

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

“THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER”





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المعهد الدولي للدراسات والبحوث في حقوق الإنسان والتنمية
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FAMILIAS Y SOCIEDAD, A.C.



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INTRODUCTION

Javier Castañeda Monter
Board of Directors,
Familias y Sociedad

The subject of migration is usually studied from the perspective of the migrant as an individual, with only indirect reference to his family. However, concern for the family's welfare is often the initial motive for migration.

For this reason, healthy migration will only be achieved when the welfare of the family of the migrant worker is taken into account, when migration is no longer forced upon them through marginalization, hunger or lack of opportunities in their place of origin. The problems of well-paid employment for the breadwinners in each family throughout the world, food self-sufficiency, health services for all, educational opportunities, comprehensive scientific applications for the development of the family, must be addressed. Otherwise, migration, with its uncertain future, becomes the only viable option for survival.

This Colloquium will look at the way migration affects the family structure of the migrant worker, with the aim of promoting and strengthening government and private projects that protect the rights of the family of the migrant worker, as well as seeking the reunification of its members and their personal development.

In order to achieve this, we will analyze the impact that migration has on the lives of not only those who migrate but also on the members of the family who painfully are

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left behind. It considers ways in which the human rights of children affected by migration are violated, and how their personal, physical, emotional and spiritual development is affected.

We will consider the role Mexico plays as a country of origin, transit and destination for migrants.

The cultural, social and economic contributions of migration will be highlighted.

We will address the dilemmas posed by multiculturalism, the formation of a new family in the host country, and the ensuing disintegration of the family which was left behind, or is already on its way to join the family member.

We will analyze some of the risks posed by ideologies and the barriers that break up a person and the family, which not only prevent their own fulfillment, but also provoke the disintegration of the social fabric of society.

We will refer to the international conventions and treaties that protect migrants and their families.

We will present certain aspects of how social and family networks operate as part of the survival strategy for migrants. We will see how the family remains an essential element in their survival strategy; proof that mankind as a whole is but a family.

WORDS OF WELCOME

Jose de Jesus Hernandez Ramos
Founding Member and Ex-President of
Familias y Sociedad

Mrs. Margarita Zavala Gómez del Campo, President of the National System for Integral Family Development;

Mrs. Cecilia Romero Castillo, Commissioner for the National Migration Institute;

Dr. Richard Wilkins, Director General of the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development;

Mrs. Maria Elena Bribiesca, President of Family & Society;

Distinguished Consuls accredited in Mexico;

Members of Congress;

Ladies and gentlemen;

Welcome to Mexico and to the International Colloquium, "The Family of the Migrant Worker".

"The strength of a nation lies within the integrity of its families."

This phrase, uttered by Confucius in the sixth century BC, resonates with force today in a world threatened by the disintegration of the family in the face of violence, crisis, and lack of opportunities, violations of human rights, discouragement and despair.

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This Colloquium has arisen from our concern for the family of the migrant worker. As organizers, we seek a more humane world, concerned for the families, mothers and fathers and children, who face the risks and challenges posed by migration.

This International Colloquium aims to identify the positive and negative effects of migration on the structure of the family, in order to promote the design and adoption of public policies that protect the families of migrants, that strengthen and encourage their development, as well as favoring their reunification in the country of origin or destination.

We consider it to be the shared responsibility of both state and society, with valuable input from academia, to discuss, identify and take the action necessary for the development, peace and welfare of the migrant family. Public policy on the issue of migration should aim to support the development of functional families, capable of meeting the basic needs of their members. The functional family is the engine of a prosperous, equitable society, wherein the state of law prevails and opportunities are provided for all citizens.

Gary Becker, Nobel Laureate in Economics, maintains that the family is where values such as laboriousness, honesty, reliability and discipline are learnt. These are the basis of human capital that provides the nation with the foundation for economic development and social progress. Economic development and social progress in turn contribute to the source of peace and welfare to which every family, and every one of its members, legitimately aspire.

This is why it is so important for governments to include the family perspective in their migration policies, for the good of both countries of origin and destination. This is why we need to address the family perspective of migration in the international arena, promoting fair bilateral agreements and the signing of multilateral instruments on the subject.

As organizers of this Colloquium, we trust in the family. We trust in both the nuclear family as well as the extended family's ability to care for their loved ones. We trust in their ability to form good citizens for society as a whole. As George Santayana, the

leading twentieth-century philosopher, said, "The family is one of Nature's masterpieces".

I would like to thank all the participants in this Colloquium for your collaboration. I would especially like to thank Mrs. Margarita Zavala, Mrs. Cecilia Romero, Dr. Richard Wilkins, Mrs. Maria Elena Bribiesca, and all the leading academics that will to enlighten us with their knowledge, and to all of you for your commitment to the family.

WORDS OF WELCOME

Richard G. Wilkins
Managing Director
Doha International Institute for
Family Studies and Development

Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a profound honor for me, as Managing Director of the *Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development* to take a few moments to welcome you to this important Colloquium as well as to introduce you briefly to my Institute.

I am particularly grateful for the kind support of the First Lady of this nation, Madam Margarita Zavala, and for her presence here today.

I would also like to thank the organizers of this event.

This Colloquium is a joint effort of the association of *Family and Society* as well as *The Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development*. The Institute is an interdisciplinary research institute, specializing in questions, policies and issues relative to family life. The Institute was founded in 2005 following the conclusion of the 2004 International Conference, in the tenth anniversary of the international year of the family.

Her Highness Sheikha Mozah Bint Nasser Al-Missned, Consort of His Highness the Emir of Qatar and President of the Qatar Foundation, established the Institute by gathering distinguished Board of Governors together in New York City in September 2005.

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The Institute's Board members include Mr. Jesus Hernandez, who preceded me today at the podium. Mr. Hernandez meets with all the members of Board in November each year to set the plan of actions for the coming year for the Institute.

The Institute reflects the commitment of Her Highness Sheikha Mozah to establish and support a global study center that will provide the region - and the world - with academic research, interdisciplinary studies, and policy initiatives to support the efforts of governments, international organizations, UN agencies, and members of civil society strengthening the family as the fundamental group unit of society. These initiatives, of course, include the very serious issues relative to migration and its impact upon the family.

The institute operates with three divisions:

- Implementation and Social Outreach Division
- Family Policy Division
- Family Research Division

I want to invite you to visit our website www.fsd.org.qa where you can learn more about the Institute and also have access to our global family information system.

It is a truly an honor for The Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development to join the organizers at this event to examine world migration and how it relates to family and family life. It is my hope that the next two days will benefit and improve the life of migrant workers in Mexico, the Latin-American region and hopefully the world. Migration is both an opportunity and a challenge for family life matters, to reduce the challenges and improve the opportunities for migrant workers and their families.

Thank you.

WORDS OF WELCOME

Ma. Elena Bribiesca Gonzalez Franco

President of
Familias y Sociedad

Let me begin by thanking Mrs. Margarita Zavala, Commissioner Cecilia Romero, Dr. Richard Wilkins, Jesús Hernández Ramos, Ambassadors, Members of Congress, and all of you present, and warmly welcoming you to the International Colloquium on "The Family of the Migrant Worker".

