third, did Maya and Ladinos share the same normative gender roles and relations? Since past research suggested that there would be a great difference between Maya and Ladino women's gender roles and relations with their husbands, I postulated that non-migrant women from the Maya community would engage in more traditional activities and reflect a more traditional view of gender norms.

Fourth, was there a connection between a migrant's length of time in United States and the wife engaging in productive activities? The fourth hypothesis stated that as the migrant's time away increased, remittance receipts would decrease and the likelihood that women would engage in income-generating activities would increase.

Research Methods

I conducted a community-based comparative study using various research methods: participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, focus groups, life histories, structured ethnographic surveys, and digital video and photography.

Participant Observation

I collected data from my observations of daily activities, interactions with community members, and involvement in community activities. Participant observation is essential in gaining the confidence of community members in order to relate to and understand cultural subtleties of presentation and conversation. I attended community activities, meetings of women's groups, religious services, and political meetings. I participated in both Ladino and indigenous social activities, such as serving on the festival organizing committee (Ladino) and working with the local indigenous religious organization (Maya).

In-depth Semi-structured Interviews

I conducted interviews in both communities with the following groups: women who had immediate family members in the United States; women who did not have family in the United States; male and female heads of households; male and female return migrants; community leaders, both political leaders and *principales* (community elders); the community's Catholic priest; local non-governmental organization workers; and Peace Corps workers. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish.

Focus Groups

I participated in a United Nation's sponsored women's empowerment group in the city of Jalapa and organized a focus group of elder Pokomam Maya women to discuss customs and traditions of the local Maya and collect life histories. Additionally, I planned a series of cooking and flower-planting classes in the village of Aguacate. This group was mostly made up of women whose husbands and/or male relatives were in the United States. Not only did the course provide social support for women with family abroad, but also an excuse for those with husbands in town to get out of the house.

Life Histories

In order to get a better understanding of people's life experiences in relation to migration, gender roles and ideologies, and domestic and public roles, I recorded life histories, interviewing both Ladino and Mayan men and women from different segments of the community. This complemented the semi-structured interviews by capturing life-cycle development, community history, and changes in perception of community relations regarding ethnicity, gender, and ideology.

Structured Ethnographic Surveys

I conducted a structured ethnographic survey in order to get a more comprehensive idea of the actual impact of migration and remittances on individuals and the community. The survey was completed for one sector of the community but did not reflect a representative sample. Data obtained from the surveys complimented other qualitative forms of research.

Digital Video and Photography

While conducting fieldwork, I carefully employed the use of digital video and photography; because of the Pinultecos' reliance on this form of media to communicate with their migrant family members, this proved to be a huge success. I used digital video to record semi-structured interviews, focus groups, community events, family occasions, and personal messages. I collected hundreds of hours of video footage.

I was often asked to attend community and family events for the sole purpose of sending these materials to loved ones abroad. Family functions, such as birthday parties, weddings, housewarmings (blessing of newly-constructed homes), and the progress of home construction and other important investments such as in cattle, were a popular event for transnational viewing. Local community events included the various saints' festivals, rodeos, and beauty pageants. Personalized messages were occasionally filmed, mostly in cases of crisis and distress. On both

sides of the border, I attended video screenings and experienced the excitement of seeing loved ones on screen. I was present as migrants watched videos and relived joyous occasions such as the local rodeo and fiestas, where they would pick out familiar faces in the crowd, retell old stories, and share local lore. When with non-migrant families, people would watch videos that showed the city landscape, busy highways, migrant salutations, and exteriors and interiors of their workplaces and homes. For migrants, videos contribute to the recreation of the imagination of their home communities; for non-migrants, they help to form a picture of the unfamiliar places that constitute their loved ones' new homes.

Digital photography was mostly used to document the culture, clothing, and traditions of the community. I also took photographs of families who would have never otherwise owned a picture of themselves and gave them away as gifts. I did not give photographs away to relatives or friends in order to avoid accusations of witchcraft—since photographs are believed to be used for these purposes. Requests for photographs of daughters and son-in-laws were not unusual, especially when they involved inter-ethnic relationships and marriages.

Research Team

While I conducted most of my research alone, I also worked in cooperation with a university and a non-governmental organization. During the summer of 1999, I worked for the Universidad del Valle in Guatemala City as a lecturer and field instructor, conducting a course in anthropological research methods. With the help of del Valle students, I did preliminary field research in San Pedro Pinula. One former student, Tatiana Paz Lemus, assisted me in my research in 2001-2002. She returned for a period of two months and also executed her own original research on adolescents' view on migration. My work, as well as her research, contributed to her senior thesis for the Universidad del Valle.

The Cooperativa el Recuerdo, a local NGO mostly supported from funds from Belgium, was helpful to my research as well. They employed over sixty development workers, most of whom were local indigenous community leaders, on projects ranging from sustainable agricultural practices to women's health programs. The cooperative's interest in my project stemmed from their own recognition of the differential and divergent effects of international migration on the communities and the future implications of these effects for implementing its own development projects. The cooperative served as another source that contributed important data on the history and changes in development, migration, and gender norms.

Positionality

Understanding my social location within the transnational community of San Pedro Pinula–United States is important to understanding how I experienced the field and my and my informant's lives. My position as a return migrant's wife and North American explains how the sending and receiving communities related to me and my relationship with them. Community members, especially return migrant women and non-migrant wives, related to me based on how they perceived my situation; what they revealed reflected their vision of me. During my fieldwork, I was married to a Guatemalan man who had lived in the United States for a little over a decade. We lived together in the migrant community of Boston before I decided to do my research in Guatemala. While I got to know the migrant community well, I did not understand the subtleties of Pinultecos' interactions and culture until after living in Guatemala.

During my courtship and the early part of my marriage, I became part of the Guatemalan transnational landscape as the *gringa* girlfriend of a middle-class Ladino man and met various migrant community members during this initial stage. In Boston, I heard about San Pedro Pinula for years, slowly creating my own idea of "home" from the nostalgic reminiscences of others. I

ate *pollo con crema con loroco* (chicken in a loroco³ cream sauce) with *loroco* flowers that had been smuggled through customs and hot tortillas with black beans from Guatemala. One of my first experiences with gender roles occurred on a Christmas Eve when a group of migrant women plucked me from the male-dominated living room to put me my proper place—in the kitchen rolling out *hojuelas*, a traditional fried dough covered in honey made for special holidays.

I comforted friends whose fathers had recently died back in Guatemala and dried the tears they shed for the family they left behind years ago and would perhaps never see again. I helped people translate English documents and fill out forms. I would explain new immigrant laws and American culture. I was my boyfriend's *gringa* pride and his family member's social capital. For me, as a woman who had grown up in Miami among Cuban and Venezuelan households, the Guatemalan migrant community made me feel at home in a new city where the only people I had associated with before had been white Protestants.

My first experiences with Pinultecos was in the lobbies, kitchens, and backrooms of some of Boston's most prestigious business and country clubs. My husband and I's first kiss was on the third floor of the Union Club; founded in 1863 and across the street from the State Capital and the Boston Common, this business club's members are among the elite of Boston political life: congressmen, senators, and Supreme Court justices. At Boston's most exclusive country club, Weston Country Club, I ate in the kitchen and spent time in the closet-sized rooms where the migrants slept. I visited friends at the posh Catholic Irish Club in Arlington. I felt it was ironic that the only way I was able to enter these exclusive establishments was through the back door along with their undocumented employees. Migrants from Pinula also worked other service

³ Loroco is plant native to Central America. The small white flowers have an oily texture and a strong pungent smell and are used in many native dishes in El Salvador and parts of Guatemala. It is closely related to the periwinkle family.

industry jobs throughout the city, in restaurants, supermarkets, and small shops, but it was the country clubs that often provided them free places to live and was the starting point for many new arrivals.

Though he did not grow up in San Pedro Pinula, my husband's maternal family was from Pinula and he had spent many vacations with his "country" cousins, milking cows and playing in the fields. During the civil conflict, when Guatemala City became a dangerous place, his parents sent him to Jalapa to attend high school; he spent his weekends in Pinula with his mother's family. He was a city boy and, when we decided to go to Guatemala for my fieldwork, he was not very excited about the prospect of living in the small town of Pinula. The fact that he didn't live there and that people did not know him by name, but only by family, worked in my favor: I was able to introduce myself as the daughter-in-law or wife of the nephew of the Enamorado family, which enabled me to build my own reputation. It made people more comfortable that I wasn't just any *gringa* in town for an unknown reason—that would be highly suspicious. In fact, many people felt sorry for me. They interpreted my presence as my sacrifice for my husband that I left my own family to accompany him to his country. Even though I tried to explain that I was working on my research project to get my graduate degree (*haciendo mi práctica*), they couldn't fathom any other reason why a woman would leave her own natal community to be so far away if it was not for her husband. My work was interpreted as something to do while I accompanied him home.

Although my husband is Ladino, his uncle was a well-respected man among the Maya due to his past history of selling pigs in the city. Years ago, a common occupation of lower-class Ladinos was to go to the countryside and buy pigs from the Maya and then walk the pigs all the way to the city to sell them. At that time, the trip often took three to four days, so the pigs were

outfitted with small leather shoes in order to survive the long trek. These Ladinos developed close relationships with the Maya; my husband's uncle, Don Pauncho, was well-known in the villages as a kind and friendly Ladino. He was also a big drinker in his day, which also contributed to his reputation as down-to-earth.

As reported in Kimberly Grimes' ethnography in a transnational community in Southern Mexico (1998), upper class "white" society often invited her to social events due to her status as an American. I was often treated by upper class Ladinos as "special" and invited to events due to the social capital I brought as a friend of the family. Some Ladinos would try to explain to me that they were just "like me," meaning of good blood and descent. They carefully explained to me the differences between *real* Ladinos and Ladinos who were of mixed blood, like my husband's family. They took my marrying a middle-class Ladino simply as part of my ignorance of the Guatemalan ethnic matrix.

Although I had just as many invitations to Maya events and parties, I was invited to the Mayor's house for dinner, to elite parties, and to participate on fiesta committees; my husband felt insulted, because he felt that he would have never been normally invited to these events. However, since he had married a *gringa*, he was invited due to my status as white and North American. While I agreed this was true, I felt we should take advantage of the situation; his feelings of inferiority complicated our relationship but not my acceptance into Ladino society. Ladinos saw my close relationship to the Maya as North American paternalism. It was more difficult for me to gain the Maya's confidence and it took more time to work within the Maya communities. The Ladinos had accepted me years before in Boston. In any case, my acceptance by Ladinos was automatic due to the color of my skin and position as North American.

Racial Worldview

When I was living among migrants in Boston, I often heard the term *indio* and Ladino but I did not understand the social relationships between Pinultecos in Boston. Since I could not yet see people through a Guatemalan racial worldview, specifically the racial order according to local Pinualtecos, I failed to grasp the ethnic differences that were so clear to them. Once I lived in Pinula, I was able to begin to understand how people perceived and constructed race. It was hard at first, trying to decipher who was considered Indian, Ladino, more Ladino, and less Ladino. It also took learning the Pinula's genealogies to understand how people "see" race as well. As explained further in chapter 3, there are specific phenotypes, clothing, speech patterns, and material possessions that can place someone in a specific racial group, but it was people's perceptions of race based on hypodescent and a detailed knowledge of family genealogies that cemented one's identity. This was the hardest for me to grasp, since I didn't always know people's ancestry.

Some of the best learning experiences for me were the funerals. Attendance at a funeral signified more than just mere acquaintance. As it turned out, family and friends attend funerals but so do family members that are *no reconocido* (illegitimate, unrecognized). For example, I was at an Indian woman's funeral when many prestigious Ladinos arrived. In whispers between Hail Marys, women explained that the deceased woman was the great-granddaughter of a Ladino man who had come from Honduras at the turn-of-the-century—and fathered children from five different women: two women were Ladinos with *good* last names (Spanish), two were considered mixed Ladino, and the last was *pura* (pure), an Indian woman. Five families in the community are descendents of this man and represent three different ethnic categories: two families are considered white and very Ladino, another two (my husband's family) are considered mixed Ladino, and one family (from the woman who had just passed away) was

Indian. This story and others like them helped me understand the rules and exceptions of hypodescent, enabling me to ask the right questions about perceptions of blood, descent, phenotypes, and racially-attributed behaviors.

Gender

My role as the wife of a Guatemalan man and return migrant placed me in a special situation in the context of relating to other women in the community. Living in a small town, it was almost impossible to hide any secrets from the community: it became apparent to many that there was conflict between me, my mother-in-law, and my husband. Many women had experienced similar situations, living with an overbearing and *metida* (nosy) mothers-in-law who sided with her son. To make matters worse, I was an *Americana* and obviously not capable of spending my days as a typical wife, working full-time to wash clothes and prepare food. While this didn't seem to bother my husband, it did bother my mother-in-law, even though she appeared to understand that I came to the town to work.

My in-laws no longer lived in the town; they had rented their country home for the past thirty years while they lived in the capital city, but that didn't stop them from moving in with us when we decided to rent their house in Pinula. I was under the naïve perception that since I was renting their home and they lived in the city, that their initial stay was temporary. I was wrong. At the time, I thought their presence was intrusive and I was concerned that they would negatively influence my visitor's interactions, since I would be in front of my Ladino in-laws. This was true. But I also had the unique experience of being a daughter-in-law and wife in Guatemala, battling over control of my household and relationship with my husband. I quickly learned to sympathize with my informant's own battles with their in-laws and husbands. The objectivity I was able to maintain was based in the knowledge that my situation would not be permanent and one day soon I would return to the United States. On the other hand, there were

many days when I felt overwhelmed by my predicament and often fled to the haven of my female friends, who in turn, related their own woes to console me. Women also had plenty of advice on how to deal with their in-laws and their husbands. While I can not say women completely accepted me, I do believe they knew of my suffering and this brought us closer together.

Michelle Moran-Taylor, my colleague and friend who was doing her fieldwork on a similar topic in the Eastern Guatemalan town of Gualán (2003), also looked at the impact of transnational migration on gender roles and relations. In one section of her research, she specifically looked at whether return migrant men returned home *más macho* (more macho) or if their experience in the United States translated into real gender role change for men. Many women I worked with reported that the United States had been a good learning experience for their husbands, and their husbands appreciated their domestic contributions post-migration. Even so, Michelle and I agree that over time, men often returned to their old behaviors and did not help in domestic work, again adopting old patriarchal patterns.

My own husband's behavior became increasingly erratic and domineering during our time in Guatemala. Whether I can attribute this to the influence of Guatemalan culture or to the time he spent with his Guatemalan male counterparts or to his mother (who questioned my ventures out unaccompanied), our relationship deteriorated during my fieldwork. While most women considered his behavior normal, I saw it as abusive. I was actually considered lucky that he "let" me do my work, go out without permission, and spend my own money. In fact, one time someone saw me take out my wallet at the market and hand him some money. The rumor quickly spread through town that I was the one *que manda* (gave the orders). This may be part of the

larger process that contributed to his domineering behavior in order to offset having an American wife.

Two years after the conclusion of my field research, my husband and I divorced. The dissolution of our marriage was not solely attributable to our experience in Guatemala, but we both were naïve enough to believe that returning to Guatemala would provide him some sort of solace and resolution. His feelings shifted throughout the course of our stay: he decided to stay in Guatemala permanently, to go back and forth, to return and remain in the United States. He, like so many transnational migrants, continually searches for a home, a place with a sense of security and acceptance. He, like other Guatemalan migrants who arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s, now have permanent residence in the U.S. Many believed that once their status was settled, they too would settle, but often their newly-granted status only further confused the issue of their identity.

Chapter Organization

In this chapter, I introduce my research topic and fieldwork area; summarize past literature on transnational migration; discuss my research questions, hypotheses, and methodologies; and outline my conclusions. This chapter poses the subject of how transnational migration transforms people's lives and whether the receipt of remittances impacts women and gender relations. Moreover, it introduces how migration is changing the historical economic and social relationship between Maya and Ladinos in the community of San Pedro Pinula, Guatemala.

Chapter 2 describes the two ethnic groups in this study, the Maya and Ladino of Guatemala, locating them within national Guatemalan ideologies, as well as specific local constructions of ethnicity in Eastern Guatemala: the colonial antecedents to their ethnic relations, the differences between Eastern and Western Guatemala in terms of history and ethnic relations, and the effects of the community history of immigration on ethnic relations. Using historical and

anthropological sources, it discusses the community of San Pedro Pinula from colonial times to the early periods of civil conflict through to the current global era. This chapter takes a historical approach in order to situate the community within national and political contexts, emphasize the region's importance to national construction of ethnicity, highlight the struggles of the indigenous communities' attempt to maintain autonomy, and reveal historically specific community ethnic relations and development.

Chapter 3 analyzes Maya and Ladino ethnic relations on both sides of the border. The chapter follows the history of international immigration along ethnic lines and how traditional patron-client relations enabled the Maya to migrate with the help of their Ladino patrons. The chapter considers data collected in response to the question of whether ethnic relations affect the Maya's ability to use remittances in productive activities and reveals changes in ethnic relations due to transnational migration.

Chapter 4 considers gender and gender relations in the transnational community. The chapter covers the literature on gender and migration, as well as women's and gender research specific to Guatemala. The chapter discusses research questions concerning how remittances affect women and gender roles and relations, including the differences between Maya and Ladino women and how migration impacts their lives.

Chapter 5 examines transnational communication in the past decade and how it has both positively and negatively contributed to the transformation of gender and gender relations. I discuss how the different mediums used in transnational communication and advancements in technology have transformed the Guatemalan landscape. Using the life story of one female migrant and interviews from fifteen migrant couples, this section illustrates how access to and

improvements in communication technology result in both positive and negative consequences for non-migrant women in the sending community.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation, summing up the major findings of my research and suggesting approaches for future research.

Conclusion

Transnational migration are the ways in “which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al. 1994) and has previously been considered a promoter of change in sending communities. Although transnational migration has sponsored significant transformations in migrant communities worldwide, we must ask: who benefits from these changes and does transnational migration truly create transformations in the social structure for oppressed groups such as women and indigenous Maya? As of 2006, an estimated 1.2 million Guatemalans had emigrated to the United States, about ten percent of the Guatemalan population. Remittances have topped over 3 billion dollars nationally and almost 4 million people in Guatemala are receiving money from overseas, or one-third of the country’s population (Migration Information Source 2006). While migration has an impact on the individual and family by increasing standards of living, communities as a whole have benefited as well in the form of electricity, health centers, housing improvements, potable water, and recreational projects. Still, these economic changes come at a price.

While transnational migration enables migrants and their non-migrant family members to improve their economic status and standards of living, families are separated and lives forever changed. Migration provides the means in which gender and ethnic relations can be reconfigured and creates opportunities for migrants to gain economic and social capital confronting race, class, and gender divides. Nonetheless, change is gradual and women’s and indigenous Maya’s

struggle to achieve autonomy and self sufficiency still eludes them. Ladino dominance of political and economic systems keeps Maya from investing in productive activities thus increasing the necessity to re-enter the migration stream. In spite of their increased access to cash in the form of remittances, both Maya and Ladina women are held to traditional gender roles. New communication technologies, such as cell phones and digital video, have enhanced and personalized contact for families apart; however, women are still controlled by their husbands abroad. In sum, this study attempts to emphasize the transformative effects of transnational migration by examining a bi-cultural community with a history of rigid social structure unchanged by hundreds of years of colonial rule and to illustrate local responses to the larger global process of transnational migration.

CHAPTER 2 THE TWO ETHNIC GROUPS: MAYA AND LADINO IN GUATEMALA

There are two main ethnic groups in Guatemala, the Maya and the Ladinos. The dualistic construction of ethnicity in Guatemala has provoked anthropological interest for decades, resulting in numerous studies of ethnic identity formation and ethnic relations. Though recent work in Eastern Guatemala (Moran-Taylor 2003, Little-Siebold 2001) attempts to revise the fixed dualistic assumptions of ethnicity in Guatemala, “aspects of identity such as socio-economic status, economic activity, conceptualizations of race, culture, gender, and generational differences are subsumed and elided by this dichotomy” (Little-Siebold 2002:178). This research conducted in the Eastern Highlands of Guatemala explores how Maya and Ladinos experience race, ethnicity, and gender, and how under transnational migration Guatemalans either preserve or transcend ethnic categories that have historically maintained Guatemala’s social structure.

The Maya in Eastern Guatemala, the subjects of this research, are a relatively small population that is less well-known to academics and Guatemalans alike than the larger populations of Maya in other areas. The Ladinos in this region are seen as the dominant and ruling group. A review of the definitions and debates surrounding Maya–Ladino ethnic labels provides a basis for understanding how Guatemalans themselves relate to the dual model of Maya–Ladino ethnicity. This study discusses variations in the Guatemalan dualistic model of classification and how migration impacts an already diverse and varied population. This chapter specifically looks at who the Maya and Ladinos are and how Guatemalans in the Eastern region of Guatemala improvise with the dual classification model categories, dependent on whether they are Ladino or Maya and regional constructions of ethnicity based on beliefs about family ancestry.

The Maya in Guatemala

Defining the Maya is complicated and problematic since the term is often regarded as controversial and is loaded with political and cultural connotations. In the most general sense, scholars have defined the Maya as the descendents of an impressive civilization that once stretched from southern and eastern Mexico down to modern-day El Salvador and Honduras. The Maya civilization began in approximately 2000 B.C. and reached its peak in 800 A.D. For nearly three thousand years, Maya kingdoms ruled over the lands they had fought for and the peoples they had conquered. After the arrival of the Spanish, the Maya themselves were conquered and made subservient. In modern terminology, “Maya” refers to more than eight million people of varied backgrounds, usually designated by their use of Maya as their primary language. They are concentrated in southern and eastern Mexico, in Belize, and throughout Guatemala. Though conflict and conquest have provoked migration among the Maya within Mexico and Central America for millennia, during recent years they have been responding to change caused by global forces that has resulted in migration to the United States and Canada. The Maya, like other peasant and indigenous peoples, are moving out of their homelands and traversing borders and nations. Since the Maya move across borders, cultures, and nation-states, defining what represents their cultural boundaries becomes more challenging as new representations of identity and citizenship emerge from this new world order. The Maya are taking part in this process by resisting more essentialist paradigms for defining indigenusness.

The Maya as an Essential Culture

The modern Maya are often described as a “pure” or “essential” culture in which indigenous elements or “survivals” from pre-conquest times are contaminated by newer Spanish and European cultural influences and more recently by processes of globalization. In this sense, the Maya are often romanticized in a way that emphasizes the more traditional aspects of their

culture, such as their relationship with nature and their affiliation with syncretic Catholicism and pagan religious rites. This construction of the Maya is especially powerful today, when the combination of pan-indigenous movements and western academic reverence of indigeness promotes the idea of an all-encompassing and comprehensive indigenous worldview.

Nonetheless, for centuries the Maya have successfully incorporated elements from their contacts with Europeans and other non-Maya groups. Accordingly, some scholars use the term in a non-essentialist way, proposing an identity continually re-created among the Maya in the face of dominating and intrusive cultures (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003; Warren 1998).

While an essentializing definition of the Maya creates a one-dimensional or static ethnic identity for the Maya, in Guatemala the “Pan-Maya” movement has co-opted the label to aid their own political and intellectual goals. The Pan-Maya adherents attempt to define the Maya by locating the principal continuities in Mayan culture that constitute “Mayaness.” Claiming an overarching Maya identity that includes all other ethnic subgroups creates a strong cultural union that contributes to a solid political foundation for organizing. The Maya Movement has several political goals, including creating Maya self-pride, reclaiming land rights, and supporting bilingual and advanced education (Fischer and McKenna Brown 1996). For the Maya movement, differences in language, dress, and ethnicities between Maya groups have historically caused too much division. A Pan-Maya identity, by contrast, can provide unity and cohesion in the aftermath of years of civil and social conflict.

Although current theoretical scholarship has begun to emphasize avoiding dichotomous definitions of Guatemalan ethnic identity it is still important to begin in marking the basic differences between what is “Maya” or “Indian” and what is Ladino or non-Maya if only to acknowledge the half-century scholarly debate on ethnic identity in Guatemala (see Adams 1994;

Arias 1990; Adams and Bastos 2003; Hawkins 1984; Gillen 1958; Tumin 1952; Warren 1998; Watanabe 1992). My own analysis in this study considers the question of identity at three different levels: identities constructed primarily at the local-level among community members in the town, identities defined by state institutions, and local identities strongly influenced by global processes, more specifically the influx of a cash economy and international migration.

Using the Term Maya

My use of the term Maya, specifically “Pokomam Maya”, to describe individuals and groups in the municipality of Jalapa is conscious and purposeful. When I first started research in the community I was not even sure that there were “Maya” in San Pedro Pinula. I had heard that there were Indians in San Pedro Pinula, but locals and other Guatemalanists alike claimed that the Indians seemed to have “lost” their authenticity. I was also searching for the common denominators of the Maya in their clothing, language, and cultural markers. Did they speak Pokomam? Did the women wear traditional dress? Did they engage in Maya rituals? How did they define themselves? While these questions were important during the initial stages of my fieldwork, I found that the questions turned out to be as important as the answers. My search for definitions of who these people were enabled me to be aware of the variety of identities that are present in the region, especially those that are not easily explained by dualistic notions of Maya vs. Ladino, although I do recognize the limitations of concepts such as “cultural survivals,” and “syncretism” since they employ a synthesis of Maya and Ladino culture and these concepts inform the initial framework of this study. I continue to struggle to understand ethnic, community, and national identity among the Maya in Guatemala.

Each barrio, town, village, and region in Guatemala reveals characteristics closely tied to its specific history and culture. Because of this diversity compromises the accuracy of broad generalizations, I have made as few as seemed possible. I am steered by my informants’ own

conceptualizations of their world which help me see how stereotypes and generalities becomes a part of a community's sense of identity. Each community's reaction and adaptation to larger forces, such as international migration, also provides a window into the individual and community constructions of ethnicity and identity.

Finally, I have chosen to use the term Maya for the Pokomam Maya of San Pedro Pinula for several reasons: their adaptability and resilience in the face of pressures from Ladino assimilation, isolation from other Maya groups, and identification as different and separate from the Ladino community.

Pokomam resilience and autonomy in the Eastern Highlands have not come easily. The Spanish settled into the Eastern Highlands in higher numbers than other areas of Guatemala. Due to its favorable geography and agricultural opportunities, Spanish settlements were drawn to Eastern Guatemala as it reminded the conquistadors of Spain more than the Western Highlands and provided fertile ground for agriculture and cattle-raising. The forced labor system used during colonial times to extract indigenous labor was an extreme burden on Indian communities, especially in the Eastern Highlands, which contributed to the demise of indigenous populations in that region (Lutz and Lovell 1995). The surviving indigenous groups were forced by the invaders to adopt Spanish culture and language. It was noted by early colonial era travelers that the process of *castellanización* of indigenous peoples in the Eastern Highlands started much earlier than it occurred among the Maya in the Western Highlands. As early as the late 1700s, Maya groups in Jalapa were already speaking Spanish fluently; the prominence of bilingualism throughout the region set the Eastern Highland Maya apart from Maya in the Western Highlands who were still mostly monolingual Maya speakers. Though the Maya of the Eastern Highlands may have adopted the Spanish language, the process of *mestizaje*, miscegenation between

Spanish and Maya blood, had not occurred in many of these areas even though Spanish had been widely adopted, often to the detriment of the local indigenous language (Dary 2003).

It is important to point out that in both Ladino and Maya communities exist those who have resisted the separation of the two groups and often insist on the importance of a *campesino* identity. *Campesinos* are distinguished by the tradition of uniting small farmers of all social classes and ethnicity to one overarching peasant identity. Many who use this label over other more ethnic-based identities tend to be more closely aligned with the Catholic Church, non-governmental organizations, or politically aligned grassroots organizations. The label *campesino* unites poor Ladino peasants with Maya peasants to work and organize together without the stigma of ethnicity that tends to place poor Ladinos over Maya of the same income levels and occupation. Others argue for a more varied appreciation of multiple identities both within and between the two groups; however, “Maya” and “Ladino” remain the most significant identifiers from which these alternatives emerge.

Surrounded by a sea of Ladinos, Eastern Highland Maya have maintained their community in spite of a large and powerful Ladino ruling class. Although I could have easily chosen the term “Indian” to refer to those I met in my time in San Pedro Pinula, I think it would have detracted from the historical existence of a large Pokomam Maya community that forms a strong and resistant presence in San Pedro Pinula.

The Pokomam Maya of San Pedro Pinula and San Luis Jilotepeque

The group I work with in the municipality of San Pedro Pinula, in the department of Jalapa, are part of the linguistic group identified as Eastern Pokomam Maya. The last major study of this group was conducted over fifty years ago by anthropologist John Gillen and sociologist Marvin Tumin, who focused on the Eastern Pokomam Maya specifically in San Luis

Jilotepeque.⁴ These two towns, San Pedro Pinula and San Luis Jilotepeque, are the two centers of Eastern Pokomam culture and are situated on valley floors separated by a small mountain range. The valley of San Pedro Pinula rests on the elevation of 1000m, while San Luis Jilotepeque lies at about 700m, making the climate more temperate and mild. The town of El Durazno rests on the peak of the mountain that divides the two towns. With views of both valleys, El Durazno likely served as an important Pre-Colombian military vantage point, and oral histories recount great battles that were fought here, evidenced by the multitude of obsidian arrow points that litter the grounds (Gouband Carrera 1945). Now just a pile of crumbling stones, El Durazno is considered a relatively insignificant archeological site. To the Eastern Pokomam, however, this site is the location of the Pokomam origin myth. Elders say that God looked down on the two towns from the peak of El Durazno and determined that San Luis would be the place of the *cántaro* (ceramic pot) and San Pedro would be the place of the *palma* (palm). The history of commerce in the two towns has borne out the myth, as San Pedro Pinula was once well known for its hand woven palm-braided sombreros, and the painted earthenware of the women of San Luis is famous to the present day.

In addition to the Eastern Pokomam, there is a second Pokomam Maya group in Guatemala. Principally located north and south of Guatemala City, this group speaks a dialect of Pokomam, appropriately called *Pokomam Central* or “Central Pokomam,” since they are situated in the Central Highlands, in contrast to the Eastern Pokomam, who are located in the Eastern Highlands.⁵ The residents of San Luis Jilotepeque, the neighboring Eastern Pokomam community, are of greater value as a focus for study since they more closely resemble the

⁴ Tumin and Gillen conducted their research in the late 1940s and published much of their work in the early 1950s.

⁵ Rubén Reina (1967) and Eileen Maynard (1963) did their work among the Central Pokomam in Chinautla and Palín.

inhabitants of San Pedro Pinula: not only do they use the same language, but the two communities exhibit similarities in the way state, local and political processes have differentially affected them.

Even so, the prevalence of “Indian-ness” is more marked in San Luis Jilotepeque, as exhibited by the presence of a strong indigenous identity with a multitude of indigenous organizations. As the locals explain, San Luis, is where the “real Indians” are because San Luiseños speak the Pokomam language openly and many more older women still wear their *traje* or traditional clothing as compared to San Pedro Pinula. The Maya may be more apparent in San Luis due to their strong, concentrated urban presence, whereas in San Pedro, the Maya are generally spread out in the rural areas. More importantly, there is a higher proportion of businesses in San Luis, many of which are owned and operated by local San Luis Maya. This greater incidence of entrepreneurship is likely due to the paved road and fast and reliable transportation available in the town, which provides ease of access to the vibrant market city of Chiquimula. All roads leading out of San Pedro Pinula are dirt and the road to San Luis traverses a high mountain ridge and almost impassable in the rainy season. The road from San Pedro Pinula to the *cabecera* (department capital) Jalapa, is also dirt and though it only crosses a small mountain, Jalapa is not considered a great city of commerce as compared to Chiquimula. Therefore San Pedro Pinula as compared to San Luis Jilotepeque is more of a traditional agricultural community isolated from the market and major commerce. Also as will be discussed later, the Maya in San Pedro struggle under Ladino control both politically and economically, while in San Luis, many Maya have been able to obtain more power through commercial success.

The belief that the “real Maya” reside in San Luis and no longer live in San Pedro Pinula is supported by the presence of Pokomam villages that line the dirt road crossing the mountain between San Pedro Pinula and San Luis Jilotepeque. The road was built with the sweat and blood of local Maya in the 1920s, during the era of large public works projects under the dictatorship of President Jorge Ubico. During the year 2000, under the Presidency of Alfonso Portillo, there were attempts to pave the road, which resulted only in the widening of a small section before funds ran out. The road is often impassable, especially during the rainy winter months when buses stop running because of the risk of skidding off the side of the mountain. Many Maya prefer the ancient narrow footpaths that wind up the steep mountainside from San Pedro to San Luis. As the road climbs 2000 feet from the valley floor of Pinula towards the peak of the mountain, the aptly named village of *La Estrella* (the star) emerges. The appearance of women in traditional *corte* (skirt made of dyed fabric) and the sight of traditional mud and straw huts in this region reinforce the sense that crossing over this mountain divide takes one into true Pokomam territory.

Regional Maya Differences within San Pedro Pinula

In the municipality of San Pedro Pinula there are marked differences between communities with regards to clothing style and language use. There also are intra-ethnic differences based on an urban–rural dichotomy. The Maya who live in town can frequently trace their ancestry through several generations, in order to illustrate their pure (Maya) or mixed (Maya–Ladino) heritage. Those who live in the villages outside of the town are often considered “pure” Maya. The intra-ethnic differences among the Maya throughout the municipality of San Pedro Pinula illustrate the variety of Maya identities and the social divisions that exist among members of the same ethnic group.

Urban vs. rural maya

Adams and Bastos discuss the social divisions among Maya who live in the *cabeceras municipales* (municipal seats) and those who live in the rural villages and hamlets. The town is generally regarded as the site of Ladino power, and the preponderance of educational and economic opportunities in the urban center bears out this claim (2003), as urban Maya fill certain economic niches confined to the town, such as liquor sales, tailoring services, small store ownership, and local artisan work. Urban Maya also consider themselves more modern, worldly, and sophisticated than their rural counterparts. The differences are also based on ancestry and local lineages as many Maya in the town can trace some Ladino ancestor or claim descent from the original Pokomam inhabitants. Adams and Bastos posit that the villages closer to the *pueblo* are considered more modern or urban (2003). These concepts are true for San Pedro Pinula and explain local ethnic divides among the Maya of the town and the Maya of the mountain or rural villages.

Maya Occupations

Maya in San Pedro Pinula tend to work in traditional milpa agriculture. Milpa agriculture is the basis for Maya civilization, made up of a variety of complementary crops, mainly corn, beans, and squash. While some of San Pedro Pinula's indigenous people own small plots, the majority are landless and forced to rent or sharecrop to grow crops for their basic subsistence. The indigenous population did once own large tracts of land communally but Ladinos and the municipality expropriated this land in the liberal land rush of the 1800s and during the Ubico dictatorship of the 1930s (Dary 2003).