Family and Society is a civic association that supports the integrity and dignity of the family and person, against aggression, violation or infringements undermining their rights. For this reason, *Family and Society* is interested in advocating public and private policies and programs that recognize the role of the family as a source of support, education and care, and as the primary center for community life, safety and reliability, with full respect for the various cultural, religious, ethical and social values.

In the current scenario of international migration, the family faces new challenges and a number of problems that sometimes lead to its disintegration.

I would like to think of those people living in extreme poverty, who are homeless, with no food, no clothing, and who have to travel long distances, who are victims of corruption, crime, kidnapping, prostitution, and death, who are surrounded by apathy and neglect, passing from one country to another, expecting to find their way, but without knowing where to go, sometimes even children, traveling alone.

When families reach their destination, they need to be welcomed; they need assistance for their basic needs. The elder children and the parent, mother or father, need a decent job to support the family. The younger ones, especially, deserve a comprehensive education according to the will of their parents. They need to be able to develop fully in a healthy family environment of happiness, harmony, love and

understanding. Many migrants are seen negatively, almost as a threat or a political nuisance, without their values and the potential contribution they can make to the host country being taken into account.

Let us not forget the ones left behind, young children, teenagers who grow up alone, disoriented youth, abandoned grandparents, all with a common aim of contacting their loved ones.

All of us here had a father and a mother who gave us life, many of us grew up at their side and had the opportunity to be educated by a family who were with us always and have been the mainstay in our lives. But many others live very sad and painful situations, and for years await the return of their loved ones. It is therefore necessary to make every effort to reunite migrant families and, if not possible, at least try to find a community with a family atmosphere.

Humanitarian aid is available through individuals and public and private international and national institutions. These are committed to enthusiastically promoting the respect for the rights of migrants, especially in areas affecting family unity. This is the beginning of a world of peace, of family, where there are no borders, no walls to tear down.

OPENING SPEECH

Margarita Zavala Gomez del Campo
First Lady of Mexico

I would like to thank you for inviting me here to inaugurate this International Colloquium, "The Family of the Migrant Worker", convened by the *National Institute of Migration, Familias y Sociedad, and the Doha Institute for Family Studies and Development*. Cecilia, thank you very much, Vero, thank you. Richard Wilkins, Maria Elena, Jose Luis, Jesús and Marie-Claire, thank you very much; and, of course, Sergio Raúl Arroyo, Director of this Cultural Center, thank you. I know there are also representatives from the Embassies, Vice Consuls from Cuba, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and Venezuela, many, many thanks. Many thanks, also, to the Episcopal Commission, thank you, Monsignor, also to Flor Maria, to the Members of Parliament, thank you very much and to the many organizations who have worked with migrants in Mexico whom I see are represented here today.

The idea of a National Migration Week is precisely to bring together people who have specialized in working on the subject of migration and to initiate a dialogue which I am sure will bring more and better results, allowing us to work in a much more coordinated manner.

For me, this National Week of Migration is also an opportunity to consider amongst ourselves how our country must take into account the phenomenon of migration in our midst, as is also true of Latin America.

Just a few days ago, we were thinking how we were all taught that the first peoples were nomads. They were migrants. So before there were any settled people, the most ancient group of humans was precisely the migrant nomads and this has also been a reason why humans, women and men, move. Both for physical and spiritual satisfaction, in human nature, we also carry a spirit of migration, while at the same time, in apparent contrast, we also want to settle.

All Mexican families, moreover, are familiar with migration. We all have a very close relative, a very close friend who has emigrated to the United States. We all know someone who does not have the papers to be in another country, and indeed, in a nation like ours that has seen thousands and thousands, then hundreds of thousands of young people, and then thousands of families, and now thousands of children cross the border, we are all familiar with the subject of migration.

Not only have we seen people emigrating from here to another country, but we have also seen hundreds of thousands of families migrating from other places, and some of them even staying here in our country, so Mexico is not only a country of origin, but also of transit and destination. This is how we must understand our country.

The vulnerability to which families of migrants are exposed is an issue that requires a responsible response on our behalf, and special attention.

This forum provides an excellent opportunity to share these experiences from a global point of view, from the point of view of different nations.

The themes of this Colloquium are priorities for an international agenda, especially when it comes to a country like ours, because topics like family reunification, as well as the loneliness and the helplessness felt by members of the migrant family will be touched on.

I hope that the findings of these intense days of work result in improved public policies, improved strategies among civil organizations and other institutions, and that the meeting of Mexican and foreign experts will doubtless provide valuable elements to better understand migration and to improve our work in this field.

A fractured family and social disintegration are often the heaviest costs of migration. Unfortunately, the subject of children has been forgotten, the issue of women has been neglected, and the debate has been centered on the theme of migration in general, totally putting aside the issue of the families of migrants.

The truth is that behind every person, behind the thousands of people who for years have crossed our borders, there are children, little boys and girls, women, fathers, mothers, that is to say, men and women with a personal history and thus a family.

When the family or a family member migrates in search of new horizons, research has shown that in all respects, migration is one of the most stressful events a family can face.

Often the children become the main actors for the family, as they learn to speak the language of the country where they settle, and become the sole interlocutors between society and their parents, grandparents or aunts and uncles.

In-depth solutions require cooperation between government, civil society, and the private sector to articulate public policy actions.

I have just inaugurated another event where there is an exhibition of all those working with migrant children, so they are also connected to the migrant family. It is worth working together to see what the best strategies for understanding migration are.

I am convinced that migration, which need not be a problem, must be seen differently in the world, and that will happen when we dare to look at this through the eyes of the children searching to be reunited with their family.

Migration needs to be seen and solved in a very different way when we consider it from the angle of the family and not solely of the economy. I am sure of the success of this Colloquium because there are many speakers here who work with families, not only those with social organizations, but people who have dedicated their lives, or who belong to congregations, organizations devoted especially to migrants, who also work with the family. I am of course very pleased to see the presence of the OPIS, the officers for the protection of migrant children. This is a new figure, I think an almost entirely new concept that has arisen in Mexico for the world, whereby there are officials in immigration who specialize in children's issues, who are fully qualified to protect children; one of the fundamental rights any child has, is the right to a family.

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With full confidence in the success of this event, I would ask you to stand to officially inaugurate the International Colloquium "*The Family of the Migrant Worker*" on this day, Wednesday, October 21st, 2009 at 11:10am.

Thank you, and congratulations.

Keynote Address:

"MEXICO AS A MIGRATORY PLATFORM".

Cecilia Romero

Immigration Commissioner
National Migration Institute, Mexico

Introduction

We would all hope that the decision to emigrate was a decision freely taken by the migrant, but in many cases the decision is imposed on by necessity. It thus violates the person's free will and seriously affects the fate of thousands of people, sometimes entire families are torn apart.

Being aware of this fact implies consistent effort to consider migration from a human point of view and justifies the efforts of the National Migration Institute to mitigate the pain migrants are avoidably subject to. This has led us to undertake various protection programs about which I would like to mention not only as they exist in the manuals but also as real life experiences. If we say that migration has torn families apart and ruined lives, we have to do our utmost to avoid aggravating the situation.

Esther¹, a 64 year old woman, was eventually left alone with no family in her native Sonora. Gradually, her children and grandchildren had crossed the border, until she was the only one left ... and she was determined to go as well. She failed. She paid a "guide" to take her, but because of her age, she began to slow the group down, and they simply abandoned her in the desert. The others, younger than her, went on ahead. She tried to catch up, but then, realizing that she was not going to make it, tried to make her way back to. Desperate and exhausted, she was found by agents of our Beta groups for the protection of migrants who took her to safety.

¹ The names are different from real life to protect privacy.

Esther's case is like that of many others who, with the face of a woman, child or old man, are trying to get into the United States to finally join their loved ones. This case is symbolic of the powerful magnet of family and love.

The National Migration Institute strives to maintain human dignity on a daily basis through its groups for the protection of migrants.

By protection, we refer not only to the physical protection provided by our Beta Groups in the desert, rivers, railroad tracks or jungle, but also to the defense of human rights that we exercise through lawsuits against individuals involved in human trafficking.

We also seek to protect the right to family unity enshrined in various international and regional human rights instruments. Family unity is a guiding principle behind the activity of The National Migration Institute in dealing with people seeking refuge, or those simply migrating to our country and then trying to bring over their families. This is relevant as well in the case of Mexicans who have lost touch with family members who have emigrated to the United States and whom we seek to contact through our Consulates and the General Directorate of Consular Protection.

Beta Groups

In the same way, our Migrant Protection Groups (Beta Groups), the Human Repatriation Program and the Officers for the Protection of Infants (OPIS) are specific institutional actions orientated at supporting people in particularly vulnerable situations.

The Migrant Protection Groups, founded in 1990, are aimed at protecting and defending human rights, physical integrity and property. We currently have 16 Beta Groups located in the border states and on migrant routes. Each group makes patrol trips looking for people who need their assistance. They have specialized training, and have all terrain vehicles, communications and location systems as well as SOS towers with water and shade where migrants can take refuge until the Beta Groups arrive.

In many cases their work allows families to be reunited. This was the case of Abigail, a woman from Sonora who waited to hear from her son Marco who had decided to cross the border into the United States. After some time with no news, Abigail began asking border residents if they had seen her son. Nobody could give her any news, until a group of youths told her that they had seen a man, similar to the picture that Abigail had shown them, in bad shape in the desert. When they had seen him some hours earlier, they themselves were in a bad way, but they had shared some water and a sweatshirt with Marco.

Abigail, desperate, went to the Beta Group in Sonoyta, gave a picture of her son and the references that group of boys had given her. They immediately mobilized their forces and after an intensive search, they managed to rescue Marco in the desert. They gave him first aid and returned him to his mother. One of the Beta agents, who had participated in the rescue, said literally, "It was a great satisfaction for us – as a Beta Group – to see the face of a desperate mother change completely on seeing her son alive. At that moment I understood the importance of our work, when I saw the mother's and son's reaction, it gave me goosebumps, as they say. I believe that our work is humanitarian because for us there is no difference between nationalities, you only see the person for what he is, a human being. "

Repatriation Program

In addition, the National Institute of Migration has recently been developing a Repatriation Program. This program was announced by President Felipe Calderon on December 18th, 2007 and currently operates at three border points in Tijuana, Baja California, Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, and Nogales, Sonora.

The aim of the program is to create conditions whereby Mexicans deported by the U.S. authorities receive immediate support and, if they wish, the opportunity to reintegrate successfully into the Mexican labor force. Since the program began, 442,439 Mexicans have been repatriated, and 121,887 have made use of the program.

With this program, the repatriated migrants are given food, shelter, and medical care in case of emergencies, job opportunities, training and certification of job skills, as

well as travel discounts to their home states. They are also helped in establishing contact with their family, as we believe that the process of repatriation is a concern for both the migrant and his family, and this allows the family to know the person is well and puts an end to the anguish of not knowing his whereabouts.

Migrant children and OPIS

We cannot talk about family and human development without mentioning the case of migrant children, often unaccompanied minors, trying to reach their parents who migrated without them.

The desire to provide better living conditions creates circumstances that put children at risk. In many cases both parents have emigrated to the United States, have achieved a certain degree of stability and then decide to bring the family. In other cases, the children decide to go and look for their parents. This is how thousands of children, from both Mexico and Central America, travel the road to the United States, sometimes alone, sometimes with a relative, sometimes with an illegal guide known as "pollero" to smuggle them across the border.

To better understand the reality of child migration, I would like to share some facts with you. Last year, the Institute carried out the repatriation of 6,412 foreign minors to their country of origin.

Of these 4,969 were male and 1,443 female.

20%, that is 1,282 minors, were under 12 years old at the time of repatriation.

4,553 were traveling alone and 1,859 were traveling with a relative.

In the same period, from January to December 2008, 32,151 Mexican children were repatriated from the United States.

Of these, 24,484 were male and 7,667 female.

3,574 were under 12 years old and 28,577 over 12 years old.

18,192 traveled alone and 13,959 with someone.

From January to September this year, 21,220 Mexican children have been repatriated from the United States, and we, in turn, have repatriated 3,777 foreign children to their country of origin.

The vulnerability of children and adolescent migrants is very high. On their journey they often become victims of abuse and atrocities that we need to protect them from at all costs.

Among children, there are groups that are particularly vulnerable, such the under 12's years, especially when they travel alone. There are even cases, more than we might imagine, of babies only months old, sent to the United States through "Coyotes", (illegal border smugglers). The babies are sometimes abandoned or left as pledge payment, and are rescued by the authorities on either side of the border.

The truth of child migration is a dramatic situation that requires special attention and cooperation between authorities.

With this in mind, since 2008 the Institute has created the post of Officers for the Protection of Infants (OPIS), who are immigration officers with specific skills, attitudes and training that enable them to provide the best possible care of minors under the responsibility of the Institute. The OPIS have received comprehensive training offered by child specialist institutions such as the DIF, (Institute of Integral Family Development). They have training in child psychology, human rights, trafficking and gender perspective, among others.

There are currently 170 OPIS employed in 32 regional offices who care for the children regardless of their nationality. If they are repatriated Mexicans, they quickly pass the responsibility on to the local government authority for children. If they are foreign, the children are accompanied throughout the repatriation process. The Institute contacts the relevant authorities in their country. The OPIS then ensure that the childrens' rights are protected, and that they are safely returned to their family in

their country of origin, avoiding their falling into the hands of people-trafficking networks.

I want to share another story with you about a situation that unfortunately still takes place every day, that of missing children. A few weeks ago, during an inspection of a passenger bus, federal immigration agents found a Guatemalan woman, with a four year old girl who was asleep. In the absence of papers, the agents asked the woman to accompany them to the Institute's delegation office where it turned out that the woman was not the mother of the little girl. In the subsequent investigation by the authorities, it turned out that this woman was involved in the trafficking of children who were then sold in the U.S. and Canada to couples who could not have babies. The little girl was cared for by the OPIS in the delegation, who contacted the Guatemalan authorities and in a joint effort, the little girl's parents were found and she was returned home in perfect condition.