San Pedro Pinula's indigenous population is involved in artisanal production. There was once a thriving hat making industry but that has slowly been disappearing. Now there are only a handful of Maya families who continue to make hats out of palm: "Palm does not grow in Pinula

but comes from low-lying San Jacinto, Chiquimula, and Asunción Mita, Jutiapa” (Russo 2004:18).⁶ The palm fronds are split into strips and women use the middle section to make brooms. Maya men are those who do the final assemblage of the hats but women are those who braid the palm strands into the basic strips used to make the final product. Maya women also dye the palm (for decoration) using aniline dyes and natural dyes, such as local mud and tree bark. There is also a small but disappearing maguey industry (rope made from Maguey plants). Rope from the maguey plants was once used to sew the hats (cotton thread is now used) but the maguey rope is still used to make *tenedores* by the Rosa family in the village of Aguacate—*Tenedores* are intricately weaved and colorful and used to secure the saddle to the tail of horses. Kathy Russo, a cultural expert on indigenous weaving, states the style of braiding used to make the *tenedores* is rare and she has only observed similar types of craftsmanship in Turkey. With the family we observed, mostly the young Maya boys who learned the process from their grandfather created the *tenedores*. The matriarch of the family explained that when she was young she remembers many families producing the product for sale.

While agriculture is the sole livelihood for most rural Maya, urban Maya do occupy some other occupational niches, such as storekeepers, candlemakers, tailors, seamstresses, moonshine producers, and cantina owners. These occupations are usually low prestige and bring in a small income and are restricted to what is considered appropriate for their position as Maya in a Ladino-dominated community.

⁶ Kathy Russo, a fellow Fulbright scholar visited me in the field in the summer of 2001 as part of her research on the maguey industry and indigenous craftsmanship in Guatemala. Most (if not all) of my in-depth information on the hat, palm, and maguey industry in San Pedro Pinula is due to her scholarship.

Maya Dress

Dress is often considered an important and highly visible marker of Maya identity. There are still a few older women in the town of Pinula who wear the traditional *corte* and beads and who wrap their hair in braids and ribbon. Married women have traditionally worn a *corona* (crown), wrapping the ribboned braids around their heads to form a crown—a style more common in San Luis.

In many outlying villages in San Pedro Pinula, women wear a *plagada*, a type of modified dress, rather than the traditional *corte*. The *Plagada* is a variation on a type of Maya dress used before the 20th century. This style of dress is distinctively “Indian,” and it is restricted to women who live in the villages surrounding San Pedro Pinula. Homemade, often brightly colored, and made of cheap imported fabric, the dress is form-fitting on top and tailored at the waist, with a skirt that flows out to fall at the knee. The top portion of the dress is shaped like a blouse, with lace and sewn-in bodice formed to emphasize and support the breasts. The skirt portion of the dress is usually covered with an apron of a matching or complementary colors and includes pockets to hold money or other items. Material of different colors is often sewn into the blouse to create collars and accentuate the puffed sleeves.

Since each village chooses a specific style of *plagada*, a woman’s dress often signifies where she is from, though styles vary as new colors and cuts are incorporated. For example, women from the village of Las Agujitas and El Sunzo often wear bright colors of pink, green, yellow, and blue with the skirts highly pleated (see Figure 2-2 photo B). Women from El Cumbre may have flower prints or more subdued colors and often have large puffy sleeves. All accentuate their dresses with intricately designed aprons with designs ranging from rectangular to heart shapes.

Local Maya explain the use of this modified dress as a matter of practicality, claiming that material used in the traditional skirts is too expensive, even though colonial records indicate that when San Pedro Pinula was a “*pueblo of indios*” (Indian town) and was forced to give tribute to the Spanish crown, the local Maya did produce some sort of cloth. Today, material used for the traditional Maya *corte* skirt is produced in the Western Highlands. A skirt made of traditional cloth can cost upwards of Q300 (around \$45), while yards of plain fabric used for the *plagada* style dress costs just a few Quetzales (less than a dollar). The Chorti Maya of Chiquimula, the only other Maya group in the Eastern Highlands, also wear a modified dress made of imported material. Though the style of the Chorti modified dress differs from the Pokomam, the presence of this clothing style in the Oriente and its identification as “indigenous” marks the creative and adaptive capacity of the populations in the East.

Like the women, Maya men were reported to have worn a traditional outfit that is no longer used in the region. The outfit was simple: it consisted of light white cloth, with shin-level pants held up by a simple belt made of the same material. While women traditionally go barefoot, men wear *caites*, or sandals made of leather with soles cut from used tires. This type of footwear is a convenient symbol of the difference between Maya and Ladino, since only “Indians” wear this type of shoe. One example of the symbolism of the *caite* concerns a Ladino man who is from another town farther east in the Oriente where there are no Maya. He is considered of lower class and often walks about town in *caites*. People think he is a strange character but excuse his behavior because he is from an area “where there is many poor Ladinos who are like Indians.”

Maya men often wear the traditional *sombrero*. Made out of braided palm leaves, the hat is shaped into a cowboy style and varies in color from muted brown to beige. Maya men also use a

bag made of either homemade rope or colored synthetic materials. With greater and greater frequency, Maya men use backpacks rather than the traditional bags, and wear either store-bought manufactured cowboy hats imported from Mexico or baseball caps. Manufactured cowboy hats and baseball caps are luxury items and therefore considered status symbols, and the younger urban Maya aspire to imitate this style.

Both Maya men and women wear clothing that marks them as different from the Ladinos, especially Maya who live in the villages. Though some changes to the “Indian” style, such as the increasing use of backpacks and baseball caps, seem to indicate a lessening of more obvious cultural markers of “Indian-ness,” the rural Maya of San Pedro Pinula still hold onto traditions such as the modified dress. In fact, when money is available, many Maya women do not buy western clothes but instead use their money to make fancier versions of the indigenous modified dress. On market days and during the festival, young women come to the town of San Pedro in their best new dresses. The festival week, especially, provides an opportunity for young women to show off their best clothing and meet young men. One festival week I saw three girls with dresses made out of an expensive sequined material that shone and glittered in the sun. They had modified their outfits with the latest village “styles” and new market-bought material imported from other parts of the world. In this regard, the continued presence of indigenous traditions such as the modified dress and the incorporation of newer styles and materials (such as the cap and backpack and market-bought material for the dresses) illustrates the Maya ability to incorporate elements from the outside world with their own.

Maya Language

While there is a large indigenous presence in San Pedro Pinula, actual Maya language use is considered to be very low. Fluent Pokomam speakers in San Pedro Pinula are considered to be rare if not non-existent. Census data and local discourse on the subject seem to indicate that the

Pokomam Maya language is on the decline. When I first arrived in Pinula, I asked locals, both Ladino and Maya alike, if people still spoke the Pokomam language. Ladinos more often said that no one spoke it anymore, or pointed to some obscure village where perhaps the language was spoken. With even greater frequency, people referred me to the nearby town of San Luis Jilotepeque where the real “Indians” lived. Over time, I met Ladino storeowners who told me that in their stores they had heard the local Maya speak the indigenous language. The owners of the market stalls in the central market of San Pedro Pinula are Quichéé Maya from Momostenango, who are well known in Guatemala as entrepreneurs who tend to monopolize local trade throughout the country (replacing the Chinese immigrants who dominated trade in the early twentieth century). One Momostango stall owner told me of his experience with the Pokomam Maya from Pinula:

They do speak their language. Some have approached my stall already speaking their language, expecting me to reply back. I explain to them (in Spanish) I don’t speak the same language as they do. They look at me like I am being stuck-up but I try to explain that there are many (Maya) languages and I am from the *Occidente* (Western Highlands). It seems they only think there is one *lenguaje* (language).

It surprises the Momosteco that the Maya from Pinula have no idea that there are possibly many other Maya languages. In fact, when I surveyed local Maya on what the language was called or named, most called it simply, *lenguaje* (the language), and either were unaware of the term Pokomam or used that word in reference to the people of San Luis. This demonstrates the isolation of the Pinula Maya from other Maya groups and an unawareness of a strong Maya identity as defined by language.

I put together a focus group of some of the last women of Pinula who still wear the traditional *traje*, most who were over fifty and one of whom had just turned a hundred years old! They talked about the history of the community, interethnic relations, and the Pokomam language. They also giddily exchanged phrases in Pokomam but did not seem comfortable

conversing. They explained that the language was being lost due to the shame of being Maya and the ridicule they have experienced over the years when speaking it in public. Elders have tried to teach Pokomam to their children, but the younger generation has resisted learning it, and while most remember their parents speaking it at home, the current generation seems content to let it disappear. When asked about whether the language spoken in San Luis is the same as San Pedro, some claimed it was the same while others claimed it was different.

Data on the continued use of Pokomam are nevertheless inconclusive. In 2001 the newly installed Monsignor of Jalapa visited San Pedro Pinula. Thousands of people came from all over the municipality to welcome him. It was one of the few occasions other than festival holidays when indigenous organizations were present. There were signs welcoming the Monsignor from the *comunidad indígena* and local indigenous leaders performed a special ceremony. One elder spoke strongly and said, “we are a humble people and for shame of being Indian we speak our language in secret.” This confirmation of the presence of Pokomam speakers in San Pedro Pinula illustrates the difficulty of measuring indigenous identity by language markers, since so many Maya feel an intense pressure to hide their Maya identity and silence their indigenous language.

The Ladinos of Guatemala

Ladino refers to the non-indigenous peoples of Guatemala. This term is synonymous with the term Mestizo, which is used in Mexico, El Salvador, and Honduras. Unlike the Mestizo, which literally means “mixed” and emphasizes the actual “mix” of European and indigenous ancestry, the connotation of “Ladino” in Guatemala is rife with ambiguity regarding ancestral roots (Adams 1994). While Guatemala Maya are clear about who they are and where they come from, Ladinos derive their identity from the European, especially the Spanish, aspects of their heritage. They also tend to affiliate themselves with Western society: they wear Western clothes, speak Spanish, and identify themselves as separate from indigenous groups.

The heterogeneity of the several Maya ethnic groups is in stark contrast to the supposed homogeneity of Ladinos, who share a common culture and language. Ladinos do, in fact, vary in ancestry, income level, and degree of cultural adaptation. Some claim these differences are regional (Adams and Bastos 2003), while others claim the differences are marked by class within communities (Hawkins 1984, Adams 1956). In the 1940s, Hernández de León, the chronicler of the Ubico period, noted the deep division between Indians and Ladinos in San Pedro Pinula and that there were also subdivisions within the two groups (Dary 2003).

While many anthropologists state that Ladino identity has little to do with race or actual biological ancestry and more to do with social and cultural markers (Adams 1994, Parkyn 1988), race, “blood”, and ancestry are essential components in Ladino ethnic identity. Ladinos in the East are more likely to emphasize their ancestry and the degree to which their “blood” is “tainted” or “pure” (Little-Siebold 2001). Small communities also believe that generational claims on ancestry are important, as community knowledge of ancestry informs opinion on the degree to which one is or is not Ladino. As Little-Siebold found in her work in Quetzaltepeque (2001), Pinula also has varying local definitions of Ladino based on perceived ancestry. But the Ladinos are not the only ones who use ancestry as a powerful tool in identity formation. While Ladinos are considered to be more homogenous than the Maya, Grandin reminds us that the 19th-century Quiché Maya elites of Quetzaltenango emphasized their identity in terms of race and “blood”, instead of using cultural markers such as dress (2000:9).

Ladinos in San Pedro Pinula

Ladino Occupations

Ladinos raise cattle, make cheese, run businesses, and own most of the land in and around Pinula. Traditionally they have depended on Maya labor to maintain their lifestyle, often renting land to the Maya in exchange for labor and a share of the maize and bean harvest.

The cattle industry is important to the Ladino livelihood. While discussions of the milpa harvest and corn prices are common to both Maya and Ladino alike, cattle ownership is what defines Ladinos as separate and “above” those who only engage in agricultural activities. Ladino dress, social activities, and even their identity revolve around the cowboy culture. As discussed later, men wear distinctive cowboy hats and belt buckles and women wear the feminine version for special events such as rodeos. Ladinos listen to Mexican *ranchera* (cowboy) music and emulate North American and Mexican cowboy styles. Ladino social events are usually based on cattle, as rodeos and parades on horseback are essential to their yearly festivals and celebrations.

Cattle are the main economic base for elite Ladinos. While even the poorest of Ladino may own a cow or two, the wealthier families with large plots of land own and trade in cattle. The cattle cartels in Guatemala are inclusive and the wealthiest of the families in Pinula are part of a larger Ladino cattle cartel that runs the sales of cattle from the ranches of the Pacific coast to the lowlands of Puerto Barrios to the agricultural frontier of the Petén. Many of families own land in these areas and as the Oriente is dependent on a rainy and dry season, shipping cattle to lands where there is a consistent annual rainfall enables them to keep large heads of cattle healthy and marketable year round. While some families may not be cash rich, their wealth lies in land and cattle. The Ladino monopoly on the cattle industry in Pinula is what defines them as separate from the Maya.

The cheese from the Jalapa region is famous throughout Guatemala and milk and cheese production is also an important economic base for Ladinos. Cattle-owning and non-cattle-owning Ladinos engage in cheese production. Families with large heads of cattle either produce their own cheese or sell milk to family members. Several varieties of milk products are produced locally, *queso fresco* (fresh farmer’s cheese), *queso duro* (hard cheese), *riquesón* (ricotta), butter

and cream. The hard cheese is made in small batches for local consumption and large rounds of over 75 lbs. are sold in Guatemala City. The more perishable items are sold locally in town and in the main city of Jalapa. Locals have their favorite families from which they buy depending on their tastes, as some families use varying amounts of salt and fermentation times. During the rainy season when more milk is being produced, they also label the cheeses differently since the taste varies with what the cows are eating; fresh grass in the winter, dry stored and store bought feed in the summer.

Ladino Dress

Ladinos in Pinula dress in “Western” clothing, often bought in what are known as *pacas*, home-based or retail stores that sell used American clothing from large bundles or packs. Ladino women also make their own clothing or pay a local seamstress to sew their clothes from materials bought in the market and designed from dress patterns from the United States. Many seamstresses carry U.S. catalogs and fashion magazines from which patterns are chosen. Pinula’s relative proximity to El Salvador also facilitates clothing lines from the free trade zones of El Salvador’s *maquiladores*, factories that assemble clothing bound for the United States. While women in the capital town of Jalapa often flaunt the latest trends from the United States, which can be considered racy, women in Pinula generally maintain a very modest style, especially since most Ladinos consider skimpy or revealing clothing to be in bad taste. Ladino women always wear shoes (usually feminine sandals) at all times, even in their homes.

Ladino men are often described as the cowboys of Guatemala due to their use of Western clothes, cowboy hats, boots, and large shiny belt buckles. Some carry guns in holsters attached to their belts, but lately the pistol is being replaced by the cellular phone as a man’s status symbol. It is not uncommon to see some Ladino men with both accoutrements.

Ladinos in the Town and in the Aldeas

Some Ladino families, especially a region's landowners, reside in the villages, although this is rare. Monographs collected on the history of the local villages always mention the founding Ladino families of the area, though it is frequently difficult to locate descendents who are still present. Before the 1960s, many Ladino families had *majadas*, or country homes where they lived during the rainy season (winter). At this time, families would leave their urban homes to live at their *majadas*, tending to their fields and taking advantage of the seasonal increase in their dairy cattle's milk production to produce cheese. Though some Ladino families still own country homes, male heads of house no longer uproot their family for the winter season, preferring to spend time there alone to run their local farms while occasionally bringing their families over for weekend get-togethers.

The movement of Ladinos from the rural areas to the urban center has been noted by Pinultecos, and most Ladinos believe this migration is associated with an increased level of danger in the countryside, which may have begun during the militarization of the area in the late 1960s. They claim that living in the country became too dangerous during this period, principally because of the presence of *guerillas* (those of the armed rebel forces), who were suspected of stealing their cattle. Many believe the dangers of rural life has contributed to a decline in cattle production, claiming that fewer and fewer people want to work in the industry, especially with the option of migrating to the United States to find work.

San Pedro Pinula is well-known for its large in-town cattle population, and, though it is no longer legal, people still herd their animals from small stockyards behind or alongside their homes to the grazing pastures just outside of town. In the early morning, the men milk the cows and then let their Maya *correleros* (foot cowboys) take the cows out to pasture. When I received phone calls from the United States, people would often hear the sound of passing cattle and ask if

I was out in the countryside. I would explain, “No, I am standing in my own doorway!” At night, an occasional cow will get loose; thus, it is not uncommon to see them wandering the streets until the owner looks for them in the morning. It is widely believed that cattle owners purposefully let their cows out at night to allow them to feed from the town’s garbage cans.

Ethnic Category Alternatives to Maya and Ladino

As mentioned earlier, though dual categories of Ladino and Maya remain strong, there are many variations to this simplistic ethnic definition. Throughout my time in the field, I heard alternative labels and descriptions from community members in their every day discourse or when they spoke of neighbors and relatives. Ancestry and bloodlines continue to be important indicators of social class in most Guatemalan communities (Casaús Arzú 2002; Nelson 1999), and San Pedro Pinula is no exception, since most community members are often judged according to their racial make-up, which frequently influences marital prospects as well as social status.

Ladino vs. Mixed Ladinos of Varying Degrees

In San Pedro Pinula there exist Ladinos of varying degrees. While a Ladino is generally defined as anyone who is not indigenous, the extent to which one is considered Ladino depends upon physical traits, language use, and birthplace as well as local perception of a given individual’s ancestry.

There are those who are considered to be of purely Spanish ancestry since there is no record of their families having interbred with Indians. These individuals are called *puros* (pure) or *bien Ladino* (very Ladino). One particular family—though they are not the wealthiest in the community—has an inordinately high degree of prestige solely because they have maintained purely Spanish bloodlines. Other varieties of Ladino include *Ladino mixto* (mixed Ladino), who are of mixed Maya and Ladino blood but still considered Ladino; and *Ladino dorado* (toasted

Ladino) who are Ladino but have darker skin, and are thus perceived as having a greater degree of mixed ancestry. Locals can typically trace the lineage of the more recently mixed Ladinos to a specific inter-breeding incident between a Ladino man and an Indian woman, and affairs of this type are common. Maya are also considered *lavado* (cleaned–washed), if they have a specific Ladino physical trait that may give them claim to Ladino ancestry. This is more rare though, as Maya are also always considered *indio* (Indian) no matter the circumstances.

The blood–race matrix of San Pedro Pinula is based on hypodescent as the children of a Ladino–Maya union are considered to be Maya. These inter-ethnic relations are usually between Ladino men and Maya women as relations between Ladino employers and their female Maya servants are common. Ladino men also have Maya lovers in the villages or in the town. Illegitimate children (*hijos de casa*) tend to join the ranks of their Indian mothers. Exceptions to hypodescent do occur with regularity when the phenotypic expression shows more “Ladino” traits in the offspring, if, for example, the child is very light-skinned or light-eyed. In this case the child may be able to pass as a lower class Ladino and still possibly marry into the Ladino ethnic group. In conclusion, Ladino ethnic categories illustrate heterogeneity and variety within what is considered to be a homogeneous group in Guatemala.

Maya and Ladino Festivals and Dances

Festivals and dances in San Pedro Pinula are clear examples of ethnic divisions. The three separate festivals in the town of San Pedro Pinula are divided along ethnic lines. The San Pedro festival is considered “Indian,” the San Lucas festival is considered Ladino, and the largest festival, the festival of the Virgen of Candelaria is for everyone but is controlled and administered by Ladinos. Festivals are celebrated with a special Catholic mass, vendors with games and food, fee-based dances, and rodeos. Only the Ladino festival of San Lucas has no

vendors. San Pedro Day is accentuated with week-long celebrations in the *cofradía* (Maya brotherhood) and with rituals performed in Maya homes.

All three festivals have elected queens, *Reina de la Feria* (Queen of the Festival), *Flor de Feria* (Flower of the Festival, the Queen's maiden), and *Señorita de Deportes* (Lady of Sports). The festival of the Virgen of Candelaria, has a queen who is always Ladino, and a Pokomam Princess, who is Maya. There is an annual published flyer announcing the festival events, which features a large picture of the Ladino Queen of the Festival on the front and lists the detailed events on the inside. After reviewing over a decade of flyers from previous festivals, I noticed that all had the full names of the Ladino queens printed; not one, however, listed the names of the Maya princesses. In some cases the Ladino Queen names would be in bold while Pokomam Queens were never named at all.

The villages of San Pedro Pinula all have their own patron saint days and small local celebrations occur in the surrounding villages of Aguacate, Pinalito, Santo Domingo, and Agua Zarca. These festivals are attended by Ladino and Maya alike as Pinalito, Agua Zarca, and Santo Domingo have large populations of Ladinos (these villages are extensions of the main town and Santo Domingo is the original Spanish colonial settlement). Even though Aguacate has only one Ladino family, Ladinos from the town attend but are usually *patrones* (employers) of Aguacate villagers.

Festivals and their Significance

San Pedro (June 9): This is considered the “Indian” festival and is attended by Ladinos and Maya alike even though the activities involving the *cofradía* and its building are exclusively Indian. The principal Catholic mass is attended by Maya from all over the region.

The local *cofradía* building (Maya church) is full of activities all week culminating in the weekend festival. Maya families come from all over the region and often sleep either with

relatives or at the *cofradía* building. The *cofradía* (Maya brotherhood) coordinate the making of food for communal consumption, pigs are slaughtered for pork tamales, black corn is boiled in large vats for the making of the ritual drink *schuco*, and large clay pots are full of black beans. The women are constantly boiling and grinding corn for tortillas and large *comales* are surrounded by young women flipping the round crispy disks of grinded corn. Men (and some women) are drunk on *cusha* (local moonshine) throughout the weekend and usually passed out in dark corners. There are traditional activities performed inside and outside the building, such as horse races and “climbing the pole,” which entails young men trying to scale a greased *cofradía* pole for cash. The *cofradía* shrine to San Pedro is lighted with Christmas lights and shiny ribbons and donations boxes are set up in front of each saint for blessings. Since the vendors are set up in town’s plaza, Ladinos attend this section but do not venture up two blocks to the *cofradía* building except for the horse races which are done outside on the street.

San Lucas (October 18): Local Maya described this festival as the “feria de los ricos” (the festival of the rich) and is only attended by Ladinos. It is a small weekend festival accentuated by a parade of horses ridden by Ladinos through the town, ending at the town’s coliseum for the rodeo. This is strictly Ladino and the Maya do not participate in any activities. Although Saint Luke is the patron saint of physicians and surgeons and should be celebrated on October 18, San Lucas is considered by locals to be the patron saint of cattle. This local interpretation may be due to the fact that St. Luke is usually depicted with the symbol of an ox or a calf as a symbol of the sacrifice that Jesus made for the world. In San Pedro Pinula, San Lucas is represented at the Catholic mass with a statue of San Lucas with a large bull sitting at his feet symbolizing the importance to cattle to the local Ladinos.

Virgen de Candelaria (February 2): Labeled the “most traditional festival in the Eastern Highlands” by websites on Guatemalan tourism, this is actually the most commercial festival and on the largest scale. While everyone attends this festival, there are two rodeos, the one on Saturday is considered the “Indian” rodeo and has a cheap entrance fee. Usually it has a higher attendance of Maya and many Ladinos as well. The bulls and entertainment are usually of lower quality. The Sunday rodeo is considered the “rich” rodeo and has a high entrance fee and is attended only by Ladinos. The entertainment is high-quality (meaning more singers, a band, and clowns) and the Ladinos bring the largest bulls and prestigious bull riders from nearby departments. The locals say she is the virgin of the *humíldes* (the poor).

Dances

Dances are an important part of the festivals and social events in general. Older Ladinos use dances as illustrative of changing times and the upset of social order in the community. Dances were once considered a Ladino domain and a social event for young ladino men and women to socialize under the supervision of the community. Now dances are attended by “anyone,” meaning that lower class Ladinos and Maya as well enter this event. Before Maya had their own dances but they were assembled in their own homes or in temporary tents. The fact the tradition of exclusively Ladino dances is no longer strictly adhered to illustrate to the older generation the loss of respect from the “Indians” and a loss of social custom that separate Maya and Ladinos socially.

The Setting: San Pedro Pinula, Jalapa, Guatemala

Eastern Guatemala is also known as the *Oriente*, which is literally translated as the “East” and refers to the Eastern Highlands. The *Oriente* is generally considered similar to the Wild West of the United States in the 1800s. Not only is it a dry and arid region, similar to the American Southwest, but it is also characterized by the prominence of the cattle industry and an

accompanying “cowboy” mystique, which signifies a lack of effective law enforcement. In the Guatemalan national psyche, the *Oriente* is created in opposition to the *Occidente* (Western Highlands) of Guatemala, which is composed of the high green volcanic mountains dotted by fog-enveloped villages and peopled with a quaint and subdued indigenous population. On the other hand, in the Oriente, the land of Ladinos, the men are characterized as macho, gun-sliding, quick-witted storytellers, and their women as hot-blooded and beautiful. The Eastern Highlands are predominately ruled by powerful right-wing politicians.

In reality, Guatemala is not a place of such harsh dualities, though the common theme of Ladino vs. Maya—East vs. West remains in the everyday discourse and the national imagination. Guatemala is actually a land of great diversity, both in landscapes as well as population. Covering over 42,000 square miles, Guatemala is only slightly smaller than the size of the state of Tennessee, yet encompasses an astonishing range of ecosystems and microclimates. From the limestone plateau of the Northern Petén, along the dense jungles of the Eastern Caribbean coast, across the cloud-forests of the Verapaces, to the volcanic peaks of the Western Highlands, and down to the flat and steamy Pacific coastal plain, it is no wonder that Guatemala has become an international destination for tourists and scientists alike.

The importance of place is critical in understanding the difference between the Maya from the *Occidente* and the Maya of the *Oriente*. The colonial Spanish and Creoles preferred the *Oriente* to the Western highlands for their land and agricultural interests and occupied the *Oriente* in higher numbers than in the West (Macleod 1973; McCreery 1994). Agricultural products cultivated by the Spanish included wheat, corn, cotton, and beans, and animal-based products included honey, poultry, and fish from Eastern Guatemala. The Spanish were also able to collect manufactured goods from the region, such as ceramic containers (ollas), sandals, reed

mats, and cloth (Feldman 1981; 1985). Since Colonial times, the Maya of the Western Highlands have struggled to overcome barriers of language and ethnic affiliation that have traditionally alienated them from one another, yet they've been somewhat unified in maintaining a degree of autonomy from Ladino culture. This quality distinguishes them from the Maya in the Oriente whose isolation from other Maya groups subjected them to a more intense pressure to assimilate to Spanish culture.

Metz (1998) has also suggested that the Eastern Maya were historically exposed to greater suppression than the western Maya since they were forced into *repartimiento* labor for the expanding East and likewise subjected to a higher degree of incorporation into Ladino society. The Eastern Maya's high degree of integration is evidenced in their high rates of bilingualism and low rates of Maya monolingualism, in contrast to the Western Maya, who are more often less proficient in Spanish (Adams and Bastos 2003). Nonetheless, the Eastern Maya are a resilient group and have survived even though they are surrounded by large Ladino populations and are isolated from other Mayan groups (see Figure 2-3 A).

The Region

The Department of Jalapa

San Pedro Pinula is a large municipality within the department of Jalapa in the Eastern highlands. The department of Jalapa contains seven municipalities: Jalapa, Monjas, Mataquescuintla, San Carlos Alzatate, San Manuel Chaparrón, San Pedro Pinula, and San Luis Jilotepeque, and covers over 2063 square kilometers (797 square miles) with a population of 242,926 (INE 2002). Jalapa is also the name of department city capital, which serves as the main commercial and administrative center for the region.⁷

⁷ I will be using the name Jalapa when I refer to the capital city and Department of Jalapa in reference to the whole region.

Though located only 100 or so kilometers east of Guatemala City, Jalapa was until recently only accessible by paved road via the nearby department of Jutiapa, which was almost double the distance at 174 kilometers from the capital. Though the recent construction (1999) of a new paved road connects Jalapa to Guatemala City via the major country thoroughway of CA-1, the department remains off any major commercial routes. Though both paved routes make the city of Guatemala accessible, Jalapa continues to be underdeveloped and rural, with little commercial development. Jalapa's geographic isolation is surpassed only by its historical and cultural remoteness. As part of the larger Oriente region, Jalapa and its adjoining departments of Santa Rosa, Jutiapa, El Progreso, Zacapa, and Chiquimula are considered part of "Guatemala Olvidada" (Forgotten Guatemala) due to an historic lack of interest in the region (Little-Siebold 1995:14).

The Municipality of San Pedro Pinula

San Pedro Pinula is a municipality with fifty-five thousand inhabitants. Even though Ladinos dominate the Oriente, various indigenous groups, such as the Chor'ti' and the Eastern Pokomam also reside in dense populations in the region. Various ethnographies on the Chor'ti' (Wisdom 1940, Metz 1995) and the Pokomam (Tumin 1952, Gillen 1951), document their lives, but generally the Maya of the Oriente remain under-scrutinized because they reside outside the familiar focus of Maya cultural studies—the western highlands of Guatemala. Detailed documentation of Ladino life in Eastern Guatemala is equally scarce (Dary 1998, Little-Siebold 2002, López García and Metz 2002).

San Pedro Pinula's population is 98% Pokomam Maya, most of whom are dispersed among the forty-six villages and hamlets nestled in the mountains surrounding Pinula.. Ladinos, who control politics, economics, and land in the municipality, make up the remaining two percent of the population. The town serves as a general gathering point, supply depot, and

bureaucratic center for the predominantly rural population of the municipality. Most Ladinos reside in the town, and even though they constitute only a third of the town's population, they dominate all social and economic aspects of Pinula life.

As mentioned before, Anthropologist John Gillen and sociologist Melvin Tumin conducted ethnographic research in nearby San Luis Jilotepeque in the 1940s, but to date no work on Pinula exists. We can, however, make use of some of Tumin's information that pertains to ethnic relations. Tumin described the relationship between Pokomam Maya and Ladinos as a "state of peaceful tension" (Tumin 1952:vii), portraying relations between the two groups as "caste like in character" and noting that their social system worked in "a type of equilibrium" (Tumin 1952:59). Though both Tumin and Gillen documented in great detail the economic and social disparities between Ladinos and the Pokomam, they felt these relations were complementary.

Sixty years after Tumin's work, the general sense of small-town tranquility belies underlying tensions in the town's history and everyday discourse. In fact, the historic battle for scarce resources created hostility between Ladinos and Indians, and the "peaceful tension" that Tumin described often erupted into violence. Nevertheless, I generally concur with Tumin and Gillen's findings about the rigid ethnic and social structure, which included a strict endogamy that contributed to maintaining each ethnic group within a consigned role.

Colonial Antecedents to Local Ethnic Relations

Though it would be impossible to cover the region's colonial history in this dissertation, local accountings of Pinula are of some use in describing past trends of the region's ethnic conflict. Most of the indigenous peoples who reside in town are descendents of the original Pokomam Maya inhabitants who were ordered to live in a newly formed "Pueblo de Indios" in the late 1500s called San Pedro Pinula (AGCA 1584). "Pueblos de Indios" were the Spanish Crown's efforts to corral the Maya in order to force them to live in newly formed communities

founded by Catholic clergy. The Spanish imposed a system of *congregación*, which included measures to force Mayas to live in town, which enabled the crown appointees to maintain control, collect tribute, and instruct them in Catholicism. During colonial times and up until the late 1800s, the Mayas of Pinula kept communal lands but were also subject to another Spanish law, *repartimento*, or a form of labor tax that forced the Maya to work for powerful Spanish landowners. Mayas from Pinula were thus forced to travel hundreds of kilometers to Sansur in the West and Chiquimula in the East in order to fulfill their labor obligations (AGCA 1779; Fuentes y Guzmán 1972 [1690]).

Ladino Expropriation of Indigenous Lands

The 1700s saw an increase in large tracts of land that were measured and titled to various Spanish families, and disputes arose when Ladinos began to encroach on Pinula's *ejidal* (communal) lands in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Feldman 1981). Ladinos also complained that Indians were stealing cattle, which culminated in their requesting that Indians from Pinula be removed from the local *hacienda* (Feldman 1981). By the early 1800s, Pinula had some eighty *caballerías*⁸ of communal lands but were often pleading to have various *usurpadores* (squatters), most of whom were encroaching settlers, kicked off these lands. (Feldman 1981). Nonetheless, land conflicts remained outside the pueblo's borders, and the town of San Pedro Pinula continued to exist as a predominantly Maya settlement until the late 1800s.

Liberal reforms in the late 1800s encouraged Ladino emigration to Pinula for the purpose of occupying "unused" land. Ladino families thus came to Pinula, some from as far away as Honduras and El Salvador, others from the nearby Ladino towns of San Manuel Chaparrón and Monjas, in order to use indigenous labor for cattle production and over time, these families were

⁸ Each *caballería* equals 45 hectares.

able to take control over indigenous, communal, and municipal lands. Today, the majority of the homes in the center of town are owned by Ladinos, and many of the older Pinula residents (both Ladino and Maya) recount the days when only indigenous families occupied these homes.

Currently, only a handful of Ladino families possess most of the land in and around Pinula. Many own as much as forty *cabellarias* and, though these Ladinos sometimes have title to a portion of their lands, they may occupy as much as twenty times the amount titled to them. While some of Pinula's indigenous people own small plots, the majority are landless and are forced to rent or sharecrop to grow the traditional *milpa* agriculture for their basic subsistence. Ladinos cultivate their lands for cattle, coffee, and milpa production, all of which is accomplished with the labor of their Maya workers.

Revolutionary Times

The Democratic Revolutions of presidents Arévalo (1945-1950) and Arbenz (1951-1954) are representative of recent ethnic tensions between Maya and Ladino. In the early 1950s, many local Pokomam organized with poor Ladinos in a peasant union against powerful Ladino landowners. Interestingly, opposition to agrarian reform came from both sides, as Ladino landowners, as well as the *comunidad indígena* (indigenous community), were concerned about land expropriation since their own hold on communal lands was tenuous. In fact, as tensions arose in the municipality, President Arbenz himself had to settle the case by expropriating municipal lands and giving them to peasants and renters. During this struggle, the Ladinos claimed that land they had purchased from the municipality should have been considered private property, even though it was officially known as municipal. (Handy 1994). The expropriation may have infuriated the Ladinos because while "their" lands were taken, smaller indigenous parcels were left untouched. On the eve of the 1954 counter-revolution, Ladino-led militia groups forced Maya and reformist sympathizers from their homes, an action that culminated in

arrests and assassinations, and which gave rise to one of the more notorious periods in the long history of conflict between the Maya and the Ladinos.