As part of this strategy regarding the care of unaccompanied migrant children, the Institute, in conjunction with UNICEF, signed an agreement with Nextel, the telecommunications company to install free phone lines in 21 immigration detention centers so that these children can phone their families in their country of origin. More than 3,000 calls have been made from these lines, which mean that more than 3,000 times, a mother or father has been able to rest assured that their child is safe and will soon return home.

New rules for immigration detention centers.

As part of this strategy, last October 7th the rules for the operation of immigration detention centers, where undocumented migrants stay while awaiting repatriation, were published in the Official Journal of the Federation. These rules pay special attention to the subject of family by establishing the right of children to be able to stay with their family, or to be reunited with them, the right of children to participate in education, sports, recreational and culture activities, and to have contact and time with other children. It also establishes the obligation of the Institute to advise foreigners on how to locate family members or friends, and it must provide separate areas for men and women, while at the same time ensuring family unity.

FMTF Migration Forms

I would also like to mention the relevance of having introduced the Migration Form for Border Workers (FMTF) in March 2008. With this, we provide legal status to Guatemalan and Belizean workers and their families who come to work in various activities in the states of the southern border of Mexico.

This immigration document allows foreigners to bring their close relatives to live in Mexico, thus achieving the union of families and allowing them to enroll their children in schools and health services. So far this year, 17,017 FMTF have been issued, mainly in Chiapas.

Conclusion

I conclude by recalling that the principle of family unity is crucial to individual, community and social development. As John Paul II said, "The future of humanity is forged in the family", for which reason any measures aimed at their protection will never be enough.

Keynote Address:

MIGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY

Salvador Beltrán del Río Madrid

Under-Secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

I have been invited to comment on the issue of migration in Latin America and its impact on the family. I have divided my participation into four parts: the first one will refer to components of migration in Latin America and its impact on the family; the second part will present the historical variables of migration in Latin America alone; the third will consider the effects of this process and the relationship between migration and development, and finally in the fourth part I will consider the positive contributions of migrants to society.

I will begin by mentioning that UN studies show that in 1980 the total number of migrants in the world, defined as those people living outside their country of birth for more than a year, was close to one hundred million, of which nearly 50% were migrants from developed countries and half from developing countries. By 2006 the number of migrants, according to UN figures, was almost twice as much, close to two hundred million people, of which 62 million came from migrations ranging from south to north, usually understood as from developing countries or developed countries. There were another 53 million migrations from north to north and around 60 million people who migrated from south to south.

One of the main aspects that has made a difference in the migratory pattern in this region and its impact on the family is the increase in women and child migrants who form part of the labor markets under difficult and often extremely adverse conditions.

The family, which provides the most important link between man and society from the moment he is born and the space where he learns to interact with the world

around him, is permanently changed when one of its members, with others often following their example, decides to emigrate in search of better living conditions and opportunities.

Studies also show that in Latin America and other regions, the migration flow is composed mostly of young adults who travel abroad to work for short periods, according to the so-called cyclical migration, and then return to their homes, once they have saved enough. This turns out to be one of the positive effects of migration. However, when migration flows are composed of entire families, this results in cumulative effects of depopulation of vast regions. These groups of families rarely return to their country of origin and as migrant workers have less incentive to send remittances or make significant investments in their places of origin, when their spouses and children no longer reside in the country of origin. From this perspective, cyclical labor migration generally has positive effects on development, especially at the community level, but when migration of the whole family is permanent, this benefit does not exist and large areas of the country of origin become depopulated, as is the case for example of the Mixteca region in Puebla.

Another relevant aspect in the international debate on this issue is the importance of identifying causes and effects in order to prioritize the relationship between migration and development. This in turn leads us to affirm that migration in Latin America is a result of the search for better opportunities and living conditions for migrants and their families. Migration in Latin America also has a relatively new element which requires structured analysis of the positive effects of migrants' contributions to both countries of origin and destination, so as to put the benefits of having a labor force in permanent demand by developed countries, in proper perspective.

We believe that this new approach will avoid piecemeal discriminatory and frankly persecutory attitudes. Finally, there is one other element that has great impact on both origin and host migrant societies. The circularity flow of migrant labor is now being seen as the circularity of knowledge, in which migratory flows increasingly comprise highly qualified people with professional and academic training. This will be one of the main elements to consider about migration in Latin America and its impact on families by 2020.

With regard to the historical variable of migration in Latin America and its impact on the family, this explains the causes of the great currents of migration that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For several decades, substantial flows of Europeans sought refuge in the Americas, in countries like the USA, Brazil, and Argentina. It can be said that in the twentieth century migration has contributed to developing the economies of many countries. Without migrants, neither the United States nor Canada nor Australia would right now be considered among the more developed countries.

The migratory flows, consisting of entire families, of those times meant the opportunity to settle in a new country, and participate in the generation of wealth, as well as taking part in the integration and formation of a new nation with their talents, their work, their values and their future. Mexican migration to the US may be divided into several stages. First of all, many Mexicans ended up on the other side of the US border after the end of the war between Mexico and the US in 1848. Family reunification at that point was the reason why many Mexicans migrated north. Then, from the late nineteenth century onwards until the end of the twentieth century, there was great demand for Mexican labor in the US. This was due to the expansion of the railways, plus the economic surge in the west, mainly in California, as well as the growth of different segments of the U.S. market, in need of manpower.

The "bracero" program established from 1942 to 1964 in the United States to solve the shortage of manpower resulting from the Second World War, also generated favorable conditions for the migration of Mexicans. However, when this exchange program was ended, it had a direct impact on the so called undocumented migration.

From 1964 to 1985 there followed a surge in undocumented migration to the US. This was the result in part of the decline of import substitution and the lack of growth processes within Mexico, but mainly due to the reduction of legal channels previously available in the "bracero" program for entry into the United States. This situation would soon to lead to the stigmatization of undocumented Mexican workers.

Finally, from 1985 to the present day, there is a phase of unprecedented growth in migration to the US, with considerable impact on the families of migrant workers.

It is important to note that the flow of Mexican migration has also been accompanied by great migration flows of Central Americans fleeing civil wars, for example, in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, which caused the displacement of entire families who settled in other countries, including Mexico.

One of the reasons for the interest to migrate is the difference in income gap and purchasing power in the country of origin and the country of destination. This variable combines two distinct effects that reinforce each other in an enticement and a removal effect of the workforce with a direct impact on the disruption of family and community. At the same time, there are trends towards the liberalization of international trade and investment, including the free movement of technologies. However, it must be said, while acting as the key player in the technological, cultural, social and institutional aspects of our time, resulting in greater economic, financial and communicational integrity, man is yet excluded from free circulation within the planet. Paradoxically, migration does not form part of the economic agenda of the world. Only in some cases, has it been included as part of the social agenda, and increasingly, unfortunately, has it become part of the security agenda of nations.

One of the reasons that explain this is that the political classes of the various migrant host countries consider immigrants migrating from the south as a problem for the preservation of their national identity and social cohesion. They have even come to be regarded as a threat to national security in some countries. Hence, those who design and implement migration policies in southern countries, and who have done everything possible to emphasize the potential benefits of international migration, have had to face attitudes that do help their cause.

Under this strategy, countries in the region have taken action in international forums, at the UN, at the OAS, at the International Organization for Migration and at regional consultation forums such as the Regional Conference on Migration, the South American Conference on Migration, inter alia, for the purpose of promoting and defending the human rights of migrant workers and their families, to ensure full

respect for these people and their right to emigrate. Therefore, Mexico's initiative at the United Nations International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, which calls attention to this issue, was adopted at the 1990 General Assembly and entered into force in 2003.

The situation in Mexico is very varied. Few families migrate with all their members at once. Most have a pioneer who sets up the link, especially in the case of migration to the U.S. This is followed a mechanism, which at the bottom of the scale at least, maintains a minimum of financial support and occasional communication with the family left behind. If the pioneer does well, he opens up spaces for other family members to follow. There is still an issue of cultural shock in these cases, but at least the whole family together can face the problems once re-united. The hardest cases, at the bottom of the scale, are those where the economic contributions to the family left behind in the country of origin, suddenly disappear. The pioneer, who opened up the way, stops showing signs of life. Some may think a tragedy has occurred, but often it may be that the pioneer has perhaps found other bonds of affection in his new life.

We have, then, from the point of view of the family, two basic scenarios: one that maintains family ties from a distance, which contradicts the essence of family life, and the other, a clear rupture in the family.

Migration and development in Latin America with its impact on the family of the migrant worker, is a trend that is directly linked to the limited capacity of the countries in the region to generate productive jobs, rising levels of unemployment, the concentration of work in the informal sector and the widening of the income gap. Migration in Latin America has been largely determined by causes, such as population movement from rural to urban areas, as a result of social and political distribution processes, the establishing of patterns of production and consumption that are detrimental to ecosystems, institutional reforms changing the state's role as a generator of employment and provider of services, and the reduction of geographical distances in cultural terms as a result of globalization.

Also other notable changes have occurred in Latin American migration flows, which have increased non-border inter-American migration. Boundary currents have

declined, and traditional immigration flows from Europe to Latin America have virtually disappeared.

At present there is a migratory flow from all Latin American countries destined for the United States of America, and to a lesser extent, to Canada. Within Latin American and Caribbean countries, there are migration currents stemming from Central America to Mexico, from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, from the Caribbean and Colombia to Venezuela, from Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina, from Brazil to Paraguay and Ecuador to Colombia, among others.

It has also been noted that there are migratory flows from Argentina to Europe, from Brazil to Japan, and from Ecuador, Peru and Colombia to Spain.

In all cases, migration flows have benefitted the families and communities of the country of origin with the remittances sent by migrants working in the United States, Canada and Europe.

Experts agree that migration flows are highly beneficial to the development of societies and communities in the country of origin. Moving abroad is economically beneficial to the majority of migrants and their families, if not, they would not undertake the journey.

Migration is welcomed by employers in the host countries, who may even depend on the migrant workforce.

Philanthropic donations made by transnational migrant organizations help the local communities of origin, because they often provide infrastructure and services that otherwise could not be provided. Examples of such programs in Mexico are the 3X1 and the 4X1 programs.

At a national level, remittances from major labor importing countries take on national importance as an indispensable source of foreign currency, as is the case in Mexico and El Salvador. In the latter, a third of its gross domestic product depends precisely on remittances from Salvadorans in the United States.

On the other hand, experts have agreed that there is no clear evidence that remittances alone economically develop a country that exports labor. The investment of migrants in productive activities in the communities of origin, at the most has had a modest effect on national economic growth. Even when indirect multiplier effects of remittances can be substantial, they are neutralized by the cumulative nature of migration, leading to the depopulation of the countries and regions of origin.

At the same time the following considerations should be taken into account:

- When migrants move with their families as in permanent migration, the depopulation process is accelerated and the return of the migrants becomes less likely.
- When migrant workers take their families with them, they encourage the growth of a second generation in the host countries, who will often grow up there, in conditions to their disadvantage.

The experience of adapting of a lower level of the second generation reinforces the negative stereotypes of the migrant population in host countries, thus increasing the possibility of their becoming an impoverished minority, similar to a caste. All the same, it is important to note that for countries in the region, migration represents a form of self-assurance among the rural and urban households that use it as one of several strategies for economic survival.

Likewise, it has been proven in most cases that remittances are used for consumer goods, generating a multiplier effect on the economy, because they create a renewed demand for local goods and services.

In practice, cyclical migration works better for the countries of the region, for the countries of origin, and for the recipients, probabilities to save and make productive investments in their place of origin.

Of greater importance is the fact that temporary migrants do not compromise the future of the next generation, by putting their children in the context of a possible downhill situation abroad. It is, however, worth noting that the positive relationship between migration and development is not automatic, it must be worked on.

Market forces alone will not make the virtuous connection required. The active intervention of the State is needed to build a productive structure in rural areas, as well as scientific and technological institutions capable of innovation. This is the condition necessary for achieving the development potential of migration flows.

Regarding the positive contributions of migrants to their societies of origin and destination, we can say that Latin American countries should identify and promote the positive contributions of migrants to our societies of origin and destination in order to broaden opinion on migration in general. In this section some of the most important positive contributions of migrants to their societies of origin and destination, regardless of their immigration status are mentioned. The aim is to contribute to the relevance of analyzing migration from Latin America, and to channel secure, legal and orderly migration flows.

Statistics from the Department of Homeland Security in the United States notes that in January 2008, there were 11.6 million undocumented migrants living in the United States, of which seven were of Mexican origin. This group contributes to the aggregate demand in the country of arrival, i.e., by the increase in production, as well as consumption, and its multiplier effect, by spending most or part of their income in the host country on consumer goods and housing.

The replacement of older adults, and American citizens at retirement age, the formation of a workforce available to perform jobs that arouse little interest among local workers, because they involve hard, difficult and dangerous jobs, and less pay, in some cases in agriculture, or construction, hospitality services, and domestic services, among others.

Since 2004, competitiveness in some sectors of U.S. industries, together with the skills of the vast majority of Mexican migrants, and migration surveys in the northern border, all point to the majority of undocumented Mexican immigrants having 7.5

years of education on average. They exceed the average 1.5 years of education that prevails in Mexico.

The favorable economic balance in the balance cost benefit of Mexican emigration to the United States has resulted in favorable economics for the communities on arrival in the United States, while showing a historical pattern of higher payment of taxes, while demanding fewer social security services.

From the purely economic aspect, the work of Mexican migrants has helped to increase the GDP of the United States, with more than 485,000 billion dollars in 2006, an amount that represents more than half the GDP of Mexico. It is estimated that the purchasing power of the Latino community in the United States during 2008 was approximately 951,000 million U.S. dollars and is expected to increase to 1.4 billion in 2013. This purchasing power has increased by nearly 350% since 1990.

According to its consumer capacity, Mexican migrants spent more than 268,000 million U.S. dollars in 2006 on consumer goods.

In 2008 a recent report by the Advisory Board of the U.S. President, stated that the work of immigrants in that country increased national income by 30,000 million dollars a year. The work of migrants, it must be said, tends to complement and not replace the American workforce. Undocumented migrants constitute 5% of all U.S. workers and about one third of foreign workers. Most undocumented immigrants come from Latin America and 55% are of Mexican origin.