Local accountings of the time of agrarian reform and the counter-revolution illustrate the way ethnic tensions eventually erupted into violence. Ladinos remember the days leading up to the event, which were characterized by a constant fear of a Maya uprising, and Ladina women recall their parents forbidding them from leaving their homes, warning them that Maya men were threatening to “take the best Ladina women for themselves.” Local Maya and Ladinos agree that Maya and Ladino sympathizers alike were rounded up and sent to jail in Jalapa. One Maya recalled how his Ladino patron vouched for him, thus saving him from certain death. Others were not so lucky, and locals speak of a “great hole” in the community cemetery dug by reformist sympathizers under gun point who were then killed and deposited into the mass grave. The Maya speak of this era in hushed tones, which reminds one of the power and control the Ladinos still have over their lives.

Jalapa: Post-Arbenz to Present

Guatemala’s thirty-six year civil war had its roots in the East and resulted in heavy military occupation in the state of Jalapa as well as throughout the Eastern Highlands (CEH 2002:131). During the 1960s, counterinsurgency groups moved swiftly against those suspected of guerrilla activity or those involved in political organizing that was not affiliated with right wing parties, such as the MLN (Handy 1984:160). Large landowners also used their connections to such groups to use violence against those who opposed their power, especially indigenous peoples and poor Ladinos (CEH 2002:141). During the late 1960s, the state of Guatemala began to use its power to control the violent region of Eastern Guatemala—including Jalapa, Zacapa, and Jutiapa—and continued to maintain a military presence until shortly after the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996.

Also during this time, local citizens and military, often in the guise of civilians, began to form paramilitary groups. These groups targeted the lower and middle class Ladinos and indigenous peoples who constituted the groups of moderate reformers—or those who pushed for causes such as social justice and respect for human rights (Handy 1994)—often using military terror tactics which included torture and murder (CEH 2002, REHMI 1999). Paramilitary groups also targeted local figures who were considered troublemakers or who posed some threat to the status quo.

Counterinsurgents developed their techniques in the late 1960s and 1970s, refining them into a stealthy weapon during the eighties and nineties, until they perfected the terrorizing of communities by leaving bodies in public places as a warning against political organizing or social opposition. Politically-motivated killings were especially numerous in the Eastern departments of Jalapa, Zacapa, Izabal, and Chiquimula, and the victims of these crimes were frequently left “in a conspicuous place as warning or threat—an integral part of the overall campaign of terror” (Morrison and May 1994:123).

Several informants described these times as tense and dangerous, claiming that the military presence created an atmosphere of secrecy and paranoia. Everyone was suspected of being an *oreja* (ear or spy) and community members became ever watchful of who they spoke to and what they said. The military maintained a constant presence by posting themselves in a building in the center of town next to the municipal complex where they brought people for questioning. Several of these detainees were reportedly tortured, and, in at least one instance, killed. One informant described the scenario as follows:

You could see the soldiers washing the military trucks in the main plaza everyday as if there was nothing better to do. But yet in the morning the trucks would appear dirty and full of mud as if the soldiers had spent the night very busy. Though some say it was a peaceful time and the area was safe from delinquency, but people disappeared and bodies

would appear on the roadsides as a reminder of what could happen if you got involved in anything you shouldn't be.

As reported by the Commission for Historical Clarification, Pinula is one of only two municipalities in the state of Jalapa identified as sites where military-sponsored violence occurred. Though Jalapa is critically absent from post-conflict reports on the violence of the civil war, this does not signify that the region did not suffer during the four decades of conflict. The small amount of data on human rights' offenses in the region illustrates the extent of the military's control over the area, as it suggests that citizens are reluctant to report occurrences of such abuses.

Early International Migration

The first wave of international migration from Jalapa to the United States began in the late 1960s and 1970s when wealthy Ladinos fled to avoid forced military inscription. Dispossessed Ladinos and indigenous people who lacked the resources to leave were forced to remain in Pinula and endure military inscription, and, in some cases, made to "disappear." The military used pernicious tactics to collect men for service, often dispatching army trucks to local Sunday soccer matches, or organizing dances as a ruse to lure young men of conscription age. Many males, both Maya and Ladino, fell victim to these round-ups.

Some nearby villages were heavily affected by forced and voluntary army inscription: when many of these ex-soldiers returned home, the community members were reminded of the large extent to which violence and fear has been a part of the communal psyche. According to experts of both the East and Western Highlands, the presence of ex-soldiers in their natal communities can create an atmosphere of intimidation and fear among fellow community members (Green 1999, Metz 1998). Today in post-conflict Guatemala, some ex-soldiers use their experience in the army as a weapon to intimidate local Ladinos in order to gain an

advantage in Ladino–Maya business exchanges and cattle ranching. Many Ladinos fear the Indian ex-soldiers, as they view the combination of knowledge of weaponry and an Indian’s “savagery” as a dangerous combination. Even so, some local Ladinos are able to use these ex-soldiers to their advantage, sometimes contracting them as hired guns. On several occasions, Ladinos employed ex-soldiers to settle local Ladino family feuds. As one Ladino aptly put it, “Your life is worth the price of a bullet and the couple of quetzals it takes to pay a Indian to do it” (*Su vida vale el precio del balazo y los centavos para el indio*).

The beginnings of migration to the United States

While early Ladino migration formed the basis for the current migrant circuits to the United States, the first wave of Maya migration began in the past decade. While many Maya groups from the Western Highlands fled to the United States during the height of the civil war in the 1980s and 1990s, the Pokomam Maya in this study did not migrate because they became members of the Guatemalan army, whether they elected to join the military or were conscripted by force. After serving their time in the military, these Maya ex-soldiers anticipated work as congressional bodyguards in Guatemala City, but were frustrated to find this an impossibility after the signing of the Peace Accords. The lack of post-war opportunities, either with the military or as civilians, along with the temptation of an increasingly porous U.S. border, prompted a marked increase in Maya migration in the 1990s.



2-1. Women carrying water and laundry on the road between San Pedro and San Luis. The valley of Pinula is in the background as is the winding road that connects the two towns (credit David Datze, Peace Corps worker in 1983-1985 in El Cumbre, San Pedro Pinula).



2-2. Women's apparel. Older woman on left (photo A) wears the traditional corte and blouse with her hair in ribboned braids which encircle her head to signify her marital status. The young women on the right (photo B) proudly wear their best *vestidos plagadas* during festival week.



2-3. Maps of Jalapa and Maya language groups: The state of Jalapa is located in the eastern section of Guatemala with its isolated Pokomam Maya populations. Map A (on left) shows the Maya language groups, while Map B (on right) highlights the department of Jalapa.

CHAPTER 3
TRANSFORMING ETHNICITY IN THE TRANSNATIONAL SPHERE: MAYA AND
LADINO RELATIONS IN GUATEMALA AND BOSTON

This chapter traces how traditional patron–client relations have facilitated Maya entrance into the transnational migration stream and the ways in which Ladino economic support and interests have sustained Maya migration. Although the indigenous entrance into a once Ladino-dominated migrant stream has exacerbated ethnic tensions in the home community, it has also created an arena for re-examining Maya–Ladino dichotomies and inequalities. This chapter illustrates how recent international migration is transforming San Pedro Pinula’s social and ethnic structure.

Additionally, this chapter demonstrates how the United States as a receiving community influences migrants’ beliefs about ethnicity. The North American racial matrix is limited to an all encompassing “Latino–Hispanic” label that does not recognize the heterogeneous nature of Latin American identities, nor the ethnic differences among Guatemalans. For Maya migrants, this creates an equalizing affect that reshapes their attitudes about the differences between themselves and Ladinos, while for Ladinos, it often reinforces inherent racism. Finally, transnational migration creates new economic and cultural venues for the ethnic relations between Maya and Ladinos, which sometimes results in inter-ethnic relationships (friendships, courtships, and even marriages), which would not typically occur in the home community.

Ladino and Maya Migration to the United States

As discussed in Chapter Two, years of colonial conquest, independence, and post-independence relations between the Maya and the Spanish, as well as their Spanish-Maya (Ladino) descendents, created an interdependent relationship fraught with fear and distrust. Since Ladinos managed the majority of land and resources, local and national conflict revolved around Ladino efforts to maintain power and control. In the late 20th century, Ladino privilege included

the ability to avoid military service during Guatemala's civil war and instead migrate to the United States.

While early Ladino migration established the migrant circuits to the United States, Maya migrants to the Boston area have entered the international migrant stream during the past two decades. The character of Guatemala–United States migration has roots in the thirty-six year civil war, which began in the 1960s. Heavy military occupation in San Pedro Pinula and throughout the *Oriente* forced Ladinos to flee to the United States in order to avoid forced military inscription. Lacking the resources to leave, local Pokomam Maya remained and were frequently forced into military service. When the war intensified in the 1980s and 1990s, Maya from the Western Highlands began to migrate to the United States, while Eastern Highland Pokomam Maya joined the Guatemalan army, specifically the *Policía Militar Ambulante* (Mobile Military Police).

Numerous Pokomam males had fallen victim to military round-ups, but others saw military jobs as a better option than working for “*los ricos*” (the rich) in town. Many men thus left their villages in San Pedro Pinula to serve in the army alongside indigenous peoples from other regions of Guatemala. During the 1980s, the war escalated in the Western Highlands and Maya men from Pinula fought in the heaviest battle zones, such as Ixcán, the Ixil triangle in Quiché, and Petén. The war ended with the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords, and many ex-soldiers thus joined the northward migration flow. As one young man told me,

I really wasted my time in the army. I thought I would receive training or learn some skills. Before, you could get work in the city as a Congressional bodyguard, but since the peace accords there is no work for ex-soldiers. I spent all that time for nothing. I am going to the (United) States because there is nothing here for me.

Maya ex-soldiers depended on the promise of work as congressional bodyguards in Guatemala City, but were later frustrated to find that the signing of the Peace Accords had made

this an impossibility. The Maya in this study are comprised of this group of migrants who left Guatemala towards the end of the civil war and during the Post-conflict era, as opposed to most Maya in Guatemala, who fled during the height of the conflict.

Indigenous Entrance in the Migrant Stream: the Importance of Patron–Client Relations

International migration was Ladino-dominated until the late 1980s when the patron-client relations that govern Ladino and Maya interactions began to allow Mayas access to the migrant stream. Entrenched through hundreds of years of practice, patron-client relations in Guatemala, as in other parts of Latin America, are reciprocal relationships that allow the financially underprivileged a measure of personal and economic gain by forming alliances (Lande 1977; Mintz and Wolf 1950; Wolf 1959, 1966). In Guatemala, the Ladino landowner forms a patron-client relationship with a Maya when the Maya rents or sharecrops the patron's land. The relationship has various economic and social dimensions as both the client and patron use this relationship to their advantage. The patron is under obligation to provide the worker (*mozo*) with economic and social support in various forms, such as lending money, building materials, and patronage for weddings, fiestas, and important social events. In turn, the client is at the beck and call of the patron, often providing free labor at a moment's notice. The patron's status is raised by the quality and quantity of his workers and the worker's life is improved by his affiliation to a family of higher status. These relations are often cemented with a godparenthood (*compadrazgo*) relationship that also allows for additional religious and social obligations. While these relationships are supposedly reciprocal and mutually beneficial, they most often benefit the patron more than the *mozo*, who feels a constant obligation to serve his beneficiary (Adler 2002). Pinultecos explain that the benefits of these relationships are dependent on the generosity of the patron. Workers believe their fate depends on whether they work for a "good" or "bad" patron,

and the ostensible “generosity” of one of these “good” patrons ultimately facilitated Maya entrance in the Guatemala–United States migrant stream.

One advantage of transnational migration is that it allows people of lower status to gain economic and social capital through the money and knowledge gained in the United States (Levitt 2001; Portes 1995). This contrasts with the situation in Guatemala where patron–client relations have been the traditional means through which the Maya have accessed resources and social capital. When Ladino patrons helped their workers to migrate, patron-client relationships became the means for the Maya to become a part of the transnational movement of people, goods, and ideas. In Rachel Adler’s (2002) work on Yucatecan Maya in Dallas, she asserts that patron–client relations developed as longer term migrants in Dallas gained social capital in the United States and used this capital to form similar relationships with newer incoming migrants. As Adler points out, these “nouveau riche,” who never would have played a patron-like role in Mexico, were able to rise from their humble backgrounds into prestigious and powerful positions through “offering goods and services” to other Yucatecos (2002:155). This pattern was replicated in San Pedro Pinula when local Maya began to ask their Ladino patrons to help them migrate to Boston. Later, these same Maya adopted a patron-like role when, as established migrants, they supported other Maya who desired to migrate.

The first Ladino to help his Maya workers migrate to the United States was a young man named “Carlos,” who had been left to administer the family farm after his father died. Though Carlos’ family owned and administered most of the land in and around the Maya village nearest to the town of San Pedro Pinula, like many young Ladinos, Carlos was somewhat cash-poor because his wealth was in fixed capital such as land and cattle and was officially the property of his mother. His family was one of several large landowners in the area, yet since they were so

close to the nearest village, they controlled the livelihoods of dozens of *mozos*⁹ (workers) and hundreds of their family members. The wives and children of *mozos* often work for the landowners as servants and, when in town, spend most of their time at the patron's home, selling any products they may have, such as produce and poultry, or helping the family with the harvest or with milk and cheese production. Similar to haciendas, most Ladino family homes in the community act as a central location for the *mozos*. A *mozo* or his wife typically attempt to sell items to their patron before offering it to other Ladinos. As in any typical patron–client relation, *mozos* frequent the homes of their patrons, asking for favors, loans, or advice, or just sitting and chatting with whoever is around. Carlos' mother was a famous *patrona* who was very kind and generous to her *gente* (people) and who was well respected in the village nearest her farm.

Carlos decided to leave the farm in the care of his younger brother and use family connections to migrate to Boston. Before he left for the United States, several of his Maya *mozos* asked him to take them along. Despite the objections of his family, once he was established in Boston, Carlos loaned money to several Maya men for the journey through Mexico. When they arrived in Boston, he found them lodging, secured janitorial jobs for them at a prestigious Boston university, and assisted them with political asylum applications. These initial Maya migrants established their home village as the locus of Maya immigration to the United States. The story of Carlos and the first sojourners is well known in the community, many of whom view it unfavorably. Carlos' mother is one of the Ladinos who agrees that sponsoring Maya migration was a poor decision and that Carlos assisted in the “demise” of the community:

If it weren't for my son, none of those *Inditos* [damn little Indians] would have anything. They wouldn't be driving their fancy pick-up trucks or their women sitting around getting

⁹ Mozo is a complex term which literally means *wage laborer*. In San Pedro Pinula, it is usually the term used for the client in a formal patron-client relationship. *Mozos* work for and are loyal to their patrons, and in some cases may be loyal to one family for generations.

fat while they wait for their dollars to arrive. The Indians are lazy and they no longer want to work for us [Ladinos]. They have lost respect for the old ways.

Most Ladinos in Pinula feel that Maya migration has upset the old social order and thus produces “lazier” and “less respectful” “*Indians*.” Despite this disparaging view of the indigenous Maya and their migration, Ladinos do not let their opinions interfere with their business acumen—Ladino patrons, including Carlos’ mother, underwrite Maya migration by providing high-interest loans. When Pokomam Maya want to join their relatives in the United States, they borrow from their patrons. Money lending has become big business in Pinula because interest rates stand at ten to twenty percent per month on loans of several thousand dollars. When Pokomam migrants run behind on payments, Ladinos seize the homes and the small parcels of land that the migrants were obliged to put up as collateral.

Further, when they borrow from their Ladino patrons, some Maya end up in extreme financial difficulty since they do not always succeed in getting to the United States. Juan, a Maya in his thirties, made three attempts to cross the border in Mexico but was deported every time. While he lost his thirteen thousand Quetzales (about \$2,000), he still owed this money to the Ladino who had “rented” it to him. When I spoke to him, he was two months behind on payments. He had put up his house for collateral and swore that as long as his brother remained in Boston, he would continue to look for someone else to lend him more money to make another attempt. Ladino–Maya patron–client relations persist under the auspices of a newly created money lending system fueled by international migration.

Migrants Helping and Receiving Other Migrants

Carlos’ facilitation of Maya migration to Boston created the current pattern in which migrant circuits are sustained only through mutual assistance between established and new migrants. While many scholars have discussed how these circuits are created and maintained

through familial and communal contacts, they rarely explain how these contacts are initiated, negotiated, and propagated. During this research I was able to discover some key vocabulary that helped clarify how migrants borrow, lend, and help one another. A precise understanding of the migrant vocabulary aids in illustrating the power dynamics intrinsic to Maya–Ladino migration and how patron–client relations function to support this migration.

Undocumented Migration Through the Decades

In order for an undocumented Pinulteco to migrate to the United States, he/she typically needs to hire a human smuggler (“coyote”) to get through Mexico and cross the U.S. border. In the past, the migrant would pay a fee in the sending country’s currency which would secure passage to his destination city. Older Ladino migrants remember paying 800 or 1000 Quetzales (about the equivalent in dollars since the exchange rate in Guatemala in the 1970s and early 1980s was one to one) to a coyote in Guatemala City, who would then deliver the migrant to Los Angeles via Tijuana. Those migrants who were heading to a city on the East Coast (usually New York or Boston) arranged for the airfare from Los Angeles to be tallied into the smuggling fee. In contrast, during the 1990s as the human smuggling business expanded and security along the U.S.–Mexico border strengthened, migrants were required to contract with several coyotes in order to make it to their final destination. Thus, today’s migrants incur many more expenses than in previous years. Likewise, the way in which they pay for the services of coyotes has become increasingly complex.

The complexity of migrating to the United States is illustrated in the following example. In 2003, a migrant would pay a certain amount in *Quetzales* in Guatemala and then another substantial amount in dollars once he successfully reached the last “safe house” on the U.S. side of the border. “Safe houses” are residences, hotels, or abandoned buildings where migrants stay on the way through Mexico and upon arrival in the United States. Because of the likelihood of

being assaulted or picked up by the authorities in Mexico, it is patently dangerous to carry a significant amount of cash; accordingly, the migrant has to arrange for someone in the United States to wire the money to the coyote upon arrival. When the coyote receives his payment, he will “release” the migrant from the safe house. The time it takes to get through Mexico varies widely (from one week to several months) and the “receiver” may be kept waiting for weeks before hearing of the incoming migrant’s arrival.

Since it is often difficult to communicate with the migrant during the journey, the time between the migrant’s departure and arrival can be difficult for family and friends. In most cases, the migrant’s family must endure frequent rumors regarding the migrant’s status. Often, such rumors are a constant source of anxiety as the family may imagine that the migrant has disappeared, been apprehended by border authorities, become lost in the desert, or drowned. One family I interviewed lost their uncle when he attempted to migrate. Even though others from his group had arrived safely in Boston, the uncle had been last seen in the Mexican desert near Arizona. After two years, the family still held onto the hope that he had been taken by Mexican authorities and, since he is illiterate, had been unable to make his way back home. Anecdotes of this sort are uncommon, however, since most Pinultecos travel to the United States in groups ranging in size from three to twenty people, which allows the friends/families of migrants to rely on the accounts of other group members for some news of their relative.

Finding Someone to “Ayudar” (Help) and “Recibir” (Receive)

As I studied migration from San Pedro Pinula to the United States, I focused on the migrant networks and how the migration process functioned. When I asked return migrants who had “helped” them get to the United States, I learned that migrants and community members distinguish between the terms *ayudar* (help) and *recibir* (receive). To “receive” a migrant is to assist him once he arrives in the United States. Such assistance means wiring the dollars to the

coyote, finding a place for the arriving migrant to live, and facilitating job contacts. The person who “helps” is solely responsible for lending the Quetzales to pay the first coyote in Guatemala.

The “receiver” pays the coyote in the United States and provides the migrant with lodging and employment. Since receiving involves a substantial amount of effort and commitment, the receiver is usually a close relative. In some cases, households of young men pool their money to bring over a close friend or relative and provide lodging and employment. Occasionally, the “receiving” person lends the dollars on the U.S. side but does not provide lodging or job contacts. In such cases, migrants said these people had “received” them but not “helped” them.

Ladinos “helping” Ladinos

The first wave of migration (1960s to late 1970s) from San Pedro Pinula consisted exclusively of Ladinos who easily obtained tourist visas because of their financial resources and light skin color (also see Margolis 1994). Light skin color indicates their status as Ladinos. According to American embassy workers, even proper papers are not necessarily as important as a person’s appearance in securing a tourist visa, since many official looking documents can be forgeries. Many of these Embassy employees discriminate against people who are short and who have dark skin, qualities they associate with the low status of the Maya. Accordingly, the first wave of Ladino migrants were given tourist visas and allowed to migrate to the United States without paying for the assistance of a coyote.

Further, many upper-class Ladinos also have family members in the capital city who work as professionals and provide them with a place to stay and financial and social support. It is also easier for Ladinos to prove to the American Embassy that they have “permanent ties” in Guatemala. In order to obtain a tourist visa, one has to demonstrate the financial capacity and permanent ties that would make them more likely to return to Guatemala after a short stay in the United States (under six months). A prospective migrant can prove he has permanent ties by

showing the embassy official documentation, such as land titles, job contracts, and business documents.

The less fortunate among the Ladinos had to go through Mexico, though the fee was more reasonable in years past as crossing through the Tijuana–Southern California border was relatively easy and less dangerous than it is today. During the first two decades of Ladino migration from San Pedro Pinula, many migrants traveled to Los Angeles, Boston, and New York, using their family connections to reach and settle into these receiving communities.

Ladinos Helping Maya: Maya Helping Themselves

As mentioned previously, the first Maya migrants were a handful of men who used the patron–client relationship to migrate to Boston. After this initial migration, the Maya in Boston began to help their relatives from the same villages to migrate. The first Maya to migrate were from the nearby villages of Aguacate and Pinalito, which are the closest villages to the town of Pinula; in later years, Maya from the town were able to enter the migrant circuit. Maya migrants report that during this period they began to save money to bring their relatives to the United States, but that it was particularly difficult—if not impossible—to pay for the coyote services in Guatemala and the United States, which created a situation in which prospective Maya migrants had people to receive them abroad, yet lacked the Quetzales to pay for the first stage of migration. Accordingly, it became increasingly common for Maya to borrow Quetzales from someone in Guatemala and borrow dollars from their relatives to receive them in the U.S. Since the Maya had yet to establish a large group of return migrants in Guatemala with substantial economic capital, Ladinos became the only option for money-lending for the first leg of the journey. Ladinos who had historically provided *mozos* with favors, including money-lending, were now in a position to charge exceptionally high interest rates, from ten to twenty percent monthly, on loans ranging in the thousands of dollars.

As Adler found in her research, transnational migration has provided people of lower status, in this case, the Maya and Ladinos of the municipality of San Pedro Pinula, to replicate patron-client relations by helping “receive” other migrants in the United States (2002). Even so, the increased price and two-stage payment structure for the journey through Mexico has retained traditional patron–client relations between Ladino and Maya. Ladino patrons continue to exploit their workers by “helping” (lending the Quetzales) with the initial payment in Guatemala. Though the United States does provide the venue for lower status Maya to become patrons, Maya in San Pedro Pinula still utilize their established Ladino patrons as well out of necessity.

Maya Migration and Increased Ethnic Divisions

After Carlos helped initiate the migration of his workers to the United States in the late 1980s, the frequency of Maya migration through the indigenous communities of San Pedro Pinula increased markedly. Pokomam Maya often prefer migrating to the United States rather than working for Ladinos, moving to the capital city, or joining the army. The lack of Maya laborers, and the increased capital (in the form of U.S. dollars) in the hands of the Maya, make Ladinos uneasy—they see their traditional power over the Maya diminishing as more and more of the indigenous population migrates to the United States.

Local discourse emphasizes this continuing Maya–Ladino division. Terms such as *Indios Lamidos*, or *Indios Perdidos*, illustrate how Ladinos feel about Maya returnees whose improved financial situation causes them to think they are in a better social and whose improved finances allow them to believe that they are in a better social and cultural position than the familiar social structure ascribes to them. *Indio Lamido* traditionally described a Maya who socialized with Ladinos, but “then begin to think they are just like Ladinos and act like they are something they are not, and even (Indian men) go as far as wanting to be with Ladina women.” Such Mayas were always tolerated, but never fully accepted, by local society. *Indio Perdido* literally means

“lost Indian,” which refers to an Indian who no longer knows who he is and is confused about his identity. In the current context, *Indio Lamido* and *Indio Perdido* refer to returning Maya migrants and/or their family members who wear Western clothing, drive cars or pick-up trucks, or exhibit other qualities formerly associated only with Ladinos, and who thus expect to be treated equally.

Ladinization is the “process whereby Indians were becoming Ladinos or more Ladino-like” (Adams 1994:529). Wearing Western clothes and adopting Ladino culture has been described by anthropologists for decades as the process by which the Maya became Ladino. This model stresses the importance of cultural markers (clothing, language, use of modern conveniences) to differentiate between Maya and Ladino rather than ethnicity and ancestry. Local Ladinos ascribe to this model and believe the Maya of San Pedro Pinula are trying to become “more Ladino” (more like them) and interpret changes brought on by transnational migration as a serious threat to the status quo and thus to their very existence. In contrast to this disparaging view of Ladinization, Adams posits a co-evolutionary model that emphasizes Maya and Ladino co-dependence for economic survival. Adams hypothesizes that Maya and Ladino co-dependence results in a simultaneous response and adaptation to globalization. “It would be more appropriate to recognize that both Ladinos and Maya are “industrializing” or “globalizing,” rather than “ladinizing”; they are trying to reproduce themselves as industrially coherent, if dependent, cultures in the modern world” (Adams 1994:532).

In Adams’ model, transnational migration enables those of lower social status to acquire material objects and thus improve their standard of living. In the case of Ladinos and Maya, transnational migration affects both groups in similar ways (increased economic and social capital), but has been construed by the dominant group as a threat to their established social structure and livelihoods. As illustrated in the following section, Ladinos often attempt to

maintain patterns of ethnic dominance by actively thwarting Maya efforts to invest their remittances in productive economic activities.

Land, Income-Generation, and Remittance Investment

Rapid Return of Pokomam Maya to the Migrant Circuit

Most Ladinos complain that returning Mayas spend their money over-zealously on elaborate housing and fancy cars. Maya “stupidity” and “inability to handle” the responsibility that comes with earning U.S. dollars, Ladinos believe, is the reason Maya men often return to the migrant circuit. While Ladino migrants average only one return trip to the United States, Mayas who intend to stay in their natal communities often re-enter the migrant circuit within one to two years. Even though Maya migration is only a decade old, interviews and surveys for this research reveal that repeat migration is more common among the Maya population than among Ladinos.

Ladinos often disparagingly remark that rapid return of Maya to the United States is due to their incompetence. This research, however, revealed that Mayas return to the United States primarily because of their low initial resource base and Ladino monopoly over viable income generation in Pinula. These two factors conspire to limit Maya integration into the local economy as Ladino control over land, material resources, and information often frustrate attempts by Mayas to invest in local income-generating activities.

Land was formerly seen as a necessity for survival in Pinula because it was fundamental to the main source of subsistence, *milpa* (corn and bean) agriculture. This is no longer the case since the viability of *milpa* agriculture has become much diminished: the consensus in the community is that the drop in the price of corn and beans has become a limiting factor. Though *milpa* still plays a significant cultural and economic role, most migrants attempting to re-establish themselves in their home community seek alternative ways to generate income.

The options open to returning Maya are nevertheless limited: cattle ranching, for instance, with its connotations of tremendous wealth and power, have remained an exclusively Ladino enterprise. When Maya returnees have attempted to invest in cattle, their efforts have been thwarted by an inability to buy or rent the large quantities of land necessary to raise and feed cattle, or complicated by a long dry season and a scarcity of water. Ladinos have taken advantage of Mayas' small landholdings and general ignorance of cattle ranching. One Ladino offered his view of the prospect of Ladino-Maya cooperation in cattle ranching:

I tried explaining to this *Indito* [damn little Indian] how to raise cattle. I was trying to help him out and explain to him how you raise and feed them, but the Indians are as bad as us. We don't trust them and neither do they trust us. Even though I was telling him the truth he didn't listen to me. I sold him calves in the winter [rainy season] and when the summer came I had to buy them back at half the price. The Indian gave up and left again for the United States soon after.

While Mayas normally work in the cattle industry as laborers and *corraleros* (foot cowboys), local and countrywide cattle cartels hinder Maya access to the cattle trade. Ladinos earn most of their revenues from buying and selling cattle within local families or from the Ladinos of Petén and the Pacific lowlands. As long as Ladinos maintain control over land and the cattle industry, cattle will remain a Ladino-dominated activity, and attempts by the Maya will be frustrated or precluded outright.

The existing structures and traditions allow returning Ladinos to devote their migradollars (money sent by immigrants in the United States back home to Latin America) to long-term investments, such as cattle production and local businesses, in contrast to Maya return migrants, whose investment opportunities remain limited. Hoddinott (1994) found that migrant heirs who were promised land as part of their inheritance were more likely to send remittances from the United States than those from land-poor families. This pattern further contributes to maintaining Ladino power since remittances aid the purchase of cattle and land from relatives at

comparatively low prices. While the Maya pay as much as Q8000 (\$1000) for a three-quarter hectare plot, Ladinos can obtain the same land in larger quantities and for less money by purchasing it through their families or by receiving advances on their inheritances. Lower-class Ladinos—lacking the family ties to land resources—generally opt to start local businesses related to home building, such as hardware and building supply stores, which cater to the burgeoning, migration-spurred home construction boom. Some Maya returnees also set up small businesses, but they most frequently are traditional enterprises within the accepted sphere of Maya business occupations, such as tailoring, small general goods, or liquor sales.

Alternative Land Reforms: Mayas Buy Back Their Land

Because of San Pedro's rural location and limited access to roads and markets, income-generating activities are limited. The municipalities that surround San Pedro also have high international migration rates and thus demonstrate varying success with productive investments. Monjas, for instance, due to its fertile lands, good access to water, and paved roads, has seen an increase in export agriculture, including tobacco and sweet corn. San Luis Jilotepeque, Mataquesquintla, and Jalapa are all connected to main commercial routes and have all seen a rise in commercial business, construction, and trade. Yet the combination of limited access to commercial routes, poor hydrology, and disproportionate ownership of private lands continues to limit the potential for improvement in San Pedro's economy.

Maya migrants who return from the United States to San Pedro generally invest in home construction or land for the cultivation of maize and beans. They buy land in small parcels (averaging from one to seven hectares), typically acquiring this land from local Ladinos. Some Maya elders find satisfaction in the re-distribution of wealth from North America. They explain that the United States is so wealthy because its people originally stole all Guatemala's riches years ago and transferred the riches north; thus, they interpret current migration patterns as a way

to return pilfered indigenous lands. Colonial manuscripts confirm that the Pokomam Maya owned lands around Pinula in a communal title—land that was eventually co-opted by immigrating Ladino families in the 1800s (AGCA 1795, 1814, 1818; IGN 1983). An elder Maya man said, “my children are forced to travel far to work, but it’s good because now we can buy [back] what was stolen from us in the past.” Maya migrants return to Pinula with a newfound pride in owning land; moreover, they feel that their experience in the United States frees them from their former dependence on Ladino landowners for their livelihood.

While the Mayas’ ability to purchase lands from Ladinos and thus extricate themselves from their former dependence on renting Ladino land to cultivate *milpa* demonstrates a degree of cultural and social advancement, Maya are still shut out from owning prime properties in agriculture and real estate. As in the cattle business, land is also sold and resold within a closed system. Flat, irrigable, properties are usually offered to Ladino relatives or those within the same social circle, and are rarely re-sold to those outside the Ladino sphere. Likewise, homes in prime locations are sold only to Ladinos.

Return Migrants vs. Transnational Migrants

The attempts of returning Maya migrants to invest in the natal community and thus eliminate the need to return to the migrant stream are further frustrated by the activities of Ladino transmigrants, or those who are able to invest in cattle back home while they remain in the United States. Since many Ladino investments consist of land acquired through inheritances or remittance purchases, Ladinos in the United States are able to administer these resources with the help of their relatives. Transmigrants see cattle as a way to invest their dollars effectively, realizing a return in fixed capital in the form of larger herds while simultaneously assisting their relatives in Guatemala. As an example, a Ladino migrant in Boston purchased nine cows for Q5000 (\$800). Her main objective in making this investment was to help out her struggling

relatives: in return for taking care of the cows, she allowed them to retain all proceeds from milk sales in addition to half the money from future cattle sales. Though it may be difficult for migrants in the United States to administer family farms, most see it as an effective way of ensuring their eventual return to their home communities. Predictably, Maya migrants find it more difficult to achieve such stability. The discrimination that complicates the Mayas' initial inability to migrate also interferes with their ability to purchase viable lands or establish profitable businesses.

Warnes (1992) suggests that priorities for remittance investments change through the life course of a migrant; I suggest that remittance priorities change over time from initial fixed capital to productive investments as community members work their way up the social and economic ladder. Though migration does not guarantee economic or social success, most community members agree that the increased ability of returning migrants to purchase land or build a home contributes to significant change for the individual as well as the community. Likewise, some community members see certain detrimental aspects to the pattern of U.S.–Guatemala remittances, such as the disintegration of the family and of the old social order, which includes the reduction in the degree to which the Maya depend on the Ladinos.

While Jones (1998) argues that the impediments to productive remittance diminish during the different stages of the migration process (for the community, not the individual), I assert that the community welcomes migrant investment in direct proportion to the migrant's initial resources. Though the San Pedro Maya are still limited in their ability to enter viable businesses, such as cattle ranching, their increased ability to purchase lands may be the first step in a progressive process toward greater financial opportunity. Even so, while migrants may have experienced economic and social mobility in the United States, their ability to recapture this

mobility (where it matters most, in their hometowns) is conditioned by continued social inequalities.

Attitudes of Ladino Migrants Towards Maya Migrants in Pinula and the United States

Ladino landowners and return migrants do not share the positive attitude held by Mayas about migration experiences. Ladino landowners continue to believe that migration results in “lazy,” “disrespectful,” and “uncooperative” Indians. In the past, landowners experienced no trouble finding *mozos* to work their lands as tenant farmers in exchange for a fixed part of the harvest (*arrendamiento*) or as sharecroppers for a percentage of the harvest (*a medias*). Before migration took Maya men to the United States, most Pokomam Maya worked *a medias* with their patrons. This arrangement gave the Maya a percentage of the harvest in exchange for a set amount of labor they’d provide for the patron. Sharecropping created a relationship that placed the Mayas at the beck and call of the patron. When a patron needed his fields tended or his fences fixed, he would call on his *mozo*. Yet, in recent years, patrons complain that the client-patron relationship has deteriorated and that they now find it difficult to acquire good *arrendantes* or *mediantes* (renters or sharecroppers). Ex-laborers now prefer to work their own land that they have purchased with migradollars or to use remittances to rent land (even at elevated prices). In other words, migradollars free Maya men from their former labor obligations to Ladinos. Ladinos confirm this change as they report a significant decrease in the number of workers and an associated loss in land productivity.