It is estimated that in 2002, Hispanic-owned firms created more than 1.5 million jobs, which meant an income above 220 million, and generated a payroll of 36,000 million. In the long run, the elimination of undocumented labor would mean losses of more than 55,000 million dollars in annual expenditure of the 244,000 billion in annual revenues and more than 2.8 million jobs lost.

Also undocumented immigrants and their descendants contribute more through the payment of taxes than they actually receive in social services. They perform millions of jobs essential to the economy, increasing productivity and reducing the cost of

goods and services, and pay taxes for services that do not correspond to the work they perform.

The U.S. government reported a total of 70.000 million dollars a year on over payments in taxes and Social Security, health insurance and other rights, which suggests that these payments correspond precisely to the contributions of illegal immigrant workers in the U.S., of which 52% are attributed to undocumented Mexican immigrants.

In relation to the positive contributions of migrants in Mexico, the percentage of foreign-born population residing in our country is very low, less than 5% of the total population. Nonetheless, the real figure may be even less, since a significant number of these are children of Mexicans born in the United States, during a temporary visit of their parents in that country, or as a result of the border life of some communities. This phenomenon occurs mainly in the northern border and the western central region of the country, most traditional points of Mexican migration to the United States.

In November 2008, the migration regularization program that will run for 30 months entered into force in our country. This program aims to establish the criteria under which foreigners of any nationality who are in our country illegally and who express interest in becoming permanent residents may initiate proceedings of their immigration documents as immigrants. This applies to professional in positions of trust, with scientific, technical, family, artistic or athletic links, or as employees. Foreigners who have entered the country before January 1, 2007, have a legal job, are spouses of Mexican or foreigners legally established in the country, and who also have first-degree blood relationships with Mexican citizens or foreign persons legally established in Mexico, will benefit from this program.

Foreigners benefit from regularization as it enhances their personal security and integral development. Irregular status makes them vulnerable to violations of their human rights while threatening their right to family unity and legal security.

The benefits and contributions that foreigners have made in Mexico are:

- Foreigners residing in our country, either those maintaining their foreign status, or living as naturalized Mexicans, are individuals with a high level of education, averaging over 12 or more years of formal education, which is far above our national average.
- Foreigners over 25, 42.5% have a degree in higher education against the 11.9% of Mexicans in the same age group.
- The high impact of immigrants in the development of host communities, given the number of foreigners with studies and economic resources who tend to take up residence in the country.
- Foreigners living in Mexico represent a pool of highly trained human resources and entrepreneurs, thanks to the immigration of investors, traders, business people, families, professionals and technical workers, artists, researchers, scientists, and so on.
- Other benefits to be mentioned are the foreigners resident in our country. For example, American investors, executives, merchants and professionals who have settled in various states of the Republic, in San Miguel de Allende, in Cabos, Puerto Vallarta, Guadalajara, Chapala, Cuernavaca, Puerto Penasco, Rosarito, Ensenada, among others.

Spaniards working as professionals, educators and business owners are well known for the impact they have had in the educational and intellectual development of Mexico, following the Spanish Republican exile during the 1940's.

South Americans and Cubans, working as professionals, writers, artists or athletes in the nation's capital or in other states, have made a strong impact in the mass media industry.

French, German, Italian, Canadian, Lebanese, and British communities have been cornerstones in the mining, textile, automotive, and electronics industries in our country.

In all the afore-mentioned cases, foreigners have provided a source of employment for local people, they have influenced the emergence and development of businesses linked to the buying and selling of real estate, and the construction of housing estates, and they have given an extra boost to international tourism by attracting family and friends from their places of origin to visit them.

With almost 24,000 migrants born in Guatemala, according to the 2000 census, Guatemalans constitute the second largest group of foreigners in Mexico. Their presence is a result of refuge sought in Mexico between 1981 and 1996 and life on the southern border of the country. 58% are in the 20-44 age group with an average age of 29, forming a pool of young labor for the states of Chiapas, Quintana Roo, Tabasco and Campeche. Most work as laborers, hired help, drivers or industrial employees. Their level of education is very low compared with other communities of foreigners, with only 7% aged 25 or more at graduate level or higher.

Let me conclude by mentioning finally that migration in Latin America is a complex issue. Its causes lie in a wide variety of factors, such as war, persecution, ethnic conflicts, famine, natural disasters, among others.

Economic factors are critical to migratory behavior, as people flee from poverty, disease, hunger, overcrowding, lack of opportunity in general, in the search for better living conditions for themselves and their family.

Migrants will always find work to do that either local workers will not do, or do not want to do for the wages offered. In general, people do not migrate to where the work is not well-paid. In Latin America, as elsewhere, the development model has not devoted sufficient attention to international migration. Recently the size of expatriated communities and the volume of remittances to their countries of origin have attracted the interest of public policy makers. It has been found that migration can have different effects, such as economic stagnation, abandonment of the places of origin and massive loss of talent, but it also can have positive effects, such as invigorating local economies, generating new productive activities, and contributing significantly to the development of science and technology.

In the same way, the so-called cyclical migration works better for the countries of origin of the region, as well as for the host countries. The migrant workers who return to their countries of origin are more likely to save and make productive investments, which will benefit their families, who receive substantial remittances. In contrast, the migration of entire families tends to diminish the positive effects of development.

The current migration policies in the United States and Europe not only seek to limit the number of migrants, but also to discourage family reunification and formation, with ensuing anti-social consequences for family and society.

Keynote Address:

**Family and Migration to the GCC Status:
An Ethnographically-Informed Overview**

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Abstract:

For many decades the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have served as primary migratory destinations for tens of millions of individuals from South Asia, West Asia, and other points in what is now frequently called the Indian Ocean world. While both historic and substantial in scale, these migration flows remain some of the most understudied movements in the contemporary world. In exploring these migration flows, this paper seeks to accomplish two basic tasks. First, it provides a fundamental overview of the current state of scholarship concerned with Gulf migration. That overview includes an historical description of the changing parameters of Gulf migration and the delineation of those particular aspects that mark the GCC states as unique migratory waypoints in the larger global context. Those unique aspects of Gulf migration include the extraordinary proportion of migrants to citizens; the kafala, or sponsorship system, that governs and organizes these migration flows; and the role of the state in managing and organizing employment for both citizens and foreign labor. This overview draws upon scholarship—and particularly ethnographic scholarship—produced in both sending and receiving states, and also makes heavy use of original ethnographic data gathered by the author between 199 and 2009 in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar.

The second portion of this paper seeks to frame Gulf migration through the lens of family. The paper first considers the impact of Gulf migration upon the families and households that remain in sending countries, with particular attention devoted to the role of Gulf-derived remittances in households' livelihood strategies, as well as the household-level vulnerabilities engendered by Gulf migration. Next, the paper explores the particular dilemmas faced by those migrants whose families accompany them to the Gulf States. These dilemmas typically involve managing children's education through periodic movements between home countries and the Gulf States, as well as the struggle to convey some modicum of cultural belonging to children in diaspora. Finally, this section concludes with an analysis of the impact of these migration flows upon local families in the Gulf States, with particular attention to the attitudes citizens display concerning the cultural frictions produced by the diverse domestic sector workforce.