Ladina Migrants

While migration among rural female Maya is still relatively rare, Ladina women do migrate to the United States, albeit to a lesser extent than men. Ladina returnees commonly express strong opinions about their reasons for return to Guatemala, citing the desire to be with family as well as the desire to return to their positions of privilege in Pinula. Adela, a young

upper-class Ladina, recounted her negative migration experience as a chambermaid in the United States. When her younger brother decided to migrate to the United States, she warned him that he would return soon:

I know how it is there. I worked as a hotel maid—can you believe that? I told my brother that he wouldn't like working under anyone. Like the rest of us in this family, we are used to being the boss. Here he is the *patron* and there he will be nothing. There I was just a maid. Here I am the *patrona*.

For many Ladinos, working as a migrant means accepting a downgrade in social prestige, which is often seen as not worth the dollars they earn. Many Ladinos see little need to go to the United States, viewing migration as an adventure and an exercise in building economic capital rather than as a necessity. For Adela, like many Ladinos, returning to Pinula represents a return to the high status bestowed upon them from birth.

Inter-ethnic Marriages

International migration also results in an increase in inter-ethnic relations and marriages, which were formerly an absolute taboo. Though inter-ethnic relations always existed between Ladino patrons and their Maya servants, often resulting in illegitimate children (*hijos de casa*), formalized unions between Ladinos and Mayas were nearly non-existent. Today, however, such relationships often develop in the United States, since migrants are not under the immediate influence of their parents or their community; most of these unions involve Ladino men and Urban Maya women. Conversely, inter-ethnic marriages in Pinula generally unite urban Maya returnees with local Ladina women. Community members often view these marriages as racially offensive and degenerate. Moreover, they attribute such unions to greediness and witchcraft.

Unions between Ladino men and Maya women do occur in Pinula, but they usually remain “illicit” or involve extramarital affairs. Ladino men consider Maya women sexual objects to be easily taken at the patron's will. Indeed, in interviews, local men describe Maya women as

caliente (hot) and Ladina women as *fría* (cold). Pinula men emphasize that Ladina women are reserved for marriage and the production of heirs, whereas Maya women are perceived as sexually desirable because they have animalistic qualities. Both Ladino men and women say Maya women produce so many children because their sexuality is uncontrollable and they regularly “go into heat” (*brama*). While the community expects Ladino men to have affairs and produce mixed children with Maya women, it never sanctions marriage or true commitment to these women (Nelson 1999). Cohabitation between Ladino men and Maya women is rare. When such arrangements do arise, they are considered to be outside the norms of the community and the Ladino is regarded as a morally confused man who has been seduced by the pronounced sexuality of the Maya woman.

In the United States, the strict rules governing Ladino–Maya relations begin to break down simply because of the scarcity of Pinula women. Pinula men prefer to unite with women from their natal community, and when the occasional Pinula woman, whether Ladina or urban Maya, arrives in Boston, she attracts many *enamorados* (courtiers). Affluent Ladino men usually win the competition for these recently arrived Pinula women. Ladino men have always desired Maya women, and, in fact, their culture encourages them in this regard. The United States provides a venue in which Ladino men and Maya women can formalize this relationship with marriage, which, in the eyes of Ladinos, allows them to finally “contain and control” the sexuality of Maya women.

While many inter-ethnic couples decide to remain in the United States, the few who return have been successful in maintaining their committed relationships in Pinula. Once a couple elopes or unites in the United States, this gives the community time to discuss, digest, and eventually accept the union. While community and family pressure would typically prevent such

a union in Pinula, a couple can formalize the relationship in the United States without serious repercussions, and by the time the migrant pair decides to return to Pinula, their families have already had time to recognize the union, which makes them less likely to put up stringent resistance to it.

In Pinula, as well as in other parts of Guatemala, endogamy is the sole responsibility of white (Ladino) women. While Ladino men are encouraged to spread their seed and *mejorar la raza* (better the race) by engaging in illicit affairs, Ladina women are responsible for upholding the family honor by maintaining the purity of the family bloodlines (Casaús Arzú 1992; Nelson 1999). Ladino families fiercely protect the sexuality of Ladina women and unions between Ladina women and Maya men are thus historically non-existent. Nonetheless, returning Maya migrants may look to better their race by “marrying up,” and thus pursue lower class, yet still very light-skinned, Ladina women as spouses. Recent Maya men–Ladina women unions in which Ladino families permit their family blood to be “defiled” in exchange for monetary gain, represent the ultimate sign of social degradation for local Ladinos.

Home Community Views on Inter-ethnic Marriages

Community members often view these marriages as racially offensive and degenerate and attribute such unions to greediness and witchcraft, and families caught in the middle of these trans-ethnic affairs accuse one another of engaging in *brujerías* (witchcraft). On a few occasions I became unwittingly caught in the middle of inter-racial family conflicts. Because I often took photographs of Pinula residents, people requested that I photograph migrants on my visits to the Boston area. Although I knew that some Maya believe that photographs can be used to cast spells, I was not prepared for the arrival of a Maya woman at my door after my return from a Christmas trip to the United States. She requested the photographs I took of her son in Boston. Prior to our meeting, she had received a phone call from her son, who was worried that the

photographs I took of him and his wife in Boston would be given to his mother-in-law. She explained that if the photographs fell into the wrong hands, they might be used to harm her son, who purportedly had bewitched his Ladino wife into falling in love with him. In this case, the respective mothers had a history of accusing one another of witchcraft from the time their children had begun their relationship in the United States. On other occasions, Ladino mothers asked me to obtain photos of the *Inditas putas* (Maya whores) who had “stolen” their Ladino sons away into impure marriages.

Boston as a Receiving City

Boston has historically been a location of ethnic tension and segregation. As a gateway city for immigrants since the inception of the United States, migrant groups have typically established themselves in Boston while remaining segregated in the inner city and ethnic enclaves. Today, this trend has continued in Boston as the city has become the home for increasing numbers of migrants from Latin America. In the past decade alone, Boston has seen a 50% rise in the Hispanic population, creating a community that is 17% Latino. This new influx of Hispanics conforms to historical patterns of segregation, which has resulted in high concentrations of the immigrant group in certain neighborhoods: East Boston, for instance, is over 40% Latino, with many immigrant groups from Colombia, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Guatemala (Boston Globe 2003). Guatemalan migration to Boston, beginning in the late 1960s, was initially dominated by upper-class Ladinos, but by the mid-80s had become a principal migrant destination for the whole state of Jalapa.

Transnational Boston

The Pinultecos are concentrated in the Massachusetts communities of Dorchester, Lynn, Lawrence, and Attleboro. Although Lawrence and Attleboro are not technically a part of metropolitan Boston, Guatemalan migrants consider each of these communities as an “extended

social space” which together encompasses the transnational location of “Boston.” Thus the migrants’ idea of Boston, while it departs from our understanding of Boston as a geographical space, reflects the creation of a transnational community in which ethnicity, gender, and class can be redesigned, reconfigured, and occasionally, renegotiated (Hirsch 1999).

“There Are no Indians in the United States”: Reproduction of Ethnic Structure in Boston

While Ladinos originally migrated and sustained communities in other regions of the United States, such as New York and Los Angeles, Boston is unique in the Guatemalan migrant experience since both Mayas and Ladinos live and work in the same community. Yet does this “new Pinula” represent the original ethnic and social structure of the home community?

Evidence from the migrant experience in Boston offers some support that the new social structure differs from that of Pinula. The increased frequency of cross-ethnic friendships and marriages demonstrates that Ladinos and Mayas can transcend the rigid social structure of Pinula; even so, such ethnic transcendence remains the exception rather than the rule. Though Maya and Ladino interactions occur with frequency in Boston, they often duplicate similar interactions that occur in Pinula. They may work together, live together, and even play together, but a recent increase in the amount of incoming Maya has shown that many Pinultecos prefer to re-create the ethnic structures that exist back home.

Table 3-1 reflects the survey of 80 Maya and Ladinos. The results reveal what qualitative research has also shown; the order of major migrant destinations for both Ladino and Maya. While Boston is a popular destination for both Maya and Ladino, Atlanta is an exclusively Maya destination while New York tends to be more of a Ladino dominated migrant stream. While these numbers reflect current migration streams, interviews illustrate that Los Angeles and New York were more popular destinations for Ladinos in the 1960s and 1970s. Boston was also an

important migrant destination since the 1960s and has remained a popular destination throughout the decades.

When the first Maya migrants arrived in Boston, they often lived with fellow Pinultecos, which meant that Mayas and Ladinos would inhabit the same residence. Accordingly, Ladino and Maya friendships that would not occur in Pinula do take place in Boston. For example, Mario, a Ladino, and Osvaldo, a Maya, lived in an apartment full of Pinultecos on the top floor of a three-story apartment building. Mario says he does not see a problem with his friendship with Osvaldo. Although he remembers Osvaldo from school, he never associated with him back in the *pueblo*: “I don’t think we would have been friends back in Pinula but it’s okay here because *no hay Indios en los estados (there are no Indians in the United States)*; here we are all the same.” Foxen (2002) noted a similar sentiment while working among Quiché Maya in Providence, Rhode Island: “*no hay Ladinos en los Estados Unidos*” (there are no Ladinos in the United States). She argues that the statement suggests that living in the United States is so difficult that no Ladino would survive the harsh working conditions; hence, the United States effaces (to a degree) the social stratifications between Ladinos and Mayas.

The white Americans in the United States see only one undifferentiated Hispanic (or Latino) population so that homeland ethnic distinctions are lost. Among the Pinultecos in Boston, this creates an equalizing effect that raises the status of the Indian, and, in Providence, the Ladino is forced to endure the heavy work conditions of the life of the non-privileged Indian. Mario says he sometimes feels awkward in front of Osvaldo when other Ladinos refer to the *Indios tontos* (stupid Indians): “it’s not like we forget who Osvaldo is, it’s just we talk and say things and then realize what we’re saying. I sometimes look over to see his reaction if someone

says ‘Indio.’” Most Ladinos seem to believe that living and working among Maya from their home community contributes to eroding the ethnic divides present in Guatemala.

Nevertheless, once more Maya began to arrive in Boston, the ethnic divisions began to re-emerge. The first floor of Mario and Osvaldo’s apartment building was often called the “*cofradía*,” which refers to the indigenous religious brotherhood organization in Pinula. Used in this way, *cofradía*, is derogatory, since not only does it refer to the division of the living space into Maya and Ladino (with the Maya on the bottom floor), but also comments on the living and drinking habits of the Maya: the *cofradía* in San Pedro Pinula is where Maya families from all over the municipality stay during the traditional saints’ festivals. During religious holidays, Maya hike (sometimes all day) down from their mountain villages to stay all weekend for the festivities. If one does not have relatives in town they may sleep in the *cofradía* building, which in Pinula is a small, white-washed chapel with an expansive patio and backyard. During the traditional St. Peter’s Day festival, the *cofradía* building is full of men (often passed-out from excessive drinking), women, and children, all of whom sleep on the dirt-packed floor. Thus, when the migrants in Boston call the first floor the *cofradía*, they are making specific reference to the housing conditions—and spending and drinking habits—of the Maya migrants.

The *cofradía* reference demonstrates that Ladinos sometimes transfer their beliefs about Mayas’ irresponsible behavior—specifically surrounding the Mayas’ excessive drinking—to the mixed migrant communities in the United States. As one Ladino explained, it would take a whole day’s labor to buy one beer in Guatemala, while in the United States, an hour’s work can buy a six-pack. Though Ladinos are just as likely to spend their earnings on drinking, they nevertheless often portray Maya migrants as unable to handle the responsibilities of earning dollars without spending it wastefully on alcohol. Alluding to the *cofradía* is a constant reminder

and re-affirmation of how the ethnic divisions from Guatemala are reproduced in the United States.

The Case of the Ambulance: Hometown Associations and Maya–Ladino Relations in the United States

The Guatemalan migrant community in Boston exhibits not only the familiar ethnic conflicts between Maya and Ladinos but also the discord between Mayas from the town and Mayas from Pinula’s outer villages. As more Maya from country villages arrive in Boston, some decide to try their best to avoid Ladinos and, though they may work with either Mayas or Ladinos from the same municipality, they choose not to live or associate with Ladinos.

One example of how these Maya migrants often attempt to avoid Ladinos involved the transnational fund-raising efforts to acquire an ambulance for the municipality of San Pedro. This effort was an instance of a local development project (or “Hometown Association”)—a popular way for migrants to use their time and money in order to help their home communities. As illustrated in Rivera’s film (2004) on Mexican hometown associations in New York, development projects funded by migrants in the receiving community can provide for government services lacking in the home community, such as ambulance services. Thus, when San Pedro Pinula was offered the opportunity to acquire an ambulance from an American-run organization, the Ladino community in Pinula jumped at the chance. Though the ambulance was supposedly free, the community still needed to pay thousands of dollars to transport the ambulance from the U.S., in addition to organizing volunteers and raising additional money required for maintenance.

The attempts by Boston Ladinos to organize Pinultecos in Boston to raise money for this public project gave impetus to the separatist inclinations of certain Maya migrants who had come from the villages outside Pinula. While the indigenous men from the town were enthusiastic

about an intra-ethnic effort at money-raising, the Maya from the villages did not want anything to do with the Ladinos. They felt that any project organized by Ladinos in the United States would be co-opted by Ladinos back in the home community. Further, the Mayas from the villages eventually decided to create their own hometown association to deal with issues specific to the villages rather than the whole municipality.

The final consensus among the non-participating Maya was that the ambulance project would only serve the Ladinos' political agenda; specifically, it would aid in the re-election of the Ladino Mayor, a return migrant whose re-election in Pinula was to coincide with the arrival of the ambulance, an event that was treated with great fanfare in Pinula, including a large welcoming ceremony that was videotaped and mailed to migrants in the United States. Yet the municipality never put the ambulance into regular use and, since the Mayor's successful re-election, no Pinulteco has seen it in service. While there may be many reasons that help explain this situation (lack of volunteer drivers, poor roads), the village migrants continue to refer to the ambulance project as an example of the self-serving instincts of the Pinula Ladinos.

Maya and Ladino Equality in the U.S. Racial Order

Maya and Ladino workplace experiences have a tremendous impact on ethnic identification and Maya resistance to Guatemalan racial hegemony. Since the United States racial order does not affirm ethnic differences between indigenous and non-indigenous Guatemalans, all migrants are considered "Latino." Somewhat paradoxically, this limited view has provoked the Maya migrants into re-examining their ethnic identity, and they have thus begun to see themselves as equal to the Ladinos. Concurrently, some Ladino migrants feel resentment since their upper-class status is not recognized in the United States. Returning Ladino migrants also complain about this change in Maya attitudes and behaviors. Don Fulano, a Ladino return migrant in Pinula, remembers an incident that exemplifies this sentiment:

I remember I had a fight [in the United States] with some stupid Indian from the village. We were washing dishes together in a seafood restaurant in Cambridge (MA). He told me that here in the United States I wasn't any better than him so I better stop acting *creído* [stuck-up]. I told him that even though we were the same to the *gringos*, we both knew.... no matter what.... that I was a schoolteacher back home and he would always be an Indian.

Regardless of the prevailing cultural attitude in the United States, Don Fulano continued to feel superior to the Maya migrants, as he gave no credence to North American racial beliefs that lump all Latin Americans, Ladinos and Mayas alike, into the same category. He returned to Pinula after earning enough money to feel certain he would never have to work in the United States again.

In spite of the way many Ladino migrants continue to believe in their superiority, some Maya, like Osvaldo, feel that, in the United States, everyone is the same, and this perception comes with a certain satisfaction: they realize that whether they are on the job or on the streets, the *gringos* do not make any distinctions between Maya, Ladinos, or other Hispanics. Logically, the Maya cherish the opportunity to be seen as equals to their oppressors, while many Ladinos resent this aspect of the migrant experience in the United States.

In addition to the way migration influences racial perceptions about the relationship between Mayas and Ladinos, it also affects cultural attitudes between different Maya ethnic groups. The Pokomam Maya from the Eastern Highlands, for instance, have never experienced a sense of solidarity or ethnic pride by associating themselves with other Maya; they have never even used the word "Maya" in reference to themselves. As second-class citizens in their hometown community, they have always been known as *indígena natural*, or in its more derogatory form, *Indio*. In Boston, the Pokomam Maya live and work alongside Quiché and Mam Maya from the Western Highlands, whose pride in their indigenosity is pronounced, and who thus exhibit a self-concept that is vastly different from that of the Pokomam. One Pokomam

migrant told me, “I wonder what my life would have been like if I had born in the *Occidente* (Western Highlands).” Though the Pokomam Maya suffered under intense military occupation since the 1960s, they did not experience the atrocities of large-scale massacres, as did the Maya of the Western Highlands. Contact with Mam, Quiché and other Western Highland Maya has thus exposed them to oral testimonies and literature on the Maya Movement and the civil war, a history that has long been inaccessible to them.

Changing Ladino and Maya Ethnic Relations

International migration plays a significant role in shaping ethnic relations in San Pedro Pinula. Traditional patron–client relations may have facilitated Maya entry into the migrant circuit, but these very same relations—with their accompanying rigid social structures—continue to prevent Maya entry into Ladino-dominated economic activities. Paradoxically, inter-ethnic marriages and the equalizing influences of U.S. racial categories, which ignore the historical differences between Mayas and Ladinos, create a new environment in Pinula in which younger migrants are likely to challenge long-standing ethnic divides. The resulting ethnic tensions and inter-ethnic dynamics in San Pedro Pinula suggest that international migration is facilitating fundamental alterations to the Guatemalan social structure, even though the changes continue to be tempered by five hundred years of Ladino domination.

3-1. Major Migrant Destinations. Compiled by Tatiana Paz Lemus.

ETHNICITY								
Location	Maya	%	Ladino	%	Mixed	%	Total	%
Boston	20	25	23	28.75	4	5	47	58.75
New York	2	2.5	10	12.5	2	2.5	14	17.5
Los Angeles	1	1.25	4	5	0	0	5	6.25
Atlanta	4	5	0	0	0	0	4	5
Utah	0	0	3	3.75	0	0	3	3.75
Stamford CT	1	1.25	0	0	1	1.25	2	2.5
Virginia	1	1.25	1	1.25	0	0	2	2.5
Rhode Island	0	0	1	1.25	0	0	1	1.25
Washington	0	0	1	1.25	0	0	1	1.25
Texas	0	0	1	1.25	0	0	1	1.25
Total	29	26.25	44	55	7	8.75	80	100



3-1. Maya and Ladino ethnicity: “There are no Indians in the United States.” These three friends in Boston represent the rainbow of ethnic identity in San Pedro Pinula: Maya, Bien Ladino, and Ladino. Although the man on the left is considered Maya, his father was actually Ladino. The man in the center is from a “very” Ladino and the man on the right is considered to be middle class Ladino.

CHAPTER 4
GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONS IN A TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Gender and Migration

The significance of non-migrant women in transnational communities has been increasingly recognized, lending support to the idea that “the women left behind” play a substantial role in forging and maintaining transnational ties between migrants and their sending communities (Matthei 1996). Prior research on gender and migration has focused on shifts in traditional gender roles after women migrate (Fernandez Kelly and Sassen 1995; Mahler 1995; Margolis 1994; Repak 1995). The few studies that do look at change in gender roles in sending communities often contradict each other. For instance, studies in Mexico find that women’s traditional gender roles are changing in response to migration, resulting in more “liberal attitudes” and egalitarian gender relations (Grimes 1998), while studies in the Dominican Republic (Georges 1990,1992) and El Salvador (Mahler 2001) suggest that international migration strengthens women’s traditional roles in sending communities.

This chapter addresses how migration and remittances affect the women who remain in the home community. Feminist theory suggests that an increase in a woman’s access to cash—in this case, through remittances—would lead to a change in traditional gender roles and thus increase their autonomy and power. This chapter explores this proposition by examining the gender roles of Ladino and Maya women and the varied ways in which transnational migration affects their lives.

Women and Gender Research in Guatemala

In order to situate migration’s impact on gender, this section covers the literature of anthropological research on women in Guatemala. Past research in Guatemala has been

concerned with isolated indigenous (Maya) communities, often ignoring women and gender issues. During the period from the 1940s to the 1970s, researchers occasionally referred to Maya women, but most often these references concerned the women's traditional roles as wives and mothers or as artisans (Reina 1966). In the 1980s, the first substantive research on Guatemalan women was published. This work concentrated on women's roles as producers of wealth in the context of universal female subordination and Guatemala's integration in the world economy (Ehlers 1990; Bossen 1984). In the 1990s, research on women examined gender as a construction of race and descent, linking gender construction to the process of *Mestizaje* (racial mixing) and connecting Maya and Ladina to their relation to one another as well as the state (Causus Arzú 1992; Nelson 1999). Research in the post-conflict era has returned to looking at "women only" and their struggle with reconstruction of individual and communal memory, reconciliation, and survival (Green 1999; Sanford 2000; Zur 1998). While research on post-conflict issues is still important at the beginning of the 21st century, new work on immigration treats gender relations and women as a central theme, depicting them as more active participants in the transnational migration process (Moran-Taylor 2003).

Early research in Guatemala was concerned with indigenous communities as isolated entities and thus ignored the ways in which these communities are affected by the state. While early Guatemalan ethnographies (Gillin 1958; Nash 1967; Reina 1960; Tax 1953; Tumin 1945, 1952) were concerned with recording important cultural details of Mayan communities, they have been criticized because their examinations of ethnic relations, acculturation, and modernization neglect women, and tend to construct women only in terms of their reproductive roles (Bossen 1984). Tumin's (1945, 1952) work in San Luis Jilotepeque was one of the first to compare Ladinos and Mayans, and while he made extensive and detailed observations on gender

and ethnic relations, he failed to analyze his data sufficiently. Reina's (1966) research explored Mayan women who worked as potters and the roles of Mayan women in religious ceremonies. While Reina's work tended to affirm Wolf's construction (Wolf 1959) of communities as closed and resistant to outside forces of change, it departs from the pattern of describing women solely as reproductive vessels by examining their roles in wealth production and social functions.

In the 1970s, anthropological studies of "women only" began to appear in order to compensate for having ignored women in earlier cultural studies (Moore 1988). The work of Maynard (1963) and Chinchilla (1977) examined women's productive roles in the context of Guatemala's expanding economy. They concentrated on the increasing participation of women in producing wealth and maintaining their households as economic pressures forced men to become more involved in a cash economy. Though criticized by some, their work was critical to expanding the scope of research on Guatemalan women. Ehlers (1990) and Bossen (1984) believed that the research of the 1960s and 1970s was flawed by fragmentation and a scarcity of evidence. Further, the research of this era failed to address the impact of significant social and cultural realities, such as the way the coffee industry changed Guatemala's economy in the late nineteenth century and how labor laws forced Mayan men and women to work on plantations far from their natal communities. Since the development of gender roles cannot be examined adequately without some acknowledgement of the important cultural changes that affect these roles, the previous research on Guatemalan women is flawed.

The search for understanding women, the nature of gender inequality, and the gendered division of labor became central to anthropological and feminist research in the 1980s. Bossen's (1984) comparative research on Mayan and Ladina women examined Guatemala's integration in the world economy and the way this integration affected gender. Bossen proposed that gender

differences were augmented by capitalist development. By comparing four separate communities that represented different socio-economic segments of Guatemala, Bossen illustrated that the farther the society is from a subsistence economy, the more women become dependent and submissive (Ehlers 1990). Bossen tended to construct Mayan gender relations as egalitarian with some male dominance, and Ladino gender relations as extremely imbalanced with an emphasis on machismo. Bossen posits that even though Mayan women assume the traditionally “feminine” responsibility for household and domestic activities, their tangible contribution to the subsistence economy keeps their status high. She further argues that as the production of traditional crops became increasingly commercialized, men’s activities became more highly valued than women’s and consequently their dependence on men increased. In the other communities, Ladino women tended to have access to work and to the cash economy, but always to a lesser degree than men did, an imbalance that reduced women’s status.

One of Bossen’s key findings was the difference in the physical mobility of Mayan and Ladino women. She noted that Mayan women had a greater ability to move through a variety of social spaces than Ladinas did. Whereas Mayan women were able to walk the streets to get to the marketplace or the plantation, Ladina women were more limited in their activities, in part because Ladino men construed such mobility as a sign of independence that defied accepted social norms. Cominsky and Scrimshaw’s study (1982), concurs with Bossen’s findings regarding Mayan women’s increased participation in the Guatemalan economy, yet finds that the life cycle stage is an important variable to be observed in assessing women’s status. Their research suggests that older Mayan women often have as much or even more authority over household decision-making than men, and that they were able to achieve more mobility and authority over time. This comparative research is relevant to the examination of current

stereotypes about the differences between Maya and Ladina women and is further examined in this study.

Some research in the 1990s continued to focus on women's economic roles and the interaction between the economy and the mode of production. Alicia Recruz's study (1998) of the Maya of Yucatan in Mexico examined how male out-migration altered the degree to which women contributed to the family and also illustrated how gender ideology was vital to communities in the midst of change. According to Recruz, Mayan women represented the community's resistance to change, even though they increasingly became involved in wage labor. The contention that Mayan women are emblematic of cultural traditions is prevalent in several ethnographies of Guatemala. As evidence for their claims, these studies document how Mayan Women continue to weave and wear the traditional *traje* (costume, clothing) and how they are committed to staying in their natal communities (Hendrickson 1995; Smith 1995; Watanabe 1992).

Despite this continued focus on the Mayan woman as the locus of tradition, other research conducted in the 1990s suggests that gender construction in Guatemala is intrinsically linked to the formation of ethnic categories and gender ideologies. Nelson (1999) argues that because of the history of Guatemala and the process of *mestizaje* (racial mixing), Maya and Ladino ethnic and gender relations are shaped by oppressive and racist relations. Mestizaje primarily represents the mixing of the European with the indigenous and, since unions between Mayan men and European women are rare, the term typically refers to racial mixing through relations between a European male and an indigenous woman. In Guatemalan society, white (or Ladina) women are constructed as racially pure and therefore their reproductive capabilities are reserved only for other white (or Ladino) men. Mayan women, on the other hand, are appropriate as mistresses for

(or as partners for sexual dalliances with) white men, which often leaves them with illegitimate children—the sons or daughters of Ladino fathers. Historically, Guatemalan Mestizos (a person of mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry) were born out of wedlock to indigenous women (Nelson 1999). A Ladino woman living in the United States elaborates on racial mixing:

They've (Ladinos) also been mixed by Indian girls that go to work and end up having their boss's children or the boss's kids' children. So that's how the races have mixed to make half Indian, half Ladino. That's happened for a long time. My dad would always tell me that a rich family would have children from the servant girl who has a son of her boss (patrón). That's how things have been always.

Among the modern Ladinos (and some Maya), the idea of “bettering” your blood by marrying “up” to a whiter woman is the ideal. While there are exceptions, generally speaking, any relations outside of these norms tend to be rare. Smith (1995) connects the notion of the connections between race and gender to the perpetuation of class in Guatemala. He argues that in order for the colonizing Spanish, and eventually the mixed-blood Ladinos, to maintain their class position in Guatemalan society, they had to perpetuate the hegemonic race–class–gender ideology.

Nelson's and Smith's portrayals of race, class, and gender are important in understanding gender in Guatemala since they express an aspect of Ladino and Mayan relations that are essential to interpreting Guatemalan culture. They also help to clarify the status of the Ladina, which the research has rarely addressed. Smith claims that through the gender–race construct, the status of a Ladina is linked to her sexual activity: Ladina women are allowed to be either virgins or wives, with any other sexual activity marking them as transgressive and causing them to be labeled as prostitutes (Smith 1995). Smith's contention works in concert with Bossen's suggestion that Ladino women are typically confined to the domestic sphere—a confinement which limits their physical mobility as well as their opportunities for extra-marital (or pre-marital) sexual activity—to suggest that Guatemalan women who are allowed to be physically

mobile are more likely to engage in sexual behavior that is culturally inappropriate. Thus, Mayan women who remain in their natal community may evince a belief in their duty to maintain Mayan culture, as both symbols of Mayan tradition as well as reproductive vessels.

Lastly, studies on gender in the 1990s and 2000s claim that Guatemala's civil war and reconstruction since the signing of the peace accords have been instrumental to the cultural role of Mayan women. Studies on Mayan widows (Zur 1998; Green 1999; Stanford 2000) show how the lives of Mayan women have been constructed post-war and how—through religious conversion and their reactions to the violence—women have found the strength to resist the assignation of traditional gender roles. Yet despite this resistance, Mayan widows continue to encounter widespread opposition to their attempts to assert themselves: such women can easily become marginalized and thus isolated from the community. Moreover, a widow's access to income is limited since Mayan tradition still restricts agriculture to men. Even so, some widows have managed to become self-sufficient with the help of their children. Sanford's work (2000), expands on the notion of the post-reconstruction woman as she follows the story of Mayan women who resisted the violence. Sanford suggests that the testimony of such women helps to reconstruct the "living memory" of Guatemala, thus giving voice to an alternative version of Guatemalan history which is often in contradiction to "official" or patriarchal accounts. The testimony of Rigoberta Menchu, (Menchu 1984), while centered on the life a Guatemalan women and the war, is an example of such re-writing of history, since it discusses women's contribution to armed resistance within the context of traditional Mayan gender roles.

In conclusion, the review of research on Mayan and Ladina gender roles does not reveal a cohesive construction of gender in Guatemala. Early work tended to restrict the role of women to reproduction; later work, concerning "women only," removed Mayan women from the context of

culture; and research on modes of production highlighted the variety of gender roles in Guatemalan society, but demonstrated little ethnographic analysis. The recent move to understand gender and its direct correlation to race has opened up a new understanding of Ladina and Mayan gender roles and how they operate within the hegemonic constructions of Guatemalan identity. Lastly, recent work on the war and reconstruction is a laudable counter-voice to earlier anthropological studies that ignored state violence.

Several of the earlier studies—and the frameworks in which they operate—contribute to our ability to understand how transnational migration has affected both Maya and Ladino women. The race–class–gender framework is valuable since it emphasizes the importance of understanding women’s lived experiences in terms of their ethnicity, life stage, and class within the ethnic group. Looking at women’s relationship to the production of wealth also contributes to our understanding of how women of both ethnic groups respond to the changes brought by capitalist expansion and the processes of transnational migration.

Maya and Ladino Women in San Pedro Pinula

Community beliefs in San Pedro Pinula about differences between Maya and Ladina women reflect racist views on women’s reproduction, sexuality, and moral behavior. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Maya women are portrayed by Ladinos as hypersexual, uncontrollable, and animalistic; while Ladina women are seen as pure and chaste, and as primarily responsible for maintaining the family bloodlines. Nonetheless, the two ethnicities have similar gender ideologies: both believe that the difference between “good” and “bad” women is the degree to which they fulfill their duties as wives and mothers—a formulation which includes restricted mobility and modest behavior. In reality, when observing how Ladina and Mayan women actually behave, we see that women live under strict surveillance by their husbands, fathers, male relatives, other women, and the community itself.

Women live under the social controls of the community and the cultural conditions dictated by the models of *Machismo* and *Marianismo*, in which men dominate and women suffer, largely because they are encouraged to emulate the Virgin Mary. In this model of gender relations, espoused in Stevens (1973), women are believed to be spiritually stronger than men and must therefore endure years of men's abuse, irresponsible behavior, and extramarital affairs in order to establish themselves as true women. Men are considered to be weak, and are thus unable to refrain from the temptations of drink and illicit sex. And women can prove their womanhood only by tolerating the transgressions of men over a period of many years, during which time they must produce viable heirs. Only then will a woman be considered a repuant accepcommunity member. One Ladina woman described Pinula men and their treatment of women:

el hombre de aquí está mal civilizado, por eso es bonito que el hombre reciba consejos, que vaya a encuentros matrimoniales, que los aconsejen, porque el hombre de aquí es muy machista, quiere tener a la mujer como esclava y todo eso.

The men from here are not civilized. It's good when men accept advice and go to marriage counseling, let people console them, because the men from here are very machista and want to have their women as slaves and all that.

Another woman says:

Men can't control themselves and their jealous behavior. Their behavior is carried in their blood (*lleva la sangre*) and they can't help but explode. I suffer when my husband does unforgivable things, but later he says he doesn't know what came over him and that he is sorry. Men can't help but be that way.

Research by Bossen (1984) and Ehlers (1991) explains the model of *Machismo* and *Marianismo* by looking at the economic situation and material conditions of Latin American society. Their research posits that women tolerated abusive behavior because of the sexual division of labor, women's economic contribution to the household, and the community's relation to capitalist forces. They believed that Maya women experienced more egalitarian

relations than Ladino women due to their importance to the mode of production (Bossen 1984). In other words, since Maya women's work complements that of Maya men—since the women are directly involved in subsistence agriculture—they are perceived as making a significant contribution to the household, which gives them more power in the home and community. Ladino women, on the other hand, work as school teachers or run homebound stores—vocations of low status and low pay, which only widens the power gulf between them and Ladino men. Even though their status in Guatemalan culture is higher than that of Maya women, the marriages of Ladina women are seen as fragile compared with their Mayan counterparts—in cases of economic and emotional neglect and mental and physical abuse, Ladinas are unable to get out of their marriages. In general, Ladino culture has been described as more *machista*, with Ladino men being more likely to assert their dominance through extra-marital relations and abusive and controlling behavior. Maya men are believed to be more responsible to their wives and family (Bossen 1984).

The Pokomam Maya in San Pedro Pinula have a custom in which they consider marriage a temporary contract for the first few years of the union. The custom is not as common now as it was in previous years, yet it continues on occasion in the town of San Pedro Pinula as well as the outlying villages. When a boy wants to marry a girl, he leaves a large quantity of bread, chickens, corn, and firewood at the woman's home. If the family accepts, they arrange a party and the couple will live together for a few years, during which time they will decide whether to remain together or to separate. If they stay together—and if they can afford a wedding—they may have a church marriage later on (See Figure 4-1).

Although the Pokomam tradition appears to give women more options, an elder Maya woman of seventy explained that once she was married, she was no longer able to walk the

streets as she did as a young woman or speak directly to men other than her husband. Her life story did not differ greatly from those of many Ladino women: women of both groups tend to occupy similar gender roles under a similar set of expectations; they both endure the tyranny and imbalance of power caused by machismo. Despite their similarities, many Maya women suffer more than Ladinas because of impoverishment and a heavier workload.

The materialist approach to gender relations is applicable to transnational migration as it illustrates the impact of capitalist expansion on women and men and on their families and communities. According to the economic model for female subordination, the farther the woman is from the mode of production, the more likely she is to remain in the role of subordinate—the traditional position for Guatemalan women (Margolis 2004). The theory suggests that when women have an increased access to cash—in this case through remittances—they alter their traditional gender role, thus acquiring more power and control over their lives. The study confirms this supposition, with the caveat that women become more powerful only if they have direct access and unimpeded control of the resource (Sanday 1973).

Women's Physical Mobility

The degree of a woman's physical mobility is another important indicator of her status. Bossen was correct in her assertion that Maya women have more physical mobility than Ladina women, but this mobility is relative to their class status and life stage (1984). In San Pedro Pinula, Maya women regularly fetch water or go to the local market, and thus travel more than Ladino women, yet they are always accompanied by other women or relatives. Young unmarried women are generally not allowed to travel unaccompanied, even within the village. Ladino women rarely leave their homes, as they have their servants do all their shopping and errands. Maya servants—whose reputations are already questionable due to their socio-economic status and the increased sexual accessibility it implies—are able to walk around the community

unescorted. Lower class Ladina women who can't afford servants must leave the house, but their travel is always restricted to "necessary" tasks, or those that satisfy a domestic responsibility. No Ladina or Maya woman leaves her house for any reason other than attending church or another scheduled social event or running errands, and any outing occurs only with the permission of the male head of the household. In outlying Maya villages, it is not unusual to find women who have never left the village; such women have never even traveled to the town of San Pedro Pinula, much less to the department capital or another urban center. Though it may appear that Maya women have more physical mobility than Ladina women, this mobility is still strictly supervised by male or older female household members.

The life cycle stage is the most important variable in a woman's ability to move freely and unaccompanied. As Cominsky and Scrimshaw (1982) found, a woman's status improves with age, resulting in an increase in authority and mobility. Older women who have been married for a long period of time and have secured their reputation in the community are the only women able to walk the streets freely with no one questioning their destination. Nonetheless, these women always appear to have a purpose. An older Ladino woman, Rosalina, whose husband was in the United States, was asked about her mobility:

Q: Pero usted tiene suerte porque yo he visto otras mujeres que cuando se fue el esposo para los Estados salen menos, porque ya tienen miedo de los chismes y todo eso—

R: Si pero, uno debe de privarse algo de eso también, pero para eso depende la persona, porque si a mi me conocen, me encuentran por allá, saben quien soy yo, saben quien soy yo. Eso siempre yo le digo a mi esposo, "mira, yo cuido mi persona, no cuido tu persona," aunque también hay un desprestigio también en ¿ello? ¿Verdad? Pero yo cuido mi persona porque yo soy yo y tu persona es tu persona. Porque al fin y al cabo, yo no soy familia tuya, tu no llevas mi sangre ni yo llevo la tuya. ¿Entonces, a quién van a desprestigiar es mi persona? no la de él.

Q: But you are lucky because I've seen other women who when their husband's left for the states, they went out less because they were afraid of gossip:

R: well, yes, one should be careful of this as well but it depends on the person. Because they know me well; when they see me here and there, they know who I am, they know who I am. I always say to my husband, “look, I’ll take care of myself, and you take care of yourself.” Although there is dishonor to this, yes? But I take care of myself because I am me and you are you, because in the end I am not part of your family, you don’t carry my blood and I don’t carry yours. Then who is going to discredit me?... not him.

Rosalina has a strong sense of self and feels confident that she is known well enough in the community to be able to do as she likes. She believes she is her own person—separate from her husband and responsible for her own actions. Rosalina describes her identity as distinguished from that of her husband by blood. This is a common illustration of how the relationship between husband and wife is constructed in Guatemala. Even though a couple is married, loyalties are based on blood and descent and not by civil unions. This defining factor is significant to the conflicts between husbands and wives and between spouses and their in-laws. Mother-in-laws cite the importance of blood when they describe their distrust of their in-laws, often employing a common saying, “*nuera, no era*” (a daughter-in-law, will never be). In other words, a daughter-in-law is not a true blood relative and therefore can never be trusted. According to the mother-in-law, a woman’s loyalties are to herself and her family, and her son is therefore always a potential victim of the proposed infidelities of her daughter-in-law.

Rosalina’s conversation reveals that a woman, no matter her age, still has to be careful about what she does and in what manner. As an older woman with an established marriage, Rosalina is confident in her reputation but still understands the possibility that people may take things the wrong way. Rosalina reminds us that no matter the age, a woman still has to keep her guard up. Moreover, Rosalina’s narrative emphasizes the idea that it is the woman’s responsibility to keep the household intact:

Q: Pero hay hombres que cuando están allá tienen miedo que la gente chismoseando---

R: No, no, pero ello le aconsejan a uno y dicen “mira que esto cual otro,” no hagas cosas a veces malas que son buenas pero a veces la gente lo agarra por mal. Yo puedo hablar

con cualquier persona, pero si yo decentemente les hablo o hasta puedo hacer una broma, pero si ellos saben quien soy yo no van a decir “fijense que anda haciendo esto,” “ que la vimos con Fulano,” no. Yo guardo mi distancia a consecuencia de que yo guardo mi honradez. Si, lo qu pasa es que cuando no quieren respetar no importa la edad que tengan, cuando no hay respeto en la pareja, porque a veces, cuando el hombre se va, la mujer se queda haciendo cosas malas, entonces es una destrucción para el hogar. Yo siento que cuando la mujer quiere hacer su hogar, uno no quiere hacer ninguna discordia, ningún problema---

Q: But there are men when over there (in the U.S.) are scared that the people will gossip.

R: No, no, but they will give you advice and say, “look, this, that and the other,” don’t do things, something’s good, something’s bad, but sometimes people take it the bad way. I can talk to whomever, but I speak to them decently or I might make a joke, but they know who I am and they won’t say “hey look, she’s going off with somebody,” “I saw her with that person”... No, I watch my distance to guard my honor. See, what happens when someone doesn’t want to respect you, it doesn’t matter how old you are, when there is no respect in the couple, because sometimes the man leaves (to the US) and the woman stays doing bad things, then the household is destroyed. I feel that when the woman wants to maintain her house, one can’t make any problems, any problems...

For returning migrant women, past migration experiences do not appear to affect their mobility, but instead make them more acutely aware of their current restrictions. Marta, a Ladina return migrant of 30 years, married her husband while they were living in the United States. The couple are both from prestigious Ladino families and were high school sweethearts. After meeting up in the United States and getting married, they lived out the first eight years of their marriage in the United States. Marta remembers her time in the United States as idyllic, thinking fondly of their life before they returned to Pinula: “We were together all the time in the U.S., we did everything together, even if I had to go to the bathroom, he would go with me. In the U.S., we would go out all the time. Always together, always.” Now, she complains that she barely sees him and spends all her time tied to the store she runs. She reminisces about being able to go out whenever she wanted and driving her own car . Back in Pinula, Marta often complains “she’s not used to being closed (*encerrada*) all the time.” I once invited her to walk to the Central Plaza and eat some *tostadas* with me. Marta agreed, and as we walked out her storefront and locked the

gate, she grabbed one of her children's sweaters. Her children were off with her mother-in-law and I wondered why she had taken this article of clothing with her. It was in the afternoon and there were plenty of people milling about and schoolchildren playing in the streets. As we walked the one block to the central plaza, it became apparent that Marta was uncomfortable, and that, further, she was obviously going out of her way to make clear to everyone who passed us that the purpose of her outing was to deliver the sweater. We ate our tostadas quickly and walked back to the store. This incident impressed upon me how difficult it can be for a Guatemalan woman, whether Maya or Ladina, to go for a simple walk. Marta had left Pinula as a young, unmarried woman, but even after years of living in the U.S., returning to Pinula still restricted her to living life as a *Pinulteca*.

Ladino men, on the other hand, may come and go as they please—whether they are walking the streets or hanging out on sidewalk corners—no one questions their intentions. Maya men are somewhat more restricted in their movements than Ladinos; they may travel as they like, but can only dawdle on street corners in their own neighborhoods or villages. The center town square in San Pedro Pinula is occupied only by Ladino men. As said in many Latin American countries, “the house is for women and the street is for men.” In San Pedro Pinula, both Ladina and Maya women appear to live under the same restrictions to their behavior and mobility.

Migrant Household Formation

In both the main town and the villages of San Pedro Pinula post-marital residence is patrilocal. Some families live in multi-generational households but neo-local residence is every young couple's goal. Families still tend to live in households on the compound or neighborhood, as land is divided over time among family members. Often, family members live very close to one another, though this is more common in the villages. Whether married or planning to marry,

most young men leave to the United States with the goal of returning to buy their own land and build their own homes. Men leave their wives and fiancées to be taken care of by their in-laws, male relatives, and the community-at-large (Georges 1992; Mahler 2001). In cases where the male has already built a house on his own, his wife may stay in that house or abandon the house to live with her in-laws. If there is no house, the wife and children will move in with his relatives. This living situation secures the wife's fidelity and controls her movements and actions while the husband is away.

Remittances as Social Control

This living situation also provides the method by which remittances are distributed and controlled. Maya men in the United States tend to send money to their parents, while Ladino men are more likely to send the checks directly to their wives. Sending checks directly to their wife is not a clear indicator that Ladino men trust their wives more than Maya men, since most checks usually amount to a single month's allowance. They may send larger amounts separately for a specific purpose that they've agreed upon ahead of time, usually for purchases of land, cows, or appliances. Women of either ethnicity consult their husbands for large purchases or any expenditure outside the realm of regular household requirements. Men in the United States are free to spend their money as they like (on drink, other women, etc.), but women's expenditures are more highly scrutinized. Also, Ladina women who are receiving remittances tend to be older, as young Ladina women are more likely to already be in the United States.

In cases in which the home-community wife is exceedingly young, the Maya migrant will not send the remittances directly to her, but to the in-laws instead. The in-laws then divvy out money to the daughter-in-law as her *gasto* (allowance). Allowances range from as little as Q400 a month to almost Q5000 (\$50 to \$800). In one rare case, an older Ladino woman whose husband was in the United States received, on average, Q10,000 a month. Even though she

received this money directly, she considered it an allowance since her family goals for land purchases and home construction had already been achieved. Ladino women tend to receive much higher allowances on average than Maya women since their standard of living is much higher.

For the Maya, money sent for large investments are received by the parents of the migrant. Frequently, land purchases and home construction are the responsibility of the in-laws. In cases where both in-laws are alive, the father will direct investment and construction, though it is not uncommon to see widowed mothers perform this task with great authority. In such cases, the parent's administer the remittances because of the prevailing beliefs about young women whose husbands are away—it is supposed that these women are immature and irresponsible, and thus are vulnerable prey to the attentions of disreputable men. They also believe that men are the head of the household and that the oldest male household member should make the decisions in the absence of the husband.

Gossip as Social Control

As seen in the previous examples, women are extremely conscious of gossip. Gossip can damage reputations and ruin lives. Women live in fear of gossip, especially if the gossip travels transnationally to and from the United States. Advances in communication technologies affect gender relations in both positive and negative ways, but the underlying power of gossip still maintains a stronghold over women's lives. In the context of transnational migration, gossip has resulted in the dissolution of marriages and the discontinuance of remittances. Much of the power of transnational gossip is owed to the belief that women should “behave well” while the husband is away (Georges 1992). In general, women are expected to stay home, go out only when necessary (and always with a chaperone), refrain from speaking to men in public, obey their in-laws, and spend their allowance wisely. Women who do not live under these rules, or

who are perceived to have violated them, are susceptible to the discipline of both family and community. A father whose five daughters all had husbands in the United States explained a typical situation:

My daughter suffers under her mother-in-law. She misses us (her family) and spends a lot of time at our house. Though she is only visiting (us), her mother-in-law complains that she is *andariega* (a woman who goes out all the time). When she talks to her son on the phone, she says she doesn't know where his wife is and who knows who she is out with. Even if my daughter is only going out to fetch water with her sister, her mother-in-law is suspicious.

A young wife is expected to be at the home of the husband so she may be properly supervised by the husband's family. Even if—as in the case cited above—the wife is merely passing time with her own family, the in-laws frequently distrust the daughter-in-law's family, and thus believe that they may be covering for her. Adding to this suspicion is the financial formulation that equates time spent with the natal family into money and labor spent outside the husband's home, so families worry that when a daughter-in-law isn't at home, she may be spending her husband's (their) money on her birth family. While the prospect of infidelity might appear to be the major concern for the husband's family, in fact, the main issue is the battle over the husband's resources. Thus, the gossip that arises over the whereabouts of married women whose husbands are abroad may become a powerful weapon in this ongoing struggle.

Though transnational migration by men is increasingly common, both women and men are frequently warned of the potential consequences of this separation. A pervasive anecdote involves a young wife who is left behind by her Maya husband. As the story goes, while her husband is away, she becomes pregnant. She hides the pregnancy to full term, and after she delivers the baby in secrecy, leaves the child to die in the bush. In one version, this agony is protracted, as a passing woman hears the baby crying and saves it, only for it to die later. Since the young woman in the story is Maya, many claim that the father was a local Ladino landowner

who frequented her house to receive payments for the loan her husband took out to finance his migration.

Another story involves a young woman whose husband trusts her enough to send her all his money directly, including money that is to be spent on land purchases and home construction. The migrant is one of five brothers who have migrated to Boston—the only one of the five who sends his money directly to his wife, rather than to his mother. The wife, who is “foolish and weak,” falls in love and runs off with a furniture salesman from another town, taking all her husband’s money along with her. As the story goes, fate is not kind to her, and the salesman eventually leaves her. When she returns to the family compound, the husband orders his family to accept her back. He still sends money, but now it goes directly to his mother, who allots an allowance to the wife.

Though the truth (or fiction) of the anecdotes is unverified, they nevertheless both function as powerful social controls over women. In each version, the woman’s infidelity becomes a strong source of shame and a lesson for her of the consequences of violating the cultural order, whether this violation involves infidelity or the misuse of money entrusted to her by her husband. While the stories warn women of the danger of transgressing community norms, they warn men of the danger of trusting their wives. While the *Marianismo* model may portray women as more spiritually strong and thus more able to resist temptation, patriarchy still reigns over a woman’s access to remittances and her ability to move freely.

Remittance Expenditures: Productive or Reproductive?

A central question related to the impact of transnational migration on sending communities is whether remittances are used for productive or reproductive activities. In the previous chapter, I discussed how the Maya are limited in their ability to invest in productive activities such as cattle ranching, and how their use of remittances is often restricted to fixed

investments such as land purchases and home construction. Ladinos, on the other hand, are able to invest their remittances in cattle ranching or in local businesses such as hardware stores and construction. In households with husbands in the United States, there does not appear to be a significant difference in women's roles compared to households with the husbands present, though in some cases, remittances appear to lighten a women's household duties and enable them to invest in their children's education, which may eventually be a catalyst for significant change in the Maya communities.

Women in Maya communities frequently use remittances for reproductive activities—or those that support child-rearing and the maintenance of a home. As seen in the previous section, young wives rarely have the opportunity to receive remittances directly, but some have been able to convince their husbands to support their endeavors, which may include homebound stores. As is the case in many sending communities, the prevalence of homebound stores has increased significantly. In the village of Aguacate, for example, there were just two homebound stores in 1999, and over dozen in 2002. Although homebound stores may be seen as an investment or as a productive activity, they typically only help to sustain the household, and they rarely realize a profit. Women often use the products they buy for the store to supplement their own diet and the cash made from the stores to purchase food and clothing. The effect of the increased food on children is difficult to quantify: though they may receive more of it, the surplus is likely of poorer quality, since many of the additional foods are high in sugar. Homebound stores do not encourage women to transgress the gendered expectations of the culture, since they typically reinforce the limitations on their mobility.

There are exceptions to the usual limitations on a woman's use of her allowance money. In one instance, a woman planted *milpa* on her newly-bought land. Her husband didn't like the idea,

but she did it anyway. She was pleased with all the hard work and made good money (Q150 a quintal), but after two seasons, she decided it was too much trouble. She explained that husbands don't like their wives to plant *milpa* because it requires them to be outside the home and to hire other men to work on the crops.

Normally, women use allowances to sustain the household and to purchase food, clothing, and firewood. The ability to buy firewood has made a significant impact on women's activities and on time spent on household chores. Maya women used to spend from two to four hours daily collecting firewood in the hills surrounding the villages—a significant amount of time and effort that has been virtually eliminated. Nevertheless, some women choose to continue to collect firewood on their own in order to save their allowance money for other expenditures.

Children's Education

One of the most significant impacts of remittances in the Maya community has been on their children's education. Most Maya men and women have never passed the sixth grade, if they went to school at all. Mario, 32, remembers that when he was young, his grandfather would hide him from the schoolteachers:

We were told to hide in the storeroom until the men (teachers) left... We didn't go to school but worked in the fields... I remember when the season came and the clouds would start forming in the sky in the afternoons... I would get sad. I knew when the rains came there would be a lot of work to be done.

Elder Maya did not want their children going to school, preferring instead to keep them at home to work in the fields or to help their mothers in the house. Some young Maya, especially those who lived in town, did attend elementary school. In the past two decades, there has been a significant increase in attendance due to the availability of elementary education in the villages. Although public education in Guatemala is free, some village Maya are still unable to send their children to school simply because they cannot afford school supplies.

In the town of San Pedro Pinula, there is an elementary school as well as a middle school. For Maya who live in a village, the effort and expense required to send a child to town to attend middle school may be prohibitive; thus, only children whose parents have money and/or live close to town are likely to attend. The only high schools for the whole department of San Pedro Pinula are in the department capital of Jalapa, which, from the town of San Pedro Pinula, is at least a half-hour drive over a mountain ridge. High school students from San Pedro Pinula tend to live in the department capital while attending school. Since the high schools of Jalapa serve the departments of both Jalapa and San Pedro Pinula, it has the atmosphere of a college town, but instead of college-aged students the population is largely of high school age. The housing needs of the students affects the economy of Jalapa: many inhabitants rent out private rooms in their homes, and whole apartment buildings are dedicated to housing high school students. Not all high schools are public and most have attendance fees, and, further, the parent(s) will have to pay for school supplies, uniforms, housing, and food, so sending a child to high school can be an expensive undertaking. At minimum, it costs a Pinulteco an average of Q1500 (\$200) monthly to send their child to high school. Some teenagers take the daily jitneys to Jalapa and return home every evening (which costs Q160 a month or \$25), or they live with relatives in Jalapa.

In the past, only the children of the wealthiest families went to high school in Jalapa. But when Ladinos started to migrate to the United States, the attendance patterns changed as lower class Ladinos began to send their children to middle school and high school. In the past decade, the number of Maya children from the towns and villages who attend high school in Jalapa has increased significantly, which indicates a great change in the community. While there is still a large gap in the status of women and men, as well as Maya and Ladino, the rise in education may

be the start of changes in the rural communities as well as in the town of Pinula. As one Ladina women explained:

A bueno en el sentido de la libertad, nosotros aquí las mujeres en Guatemala somos muy obedientes porque es así, verdad? Entonces queremos conservar nuestro matrimonio porque nos tienen formadas así de que la mujer tiene que hacerle caso al hombre en ciertas cosas, tal vez no en todas. Pero el hombre guatemalteco es muy machista, entonces es muy delicado, a raíz de que ellos se sienten que porque el es el machista, a la mujer a veces la tienen un poco sumergida. Pero viene también que es una falta de civilización, entonces por eso se necesita que a los jóvenes, a todos los que vienen ahorita darles clases para que ellos cambien esa idea que ellos tienen que la mujer debe ser una esclava para ellos, no? Pero ya ahorita ya hay libertad mucho para la mujer, lo único que si es que debe estar un poco sumergida, pero en mi forma de entender es porque hay poca comunicación entre la pareja, la pareja tiene que comunicarse mucho diálogo para llegar.

Well, when it comes to the subject of women's liberation, the women here in Guatemala are very obedient, yes? Therefore, we want to conserve our marriages because they are formed this way so that the woman has to obey her husband in certain cases, but not in all. But the Guatemalan man is very macho and therefore very delicate, to the point that they feel since they are macho that they have to have the woman a bit submissive. But this is also because they are not civilized and therefore we need to teach the children and give them classes so that they change this thinking that the woman should be a slave, no? But there is now too much freedom for the woman; the only thing is that she should stay a little bit submissive, but as I understand it, it is because there is little communication between the couple and the couple needs to communicate more to get anywhere.

Women's Return Migration

In San Pedro Pinula, while ethnicity is important to defining identity and status, it does not indicate much about the different ways in which non-migrating Guatemalan women are affected by transnational migration. In part because of its short history of international migration, Maya communities show far lower rates of female emigration as compared to Ladino communities. As illustrated by Hondagneu-Sotelo's work on women's migration networks in Mexico (1992), women's migration is controlled by men, and women are only able to migrate to the United States by using their own separate networks. The following quote from a young Maya migrant in Boston supports this assertion:

Well, first it's (lower migration rates among Maya women) because I don't think all women have the same opportunity. I mean, not all women have someone, family, to help

them out. Not anyone is going to help you out because it's a lot of money and we all work hard to make something of ourselves. I think it's hard to earn your money. So with the fact that no person is going to help out anyone without really knowing them.

One Ladina woman in Boston explained that she had to threaten her family members to help her migrate, saying that if they didn't contribute something, she would do it on her own. Fortunately for her, she already had a large extended network of relatives who were return migrants or who were already living in the United States. While Ladino men were the first to migrate, it soon became a common custom for young Ladino men and women to attempt to migrate to the United States after high school graduation. Among the Maya, a few married women and a handful of young single women have migrated, but it is still uncommon.

Ladino men are more likely to return to Pinula than Ladina women. While there are many returning Ladino males in San Pedro Pinula, there are only a handful of returning Ladina women. Ladina women in Boston reported that they would prefer to return to either the town of Jalapa or Guatemala City rather than return to San Pedro Pinula. Some of these women report that they feel San Pedro Pinula is too conservative and that, even though they remember it fondly and miss their childhood home, they would be bored. Nonetheless, female migrants in Boston still discuss the possibility of returning for retirement after their children finish school and leave home, though they admit it would be difficult to re-assimilate.

Among the eight female return migrants I interviewed in San Pedro Pinula, over half returned willingly due to family obligations or an inability to adapt to life in the United States. The other three returned with their families but would have preferred to remain in the United States. Each of the three who returned against their wishes felt that returning has had a negative impact on their relationships with their husbands, saying that their husbands became more macho upon their return from the United States. Marta, a Ladina woman in her thirties, cried

hysterically during our interview. She reports that during her marriage in the United States, she and her husband used to travel and make decisions together. In Pinula, the couple lives well: they have built a fancy new home and she feels financially secure, yet she regrets their return to Guatemala.

In contrast, non-migrant wives report that their husbands often change after spending time in the United States. These women say that their return spouses are more helpful and appreciative of the wives' domestic work. One home-community wife felt that the United States had been a school for her husband since he had to cook, clean, and take care of himself there. Now, he does more household chores, and overall, she thinks he has become a better husband. In spite of her assertions, I never observed the husband helping around the house, yet at this point the couple was well-off financially and domestic duties were mostly performed by servants under the direction of the wife.

The following table illustrates a sample of migrant women and their reasons for returning to Pinula. Return migrant women who did not wish to return report an unsatisfactory relationship with their husbands. Two out of the three return migrant women self-report abusive relationships and the third says that she rarely sees her husband and that their relationship has changed significantly since their return. Return migrant women tended to dislike the United States for various reasons. Ladina women missed the high status bestowed upon them in their hometowns and the accompanying lifestyle. The return Maya woman enjoyed the money she was able to earn in the United States but was forced to return in order to collect child support from her adulterous husband. Although this chart reflects some Ladina women's preference for return, interviews in the United States with Ladina women support research showing that women prefer the United States as compared to men (Margolis 1994, 1998; Pessar 1995). As mentioned before,

Ladina women interviewed in Boston discuss returning to Guatemala at a later date but consider returning to larger and more urban areas. They cite the conservative environment in Pinula could possible be too difficult after living many years in the United States.

Conclusion

Transnational migration has had some positive but mostly negative impacts on women's mobility, autonomy, and access to and control over cash. Women whose husbands have migrated to the U.S. receive money in the form of an allowance and use this money to support the household and rarely invest in productive activities. For Maya women, access to remittances is limited and cash is controlled by their in-laws. Ladino women have more access to and control over remittances but still remain under the social controls and gender beliefs of the community. Only older women in the later stages of the life cycle have more autonomy and ability to control resources. Investment in Maya children's education is the most significant indicator of positive change since it may ultimately be the catalyst for eliminating social and economic differences between Maya and Ladinos. While this chapter has illustrated the impact of migration on women's gender roles, the next chapter will show how women, especially Maya and poor Ladinas, attempt to negotiate gender relations in the transnational space that separates them from their loved ones abroad.



4-1. Elder Maya marrying by the church. The wedding was paid for by their migrant granddaughter. Videos and pictures were shot and mailed to her afterwards.



4-2. Men hanging out on the street corner.



4-3. Four Maya sisters in their high school uniforms.

4-1. Return Migrant Women table.

Return migrant	With whom she returned	Desired return	Specific reason
Rigoberta (Ladina)	Husband and children	Yyes	Wanted to return to Pinula to live her life out with family and friends, missed the lifestyle in Pinula. Her and her husband felt life in U.S. too hard after 9/11.
Ermitta (Ladina)	Children only	Yes	Disliked the hard work and lifestyle in U.S. Husband remained in United States but soon stopped sending money and was discovered to have new family in the U.S.
Adela (Ladina)	Husband (bore children after return to Guatemala)	Yes	Hated being a maid in the United States, living in Pinula provides her high status as a Patrona.
Christina (Ladina)	Two children who were born in the United States	Yes	Disliked U.S. and wanted to return to hometown. Husband remains in U.S. with no plan to return to live in Guatemala but still remits large allowance monthly after ten years in the U.S. Husband visits Pinula annually.
Maria (Maya)	Alone (husband stayed in U.S. with other woman)	Yes and no	Divorced husband in the United States after chasing after him once he stopped sending money home. Lawyer in U.S. told her to return to Guatemala to receive her child support payments in lieu of her in-laws
Consuela (Ladina)	Husband and children	No	Husband wanted to return to Pinula to retire after almost two decades in the United States. She misses life in U.S. and reports husband is abusive.
Maria (Ladino/Maya—parents are considered to be mixed Indian)	Husband and child	No	Returned with Ladino husband who married her in the United States against his parent's wishes. Wants to return to the United States but remains under strict control of husband.
Marta (Ladina)	Husband and children	No	Loved life in the United States and felt that she and husband had better life there. Reports husband has completely changed for the worse since return to Pinula—very macho and no longer spends quality time with her and her children.

CHAPTER 5 TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

fucjHow do couples maintain their relationships, manage separate households, and make decisions when they are thousands of miles apart? How do they communicate across transnational borders when faced with the cultural constraints of gender expectations and traditional family structures? Responding in part to Sarah Mahler’s call to “locate the strategic role of communication—or the lack thereof—in relationships conducted across transnational space (2001: 584),” this chapter illustrates how transnational couples negotiate this complex terrain. The ability to communicate across borders is essential to a migrant couple’s livelihood as they try to maintain their lives in two different places. Research on transnational migration works under the assumption that advances in communication technology have improved migrants’ abilities to sustain transnational ties (Glick Schiller 1999), yet transnational studies tend to overlook how communication is achieved in many of the communities where basic technology is unreliable (Mahler 2001), which is the case in San Pedro Pinula, a region in which inhabitants’ access to communication is affected by the constraints of class and geographical location. Frequently, this access is also determined by ethnicity; even so, the gap between Maya and Ladinos is narrowing as advancing technologies make communication more accessible regardless of class or social status.

Access to Communication Technology: Changes from 1999 to 2005

When I first arrived in San Pedro Pinula in 1999, migrants could communicate with their loved ones abroad only using the postal service and public pay phones. But in the seven year interval since, advances in communication technology have made it much easier for transnational couples to maintain contact. Before the advent of cell phones, migrants often struggled to communicate on a regular basis, and, further, their efforts at communication were often censored

by others present during phone conversations or for those who are illiterate, writing their letters for them. Improvements in communication technology have overcome some of these difficulties, perhaps benefiting women and poor Ladinos and Maya the most by allowing them the means to stay in touch with migrants abroad on a more consistent and personal basis. The following section will cover the many technologies available and how they affected non-migrants through time.

Letters

Guatemala's postal service was excessively slow, and letters frequently took months to arrive. This was generally an unreliable way to communicate, yet it was a mainstay for many throughout the years. Letter writing presented special difficulties for much of Guatemala's population, especially the indigenous groups, because many of them were illiterate and thus dependent on others to read and write their letters. Because many Maya believed that communication among family members is a private affair (especially when the subject was money), the dependence on a third party severely restricted the content of their letters. Literate women complained that although letter writing allowed them to express love and affection to their husbands, the third party interference prevented them from communicating in a way that would help ensure their husband's fidelity. Further, since letters took so long to arrive, it was not always an effective way to stave off rumors or to discuss immediate and pressing issues, such as their children's health or money issues.

Audiotapes

Though some research focusing on the Western Highlands suggests otherwise (see Moran-Taylor 2003; Hagan 1994), mailing audiotapes was not common in San Pedro Pinula, possibly because of the expense of electronic equipment such as tape recorders. With rare exceptions, most inhabitants did not use this technology to communicate with migrants abroad.

Private Home Phones

Private phones were usually available only to the upper class. Up until the phone companies privatized service in 2001, there were 25 lines for fifty households, with private service available only in the town of San Pedro Pinula. These households tended to be upper class Ladinos who coveted their private lines and rarely let anyone outside the family use them. Due to the imbalance between the number of phones and the number of lines, it was common for a person to pick up the phone and not get a dial tone until someone else in town finished their own call. Further, this created a situation in which one could eavesdrop on others' phone conversations.

Community Pay Phones

Prior to the advent of cell phones in 2003, most lower class Ladinos and all urban and rural Maya could communicate with migrants in the United States or in Guatemala's capital city solely through the use of community pay phones. Known also as *comunitarios*, communal phones are simply lines owned by middle and upper class Ladinos who make them available to the public for a fee. Often situated in storefronts or in the front room of a private house, communal phones frequently consist of a flimsy cardboard booth which houses the phone and a single chair, with the space adjacent to the booth serving as the waiting area for those hoping to make or receive calls.

While the *comunitarios* provide a needed service, frequent service irregularities prove problematic for transnational couples who require a regular and reliable way to communicate with each other. Further, for the rural Maya, making a trip to the town to make or receive a phone call at the *comunitario* can be an all day event. Some Maya make phone calls as part of their market day or as an in-town errand, but since the *comunitarios* are especially busy during these peak periods, many prefer to make a separate trip just for calls. Additionally, the process of

receiving a call can take several hours because it is often difficult and time-consuming to get through from the United States. Making a phone call presents a similar problem, since it sometimes requires several attempts before the connection is achieved. All of these difficulties are compounded by the imbalance between lines and phones, creating a situation in which attempting to make an international call can cost a rural Maya an entire day's labor or wage.

On the other hand, the *comunitario* phone call process can be seen as a significant social event because it creates an opportunity to talk with other non-migrants. Since many people are either waiting for a phone call or required to make several attempts to complete one, the waiting area of the *comunitario* can become an important social space, facilitating contact with others from nearby villages or the town. Additionally, everyone in the room has relatives in the United States, a significant commonality which allows for substantive discussion about issues related to migration.

Nevertheless, *comunitarios* greatly limit a non-migrant's ability to talk freely. Because of the limited space, the phone lines in the *comunitarios*, as opposed to those in a private home, afford little if any privacy, and those in the waiting area can easily overhear the phone conversations. While *Pinultecos* are not overwhelmingly private people, they do attempt to keep all personal and family matters private, in large part because they are afraid of gossip. This places strict limitations on the content of any conversations made on a public phone. For instance, many home community wives reported that they had grievances to address with their migrant husbands, but since the conversation was so public (and since in many cases they had been escorted to the *comunitario* by their in-laws), it was impossible to have an open conversation. In view of which socio-ethnic group is least likely to have access to a private phone line, the limitations of the *comunitarios* mostly affect those who have no power—young

wives, for instance—who require privacy to have discussions with their husbands about sensitive issues, such as problems with their in-laws or money.

When I first came to Pinula in 1999, *comunitarios* were the only regular form of communication for many Guatemalans. Because I could spend hours in a *comunitario* (no one questioned my presence, since it seemed I was also waiting to call the United States), they were an excellent venue for research, providing me with the opportunity to meet a migrant's family members, hear the latest gossip, or (like everyone else who was waiting to make or receive a call) listen to other's conversations! My presence also allowed migrant family members to ask me questions about the United States and to tell me anecdotes about their migration experiences. One afternoon, a Maya family came to the door of the *comunitario*. They were a typical home community family—the husband was in the U.S. and the wife was accompanied by her small children and her husband's family. The mother was the first to speak to her son in Boston, and she asked the usual questions regarding his health and the status of his job. Next, the father spoke; he first inquired about his son's financial situation, then informed him of their home construction project, and finally began to speak (in hushed tones) about certain difficulties in the relationship between the son's wife and the son's. He reported that the daughter-in-law had little respect for her mother-in-law and fought with her constantly, elaborating further that she was uncontrollable and apt to go off on her own without their permission. When the wife finally spoke to her husband, she began to cry and begged him to return. While she tried to be polite about her relationship with her mother-in-law, she still defended herself. Towards the end of the conversation, it became apparent that the husband wasn't coming home anytime soon and that he had told his wife to respect his parents and behave properly. This scenario was typical of various

conversations I witnessed during that summer. Conversations tended to be formal, respectful, and short.

Because of the logistical difficulties of using a *comunitario*, it is not uncommon for wives to speak to their husbands only once every few months. Such irregular contact intensifies feelings of separation for both husband and wife, which often results in miscommunication. Women reported that the limitations on their ability to speak to their husbands made them feel isolated—as if they had little control over their lives and no authority to make the decisions affecting them and their children.

Cellular phones

After 2001, cell phones became more commonplace throughout Guatemala and in the municipality of San Pedro Pinula. Because it is an overwhelmingly accessible technology (available to virtually anyone, regardless of ethnicity or income), cell phones have transformed the Guatemalan landscape. Formerly, only the elite of Guatemalan society could have a truly private conversation, but since the advent of the cell phone, even the inhabitants of remote villages that have no running water or electricity (they use car batteries to recharge their phones), can speak with family members in the United States away from the prying ears of in-laws or other community members.