Overall, this paper is intended to inform migration specialists with little or no knowledge of Gulf migration patterns of the unique and substantial Gulf migration flows, to simultaneously provide a foundation for fundamental comparisons between Gulf migration flows and those south-to-north flows that continue to predominate in the contemporary literature, and to establish a set of basic conclusions concerning the impact of Gulf migration upon families in both sending and receiving states.

I. Introduction

For tens of millions of families in South Asia, the Middle East, and portions of East and North Africa, the petroleum-rich states of the Arabian Peninsula present the most significant migratory waypoint in the spectrum of possibilities they face. While the migratory conduits with one endpoint in the Gulf States share many characteristics with those in other parts of the world, they also differ from other migration flows in noteworthy ways. One particularly notable difference concerns academic scholarship: analyses focused upon these particular migration flows are strikingly impoverished. Compared to those migratory conduits with one endpoint in North America or Europe, for example, very little is known about these migrants, their experiences in the Gulf States, the processes that lie behind their decisions to

migrate, or the way this migration reshapes family and community life in the places from which they come². More specifically, quantitative data has been a particular blind spot in the analysis of these migration flows: while ethnographers and other qualitatively-focused social scientists can tell us about the types of problems and challenges migrants encounter in the Gulf, scholars and policy makers continue to lack the ability to discuss the scope and frequency with which those problems and challenges occur. This dearth of scholarly attention is due to a confluence of factors, including the fact that only recently have the Gulf States developed the capacity to gather these sorts of data; the fact that through the dominant Orientalist discourse the Gulf State were, for many years, portrayed as a strange and anomalous component in the Middle East; and the fact that many of the Gulf States are perceived, perhaps correctly at times, as reticent to encourage research that might tarnish their emergent global reputations.³ Despite these hurdles, a slow but steady trickle of research has accumulated over the last fifteen years.

Furthermore, with Qatar and several other Gulf States now actively encouraging migration research, it seems a particularly appropriate moment to cull a set of basic themes and findings from the existing literature.

To that the end, this paper seeks to accomplish two basic tasks. First, the paper provides a general overview of migration in the Gulf States. This overview includes a brief history of migration to the Arabian Peninsula and a more in-depth discussion of the commonalities the various migratory destinations of that peninsula share. Overall, this section comprises a broad introduction to migration to the Gulf, and is intended to provide a basic framework for comparison to migration flows in other parts of the world. In the second half of the paper, I focus specifically upon the relationship between family and migration. This discussion will highlight three distinct

² The Study of remittances and remittance flows World be the sole exception to this. Indeed, there is an abundance of work on remittance flows to those countries that send migrants to the Gulf States (e.g. Azee and Begum 2009; Zachariah and Rajan 2007; Prakash 1998; Mallick 2008; Labaki 2006; and almost all of the references listed in ECSWA 2007).

³See ECSWA 2007: 43-44; Labaki 2006:16; Willoughby 2008: 193; Kapiszewski 2001: 26-27; Fair 1999; Demery 1986: 19; Winckler 2000; Leonard 2002; 15. As Nasra Shah notes, even basic demographic data are often difficult to locate: "[T]here is no regular publication that provides comparative data for the six countries. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) used to publish data sheets summarizing the vital events information for the ESCWA region, including migration, annually or biannually. Hence relatively updated information was available for the major characteristics of national and non-national population. However, ESCWA discontinued this publication since the last few years. The Gulf region governments do no have any routine publication where comparative data for the region may be available, especially with regard to migration statistics" (Shah 2006:3).

venues of interest: the impact of migration upon the families left behind in the sending countries, the experiences of families that migrate as a unit to the Gulf States, and the impact upon the families that are members of the host societies. This second section relies upon ethnographic data gathered by the author in a series of projects conducted over the last ten years in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar, but remains primarily a distillation of key themes in the existing literature⁴ Overall, while all classes of migrants are described in this paper, the central concern is with the experiences of the majority of migrants to the Gulf – that is, with semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Moreover, the analysis seeks to move beyond a discussion of the economic impact of migration to the Gulf States. In considering the impact of Gulf migration upon families both in the Gulf and in the sending states, the analysis developed here is broad, multifaceted, and essentially sociological in nature.

II. Migration in the Gulf States

Migration and trans-regional movement on the Arabian Peninsula have a history that precedes written records by a millennium or more. As a matter of convenience, however, we might speak of migration to the Arabian Peninsula in terms of three distinct chapters. First, for much of the region's historical and prehistorical period, the cities of the Arabian coastline were major and minor ports in the Indian Ocean world. Certainly the production of pearls in the shallow waters of the western Gulf anchored the existence of these port cities, but these coastal cities also served as entrepôts for trade with the nomadic pastoral peoples of the Peninsula's interior. Records from this historical period describe a cosmopolitan constellation of merchants in the larger port cities (such as Muscat and Manama); in those port cities, Banyan traders from the Indian subcontinent typically predominated.⁵ The traders' position was built by shipping pearls eastward to the subcontinent and returning cloth, foodstuffs, and assorted sundry items back along the same maritime

⁴ These projects were funded by a variety of institutions and sources, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's Meteorological and Environmental Protection Agency (199), the Foreign Language Area Studies Program (2002), the Fulbright Program (2002-2003), the Wenner-Gren Institute (2002-2003), Qatar University's Faculty Stara-Up Grant (2008), the QNRF Undergraduate Research Experience Program (2008-2009/2009-2010), and Georgetown University's Center for International and Regional Studies' Migrant Labor in The Persian Gulf Research Grant (2009-2010)

⁵ Palgrave 1865; Lorimer 1908

routes. These South Asia merchant families prospered in the region: they often served as bankers and advisors to local leaders, and many of these families still maintain a presence in the region today.

The second distinct chapter in the history of migration to the region roughly coincides with the British colonial period in India. In the 19th and 20th Century, Britain became increasingly and intricately involved in governance in the Gulf. While the details of its quasi-colonial relations with the Gulf states is beyond the scope of this paper, Britain's relations with the Gulf states were managed through British India.⁶ That conduit brought an increasing number of South Asian bureaucrats to the region, along with an entrepreneurial class to serve the growing foreign population. The simultaneous development of the oil industry attracted even more migration, including both skilled and unskilled Persians, Arabs, and South Asians.

The last and ongoing chapter in Gulf migration commenced in the middle of the twentieth century, gathered speed in the early 1970s, and continues unabated to this day. Vast increases in the global demand for petroleum combined with the rapid development of the industry to meet that demand yielded great wealth to the Gulf States. Each state subsequently devised modernization plans focused upon infrastructural development: new highways would be built; new universities, museums and mosques would be constructed; suburbs would be extended into the desert hinterlands. The newfound wealth generated by the OPEC embargo filled state coffers and increased the scale and scope of this development. Faced with extensive plans and extremely small indigenous labor force, the Gulf States turned to relatively inexpensive South Asian labor sources. Building upon the historic migratory connections of the two earlier periods, vast contingents of South Asian laborers flowed to the Arabian Peninsula. As a result, the type of migrant arriving in the Gulf States shifted: where in the past the typical migrant was a merchant, entrepreneur, bureaucrat or skilled professional, in the final decades of the twentieth century the typical migrant was an unskilled laborer. Although the flow of skilled and professional migration continued, and migration from other Middle Eastern countries continued, these other transnational communities were eclipsed by the vast contingents of South Asian laborers now present in the Arabian Peninsula States.