As the following anecdote demonstrates, cell phones have proven instrumental in keeping family members connected: one afternoon I was visiting a prestigious Ladino family in the nearby village of Santo Domingo, an *aldea* of San Pedro Pinula; Santo Domingo had been the first settlement before the founding of San Pedro Pinula, but because of its low elevation and exposure to flooding (Pinula sits on a hill), the Spanish found it to be an undesirable location. The Ladino families of Santo Domingo are well known for their strict endogamy—for the purity of their Spanish blood; in fact, many joke about the high incidence of birth defects in the town,

which they attribute to inbreeding among the Spanish descendents. Even though it is famous for its white Ladino inhabitants, Santo Domingo does have a large Indian population. The Ladinos refer to these inhabitants as “Indians” (*indios*), making no connection between them and the Pokomam Maya of San Pedro Pinula. In Santo Domingo, the class division between Ladino and Indian is pronounced, much as it is in San Pedro Pinula.

Ladino families in Santo Domingo, like those in San Pedro Pinula, are cattle farmers who produce milk and cheese. This particular family is one of the larger cheese producers and they regularly sell directly to Guatemala City. One afternoon, as I was being shown the families’ large cheese production facilities, a frail and older indigenous woman entered the compound with a basket full of bread balanced on her head. With the casual familiarity of the daily routine, the Ladina head-of-household and the Indian woman conducted their transaction. The Indian woman spoke softly, demonstrating great deference to the Ladina Doña. As the Indian woman began to pack up to leave, a loud ringing came from her apron. She threw down the basket and grabbed her cell phone from beneath her apron, then proceeded to discuss the details of her upcoming trip to see her son, who was calling from New York. She finished the conversation, turned off the phone, raised the basket to her head, smiled, and went on her way. When she had left, the Ladinos proceeded to comment on the irony of a “poor little Indian” who sells bread door-to-door yet owns a cell phone and frequently travels to the United States, further asserting that the “Indio” no longer needed to sell bread now that she had a son abroad. One Ladino remarked that the cell phone represented the end of their way of life, reiterating the Ladino belief that if Indians have access to communication technologies and to U.S. dollars it will represent a permanent alteration to the local social structure. While this anecdote may appear to confirm the belief of many Ladinos that migration causes significant social change, the Indian woman’s

demeanor—coupled with her inability or refusal to quit her job as a local baker—is testimony to some resistance to change.

For Maya villagers, cell phones have been a blessing. In the villages dotting the mountainsides, an array of cell phone antennas poke out from beneath thatched and tin roofs, and when the reception is not particularly good, people simply climb up on their roofs to strengthen the signal. Villagers no longer have to spend an entire day traveling to the main town to make a (possibly unsuccessful) call to the United States. Migrants in the United States send money so their family members can purchase cell phones, and cell phone companies have made it easier for migrants to purchase their products abroad. The newfound ease with which migrant families can communicate with each other helps keep relationships strong, and possibly increases the degree to which home community wives are involved in decision-making.

Positive and Negative Impacts of Cell Phones

Maya of both sexes and Ladina women report that cell phones have had both positive and negative impacts on their lives. For the Maya, cell phones eliminate the need to travel to the main town to make calls, which often results in missing a full day of work. Now if a Maya doesn't have his/her own cell phones he/she can borrow one from their neighbors in the village. For women, cell phones help facilitate regular, honest communication with their husbands. Rosa, a Maya woman in her late twenties, lives across the street from her in-laws but can now receive phone calls from her husband in the privacy of her own home. She feels that this enables her to speak to him about whatever she likes and to discuss all matters relating to their lives, from the design of their new home, to how much money she is receiving, to the decisions she makes. She believes that talking to him regularly on the cell phone keeps their relationship strong, which makes it more likely that he will eventually return. Many home community women are afraid that their migrant husbands will abandon them, and regular phone conversations help somewhat

to quell these fears, because they allow these women to remind their husbands of their responsibilities to their family in the home community, even though it may have been years since they have last seen one another.

Having a cellular phone in the house can also be problematic. While non-migrant wives no longer feel as if their in-laws are watching over them and limiting their ability to communicate, they do believe that the increased frequency of conversations has given their husbands more control over them. This perception arises because cell phones are purchased with money from the husbands and, in some cases, are ordered directly by the husband in the United States from the local cell phone company, which then arranges delivery to the wife. Even though the cell phones are portable, women keep them in their homes, and they may feel as if they can not go out because their husbands may call to check in on them. Only established wives who already have the freedom to move without restraint travel with their cell phones. Some women don't have their husband's phone numbers and only accept incoming calls, which is, in part, a cost-saving measure because, in Guatemala, incoming calls are free and outgoing calls are expensive. As of 2004, a Q100 phone card (about \$20) is only good for just under a half hour phone call to the United States. Thus, for many women, cell phones can be used to receive incoming calls only.

Some women convey mixed feelings about having a cell phone since it may cause them to be afraid of going out and thus missing a call. When asked about taking the phone out with them, many say they are afraid of being questioned about where they were and who they were with. Some women report that they have had arguments with their husbands when they have not answered their phones. Others told me that even though they make regular appointments at specific times to receive their husband's call, many of them receive occasional evening calls,

which suggests that their husbands are checking up on them. While cell phones have made a vast improvement in the quality and quantity of communication, they can also create additional constraints on the freedoms of home community wives.

Videos

Q: Who sends you the videos?

R: A family member—a brother I have over there—he takes care to find people who like to take videos and asks them to make a special one to send here (Boston) for us to remember how we once lived, to remember the things we left behind. There's a big difference between there and here. It's not the same. The lifestyle there is different than here. We see the videos to recall what we once lived there.

With the advent of VHS and digital recorders, using video to maintain contact across borders has also become an important part of transnational communication. While they haven't necessarily increased the level of communication among individuals, videos have certainly resulted in increased communication within communities. While cell phones create better access to communication for the less powerful members of the household, especially the young wife, videos provide a better sense of what is happening on both sides of the border. This increased level of awareness helps members of home communities better understand life in the United States, while helping migrants maintain feelings of closeness to their families and natal communities. Videos represent a unique attempt at substantive transnational communication, since the reproduction of lived reality reminds both migrants and home community members of the intimacy of their relationships. Thus, they function as a powerful incentive for migrants to support their families in Guatemala, encouraging not only the continuation of remittances but also their eventual return.

Video Tape Production as a Business

In large cities such as Jalapa and Mataqueesquintla, there are video production companies that make a standard video aimed at people who have relatives in the United States. These

production companies use computer editing programs to produce technically impressive videos that range in scope from general information about the region to smaller videos that chronicle personal events such as birthday parties. In Pinula, there are people who will videotape events for a small fee, but this service has not become a large scale business as it has in other regions of Guatemala.

Community Events on Video

The technology has become sufficiently widespread that most major community events, such as the annual festivals, are captured on video. In the villages, the festival of the local patron saint as well as the festival of the town of San Pedro Pinula are significant events that are made into videos. The annual patron's day festival is full of activities and the video of the event usually includes the rodeo, parade, inauguration ceremony (which includes the introduction of the queens), and the Catholic Mass. When migrants watch these videos, they are often most concerned with recognizing people in the crowd and remembering those they have not seen in years—whether they are family members, ex-girlfriends, or a notorious community member. Migrants in the United States frequently get together to watch videos, which encourages them to discuss their home communities and to reminisce about their pasts.

While many videos exhibit nothing out of the ordinary, some may take on a personal slant or focus on an unusual topic. For example, one video—mailed from one visiting migrant to another male relative in the United States—though ostensibly concerning the festival parade, which typically consists of shots of prancing horses and small floats, the person taping was concentrating on what he considered to be more interesting: all the eligible girls between the ages of 13 and 17, when (as virgins) they are considered to be the most attractive. The girls were dressed up in their festival best, and though women in Pinula typically dress quite conservatively, they were wearing their best cowboy gear: tight jeans, western tops, cowboy

hats, and make-up. As the tape played, the narrator commented on who the girls were, their relation to well known families in the area, and the relative attractiveness of their various body parts.

Though both the creator and recipient of the video were well over the age of twenty-five, and in committed relationships, (one was married and the other engaged), they most likely considered the video appropriate for the male migrant community, allowing it to be seen by men—young and old, married and single—in many migrants' homes across the country. Men tend to sexualize young girls around the age of 13, as at this age the “women” are still “pure,” unmarried and available. Other events often caught on video include birthday parties, house blessings, stages of home construction, funerals, marriages, and *quinceañeras* (fifteenth birthday celebrations for girls).

Videos made in the United States and sent to San Pedro Pinula may chronicle celebratory events, but they also frequently document the town where the migrants live or record their travels in the United States. Some videos record visits to popular tourist destinations. In Pinula; one often sees videos that include famous Boston landmarks like Fenway Park and Old Ironsides, or show trips to Niagara Falls or the Six Flags theme park in New Jersey. Migrants also videotape their homes and neighborhoods.

All videotapes—whether going to or coming from the United States—include formal salutations. Since most videos will be seen by more than one household and will be passed from one group to another, direct communication between individuals is manifest in formal salutations from loved ones. These salutations become something like a rehearsed script, in which the person being interviewed says hello to their family members, tells them to work hard (if the tape is going to the United States), and ends by wishing everyone well. Rarely will the interviewee

make personal remarks or direct commentaries. Occasionally, he or she may specifically reprimand migrants who have earned a reputation for drinking or not behaving well in the United States.

Maria and her Video Plea to her Husband

Though it is not typically the case, some videotapes are strictly for private use since they are very personal and recorded for a specific purpose. The videotapes in this category usually involved crisis situations. One such video was made by a home community wife who felt she was losing her husband to the allure of the United States.

I had been introduced to Maria by a community leader who believed that her situation exemplified some of the negative consequences of migration on village life. She had not received regular money from her husband for two years and rarely spoke to him. Her only method of communicating with him had been through calls from a *comunitario*, during which she was always accompanied by her in-laws, who lived in the house next to hers. The husband did not send his remittances directly to her, but rather to her mother-in-law, who provided Maria only with the rudimentary *gasto*. Maria's husband had been absent for five years, and the remittances had begun to dwindle after three. She had two small children at the time. The reduction in income forced Maria to work outside the home selling food at the local market. Since her job required her to leave home unaccompanied, her in-laws did not approve. Conflicts between Maria and her in-laws increased over time, and Maria became suspicious of what her mother-in-law may have been reporting to her husband. Community rumors also supported the intimation that Maria's insolent behavior was the cause of the husband's suspension of remittances, but Maria suspected that the in-laws were hoarding the money, either squandering it or using it to purchase land. She also had heard a rumor that her husband had set up a new household in the

United States, which would further explain the lack of communication and the withholding of remittances.

Maria decided to mail her husband a video pleading her case. The video begins with her introducing his sons (whom the husband had not seen since they were an infant and a toddler).

She goes on to praise him for the work he has done and the money he has sent:

Pues, ellos ahorita están tomando este video para que usted se de cuenta donde estamos ya que ésta es la casa donde estamos. Tal vez usted no se ha dado cuenta del trabajo, pero nosotros aquí éste es el trabajo que nosotros hicimos y aquí se puede dar cuenta de cual es el trabajo que aquí están haciendo. Hay aquí Victor Manuel y Francisco, que también son nuestros hijos y que ojalá donde quiera que usted esté ojalá siempre se acuerde de nosotros y que en realidad nosotros aquí estamos con esa—esa tristeza que porque usted no ha venido que esperamos el día que usted venga para estar juntos aquí en nuestra casa, porque en realidad cuando usted estaba aquí no estaba bonito como está ahora pero gracias a Diós con el trabajo que usted ha hecho por allá pues nosotros hemos construido algo, y ese es el trabajo que nosotros hemos hecho por medio del dinero que usted ha mandado. Solo que nosotros pusimos tristes porque no lo vemos personalmente pero espero en Diós que venga algún día.

They are taking this video so you know we are filming in the house. Maybe you have not noticed the work, but we are here and this is the work we have done and you may notice we have done it. Here is Victor Manuel and Francisco, who are also our kids and I hope that wherever you are I hope you remember us and in reality we here are sad because you have not returned, that we wait for the day that you return to be together here in our house because in reality when you were here it was not nice here as it is now, but thanks to God with the work you have done over there we have built something and that is the work we have done with the money that you have sent us. Only we got sad because we haven't seen you personally, but I have faith in God that you will come back.

The next section demonstrates the inherent sentimentality of video, which is an advantage over telephone communication when the intent of the sender is to re-establish an emotional connection with the recipient. As Maria talks, she walks around the home showing the husband what she has done with the money (money that was sent as an allowance and not specifically meant for construction or investment), and how well she has managed it. She also shows him the TV, their new electricity, and the bike they bought. As she talks about the bike, the son jumps on it enthusiastically. Then she shows him the sewing machine, the fumigator (for her work on their

land), and the baskets she weaves by hand, exemplifying the work she does to survive and that she does not leave far from home to do it:

Puede revisar allí como está. Éste es el cuarto donde dormimos, y aquí quiero hacer otro cuarto allá de aquel lado y vamos a abrir aquí la ventana para hacer otro cuarto para los niños. No he comprado muchas cosas porque en realidad el dinero no alcanza; no he comprado verdaderamente muchas cosas que se diga suficiente de bastante valor porque muy caro todo aquí. Éste es el televisor que mandó ahí; lo tenemos y también tenemos los videos que los miran los niños y las fotos también aún costado está donde nosotros tenemos para encender la luz porque ya tenemos energía eléctrica y la bicicleta que Francisco quería; pues ahí está también aquí tengo mi máquina también (Francisco en bicicleta); también lo que usted compre mi máquina aquí tengo mi máquina pues compré una bomba para trabajar—una para fumigar, y un trabajo que yo hago también que es trabajo de las canastas que también es muy bonito y aquí donde yo paso trabajando.

You can see here how this is the room where we sleep. And here I want to make another room over there on the other side and here we are going to open up a window to make another room for the kids. I haven't bought many things because in reality the money isn't enough and I haven't bought, honestly, things that we could say are sufficiently of quite enough value because everything is expensive here. This is the television set that you sent us. Here we still have it. And also we have the videos you sent that the kids watch and the pictures of you. Also next to the TV there is the switch to turn on the light because now we have electricity. The bike Francisco wanted is there also. Here I have my machine also. I have my machine. And I bought a pump to work and fumigate our corn. There is also other work that I do, I make baskets, that is really nice to do. And here is where I make them.

In the next section Maria continues to demonstrate how she has improved the house and what still needs to be done. Then she gets her oldest son to speak to his father:

Hola Papá. Yo soy Francisco. Espero que me conozcas todavía y le cuento que la casa está muy bonita. Tal vez se acuerda cuando nosotros estamos pequeños mi hermano y le contaré algo que me ha pasado en la escuela, o estoy en la escuela en cuarto grado. Me enseñan muchas cosas de matemática de ciencias, y usted, no por usted he pasado la vida feliz. Estoy feliz. Estoy estudiando gracias a primero usted y mi maestra es muy buena. Me gusta jugar de todo, barrer todo, lavar trastes, ayudarle a mi Mamá a sus oficios que hace ella toda la comida que más me gusta es frijoles fritos y pollo dorado; por eso estoy bien gordo (here Maria tells Francisco to ask his father when he's coming back). ¿Papá, cuándo usted está aquí, le pregunto cuando se va a venir? Porque tal vez yo ya no me acuerdo de usted tanto pero de las fotos si lo conozco como está gordo estamos iguales. Quiero comprar otra bicicleta y la máquina de escribir deseo yo tener y estoy en la doctrina para hacer mi primera comunión y puedo cocer en máquina ya puedo manejar bicicleta. Estoy haciendo canastas. Solo eso, saludos Papá y un beso.

Hi dad. I am Francisco and I hope you recognize me still and I want to tell you that the house is nice. Maybe you remember when we were little. My brother and I will tell you

what happens in school. I am in school in fourth grade; they taught me a lot of things of math, social and natural science. You didn't have the opportunity to go to school and thanks to you I have been having a good life. I am happy. I'm studying and my teacher is really good. I like to play everything at school. I like to sweep the floors, wash the dishes, and help my mom do the house chores and all that she does. The food that I like the most is refried beans, baked chicken, and that's why I'm fat. (Here, Maria tells Francisco to ask his father when he's coming back.) Dad, when do you think you are... let me ask you when are you going to come home? Because maybe I do not remember you much but from the pictures I do recognize how fat you are and in this way we are the same. I want to buy another bike and I wish to have a typewriter. I also am attending classes for my first communion. I can sew on a machine, I can ride my bike, and I'm also making baskets. Salutations and a kiss.

The son, like his mother, emphasizes his good behavior and how he helps his mother sew and weave to make money. After Francisco has spoken about himself, Maria prompts him to ask his father about his return—it is a heartbreaking plea. In the next section, Maria speaks directly to the camera without her children present. She discusses her concerns with the gossip circulating in the community, telling him that she has heard the rumors about men in the United States having affairs, as well as the gossip about village women who go out alone. Moreover, she gives him an ultimatum: if he has someone else in the United States, then he should leave her because she can make it without him. Lastly, she reminds him of everything she has achieved with the allowance money he has sent, yet tells him it is still not enough money to live on:

En realidad me siento un poco triste porque usted ya tiene seis años y no quiere venir y no sé cual es el problema que tiene usted ahí. No sé si le gusto o no pues yo aquí sufriendo porque en realidad cuando uno no tiene su esposo aquí pues la gente hable mucho. Tal vez piensan mal que uno cuando uno sale a la gente no le gusta, pero yo mejor quiero que usted se venga porque en realidad ya no quiero estar sola, ya yo me cansé; yo trabajé mucho y usted hizo lo que logró hacer y yo quiero que se venga porque ya no quiero estar sola. Y si media vez usted no se quiere venir pues yo me voy con mucho gusto, yo sé que yo tengo mis manos, mis pies para poder trabajar y mejor si usted tiene mujer ahí pues mejor decídase a dejarme a mi a ver que yo con mucho gusto me pongo a trabajar y en realidad me siento triste porque y uno no sabe como se encuentran ustedes por hay la verdad que la gente le mete cosas a uno que uno que ustedes tienen mujer por ahí que no se que y uno se desespera porque tal vez es cierto y uno no puede, no puede, más bien verlos personalmente, pero con o sea la gente le cuenta a uno y eso pues yo no he comprado muchas cosas aquí, no como no me manda suficiente dinero nada más me manda solo para los gastos. Yo lo que he comprado nada más mi máquina, la bomba, y un mi pedazo que compré en la cumbre también que ya ahorita lo estoy llenando de café y estoy

haciendo una finquita y mi comedor que aquí va a ser la puerta para entrar al otro cuarto, y solamente eso lo que hecho yo no sé lo que usted que es lo que ha comprado por ahí porque en realidad creo que si se ha ido para un lugar lejos es para hacer algo, no es para pasar el tiempo nada más solo por estar porque en realidad la gente habla; el tiempo se ha ido y nunca se ha visto nada que es lo que ha comprado, pues yo de mi parte nada más digo yo solo confío en Diós Diós que usted esté bien y pues Diós sabe como se encontrarán si está trabajando o no está trabajando porque en verdad yo aquí me he estado quemando las uñas también para poder mantener mis hijos porque cuando usted no me manda luego pues yo miro cualquiera manera de para poder sacar adelante a mis hijos nada más un beso donde esté y a toda la familia que ustedes están okay.

In reality, I feel a little sad because you already have six years and don't want to come back. I don't know what the problem is that you have there and I don't know if you liked it or not. Because I am here suffering because in reality when one does not have her husband here the people talk too much. Maybe they think bad of one when one goes out the people don't like it, but I think better that you should come back because in reality I don't want to be alone. I am tired, I worked too much, you did what you achieved what you wanted to do, I want you to come back because I don't want to be alone, and if you don't want to come back, well, I can with no problem. I know that I have my hands and feet to work and it is better if you have a woman there you should decide to leave me and with pleasure I can go to work, but in reality I feel sad because I don't know how everyone does there. The truth is the people here say that guys who go to the U.S. all have women over there and I don't know what else. And one gets desperate because maybe its true and one cannot see you guys personally but that's what people say. I haven't bought many things here. No, how can I, you don't send me enough money no more then you've sent me for my expenses. I've only bought no more than my sewing machine, the pump, a piece of land in El Cumbre where I'm also growing café and where I am starting a little farm. And my dining room here where there's going to be a door to connect to the other room. And that's the only thing I have done. I don't know what you've bought over there because truthfully I believe that if you go to a place far away it is to make something of yourself not to waste your time and be there for no reason. The truth is the people talk, the time has gone by and we've never seen anything that you have bought. Here on my part I can only have faith that you are okay and then God knows how you are and if you are working or not working because the truth is that me here, I've been working my fingers to the bone in order to maintain my kids because when you don't send me money fast then I have to look for other ways to get ahead. I can only send you a kiss wherever you are and all the family that is there.

Maria's personal plea to her husband through the medium of video illustrates the common example of an abandoned home community woman desperately trying to communicate to her husband in an honest and personal way. Maria chose the medium of video because it provided the only alternative to the *comunitario*. Eventually, the advent of cell phones enabled Maria to convince her husband to receive her in the United States, with the caveat that she use her own

networks to borrow the money for the journey through Mexico. Once in the United States, she found that her husband did have a new wife and two other children. He left his other woman for a short period and stayed with Maria, but soon returned to his other family. Maria divorced him in the United States and was able to obtain child support. The judge instructed her to return to Guatemala so she—and not her in-laws—would receive the child support.

While Maria's story is unusual for the demonstration of her strong character and defiance of her in-laws, the community, and her husband, it exemplifies the fear and powerlessness women often experience when their husbands migrate to the United States. It also shows how video and cell phone technology have enabled women to negotiate with their husbands, sometimes defying social and familial constraints in the process.

Transnational Couples and Communication

For this section, I collected and analyzed the stories of 15 couples to see how they communicated during their time apart. Through examination of the important decisions made during the migration process—such as prospective return, housing, and remittances—and the ways in which the migrants had made these decisions, I demonstrate how conflicts inherent to gender difference are intensified by transnational migration. While the occasional direct communication, such as letters or phone calls, may suffice to quell some of the concerns migrants may have about their home community, the power of rumors and gossip should not be underestimated. As Mahler points out, and as I confirm, restraints on communication can exacerbate marital tensions as well as force women into a more subordinate position. While all the women I interviewed struggled with their in-laws and husbands over money and over their supposed behavioral indiscretions, those from the town were able to use their increased access to communication mediums, such as letters and phone calls, in order to maintain their transnational

relationships—in contrast to women from the villages, who experienced greater difficulties in communicating with their loved ones abroad.

Population Study: Sample

The research for this section concerns some of the crucial aspects of life for transnational couples. In some cases, the couples were both return migrants and both were present in San Pedro Pinula during the interview process. In most cases, the men had gone to the United States and returned, having left their wives in San Pedro Pinula during their trips abroad. In three cases, the couple had both gone to the United States and returned together. Finally, some of the interviews feature couples who were still apart, with the husbands in the United States and the wives in Pinula. All the interviews were conducted without the other spouse present, except for one case in which the couple chose to stay together for the interview.

Remittances, Gossip, and Social Controls: Dealing with the In-laws

Post-Marital Residence

In both the town and the villages of San Pedro Pinula post-marital residence is patrilocal until the young couple can build their own house nearby. While some families may live in multi-generational households, neo-local residence has become the ideal. Even with neo-local residence, the young couple may be living near the husband's parents, often living on a compound. This forced proximity to their in-laws impels many young men to go north in order to build wealth so they may one day return and live independently from their parents. When they migrate to the United States, these men often leave their young wives in the care of their in-laws, a situation in which the home community wife becomes a source of extra labor for the household or—perhaps more importantly—in which the husband's family is given the power to watch over his wife while he is away (Georges 1990; Mahler 2001).

Social and Economic Controls

The above arrangement often means that the parents are more likely to control the remittances. In my interviews, only one woman received money directly from her husband, yet hers was an exceptional case, since she had been married for over a decade and had children of various ages, and was thus in a more advanced “life cycle” stage, which by default conferred on her more power than the typical young natal community wife.

Research in the Caribbean and Central America finds that social pressure exists for wives to “behave well” while the husbands are away, which often results in an increased demand to limit wives’ physical mobility (Georges 1992; Mahler 1995). This situation is exemplified in Maria’s statements about her relationship with her in-laws while her husband is in the United States: “I am enslaved; they follow every move I make, everything I do, do what they want with the cash, and all I get is my expense money.” When I spoke to Don Virgilio, Maria’s father, he explained that his daughter no longer leaves her in-laws’ compound to visit her natal family because she is afraid of what her mother-in-law might say. Don Virgilio spoke about his daughter’s relationship with her mother-in-law:

One time that woman told her son in the United States that my daughter was going around, doing who knows what and all my daughter ever does is maybe go fetch water with her sister, but now she never comes over to visit us.

The inability to move about the village freely when a husband is in the United States is based on the fear of gossip and the social controls this gossip produces. The quote above illustrates how when a migrant wife attempts to do anything unaccompanied, she becomes extremely susceptible to gossip. In many cases, rumors about women who have been unfaithful to their migrant husbands in the United States spread through town. Regardless of their veracity, these stories often prompt men to return to their natal communities to divorce their wives or influence their decision whether or not to return. Such rumors frighten women like Maria into

remaining inside the homes of their in-laws, causing them to avoid visiting even their own parents for fear of reprisal.

In-laws' Control Over Remittances and Communication Between Young Couples

The stories of Virginia and Maria—two rural Maya women—exemplify how transnational communication is limited by the interference of in-laws and by the constraints of the *comunitario*.

Virginia's in-laws not only control her remittances, they also interfere with her ability to communicate with her husband. Virginia is from one of the small *aldeas* surrounding San Pedro Pinula, about a half hour's walk up the mountain. Like many women in her community, Virginia has never learned to read or write. In the six years of her husband's absence, she has never known his phone number, never been able to read his letters (they have all been read *to* her), never received one of his phone calls in private. She even has to dictate her personal letters to her father-in-law so he can write them for her.

When electricity came to the village in 1999, Virginia's in-laws determined that the one hundred dollar cost for installation was too expensive, so Virginia had to find a way to get in touch with her husband and convince him that installing electricity was a good idea—all without offending her in-laws. With the cooperation of her eight-year-old son, who was just learning to write, Virginia composed a letter to her husband explaining the situation. After waiting a month for a response, she took matters into her own hands and borrowed money in order to start selling tacos to schoolchildren during their lunch hour. This shocked not only her in-laws but also the community at large, whose members wondered why a woman with a husband in the United States would need to sell tacos. These same people began to assert that Virginia did not need the money, but was just looking for something to do outside of the house so she could look for a new

man. Finally, the in-laws informed their son that Virginia had installed electricity without his approval and had been leaving the house as she pleased and not acting like a good wife.

Since the conversation occurred in a *comunitario*, Virginia never really got the opportunity to defend herself. With the in-laws listening in, she was unable to mention the letter. Her husband was very upset and reprimanded her for her behavior. Virginia was never reimbursed for the electric installation and continues selling tacos to supplement the little money she receives for her expenses. Further, since the electricity incident, Virginia and her in-laws have had conflicts over other decisions, such as building a second bedroom and purchasing land.

Both Maria and Virginia were acutely aware of how their their in-laws in town and their husbands in the United States would interpret their behavior. Maria and Virginia's in-laws were able to monitor their activities, and in the case of Virginia, attempt to regulate how she used her money; accordingly, the in-laws were not only charged with "watching over" their son's wives, but, because of the effect their wives' behavior could have on their sons' reputations, with reprimanding and controlling them as well.

Both women also found it difficult to communicate with their husbands, and Virginia's trouble installing electricity illustrates how this problem can lead to conflicts between wives and in-laws over remittance expenditures. While Virginia attempted to overcome these obstacles by writing her husband with the help of her son—rather than her in-laws—she still has no control over when and how her husband chooses to communicate with her, and she has reported that phone calls and letters from her husband have become fewer and farther between. Now, when Virginia's husband does call, he no longer requests the presence of his wife at the *comunitario*, and rumor has it that he has found another woman in the United States.

Phone Calls, Love Letters, and Transnational Quarrels

Virginia and Maria were Maya from the village surrounding the town; thus, their communication was limited to letters written by relatives and phone calls made at communal public phones. As discussed previously, until 2001, Ladino women from the town were the only ones who had regular access to private phone lines and other mediums of communication including photographs and videos. A woman named Olga often took pictures of herself and her two children to send to her husband. Along with the photos, she would sometimes include short romantic poems or words of love or encouragement, yet she told me that she only sends pictures that convey the impression that she and her children are happy so that her husband will never doubt that they seem content and always appear available to give him emotional support.

Though they consistently sent each other letters and pictures, Olga and her husband Mauricio also communicated regularly by phone, and they both credit this medium with helping to maintain their marriage. Olga says her husband would often cry on the phone and tell her how much he wanted to come home, but that her love kept him going while they were apart. Mauricio told me that only the phone calls, which he would make every two weeks, kept him from returning sooner. He and Olga also reported that his bi-monthly calls were a social event for the family, and virtually all his relatives—parents, siblings, nieces, and nephews—would gather in the home of his parents to speak with him:

It was these phone calls that made me happy; we would spend hours on the phone with the whole family around when I called, and we would discuss everything. This made me content, knowing the family was united, and this helped me during my time away.

A couple's ability to maintain consistent, private lines of communication increases the likelihood of a more successful separation. Olga was able to write her own personal and intimate messages, thus increasing her and her husband's perception that the marriage was going well. Though Mauricio never commented on the letters, it did appear to him that their

communications, at least the phone calls, kept the family together. Mauricio and Olga both mentioned how the communication “kept him going” and “helped him during his time away.” Such affirmations suggest that a reliable method of communicating is fundamental in maintaining a migrant’s perception that he is still connected to his family while he is away. As demonstrated by Mauricio and Olga, frequent phone conversations between migrants and their wives and extended family may reduce the perception that they need to return in order to save their marriage or maintain contact with their family. Thus, this method of communication may make it more possible for migrants to spend significant amounts of time in the U.S. without destroying their family ties in Guatemala.

Access to communication may enhance the migration experience, yet in order for this to be the case, couples must know how to use the medium to their advantage, especially when faced with the interference of their in-laws.

Esperanza and Ricardo had been separated for less than two years when Esperanza went to visit her sister-in-law, ostensibly her friend and confidant. Her sister-in-law invited her to lunch on a Friday afternoon and afterwards asked casually about the allowance money she was receiving from her husband. Esperanza told her the truth, that Ricardo sent her about two hundred dollars a month (in 2000). Her sister-in-law then proceeded to grill her about how she had been spending the money. The next Monday, Ricardo called Esperanza and began to yell at her hysterically, screaming that she needed to tell him the details of what she had been doing with the money. Even though the money Esperanza had been receiving was just the *gasto*, or expense money, Ricardo told her that, as her husband, he had a right to know what she was doing with it. Esperanza tried to speak with him calmly, but because he was so hysterical, she gave up,

telling him only to “forget about me, don’t send me anymore money.” When Ricardo tried calling her the next day, she refused to talk to him.

Esperanza did not make the connection between her conversation with her sister-in-law and her husband’s aggressive behavior until some time later, when, after she had not returned his calls for a month, he mailed an audiotape, on which he said he was sorry, and that he had gotten so angry because of “what they were saying” in Guatemala. He further cautioned her to watch who she speaks to, and, most of all, to refrain from further visits with the sister-in-law. A month later, a friend called and warned Esperanza “to be careful: your husband has left Boston by land and will be in Guatemala in eight days.” When Ricardo arrived, he went straight to his sister’s house, where he found his sister and mother who told him not to go see his wife “because he may not like what he might find.” Refusing to listen to them, he went to her and asked for her forgiveness.

While Esperanza and Ricardo’s story is an extreme example, it illustrates how poor communication can cause grave problems for transnational couples. Further, it exemplifies how conflicts with in-laws and the resulting rumors may make migrants suspicious and, in some case, provoke them into returning before they had planned. While other factors may have influenced Ricardo’s decision (he had accomplished some of his goals: saving money, buying a car), it’s likely that he would have stayed longer if communication with his wife had not broken down. His questions regarding his wife’s activities created an atmosphere of distrust and doubt. Esperanza, for her part, used her capacity for communication as well as her refusal to do so (ignoring his phone calls, not answering his letters) to her advantage. Even though Ricardo’s own family had been more active in their use of communication media (calling him frequently to

inform him of his wife's activities), they were unsuccessful in achieving their objective of causing the couple to separate.

Communication After the Cell Phone

The previous anecdotes date from before the advent of the cell phone, when communication was still limited to communal phones, letters, and the occasional audiotape. Yet even though the available media may have been slow and, at times, ineffective, consistent communication proved crucial in maintaining marriages and relationships. Data collected after the introduction of cell phones supports this hypothesis. While Maya women were at a disadvantage before cell phones—when they had to rely on infrequent calls which were often monitored by their in-laws—once given access to the new technology, they report that they communicate with their husbands on a regular basis and have more intimate conversations. Perhaps most importantly, some women can now actually *initiate* a phone call and check up on their husbands in the United States.

Conclusion

This section analyzes the conflicts that transnational couples endure in spite of—or *because of*—their attempts to communicate. While the “trans” in transnational migration may suggest that advances in communication technologies facilitate positive experiences for migrants and their home community wives, many migrants remain constrained by poor access to these technologies. The previous examples suggest that communication media are mere tools, and that, depending upon how they are used, they can either diminish or reduce a migrant couple's ability to maintain their relationship. Yet in spite of having access to these tools, some couples may refuse (or be unable) to communicate intimately and honestly. Ultimately, several factors influence a transnational couple's eventual dissolution or reunification, but it seems clear that

women with access to multiple communication media have some degree of control over this outcome.



5-1. Ladino family gathering to watch a video sent from Boston.

CHAPTER 6 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES

For most of the last decade, Maria had been trying to achieve her dream of traveling to the United States in pursuit of her migrant husband who abandoned her and their two small boys. After years of suffering the small-town gossip, community pressure to behave as a proper wife, and meager remittances apportioned by her in-laws, Maria overcame these obstacles and migrated, fulfilling her dream of traveling to the United States. Using her own networks and money borrowed from friends and relatives, Maria made the harrowing journey across borders to arrive in Atlanta, only to find her husband with a new wife and children. Maria spent months pleading for a reconciliation with her husband, but, after a short-lived reunion, he insisted that he would never return to Guatemala; he would remain with his new family in the United States. Maria found work preparing sandwiches and salads at a local fast food establishment, sending money back to her in-laws to care for her growing sons. She cut her hair, began wearing jewelry and pants, and started using a cell phone to call her boys back home in Guatemala. Maria avoided the divorce papers written in English that arrived for months at her Atlanta doorstep. When she could no longer ignore them, she was forced to pay a \$600 attorney's fee, only to learn of the judge's conditional ruling: she would receive child support as long as she returned to Guatemala. Within ten days of the court order, she arrived back in Guatemala. Although she returned without her husband, she was alive and excited to fulfill the dream she had once shared with him—to buy land and build a home.

Ten months and \$40,000 later, Maria had built that dream home. It stands at the entrance of town, constructed on land titled to her fifteen-year-old son, as agreed in the divorce. Maria's house is a testimony to her success, a monument of bright white concrete and shiny blue tile; the small adobe house where she once lived sits appropriately in the background. But inside, Maria's

house looks empty. The large room seems expansive, flanked by only a set of small couches. In the corner, a TV, DVD player, and stereo sit atop a rickety wooden table. The voices of Maria, her elderly grandmother, two teenage sons, and niece, as well as the sounds of mongrel dogs, echo against the bare walls. Maria complains that the house doesn't have furniture, that there is more to be done: she laments that the only way to fill the emptiness is to return to the United States.

Maria's complaints are many. She recently lost thousands of dollars paying for her eldest son's unsuccessful attempt to cross the border. The \$600 she receives monthly from her ex-husband will never pay to furnish the house or to finance a small business. The land her house sits on is in her son's name, and he has become more dominating with time, even refusing to allow her to bring home a new boyfriend. In the end, she complains that she misses Atlanta. There she left a nice guy and a job that paid her in dollars. While she has many love interests in Pinula, she must see them in private by sneaking off to meet her boyfriends in the city of Jalapa, without the community's (or especially her son's) disapproval. Even though she no longer lives near the watchful eye of her in-laws and her house sits at the edge of town, it seems small and oppressive. Maria now has visions of a new future. Her large house, a life-long dream, suffocates her, its emptiness reflecting the vacancy in her heart. Ironically, the realization of her concrete dream has exposed an abstract need. What will she search for next?

Research Questions

At the beginning of this project I asked four fundamental questions about how transnational migration affects gender, ethnic relations, and local development. These central inquiries, informed by my research in Guatemala and transnational migration, led to four hypotheses.

The first hypothesis addresses whether remittances are used for reproductive activities or productive activities, and whether ethnicity affects the way in which they are used. The study found that Ladinos are more likely to use remittances for reproductive activities and investment, while Maya are more constrained in their ability to use remittances to build wealth. Because of their privileged social, political, and financial position, Ladinos continue to dominate productive activities such as cattle ranching, while Maya who attempt to enter the cattle ranching business are frequently thwarted by the Ladino controlled cattle cartels that exert a powerful influence over the industry. Further, Maya who try to enter this industry are limited because they tend to be land poor when compared to Ladinos. Cattle ranching requires large tracts of land which are more easily obtained by Ladinos who either purchase the land from relatives or receive it as part of an inheritance.

While Maya are often prevented from using remittances for productive activities, in some cases they're able to use them to improve their socio-cultural position. For example, some Maya use remittances to purchase small parcels of land directly from Ladinos for milpa agriculture. While this industry does not have the prestige of cattle ranching, it nevertheless may provide the Maya with a measure of autonomy and reduce their financial dependence on Ladinos.

The second hypothesis concerns how gender roles are affected by the influx of money from the United States. Most home-community wives receive remittances not from the migrant husband but rather from the migrant's parents who provide an allowance to sustain the household while the husband is abroad. Thus the wife's in-laws, men as well as women, are more likely to be in charge of large sums of cash earmarked for buying land and houses. This pattern coincides with traditional gender roles that give women more autonomy and decision-making power in the

later stages of life. Some younger women do run small homebound stores, but this type of activity typically only sustains the household and does not produce a surplus. Despite their husband's objections, some young women manage to hoard their money for milpa agriculture or harvest plums from their husband's land. These activities tend to be exceptions, yet they are productive and they may indicate a growing trend for increased autonomy among home community wives.

The third hypothesis addresses whether Maya and Ladinos share the same normative gender roles and relations. My research shows there is little difference between Maya and Ladino gender roles and relations—women in both communities are controlled and confined by men. The research suggests that some Maya women have more physical mobility, but that this is likely a consequence of their heavier workload and lower standards of living.

There are several hypotheses for the similarities in gender relations among Maya and Ladino: the simultaneous pull of global forces, such as capital expansion, cash markets, and transnational migration (Adams 1992); the isolation of the Eastern Maya from other Western Maya; pressure to incorporate into the Ladino society and the subsequent early proletarianization of this particular Eastern Maya community (Helen Safa personal communication). This study incorporates Nash's contention (2001) that indigenous groups maintain strong communities as a response to hostile exterior forces such as colonial rule and postcolonial processes. Thus, I assert that the maintenance of a separate Maya community, whether particularly similar or dissimilar to its neighboring Ladinos, depends upon "the fiction of community autonomy that inspire(d) indigenous communities to confront a hostile *Ladino* world with a front of unity, homogeneity, and common interests" (Nash 2001:40). In other words, the assertion of ethnic difference through the use of ethnic labels and identities is reinforced by Ladinos *and* Maya. Such

difference is challenged only by the advent of economic changes which are hastened by transnational migration. While the onset of similarities between the two groups may be part of the proletarianization of the indigenous community, it is also a product of San Pedro Pinula's long history of forced labor, ethnic tensions, and unequal gender and ethnic relations.

The final hypothesis examines the connection between a migrant's length of time in the United States and his wife's engagement in income deriving activities. In some cases, migrants on extended stays decrease their remittances, which forces the wife to engage in income deriving activities. In cases where the wife no longer receives what she considers sufficient—along with rumors of marital infidelity and fear of abandonment—some women attempt to make money outside the home. Women who sell in the markets often have been widowed or abandoned, or have merely stopped receiving money from their husbands abroad. There are cases of men who maintain steady support of their families in Guatemala despite extended absence (over five years).

Transnational Migration and Ethnic Relations

While international migration has effected positive change, notably opportunities for social and economic mobility in San Pedro Pinula, these transformations still remain insignificant for women and the indigenous Maya. Due to their status as the dominant group and resultant social and economic advantages, Ladino return male migrants maintain the ability to permanently reestablish themselves, starting successful businesses in their home community. Consequently, they are the least likely to return to the migrant circuit. On the other hand, Ladino women, and Maya men and women, are the most likely to remain caught in the interminable cycle of circular migration, unable to return to the home community on a permanent basis. Levitt (2001) found that among Dominican migrants, those who left poor, with little education, and no land failed to establish income-generating activities once they returned from the United States. While the

Pinula case study is similar, these research findings also show that traditional social structures predict return migrants' ability for economic success: specifically, there is more social mobility for Ladinos than for the Maya. Low-income Ladinos who come from similar economic situations as the Maya are able, at minimum, to establish small, generally successful businesses upon their return. Maya migrants are able to buy land and build homes, but, despite efforts to the contrary, their funds soon dry up—thus pushing them back into the migrant stream.

Transnational migration to the United States affects Ladino–Maya relations in two distinct ways: first, it maintains traditional Ladino status through patron–client relationships; and second, it becomes a catalyst for inter-ethnic friendships and formal relations between the two groups. By asking for Ladino sponsorship to the United States, Maya migrants enter the migration stream using customary paternalistic relations with their Ladino patrons. This relationship continues, as Ladinos are now the main money lenders for Maya migrants. Once in the United States, the power dynamic between the two ethnic groups shifts, since the United States' racial order does not recognize Guatemalan ethnic differences, instead identifying both Maya and Ladino as Latino or Hispanic, which de-emphasizes the Ladino's dominant social location.

Maya migrants benefit from the migration experience by being considered equal to Ladinos in the eyes of the U.S. racial order and also by meeting other Maya from different regions of Guatemala in the United States. In the United States, some Maya learn for the first time about identity, having never really thought about such a concept before. As Moran-Taylor (2003) and Stoll (1999) found in their work, most rural people are too concerned with their own survival to think about issues such as identity, despite the existence of identity-centered organizing, such as the Pan-Mayan movement. Once in the United States, with more free time and access to information, Maya begin to learn about issues surrounding identity, indigenous

peoples, human rights, and undocumented workers, leading them to reevaluate their own status. While some young Maya and Ladino men establish friendships that normally would not have been possible at home, some older Ladino dislike their lost status, even though they may use these new Maya–Ladino relationships to build social capital. These Ladino migrants (both men and women) are more likely to return to Pinula in order to restore their Guatemalan-born power and status.

Transnational migration also creates formalized relationships between Maya and Ladinos in both the sending and receiving communities, illustrating both transformations in ethnic relations abroad and resistance to change at home. In Pinula, endogamy within the ethnic group is the rule, but in the United States endogamy translates into community endogamy crossing ethnic lines. Since Pinulteca women are so rare in the United States, any arriving female is seen as a potential mate and there is intense competition among young single men. In most cases, the Ladino male with the “best” last name succeeds, pairing lower-class Ladino and Maya women with upper-class Ladino men. Although these illicit relationships have always existed in Pinula society, the United States provides the forum in which these relationships can be formalized. Even more shocking to the communities (across both borders) are the marriages between return migrant Maya men and lower-class Ladina women. These types of relationships had rarely been documented; their existence is a tribute to the power of economic and social mobility created by transnational migration.

Despite these transformations in ethnic relations, negative community reaction to inter-ethnic relationships demonstrates Ladino resistance to change, an obvious struggle from the group wishing to maintain status. For many, inter-ethnic marriages are seen as a result of witchcraft and sorcery. For others, inter-ethnic marriages are another example of the traditional

social structure being modified by the “miscegenation” of Ladino and Maya. Local discourse also reflects this attitude in idiomatic sayings such as *se perdió el mundo* (the world is ending) and calling return migrants *indios perdidos* (lost Indians). The lens of racial prejudice also colors community views on national processes, such as the programs imposed by the signing of the 1996 peace accords. For example, the drop in agricultural productivity due to the lack of cooperation of Maya laborers is seen as both a result of immigration as well as *movimiento de derechos humanos* (human rights movement). International migration, once the exclusive and coveted right of only Ladinos, is now available to all; those in power necessarily view the resulting changes as negative.

So what are the consequences of these changes in ethnic relations caused by the entrance of the Maya into the migrant stream? Migration is spreading from one rural village to the next; although the main town of Pinula appears unchanged, the rural landscape is changing. Due to collective projects supported by remittances, the standard of living has risen: villages now have electricity and running water; and adobe huts have been replaced by concrete homes. On the other hand, critical changes for women and the indigenous are slow to arrive. A look inside these homes reveals the difficulties for those left behind. As migrants continue their journeys north to maintain their newfound quality of life, their shattered families must contend with gender and racial inequality at home.

Gender and Migration

Maria’s situation and her need to migrate back to the United States is not only economic in nature, but also gender-driven. Maria misses her life in Atlanta because of the freedom she had as a woman in the United States: the right to wear earrings, the right to travel, the right to sexual autonomy. In returning to Guatemala, Maria must face and fulfill the gender expectations there; it is a strong reminder of some of the reasons that she left in the first place.

The initial debate surrounding gender and migration stated that access to cash through remittances would result in women's increased control of household and personal autonomy and power. This study shows that, in spite of an increase in money flowing into the community, remittances are not passed on to the young wives but rather to the in-laws. Women's power comes only through marriage and age, resulting in the internalized oppression of the younger female generation. The younger women receive money through allowances—an act of communal infantilization that emphasizes patriarchy through the in-laws' pecuniary power, which consequently stresses the husband's authority. Furthermore, the women's allowance is often just enough to live on. She can do nothing without him, so her value becomes intimately dependent on his presence. Thus, current trends in transnational migration seem to reinforce patriarchy (Moran-Taylor 2003:371); even so, if more women migrate, build wealth, and return to Guatemala, these trends may change.

This study also attempted to look at the differences between Maya and Ladino women and whether migration affected them differentially. While past research suggested that Maya women live under less patriarchal constraints than Ladina women, this work shows that both groups' gender roles are scripted by the traditional ideals of *marianismo* and *machismo*. The only difference is Maya women's apparent physical mobility. In fact, Maya women do have more physical mobility, but it has more to do with the burden of labor that necessitates their movement than freedom of movement per se. Even though they may be out and about more often than Ladina women, they are still being monitored by relatives and the community. Ladina women, including return migrants or those with husbands in the United States, are also very aware of the physical restrictions on them and of the community expectations regarding their behavior. The

pressure to behave well in the absence of their husbands creates exaggerated restrictions for non-migrant women.

In analyzing the impact of remittances on local development, the role of women is central. Conway and Cohen (1998:30) made the assumption that women were the primary dispensers of remittances. Even though this may not be the case in this study, their questions of whether money is used in productive or reproductive activities were vital to this research. Women, in their capacities use their allowances to maintain the household and pay for food, clothing, and firewood. The ability to purchase goods decreases women's workload immensely. In some cases, women hoard their allowance money in order to invest in income-generating activities such as *milpa* agriculture and small land purchases. These fixed-capital investments may not result in profit, but they do increase nutrition and standard of living.

The type of investment that will lead to the most significant change in the community is in children's education. As "flexible human capital" (Conway and Cohen 1998), children, when educated, will eventually lead progressive improvements in the community. Among the Maya, the migrant generation never completed high school and many may not have attended any school past the sixth grade. On the other hand, their children are attending school in unprecedented numbers. My research assistant, Tatiana Paz Lemus, wrote her thesis based on her own research investigating the education level of the youth of San Pedro Pinula. Her results illustrate the high presence of Maya attendees at the junior high school in Pinula (See Table 6-1).

While 99 out of 200 students are from the town of San Pedro Pinula, the other 94 are from villages outside of town (7 did not respond). This means that almost 50 percent of junior high students come from the villages occupied by Maya inhabitants. Fifty-two percent of the students she surveyed reported that they are indigenous. The higher number of adolescents reporting their

Maya identity underscores the fact that there are many students who identify themselves as indigenous in the town as well. Although there are no past baseline numbers with which to compare, locals report that the presence of Maya in junior high and high school is recent, a result of remittances from the United States. As reported in my work, Maya migrants' ability to send their children to the municipal capital of Jalapa to attend high school also illustrates a marked increase in indigenous education.

Future Research

What is the future of transnational migration research, and how does this research contribute? Transnational migration research stresses the interconnectedness of individuals within local, national, and global frameworks. Future studies need to focus on these different relationship levels in order to further understand how global processes impact individuals and communities, as well as how people respond to development. Within the many links of individual–societal networks resulting from transnational migration, several key issues include gender and ethnicity within the home community, and xenophobia and assimilation within the receiving country.

Gender and Ethnicity in the Home Community

If we continue to look at how transnational migration manifests itself in the home and host communities, issues of identity will remain significant. Whether ethnic and gender inequality will eventually diminish or disappear as a basis for individual migration depends on the establishment of a long migration history (see Moran-Taylor 2003). There are many important questions that need to be addressed: Will migration be able to change hundreds of years of colonial power structures and enable indigenous peoples to regain economic and social status? How will other national concerns, such as an increase in violence and economic and political stability/turmoil in Guatemala, impede transnational migration's transformative qualities?

Moreover, will the United States' economic and migration policies impede the fulfillment of the very migration history that will generate these answers?

Xenophobia in the United States

How will changing United States' immigration policy impact the undocumented migrant? Prior emphasis has been on the impact migrants have had on their own home community and community development (Mahler 1998:93). At this juncture of American history, as we see the rise of xenophobia and the increased struggle to establish new immigrant policies, attention to the undocumented migrant in the United States is essential not only for policy implications, but also for the basic well-being of the migrant. Although free trade remains an important United States policy initiative, the United States and other governments are attempting to stop the flow of peoples across borders. In turn, conservative politicians, news media, and North Americans themselves are repeating the American tradition of blaming the underclass immigrant population for the country's current ills. This is especially important for emerging migrant communities, such as those in the Southeastern United States, where the largest demographic change is transforming the American landscape. As immigrants from Latin America move from established migrant communities to new areas, native-born Americans are threatened by communities that appear to be starkly different.

Assimilation

When Jews, Italians, Irish, and other immigrant groups first arrived in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were seen as non-white and as inferior to the dominant Anglo-Protestant society. Anti-immigrant sentiment led to racist depictions of each group and the host society's contemporary problems were often charged to the various groups. As these groups acculturated, adopted American English, and moved up the

social ladder, their status as “non-white” disappeared, along with the concept of these groups as separate races.

Some current assimilation debates predict a markedly different future for incoming Latin American immigrants. Samuel Huntington (2004) claims that America is based on Protestant values and that the new wave of Latin Americans is challenging American culture; he argues that this specific group of immigrants (highlighting Mexicans) is not assimilating and will not assimilate like earlier immigrant groups. Language is one of the major issues in this debate. Huntington and his followers assert that Spanish-speaking immigrants will persist for generations to come, thereby creating a great divide among Americans even though there is evidence that succeeding generations do not continue speak their mother tongue as their dominant language (Rumbaut et al. 2006). While current research finds similarities between turn-of-the-century and current migration trends, as well as with the political and social reactions to these migrations (Alba and Nee 2005; Cornell and Hartmann 2004; Foner 2005; Kraut 2005; Lee 2004), empirical research that analyzes current anti-immigrant sentiment to constructions of race and ethnicity in the New America is still lacking.

Conclusion

In 1998, Sarah Mahler wrote about the theoretical and empirical contributions of transnational migration research and asked, “Do transnational spaces, activities and processes reaffirm or reestablished relationships of power and prestige (90)?” Mahler suggests that the literature thus far indicates a positive outcome for the marginalized, empowering them despite global forces to the contrary. This dissertation sought to answer questions concerning historical power structures, and how those structures affect the global phenomenon of transnational migration on the individual, familial, and community level. Prejudice and patriarchy in the host community has mitigated migration’s impact on gender and ethnic equality: consequently, the

results of this research point to the continued persistence of patriarchal and imperial rule. But the outcome of this study also clearly illustrates the transformative power of transnational migration. Taking into consideration other seminal work on the effects of migration on gender and race, only a sustained history of migration will yield great change in intra-communal and inter-communal social and economic power. For Maria, time will reveal whether she will fill her house and heart through her husband's migration or her own.

6-1. Pinula junior high school students and their home communities. Compiled by Tatiana Paz Lemus based on her survey.

Student Hometown	N	Percentage
San Pedro Pinula	99	49.5
El Aguacate	32	16
Agua Zarca	26	13
Pinlalito	16	8
El Jocote	12	6
El Zapote	3	1.5
Pie de la Cuesta	2	1
El Chaparral	1	0.5
Aguijitas	1	0.5
Santo Domingo	1	0.5
No Response	1	0.5
Total	200	100

APPENDIX A
INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Encuesta No. _____ Fecha _____ Barrio: Aguacate__ (1) Candelaria __ (2) El jocote__ (3)
 San José __ (4) San Pablo__ (5) San Pedro __ (6) Encuestador _____
 Defina que identidad tiene la persona que participo en esta entrevista _____ ¿Por qué lo cree Ud.
 así? _____

ENTREVISTA INDIVIDUAL

1. Edad (especifique el número Años)_____.
2. Sexo : masculino_____1. femenino_____2.
3. Religión: Adventista ____1. Católica____2. Evangélico ____3. Testigos de Jehová __4. Mormón ____5.
4. ¿Su estado civil es? Casado__1. Casado(a) con Pinulteco(a)____2. Casado con extranjero(a)____3
 Soltero(a)____4. Separado(a)____5. Viudo(a)____6.
5. Donde trabaja su cónyuge?_____
6. ¿En su casa Ud. es? Madre____ Padre____ Hijo____
7. ¿Qué estudios tiene Ud.? Analfabeta__1. alfabeto__2. 1ro. Primaria__3. 2do. Primaria__4.
 3ro. Primaria__5. 4to. Primaria__6. 5to. Primaria__7. 6to. Primaria__8. 1ro. Básico__9.
 2do. Básico__10. 3ro. Básico__11. Diversificado__12. 2do. Diversificado__13. 3ro.
 Diversificado__14. Universidad incompleta__15. Universidad completa__16.
8. ¿Cuál es su ocupación? Agricultor__1. Comerciante__2. Maestro__3. Ganadero__4.
 Hogar (propio)____5 Oficios domésticos____6. Estudiante__7. Estudiante y trabaja ____8.
 Servicios ____9. Otro _____
9. ¿Alguna vez ha ido a los EE. UU? Si__1 (continué preguntas de cuadro). No__2 (continué en el no. 18)

10. ¿Cuál fue el motivo de su visita? Trabajo__1. Visita__2. Otro_____

11. ¿Cuántas veces fue a EE. UU?_____

12. ¿Ud. Tiene visa? Si__1. No__2.

13. ¿Ud. Tiene residencia? Si__1. No__2.

14. ¿Ud. Tiene ciudadanía? Si__1. No__2.

15. ¿Ud. nació en EE. UU y tiene pasaporte? Si__1. No__2.

16. ¿Ud. fue mojado a EE. UU? Si__1. No__2.

17. **(Solo los que se fueron a trabajar)**

En cual año se fue la primera vez? _____

¿En que ciudades estuvo?

1 vez_____ cuanto tiempo quedo en EE.UU._____

2 vez_____ cuanto tiempo quedo en EE.UU._____

3 vez_____ cuanto tiempo quedo en EE.UU._____

18. ¿Qué edad tenía la primera vez que fue a EE. UU?

BLOQUE RELACIONADO A LA PREGUNTA NO 8. SI CONTESTO QUE NO.

19. ¿Le gustaría ir a los EE. UU? Sí__1. No__2.

20. ¿Por qué? _____

ETAPA NUEVA: TODOS CONTINUAN

21. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado en Jalapa? Sí__1. No__2.
22. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado en la Capital? Si__1. No__2.
23. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado en el Ejercito? Si__1. No__2.
24. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado en la Costa? Si__1. No__2.
25. ¿Alguna vez ha trabajado en el Petén? Si__1. No__2.
26. ¿Actualmente su Padre esta en los EE. UU? Si__1. No__2.
27. ¿Actualmente su Madre esta en los EE. UU? Si__1. No__2.
28. ¿Actualmente su Hijos Varones están en los EE. UU? Si__1 (SIGUIENTE)No__2 (PASAR 29)
29. ¿Cuántos de sus Hijos Varones están en los EE. UU? _____
30. ¿Actualmente sus Hijas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? Sí__1 (SIGUIENTE)No__2 (PASAR 31)
31. ¿Cuántas de sus Hijas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? _____
32. ¿Actualmente sus Hermanos Varones están en los EE. UU? Sí__1(SIGUIENTE) No__2 (PASAR33)
33. ¿Cuántos Hermanos Varones están en los EE. UU? _____
34. ¿Actualmente sus Hermanas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? Sí__1(SIGUIENTE) No__2 (PASAR35)
35. ¿Cuántos Hermanas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? _____
36. **NOTA ENCUESTADOR:** indique el NÚMERO TOTAL de parientes en los EE. UU_____
37. **NOTA ENCUESTADOR:** ¿Cuántos de estos tienen papeles? _____
38. **NOTA ENCUESTADOR VAYA POR EL LUGAR AL QUE VAN LOS PARIENTES:** ¿La mayoría de su familia en que parte de los EE. UU se encuentra? _____
39. De su pariente en EE. UU, en que sabe usted que hayan invertido su dinero dentro del Municipio S. P. Pinula
-

40. ¿Usted como considera el ir a los EE. UU, en plan de trabajo? Bueno__1. Malo__2.

41. ¿Por qué? _____

42. ¿Usted piensa que Pinula ha cambiado con la migración de la gente que va a trabajar a los EE. UU? Sí__1. No__2.

43. ¿Por qué? _____

44. ¿A que edad piensa que es adecuado viajar a EE. UU para trabajar? _____

45. ¿Usted como se considera? Ladino__1. Indígena__2. Otro_____

ESCRIBA 3 OBSERVACIONES QUE DESCRIBAN LAS CONDICIONES EN QUE SE EFECTUO LA ENTREVISTA (si mintió, se puso nervioso, estuvo distraído, etc., justifique por que cree que se comporto así en cada observación que escriba):

APPENDIX B
HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CONSIDERACIONES PARA APLICAR LA ENTREVISTA:

- I. Busque hablar con el jefe o la jefa de casa, explique que es una investigación para la Universidad de Florida.
- II. Marque la repuesta y cuando la opción "Otro" por favor anote la respuesta que la persona dio ya que puede darse el caso de que no se haya incluido.

Apellido de la Familia: _____ Fecha _____ Entrevistador: _____ Código de Hogar _____ Hora inicio entrevista _____ Hora finalizo _____
Barrio: Aguacate__ (1) Candelaria __ (2) El jocote__ (3) San José __ (4) San Pablo__ (5)
San Pedro __ (6)

GRUPO DE PREGUNTAS A LA PERSONA ENTREVISTADA (HOGARES):

NOTA: Entrevistador llene el siguiente cuadro con respuestas de la persona entrevistada.

1. **Posición en el hogar** Abuelo (a) ____ 1. Esposo (a) ____ 2. Hijo (a) ____ 3. Nieto (a) ____ 4.
Tío (a) ____ 5. Otro (especificar) _____ 6.
2. **Edad** 10-15 años__ 1. 16-24 años__ 2. 25-34 años__ 3. 35-44 años__ 4. 45-54 años__ 5.
55-64 años__ 6. 65-74 años __ 7. 75-84 años__ 8. Más de 84 años __ 9.
3. **Sexo** Masculino _____ 1. Femenino _____ 2.
4. **Religión** Adventista ____ 1. Católica ____ 2. Evangélico ____ 3. Testigos de Jehová ____ 4.
Mormón ____ 5.
5. **Ocupación** Agricultura __ 1. Empleado en algún negocio__ 2. Estudiante __ 3. Hogar __ 4. Negociante __ 5.
Ganadero __ 6 Otro (especifique) _____ 7.

6. ¿Hasta que grado llegó en la escuela?

(especifique) _____

7. Alguna vez ha trabajado en los EE.UU.: Sí___1 (*RECUERDE LLENAR “MIGRANTE RETORNADO”*)

NO___2.

8. ¿Alguna vez ha visitado los EE. UU? Si___1 (*RECUERDE LLENAR “PERSONA QUE VISITA”*) No___2 (**Pase no. 12**)

9. Podría indicarnos si tiene alguno de los siguientes documentos: Visa Americana___1. Residencia Americana ___2. Ciudadanía Americana___3. Mojado___4.

10. Alguno de sus hijos nació en los EE. UU: Sí___1. No___2. No tengo hijos___3.

11. Alguno de sus hijos tiene pasaporte americano: Sí___1. No___2. No tengo hijos___3.

12. Alguno de sus parientes que habitan en esta casa, tiene residencia legal: SÍ___1. No___2.

13. Alguno de sus parientes que habitan en esta casa, tiene pasaporte americano: Sí___1. No___2.

14. SOLO PARA QUIENES NO HAN IDO ¿Le gustaría ir a los Estados Unidos? Sí___1. No___2.

15. ¿Por qué? _____

16. ¿Dónde viven sus papás? San Pedro Pinula___1 Jalapa___2. Cd. Guatemala___3. EE.UU.___4.

Otro:_____

ASPECTOS SOCIOECONÓMICOS

17. **¿Ud. es el dueño de la casa?** : Guardián “viven dentro de ella” ___1. Prestada ___2. Alquilada ___3.
Propietario ___4.

ENCUESTADOR DESCRIBA (*Preguntas no. 18 al 22*) los **materiales de la construcción** de la casa:

18. **Material del piso:** Ladrillo de barro ___1. Ladrillo de cemento ___2. Tierra ___3. Torta de cemento ___4.
Piso de cemento ___5. Piso de cerámico (mosaico) ___6.
19. **Material de la pared:** Adobe ___1. Block ___3. Repellado ___4. Madera ___5. Ladrillo ___6.
Rancho “palitos unidos o paja” ___7. Bajareque “palitos y paja” ___8.
20. **Material del techo:** Cemento fundido ___1. Lámina ___2. Teja ___3. Paja ___4.
21. **Material de la fachada de la casa:** Antigua “teja para fuera, puerta, ventana” ___1.
Cornisa “por moda en el frente de la casa” ___2. Con verja “barandal” ___3. Con jardín enfrente ___4.
22. **Describe de cuantos niveles de construcción tiene la casa:** Una planta ___1. Dos plantas ___2.

SERVICIOS (infraestructura).

PREGUNTE DIRECTAMENTE SI LA CASA QUE HABITA CUENTA CON LOS SIGUIENTES:

23. **¿Dentro del hogar tiene agua potable?** Sí ___1. No ___2.
24. **¿El hogar tiene luz eléctrica?** Si ___1. No ___2.
25. **¿Qué tipo de estufa tiene dentro del hogar (sí tiene alguna de estas)?** Poyo ___1. Estufa de fuego mejorada ___2.
Gas de mesa ___3. Gas con horno ___4.

26. **¿Qué tipo de inodoro tiene (sí tiene alguna de estas)?** Letrina ___1. Baño de china___2. Baño cerámico___3.
Ninguno___4.

27. **¿Tiene teléfono o celular?** Sí___1. No___2 (**Pase no. 29**)

28. ¿Qué tipo de teléfono o celular tienen?

29. **¿Actualmente esta como domiciliar solicitante de una línea telefónica?** Sí___1. No___2.

30. **¿Qué tipo de televisión tiene?** Cable___1. Antena (TV nacional) ___2. No tengo Tv.____3.

31. **¿Tiene usted aparato de sonido (estero con CD, “grande”)?** Si___1. No___2.

32. **¿Tiene usted horno de microondas?** Sí___1. No___2.

33. **¿Tiene computadora?** Si (es portátil)___1. Si (“grande” escritorio)___2. No tengo___3.

34. **ENTREVISTADOR OBSERVE SI EL MOBILIARIO ES:** Comprado (industrializado)_1.

Hecho en casa (manufactura artesanal)___2.

TRANSPORTE.

35. **Tiene usted Bestia “caballo, mula”** Sí___1. No___2.

36. **Tiene usted Automóvil propio** Sí___1. No___2 (**Pase no. 40**)

37. ¿Dónde lo compro? San Pedro Pinula___1. Jalapa___2. Guatemala___3.

Estados Unidos___4.

38. Tipo de carro: Cerrado___1 (AUTOS TIPO SEDAN. Pick up 2WD “sencillo”___2. Pick up 4WD cabina sencilla___3.

Pick up 4WD doble cabina___4.

39. ¿Que marca y año?

(*especifique*)_____

40. **Usted guarda el Automóvil de alguien que este en los EE.UU.** Sí___1. No___2 (**Pase no. 44**)

41. ¿Dónde lo compro? San Pedro Pinula___1. Jalapa___2. Guatemala___3.
Estados Unidos___4.
42. Tipo de carro: Cerrado__1 (Autos tipo sedan) Pick up 2WD “sencillo”___2. Pick up 4WD cabina sencilla___3.
Pick up 4WD doble cabina___4.
43. ¿Que marca y año?
(especifique)_____

GASTO Y AHORRO FAMILIAR.

LEA: Ahora a nosotros nos gustaría que usted nos hablase acerca de su gasto familiar, lo cual nos ayudara para saber cual es la situación de todas las familias en el municipio de SAN PEDRO PINULA

PARA LOS ENCUESTADORES: pregunte primero Menos en caso de responder entonces señale si es solo menos o mucho menos, misma situación para “Más”

44. **¿Cuanto dinero se necesita para mantener un hogar con 5 personas en un mes?**

45. **¿En su hogar entre todos juntan?** Mucho menos que eso ___1. Menos que eso ___2. Aproximadamente igual ___3.
Más que eso___4. Mucho más que eso___5.

46. **¿En su hogar cuántas personas aportan para los gastos?** _____

LENGUAJE Y CULTURA

Encuestadores esta sección es muy importante del cuestionario pues nos interesa saber sobre la cultura de las personas

47. ¿ Ud. participa en la cofradía? Sí__1(continúe) No__2 (Pase no.49)
48. ¿Tiene algún cargo? Sí__1. No__2.
49. ¿En Pinua todavía se habla la lengua? Sí__1. No__2. Algunos__3.
50. ¿Ud. sabe cómo se llama a la lengua que hablan en Pinula? Lenguaje__1. Pokomam__2. No sabe__3.
Otro (especifique)_____
51. ¿Ud. habla esta lengua? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
52. ¿Ud. entiende algunas palabras? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
53. ¿Sus padres lo hablaban? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
54. ¿Lo entendían? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
55. ¿Sus abuelos lo hablaban? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
56. ¿Lo entendían? Sí__1. No__2. Un poco__3.
57. ¿Ud. piensa que es el mismo idioma que hablan en San Luis? Sí__1. No__2.
58. ¿Por qué cree usted que ya no se habla la lengua?
-
59. ¿Su mamá usaba corte? Sí__1. No__2.
60. ¿Su suegra usaba corte? Sí__1. No__2.
61. ¿Alguna de sus abuelas usaba corte? Sí__1. No__2.
62. ¿Por qué cree que ya no se usa corte?
-

63. **¿Hay alguna relación entre la cultura de Pinula con la cultura de San Luis?** Sí__1. No__2.
¿Por qué? _____

HISTORIA FAMILIAR

Entrevistado indique a la persona que la intención del siguiente grupo de preguntas están enfocadas para saber si vino gente de otros lugares (en las opciones se puede incluir otros países).

64. **Hablando de sus abuelos paternos, ellos eran de:** _____

Otro país: _____

65. **Hablando de sus abuelos maternos, ellos eran de:** _____

Otro país: _____

66. **Alguno de sus bisabuelos era de otro lugar que no fuera San Pedro Pinula**

(especifique) _____

67. **¿Por qué vinieron para acá sus bisabuelos?**

68. **¿En qué trabajaban sus bisabuelos?** Agricultura__1. Ganado__2. Otro (especifique):

ETNICIDAD E IDENTIDAD

69. **¿Ud. se considera (Encuestador lea las opciones)?** Natural__1. Indio__2. Indígena__3. Maya__4. Ladinos__5.
Mezclados__6. Otro_____

70. **¿Por qué se identifica de esta manera?**

71. **¿Cuándo las personas regresan de Estados Unidos, ellos cambian de identidad?** Sí__1. No__2 **(Pase no 74)**
Algunos__3.

72. **¿En que forma cambian?**

73. **¿Puede un indígena volverse ladino?** Sí__1. No__2.

74. **¿Hay diferentes tipos de ladinos?** Sí__1. No__2. **(Pase no. 77)**

75. **¿Cuáles son?**

76. **¿Hay diferentes tipos de indígenas?** Sí__1. No__2 **(Pase no. 79)**

77. **¿Cuáles son?**

78. **¿Los indígenas de Pinula son los mismos que los indígenas de Occidente?** Sí__1. No__2.

79. **¿Por qué?** _____

80. **¿Quiénes son los Mayas?**

81. **¿Usted cree que las personas de aquí son descendientes de los Mayas?**

82. **¿La gente de Pinula son más** (*Leer opciones*) Ladinos__1. Indígenas__2. Mezclados__3.
Otro:_____

83. **¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre Ladinos e Indígenas?**

84. **Ud. piensa que las uniones entre ladinos e indígenas se dan** (*Leer opciones*) Mas que antes__1. Igual que antes__2.
Menos que antes__3.

85. **Ud. piensa que los matrimonios entre ladinos e indígenas se dan** (*Leer opciones*)Mas que antes__1. Igual que antes__2.
Menos que antes__3.

86. **¿Ud. dejaría que sus hijos se casaran con una persona ladina?** (*Leer opciones*) Sí__1. No__2.
Es decisión de ellos__3. Otro:_____

87. **¿Ud. dejaría que sus hijos se casaran con una persona indígena?** (*Leer opciones*) Si__1. No__2.
Es decisión de ellos__3. Otro:_____

88. **Sus padres se consideraban ladinos o indígenas** (*Leer opciones*) Indígenas__1. Ladino__2. Mezclado__3.
Uno indígena y otro ladino__4. Otro:_____

89. **Su cónyuge se considera** (*Leer opciones*) Indígena__1. Ladino__2. Mezclado__3. No tengo cónyuge__4.
Otro: _____

TERRENOS

Encuestador recuerde que: 11 tareas de 15 son una manzana (plano) 16 tareas de 12 es una manzana (cerro)

64 manzanas es una caballerías

LEA: LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS NOS SERVIRÁN PARA SABER SOBRE LA ECONOMÍA DEL MUNICIPIO, TODOS LOS DATOS SON ANÓNIMOS Y SE USARAN PARA ESTADÍSTICAS.

90. ¿ Usted tiene terrenos aquí en San Pedro Pinula? (*sugiera pequeño, mediano, etc.*) Sí__1. No__2 (Pase no. 107)

91. ¿Tiene usted algún terreno en otra parte? Jalapa__1. Peten__2. La Costa__3. No tengo otro terreno__4.

Otro:_____

DUEÑOS DE TIERRAS

NOTA: oriente para obtener la posible respuesta en la pregunta no. 93 mencionando tareas, manzanas, caballerías y después especifique.

92. ¿ Mas o menos cuánta tierra tiene Ud. en Pinula? (*Leer opciones*) Menos de 1 tarea__1. Entre 1 y 5 tareas__2.

Menos de 1 manzana__3. Entre 1 y 5 manzanas__4.

Entre 5 y 10 manzanas__5. Menos de 1 caballería__6. Entre 1 caballería y 5 caballerías__7.

Entre 5 y 10 caballerías__8. Más de 10 caballerías__9. No quiso respon.__10.

93. ¿Tiene arrendantes o mediante? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no.100)

94. ¿Cuál es preferible? Arrendantes__1. Mediante__2. Ambos__3. Ninguno__4.

95. ¿Por qué? _____

96. ¿Cuántos tiene (más o menos)? Mediantes_____ arrendantes _____.

97. **SI TIENE ARRENDANTES** ¿Cuál es su sistema para cobrarle a sus arrendantes? Por días de trabajo__1.

Por pago de granos__2. Efectivo__3. Otro_____

98. **Los arrendantes o mediante que tiene ahora son...** Menos que antes__1. Igual que antes__2.

Más que antes__3.

99. **¿Comparado con cuando sus padres tenían las tierras... los trabajadores son:** Mejores que antes__1.

Igual que antes__2. Peores que antes__3.

100. **¿Por qué?**

101. **¿Ha vendido algo de su tierra en el último año? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no.105)**

102. La persona a la que se la vendió... Acaban de regresar de los Estados Unidos__1.

Tiene familiares cercanos en los Estados Unidos__2. Otro _____

103. La persona a la que se la vendió era Indígena__1. Ladinos__2.

104. **¿Ha comprado tierra en el último año? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no.107)**

105. La persona a la que se la compró era Indígena__1. Ladinos__2.

PERSONAS SIN TERRENOS QUE TRABAJAN ACTUALMENTE

NOTA ENCUESTADOR: si la persona no esta preparada por que no se dedica a alguna actividad que las relaciones a este tema, omita este grupo de preguntas y prosiga en la pregunta no. 115.

106. **¿Actualmente Ud. es arrendante o trabaja a medias?** Renta__1. A medias__2.

Otro:_____

107. **¿Cuántas tareas o manzanas trabaja Ud.?** _____Tareas__1. _____Manzanas__2.

108. **SI ACTUALMENTE ES ARRENDANTE -----¿Cómo cobra?** _____días

109. **¿Cuánto terreno tiene que trabajar para el patrón?** _____Tareas_1. _____Manzanas__2.

No tiene que trabajar terreno_____3.

110. **¿Cuánto le pagan por Jornal diario?** (*Encuestador*

especifique)_____

111. **Ud. piensa que los patrones son...** Mejores que antes__1. Igual que antes__2. **(Pase no. 114)**

Peores que antes__3.

112. **¿Por qué considera que se ha dado esta cambio?**

113. **¿Ud. Participa en la cooperativa?** Sí__1. No__2. A veces__3.

MIGRACIÓN PREGUNTAS GENERALES

NOTA ENCUESTADOR: LEA

“Estas preguntas son sobre su opinión acerca de lo que sucede ahora que la gente va a los EE.UU., su opinión es importante para nosotros, agradeceríamos su colaboración”.

114. **¿Por qué se van las personas a los Estados Unidos?** (*Encuestador*

especifique)_____

115. **¿Qué tipo de personas son las que comúnmente se van a los Estados?** Solteros__1. Casados__2. Parejas __3.

Otro (*especifique*)_____

116. **¿Se van mas hombres?** Solteros__1. Casados van con la esposa a EE.UU.__2.

Casado dejando a la esposa en Pinula__3. Separados__4. Divorciados__5. Otro:_____

117. **¿Se van mas mujeres?** Solteras__1. Casadas van con el esposo a EE.UU.__2. Casada siguiendo a los

esposos__3. Separadas__4. Divorciadas__7. Otro:_____

118. **¿Usualmente a donde se van las personas?** Boston__1. Attleboro__2. New York__3. Stamford__4.
Los Ángeles__5. Atlanta__6 .Otro :_____

119. **¿Cuándo los esposos están en Estados Unidos quien cuida del Ganado?**

(especifique)_____

120. **¿Cuándo los esposos están en Estados Unidos quien cuida de la Milpa?**

(especifique)_____

PREGUNTAS ACERCA DEL REGRESO

121. **¿Las personas generalmente regresan a San Pedro Pinula cuando están en los Estados Unidos?** Sí__1

No__2 Algunos__3

122. **¿Por qué?** _____

123. **¿Quiénes regresan más?** Mujeres__1 Hombres__2

124. **¿Cómo cambian los hombres que acaban de regresar de los EE.UU.?**

125. **¿Cómo cambian las mujeres que acaban de regresar de los EE.UU.?**

126. **¿Cómo cambian los indígenas que acaban de regresar de los EE.UU.?**

127. **¿Cómo cambian los ladinos que acaban de regresar de los EE.UU.?**

128. **¿Las personas que están en los Estados y que tienen papeles vienen a visitar?** Sí__1 No__2 A veces__3.

NR/NS__4 (*Esta abreviación significa No sabe, no responde*)

129. ¿Cada cuánto?

130. ¿Por cuanto tiempo se quedan?

131. **¿Las personas que no tienen papeles vienen a visitar?** Sí__1. No__2 (**Pase no. 134**) A veces__3.

Ns/Nr __4. (**Pase no. 134**)

132. **¿Cómo hacen para visitar?**

133. **¿Las personas que tienen papeles regresan a quedarse?** Sí__1. No__2. A veces__3.

Ns/Nr__4(Pase 136).

134. **¿Por qué?** _____

135. **¿Las personas que ya se quedaron a vivir allá siguen invirtiendo en Pinula?** Sí__1. No__2.

A veces__3. Ns/Nr__4(Pase 138).

136. **¿Por qué?** _____

DESARROLLO ECONÓMICO / REMESAS

137. **¿Qué cambios ha notado en el pueblo debido a la migración a Estados Unidos?** Construcción__1. Negocios__
(Tipos: _____) 2. Carros__3. Mas consumismo__4. Envidia__5.
Resentimiento__6. Gente se supera__7. Otro:_____
138. **¿Las personas que regresan de los EE.UU. en que invierten?** Terrenos__1. Casas__2. Ganado__3.
Carros__4. Otro:_____
139. **¿Hay alguna diferencia entre ladinos y la gente de las aldeas en la forma como invierten el dinero que traen de los EE.UU.?** Sí__1 No__2 (Pase no.140)
140. **¿Cuál es la diferencia?**

141. **¿Cuándo las personas se van a los Estados generalmente a quién le envían el dinero?** Padres__1. Esposo(a)__2.
Hijo__3. Hija__4.
142. **¿Por qué?** _____

MIGRACIÓN RECURRENTE

143. **¿ Cuándo regresan los Pinultecos, desean a irse de nuevo?** Sí__1. No__2. A veces__3.
Ns/Nr__4.
144. **¿Cómo al cuanto tiempo de estar en Pinula se vuelvan a ir?** (*Encuestador especifique*) _____
145. **¿Por qué se vuelven a ir?** _

146. **¿Quién es más probable que regrese a los Estados?** Ladino__1. Indígena__2.

Otro:_____

147. **¿Por qué?** _____

GÉNERO / MIGRACIÓN GENERAL

148. **¿Cuándo uno se casa, dónde vive la pareja de recién casados?** Con los padres del novio__1. Con los padres de la novia__2. En una casa nueva__3.

149. **¿Quién da el dinero para el gasto?** El hombre__1. La mujer__2. Ambos__3.

150. **¿Quién es el responsable de cómo se usa dinero del gasto?** El hombre__1. La mujer__2. Ambos__3.

151. **¿En general en Pinula (Aguacate) quien manda en la casa?** El hombre__1. La mujer__2. Ambos__3.

152. **¿Cree que los hombres y mujeres DEBEN compartir los oficios del hogar?**

153. **¿Y en su hogar comparte los quehaceres?**

154. **¿Quién controla a la mujer cuando se va el marido a los estados?** (Leer opciones) Los suegros__1.

Sus padres__2. La comunidad__3. Nadie__4. Otro:_____

155. **¿Las mujeres deberían trabajar fuera del hogar?** Sí__1. No__2. ¿Por qué?

156. **¿Por qué las mujeres aguantan el mal trato de los hombres?**

157. **¿Por qué el hombre le pega a la mujer?**

158. **¿Por qué es diferente la vida de las mujeres cuando están en los Estados Unidos?**

159. **¿Por qué muchas mujeres ya no se quieren regresar de los Estados Unidos?**

160. **¿Cuándo los hombres regresan de los Estados Unidos vienen más machistas? Sí__1. No__2.**

161. **¿Por qué?** _____

162. **Los hombres que están en los Estados Unidos prefieren casarse...** Con mujeres que ya tienen sus papeles__1.

Con mujeres latinas__2. Con mujeres de Pinula__3.

163. **¿Por qué?** _____

164. MIGRACIÓN FAMILIAR

NOTA: Encuestador obtenga los siguientes datos de los familiares de la persona que se encuentran en los EE.UU. es importante que pregunte exclusivamente sobre aquellos que vivieron en el hogar entrevistado y que están en los EE.UU., además de indicar que documento empleo cada vez que fue a los EE. UU.

165. ¿Actualmente alguno de esta casa está en los Estados Unidos?

Sí__1 (Llenar cuadro)

No__2 (Pase no. 166)

Posición en el hogar	Edad	Sexo	Estado Civil: Soltero__1. Casado(a) Pinulteca__2. Casado(a) extran__3. Separado__4. Divorciado__5. Viudo__6.	Educación 1. Primaria 2. Básicos 3. Diversificado 4. Universidad	Que edad tenía cuando se fue a los EE. UU.	Cuanta s veces se han ido a los EE.UU.	Tiene:					Ciudades donde han vivido. Atlanta_1 Boston_2 Boston Attleboro_3 Boston Dorchester_4 Boston Lawrence_5 Los Ángeles_6 New York_7 Providence_8 Stamford_9 Utah_10 Otro (Especifique)_	Tiempo que tienen de estar allá (Especificar)	Ha trabajado en: Jalapa__1. La capital__2. El ejército__3. El Petén__4. La costa__5.	
		Masc__1. Fem__2.					Visa__1. Residencia__2. Ciudadanía__3. Esperando sus papeles__4. Mojado__5.	1ª.	2ª.	3ª.	4ª.				5ª.

PARIENTES

166. ¿ Actualmente su Padre esta en los EE. UU? Sí__1. No__2.
167. ¿ Actualmente su Madre esta en los EE. UU? Si__1. No__2.
168. ¿ Actualmente su Hijos Varones están en los EE. UU? Si__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no.170)
169. ¿Cuántos de sus Hijos Varones están en los EE. UU? _____
170. ¿ Actualmente sus Hijas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 172)
171. ¿Cuántas de sus Hijas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? _____
172. ¿ Actualmente sus Hermanos Varones están en los EE. UU? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 174)
173. ¿Cuántos Hermanos Varones están en los EE. UU? _____
174. ¿ Actualmente sus Hermanas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 176)
175. ¿Cuántos Hermanas Mujeres están en los EE. UU? _____
176. **NOTA ENCUESTADOR: indique el NÚMERO TOTAL de parientes en los EE. UU**_____
177. ¿Cuántos de estos tienen papeles? _____
178. ¿La mayoría de su familia en que parte de los EE. UU se encuentra?
-
179. ¿Tiene primos o tíos en los Estados Unidos (parientes lejanos)? Sí__1. No__2.

COMUNICACIÓN

180. **¿Cómo se comunica con ellos?** (*Encuestador lea las opciones*) Carta__1. Llamada telefónica__2.
Email__3. Fax__4. Videos__5. Otro:_____
181. **¿Cada cuanto?** (*Encuestador lea las opciones*) Cada tres o cuatro días__1. cada semana__2. cada dos semanas__3.
cada mes__4. Cada otro mes__5. Casi nunca__6.
182. **¿Ud. tiene la dirección de sus familiares en los EE.UU.?** Sí__1. No__2.
183. **¿Ud. tiene el teléfono de sus familiares en los EE.UU.?** Si__1. No__2.
184. **¿Ud. los llama?** (*Lea las opciones*) Si los llamo en el celular propio__1. Si los llamo en el celular prestado__2.
Si los llamo por el teléfono comunitario__3. No los llamo__4.
185. **¿Ellos le llaman a Ud.?** Si__1. No__2.

LEA: LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS NOS AYUDAN DENTRO DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN QUE REALIZAMOS PARA SABER CUÁL ES LA IMPORTANCIA DEL DINERO QUE ENVÍAN TODAS LAS PERSONAS QUE TRABAJAN EN LOS EE. UU, PARA SABER QUE TANTO AYUDAN LOS DÓLARES A LAS PERSONAS QUE VIVEN EN SAN PEDRO PINULA Y SUS ALDEAS.

REMESAS: ENVIO DE DINERO

186. **Recibe dinero de los Estados Unidos** Sí_____1. No_____2.
187. **¿Ud. maneja algún dinero que viene de los Estados?** Sí_____1. No_____2.
188. **¿Desde hace cuanto?** (*Lea las opciones*) **Menos de 6 meses**__1. **6 meses a 1 año**__2. **1 año a 3 años**__3.
3 a 5 años__4. **5 a 8 años**__5. **8 a 10 años**__6.
Más de 10 años__7. **Mas de 15 anos**__8. **Mas de 20 años**__9.
189. **¿Quién maneja el dinero?** (*especifique la posición en el hogar*) Padre__1. Madre__2. Esposo __3.
Esposa__4. Suegro__5. Suegra__6. Hijo__7. Hija__8. Otro _____

Quien envía el dinero Padre_1. Madre_2. Esposo_3. Esposa_4. Hijo_5. Hija_6. Otro (especificar)_____7.	¿Cómo envía el dinero? (Puede haber + de 1 repuesta) King Express___1. Otro servicio de Money Order___2. Conocido/ familiar retorna___3. Bancos___4.	¿A nombre de quien viene el cheque? Padre_1. Madre_2. Esposo_3. Esposa_4. Suegro_5. Suegra_6. Hijo_7. Hija_8. Otro (especificar)	La cantidad que envían: 0 a 50 dls___1. 51 a 100 dls___2. 101 a 500 dls___3. 501 a 1000 dls___4. Más de 1000 dls___5. Otro (especifique)_____		
			EN TOTAL	PARA EL GASTO	CADA CUANTO

190. **¿Del dinero que le envían, el que usa para el gasto viene a parte?** Sí___1. No___2.
No sabe / no responde___3.
191. **¿Quién decide como se gasta el dinero?** El que envía el dinero de EE.UU. ___1. Padre___2. Madre___3.
Esposo ___4. Esposa___5. Suegro___6. Suegra___7. Hijo___8. Hija___9.
Otro (*especificar, tipo de relación*)_____
192. **¿Cuál es el uso que se da al dinero que le envían?** Gasto doméstico___1. Ahorro___2. Casa___3. Terrenos___4.
Vehículos___5. Otro_____
193. **¿Ud. tiene una cuenta de banco en dólares para su dinero?** Sí___1. No___2.

AQUÍ VA A PREGUNTAR DEPENDIENDO DE LA CONDICIÓN DE LA PERSONA,

- Identifique si la persona **ESTUVO EN LOS EE. UU. TRABAJANDO** y ahora vive en Pinula, pase a la **página 13** con la **pregunta no. 194**
- Identifique si es una mujer que **TIENE SU ESPOSO EN LOS EE. UU. TRABAJANDO**, pase a la **página 15** con la **pregunta no. 222**
- Identifique si son padres que **TIENEN HIJOS O HIJAS EE. UU.**, pase a la **página 17** con la **pregunta no. 248**
- Identifique si la persona ha ido a **VISITAR** los **EE. UU.**, **SIN QUEDARSE a VIVIR** ó a **TRABAJAR** por allá, pase a la **página 18** con la **pregunta no. 270**
- Ahora en caso de que la persona tiene todas las características, entonces deberá aplicar las preguntas desde la **no.194**

SI LA PERSONA ES MIGRANTE RETORNADO

194. **¿Por qué se regreso a Pinula?**

195. **¿Cómo se fue a los EE. UU?** (*Lea las opciones*) Mojado__1 Visa Turista__2. Visa chueca__3.
Permiso Trabajo__4. Otro_____

196. **¿En que ciudades estuvo?** (Especificar en el caso de Boston el lugar) Boston ____1.
Boston Attleboro____2. Boston Dorchester____3. Boston Lawrence____4. Los Ángeles____5.
New York____6. Providence____7. Stamford____.8. UTA____9. Atlanta____10.
Otro (especifique) _____

197. **¿Cuántas veces ha ido a Estados Unidos?** (*especifique*) _____ veces.

198. **¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo allá y hace cuánto regresó?**_____

199. **¿Quién lo ayudó para irse? (hacer contactos para irse)**

200. **¿Quién lo recibió?**

ENCUESTADOR Llene el cuadro poniendo cuanto tiempo estuvo allá por cada vez y cuánto tiempo espero en Pinula antes de regresar, si se trata de la última vez en que regresó preguntarle a la persona cuánto tiempo piensa que va tardar antes de regresar a los EE. UU., de nuevo. Si responde que no piensa regresarse pregunte ¿por qué? escribiendo la respuesta en la columna de la derecha según la ocasión de la que se hable .

1er. Vez	Tiempo	Cuanto tiempo espero antes de regresar
2da. Vez		
3ra. Vez		
4ta. Vez		
5ta Vez		

202

201. **¿Hace cuanto regreso de manera definitiva?** _____

202. **¿Por qué razones regreso?**
(especifique) _____

203. **¿Desea regresar a los Estados Unidos?** Sí__1. No__2. A veces__3.

204. **¿En qué trabajaba por allá?**

205. **¿Nos podría decir si usted tenía “permiso de trabajo”?** Sí__1 No__2

206. **¿Usted mientras estaba en los EE.UU., solicitó asilo político?** Sí__1 No__2

207. **¿Enviaba dinero a su familia?** Si__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 214)

208. **¿A quién se lo enviaba?** Sus padres__1. Su esposa__2. Sus hijos__3. Sus suegros__4.

Otro:_____

209. **¿Cuánto enviaba?** _____

210. **¿Cada cuanto enviaba dinero?**

211. **¿Mandaba dinero para el gasto del hogar?** Sí__1 No__2 (**Pase no. 214**)

212. **¿A quien se lo enviaba?**

213. **¿Aproximadamente cuanto enviaba?** _____

214. **¿Ha mejorado su vida ahora que regresó, comparada como era antes?** Mejoró mucho__1. Mejoró un poco__2.

Es igual que antes__3. Empeoró__4. Mucho peor que antes__5.

215. **¿Dónde preferiría vivir?**

216. **Nos podría decir si usted invirtió en alguna de las siguientes opciones:**

Opciones	Sí	No
CASA ¿Quién se encargó de construcción? _____ ¿Cuánto costó en dólares? _____		
CARRO ¿Dónde lo compró? _____		
GANADO		
NEGOCIO ¿Qué tipo de negocio? _____		
TERRENOS ¿Cuánto? _____ ¿De quien lo oompró? Indígena__1. Ladino__2.		
TIENDA		

217. **¿Aprendió Inglés?** Sí aprendí__1. Hablaba algunas palabras__2. Lo entendía pero no lo hablaba__3.

No aprendí nada__4.

218. **¿Aprendió alguna labor en los estados que le sirva aquí?** Si__1 (Continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 220)

219. ¿Qué labor aprendió? _____

220. **¿Usted cree que tenga importancia, la diferencia entre ladinos e indígenas en los EE.UU.?** Sí__1 No__2

221. ¿Por qué? _____

PARA MUJERES CUYO ESPOSO ESTÁ EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

222. ¿Cuándo se fue su esposo?

223. ¿Cuántas veces a estado él en los estados?

224. ¿En que lugares ha vivido su esposo en los EE.UU.?

225. ¿Él manda dinero? Sí__1. (Pase no. 226) No__2. (Pregunte la no. 231 y 232, luego pase a la 238)

226. ¿Cómo lo manda? Por cheques de King Express__1. Otro tipo de money order__2. Por familiar o conocido__3.
Otro:_____

227. ¿Cada cuánto le manda el dinero?_____

228. ¿Aproximadamente cuánto le manda?

229. ¿Cuánto le mandan para el
gasto?_____

230. ¿Esto le alcanza para su
gasto?_____

231. SI LE MANDAN CHEQUES ¿A nombre de quién viene?

232. **¿Esto es sólo para los gastos o él manda para otras cosas?** Sólo para los gastos__1. Ambas cosas__2.

233. **¿Realiza usted alguna actividad que la ayude a juntar lo de los gastos?** Sí__1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 235)

234. **¿Cuál?** _____

235. **¿Él manda regalitos?** Sí__1 (continúe) No__2(Pase no.237)

236. **¿Qué cosas le manda?**

237. **¿Cuándo planea él regresar?**

238. **¿Cómo ha cambiado su vida desde que él se fue?**

239. **¿Ud. quisiera irse a los Estados Unidos para estar con él?** Sí__1. No__2.

240. **¿A quién le pide permiso para salir?**

241. **¿Qué tipo de chismes hace la gente cuándo la esposa se queda aquí y el esposo se va a los Estados Unidos?**

242. **¿Qué se hace para evitar los chismes?**

PARA LAS MUJERES QUE TIENEN SU ESPOSO EN LOS EE.UU.:

NOTA: Encuestador, informe a la entrevistada que el siguiente grupo de preguntas ayudara para saber que tipo de uso se da a los dólares, para poder saber que ayuda da la gente en los EE.UU. a las familias de San Pedro Pinula (El Aguacate o El jocote). **UD. HA UTILIZADO LOS DÓLARES QUE LE ENVÍA PARA ALGUNA DE LAS SIGUIENTES:**

243. Nos podría decir si usted invirtió en alguna de las siguientes opciones:

Opciones	Sí	No
CASA ¿Quién se encargo de construcción? ¿Cuánto costó en dólares?		
CARRO ¿Dónde lo compró?		
GANADO		
NEGOCIO ¿Qué tipo de negocio?		
TERRENOS ¿Cuánto? ¿De quien? Indígena__1. Ladino__2.		
TIENDA		

244. ¿Quién decide cómo se usa el dinero que él manda?

245. Ahora que él no está ¿Quién se encarga del ganado?

246. Ahora que él no está ¿Quién se encarga de la milpa?

247. ¿Ha tenido que buscar mozos? Sí_1. No__2.

PARA PADRES QUE TIENEN SU HIJO O HIJA EN LOS ESTADOS

248. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene en los EE.UU.?

249. ¿Cuántas hijas tiene en los EE.UU.?

250. ¿En qué lugares?

251. ¿Usted cuida de los hijos de ellos? Sí_1. No__2.

252. ¿Alguno de los niños tienen pasaportes Americanos? Sí_1. No__2.

253. ¿Ud. recibe dinero de ellos? Sí_1. No__2.

254. ¿Qué hace Ud. con ese dinero?

255. ¿Ud. recibe dinero de sus hijos casados? Sí_1(continúe) No__2. (Pase no. 257)

256. ¿Ud. es la encargada de repartirle el dinero a sus nueras? Sí_1. No__2.

257. ¿Ud. ha comprado terrenos para sus hijos (as) mientras ellos están allá? Sí_1. No__2.

258. ¿Ud. les ha comprado casas mientras se encuentran en EE.UU.? Sí_1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 262)

259. ¿Dónde les ha comprado la casa? Pinula__1. Jalapa__2. Capital__3.

Otro: _____

260. ¿A nombre de quién se encuentran estas propiedades?

261. ¿Ud. maneja el dinero de las rentas de estas propiedades? _____

262. ¿Se encuentra Ud. a cargo de alguna de sus tierras o casas? Sí_1. No__2.

263. ¿Quién administra la milpa de sus tierras? _____

264. ¿Quién administra el Ganado en sus tierras? _____

265. ¿Ellos le envían dinero para su gasto? Sí_1. No__2.

266. ¿Ellos le envían regalitos? Sí_1 (continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 268)

267. ¿Que tipo de regalitos recibe? _____

268. ¿Ud. les envía regalitos? Sí_1 (continúe). No__2 (TERMINA GRUPO DE PREGUNTAS)

269. ¿Cómo qué les envía? _____

PERSONAS QUE VISITAN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

270. ¿Cuándo saco su visa? En los últimos 6 meses__1. Menos de un año__2. Hace más de un año__3.

Hace más de cinco años__4. Hace más de 10 años__5.

271. ¿Cuántas veces intento antes que se la dieran?

272. Cada cuanto visita los EE. UU.? (especifique

“tiempo”) _____

273. ¿Por cuánto tiempo visita? Quince días__1. Un mes__2. 2 meses__3. 3 meses__4. 4 meses__5.

5 meses__4. 6 meses__5. Más de 6 meses__6.

274. ¿Le gusta los Estados Unidos? Sí__1. No__2.

275. ¿Por qué? _____

276. ¿Le gustaría quedarse a vivir por allá? Sí__1. No__2.

277. ¿Por qué? _____

278. ¿Lleva paquetes de otras personas de Pinula para familiares en EE.UU.? Sí__1. No__2.

279. ¿Cuándo sus parientes en Estados Unidos sabe que Ud. va a visitar que cosas le piden que Ud. lleve?

280. ¿Ud. se las vende o las regala? Las vende__1. Las regala__2. Las más caras me las pagan, las más baratas las regalo__3.

281. ¿Usualmente que les lleva? _____

282. ¿Lleva cosas para vender allá? Sí__1. No__2.

283. ¿Qué tipo de cosas? _____

284. ¿Qué ciudades visita? _____

285. ¿Ud. trabaja en algo mientras está allá de visita? Sí__1(continúe) No__2 (Pase no. 287)

286. ¿En qué? _____

287. ¿Qué cosas trae cuando regresa?

288. ¿Las personas allá en Estados Unidos le piden que traiga dinero para sus familias aquí en Pinula? Sí__1(continúe)

No__2 (TERMINO LA ENTREVISTA)

289. ¿Ud. les cobra por traerlo? Sí_1. No__2.

ENCUESTADOR CONTESTE LAS SIGUENTES PREGUNTAS

¿La persona a la que entrevistó, usted. a que étnia considera que pertenece? _____

¿A que clase social pertenece la persona que entrevisto (extrema pobreza, clase pobre, clase media baja, media alta, clase alta)? _____

NOTAS:

APPENDIX C
ACCESS AND CONTROL PROFILE/ENGLISH

1. ACTIVITY PROFILE

Agricultural:	women/girls	Men/boys
---------------	-------------	----------

Employment:

Other:

Reproductive activities:

Water related:

Fuel related:

Animals for home only

Food preparation:

Childcare:

Health related:

Cleaning and repair:

Market related:

2. ACCESS AND CONTROL PROFILE

A.	Resources	Access	Control
----	-----------	--------	---------

Land:

Equipment:

Labor:

Cash:

Education/training:

Other:

B. Benefits

Outside income

Asset ownership

Basic needs

Education

Political power/prestige

Other:

Influencing factor

APPENDIX D
DOMESTIC ACTIVITY INTERVIEW/SPANISH

Entrevistas de actividades Domesticas

Encuesta No. Fecha de entrevista:

Nombre:

Edad: Sexo: Domicilio:

Casado / Unido/ Soltero / Viuda

No. de hijos: Edad y sexo de los hijos:

Lugar donde trabaja el cónyuge:

Cada cuanto vienen su esposo?

Etnia:

Puede escribir o leer:

Hasta que grado llego:

Actividades de la Casa

1. En la mañana a que hora se levanta?
2. Me podria decir todas las cosas que hace en la mañana?
3. Quien cuida los niños / quien le ayuda?
4. En que la ayudan sus hijos?
5. Que otro tipo de personas le ayudan en la casa- tienen muchacha o familiar que ayuden?
 - a. en que la ayuda?
6. Quien echan las tortillas?
7. Quien lava su ropa?
8. Recibe un pago esta persona?
9. Que comen diariamente en el almuerzo?
10. Que hace después del almuerzo?
11. En donde consiguen la leña para cocinar?
 - a. Cada cuanto?
 - b. La compra o la van a traer?
 - c. Quien lo hace?
 - d. Cuanto tiempo se tardan para traerla?
12. Participa en algun grupo de su localidad? Y cada cuanto?
13. Realiza otra actividad de vez en cuando?
14. Tiene una actividad o trabajo por la noche

Actividades Productivos

Agricultura

1. Tiene terreno?
2. Quien es el dueño?
3. Que hace el terreno?

Ganado /milpa /café / frijol /frutas/ hortalizas

- a. A medias
- b. Arrendado
- c. Propio
4. Vende:
 - a. Cerdos
 - b. Gallinas
 - c. Huevos
 - d. Otro
5. Tiene algún negocio fijo
6. Tiene otro negocio que hace para los gastos?
7. Quien aporta los gastos en la casa?
8. De donde sale el dinero para los gastos de la casa?
9. Que hace en su tiempo libre?

Observaciones

APPENDIX E
FEMALE ACTIVITY INTERVIEW /ENGLISH AND SPANISH

ACTIVIDADES FEMENINAS

Name:

Age:

Ethnicity:

Civil status:

How many people live in the house?

In the house:

What do you do when you get up in the morning?

What do you do before lunch?

What do you do to make lunch? (do you take it to your husband, make it for kids)

What do you do after lunch?

What do you make for dinner?

What do you do after dinner?

Do you buy leña or collect it?

Do you have a hortaliza? What do you grow?

What animals do you take care of?

What do your female children do to help you (for oficios)?

What do your male children do to help you (for oficios)?

Who collects the water everyday and how many times?

What other things do you do to take care of the house, husband, children, in-laws?

Do you have someone who helps you?

Afuera la casa and for money?

What do you do to help with gastos in the house?

Do you sell in the market?

What do you sell?

Do you sell tortillas?

Do you wash other peoples clothes?

Do you work in other people's houses?

How often?

Do you coser?

Do you sell leña?

Do you sell flowers?

Do you collect wild foods (like muta)? (Do you sell them?)

En el campo

What do you do in the field?

Activity	Man	Woman	Nino	Nina	Mozo
Bring lunch					
Destroncar					
Rosar					
Guatelear					
Zembrar					
Deshiebar					
Abonar					
Fumigar					
Cosechar					
Aporcar					
Desgranar					
Otro:					

Otro:

Do you accompany your husband to the fincas?

Where do you go (costa, Peten, otro lugar)

And what do you when you get there?

ACTIVIDAD	QUIEN	CUANDO
Hortalizas		
Viveros		
Cortar leña		
Vender leña		
Trabajar en fincas de algodón		
Trabajar en fincas de café		
Cuidar vacas		
Ordeñar vacas		
Hacer queso		
albañilería		
Cercar terrenos		
Rozar el monte		
Guatalear		
Destroncar		
Siembra el maíz		
Siembra el frijol		
Aran la tierra		
Fumiga el campo		
Abona el terreno		
Deshierba		
Aporcar		
Arracancar el frijol		
Prepara la tierra para siembra		
Corta frutas (por ejemplo el jocote)		
Va a Peten		
Va a Peten para sembrar maíz y frijol		
Corta café		
Corta algodón		
Tapisca		
Aporreo		
engronerado		
Corta la semilla del zacate		
Desgrana el maíz		

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Debra Hain Rodman was born in Tallahassee, Florida and raised in Miami, Florida. In 1990, after graduating with a bachelor of arts in anthropology and a minor in women's studies, Debra attended the University of Miami's Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science (RSMAS), where she earned a master's degree in marine affairs and policy. During her time at RSMAS, Debra worked on advocacy, as well as gender and development issues, at varied locations, participating in projects in Central America and the Caribbean.

This work inspired her to pursue her doctoral degree in anthropology at the University of Florida, where she studied in conjunction with the Latin American Studies Program and the Center for Tropical Conservation, training under several leading scholars in WID (Women in Development) and GAD (Gender and Development). She became interested in transnational migration while working for the Harvard Immigration Projects, under the direction of Drs. Marcelo and Carola Suarez-Orozco. Her research among Guatemalan immigrants in Boston led to her pre-dissertation research in the migrants' home communities, where she led an ethnographic field course through the Universidad del Valle in Guatemala. With the assistance of a Fulbright fellowship and a RAND/Andrew W. Mellon Grant for Research on Central America, she conducted her doctoral dissertation work on the impact of transnational migration on gender and ethnic relations in Eastern Guatemala.