⁶ See Onley 2007 for an in-depth examination.

For much of the history described here, the region's migratory destinations were port towns, undelineated areas, sheikdoms, or quasi-colonial protectorates. Today, however, they are modern states. When speaking of the Gulf States, one is typically referring to the six contemporary states comprising the membership of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). In Arabic, these states are often referred to under the singular nomenclature of *al khaleej*, a common term that yields some indication that these states make up a single sociocultural area, at least in the minds of many of the people indigenous to the Arabian Peninsula. The Gulf States, then, include Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman (and thereby exclude Yemen, also on the Arabian Peninsula, and Iraq and Iran, neighbors on the Persian/Arabian Gulf).⁷ In 1950, the six GCC states were estimated to contain 4,020,000 people. Today, the most recent estimates suggest a population of 38,350,000, and although natural growth rates in the Gulf States are some of the highest in the world, the exponential population growth in the second half of twentieth century has more to do with migration, and particularly the transnational migration of unskilled labor.⁸ Together, the GCC states comprise the third largest bloc of receiving states in the world (after North America and Europe).⁹

As this suggests, one of the unique characteristics of Gulf migration is the extraordinary proportion of these foreign populations to the indigenous citizenry. Unlike migration flows in other parts of the world – migration flows in which even substantial foreign populations are accommodated as minorities in the host country – in the Gulf States the situation is often reversed. In Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait, citizens are vastly outnumbered by the population of foreigners building and operating these strikingly modern and wealthy states, and in all the Gulf States foreigners make up the majority of the work force. And while the foreign workforce is proportionally quite large, ethnicity and nationality are not evenly distributed amongst its strata. Rather, the most lucrative positions not occupied by citizens are held by other Arab migrants, "westerners," and smaller numbers of

⁷ Five of the six GCC states are ruled by Sunni "families," while the sixth, Oman, has Ibadi leadership. All six states have been described as ethnocentric in nature (Longva 2005), and the Political tribalism that predominates is largely focused on the expansive role of the public sector (Al Naqeeb 2005; Willoughby 2008).

⁸ United Nations 2009; Kapiszewski 2006

⁹ ECSWA 2007: 4

Persians and South Asians.¹⁰ The lower socioeconomic strata are occupied almost entirely by South Asians, although small populations of Sub-Saharan Africans and Arabs (typically Egyptians) can also be found in low-skill or unskilled labor positions. Labor contingents from Southeast Asia have also recently begun to join the South Asians at the bottom of the transmigrant hierarchy. Overall, research points to the Gulf-wide solidification of these categories into durable cultural ideas about ethnically appropriate labor.

The presence of these large foreign workforces means that "foreign matter," a concept Paul Dresch used to refer to both foreign people and the culture they bring with them, cannot be consigned to enclaves or easily swept out of sight.¹¹ Rather, as sporadic research has suggested, local populations often conceive of themselves as a besieged minority in their own country.¹² Consider, for example, the sentiments of one of the Kuwaiti participants in Anh Longva's fieldwork:

You have been to Abu Dhabi and Dibai, haven't you? How many local people did you meet in the streets there? One? Two? They are so few compared to the expatriates that they have surrendered the streets to them. Sometimes, I think we should do that too, withdraw to a ghetto where we would be only amongst ourselves... [but] we want to retain our streets, to keep them Kuwaiti. We want to hear Kuwaiti spoken out there, see Kuwaiti people and Kuwaiti manners around us. This is our home. We don't want to lose it¹³

The impetus for self-segregation described here is matched by the very real (but never entirely successful) social and spatial segregation of "foreign matter" throughout the Gulf.¹⁴ While the mechanics of this attempted segregation will be dealt with at length later in this article, it should also be noted that assimilation and

¹⁰ "Westerners" here is an ethnic conception that includes the populations from the European states, the United States and Canada, Australia, New Zealand and white South African nationals. This definition of South Asia includes Afghanistan. While analytic assessments of the role of ethnicity in Gulf migration are few and far between, Sulayman Khalaf (2005:256) notes that "the semi-skilled and unskilled Asian and Arab workers experience the greatest exploitation" (256).

¹¹ Dresch 2006

¹² Longva 1997, Coger 2008; Gardner 2009

¹³ Female Kuwaiti participant, from Longva 1997:125

¹⁴ Sulayman Khalaf 2005; Gardner 2005.

naturalization, particularly of non-Arab migrants, is extremely rare in the Gulf States.¹⁵ The entitlements associated with citizenship, combined with what has been identified as the ethnocentric essence of citizenship in the Gulf States, reinforce the temporary nature of the contracted workforce's presence on the Arabian Peninsula and drive the social segregation typical of these societies.¹⁶ Reflecting again on the comments of the Kuwaiti above, the extensive social segregation in the Gulf is often portrayed as strategically necessary for the preservation of a local social and cultural identity amidst a sea of foreign influence.

The extraordinary proportion of foreign workers in the Gulf States and the siege mentality that has resulted from their presence is also described as the driving force behind the modern formation of the kafala (or sponsorship) system. Historically, the kafala relationship functioned a mechanism for hosting foreigners in the closed societies traditionally typical of the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁷ In that historic formulation, the member or insider "vouched" for the outsider or visitor, essentially taking responsibility for that outsider's presence and behavior in the local society, but also carrying the responsibility for the safety and protection of that individual. With the increasing flow of labor to the Gulf States, this mechanism was extrapolated to a comprehensive legal and state-based system for managing the flow of labor to the region.¹⁸ In its most basic distillation, the contemporary sponsor, or kafeel, vouches for the presence of the foreigner, and thereby assume legal and economic responsibility for that individual for the duration of the contracted period. The kafeel also assumes responsibility for repatriating that individual upon the conclusion of the contract. In return, the sponsor is the only individual for whom the foreigner can work. The foreign worker may not change employers or depart the country without the permission of her or his sponsor. Overall, as many have noted, this system structures a set of relationships in which the foreign worker is almost entirely

¹⁵ Consider, for example, Article 6 of the Bahraini citizenship law, which mandates that Arab applicants for citizenship must have resided in Bahrain for 15 years, while non-Arabs face a requirement of 25 years. Even those non-Arab applicants meeting this requirement report long delays and little success with applications for citizenship (Gardner 2005).

¹⁶ See Abdulla (2005:185) for an excellent and brief explanation of the role of the state. Also: Longva 200, 2005.

¹⁷ Sulayman Khalaf (1992) reports briefly that the kafala system was designed to protect Gulf merchants from foreign competition.

¹⁸ "Sponsorship (kafala) requires the sponsor-employer (kafeel) to assume full economic and legal responsibility for the employee during the contract period" Longva 1999:20.

dependent on the goodwill of the sponsor who profits from his labor.¹⁹ In more abstract terms, the sponsorship system distributes much of the responsibility of managing and governing the foreign workers to the individual sponsors in the Gulf States.

Professional and skilled workers typically arrive in the Gulf through the same cosmopolitan system that allocates human capital in other parts of the world. This system needs no elaboration here. For the semi-skilled and unskilled majority of migrants, however, processes somewhat unique to the Gulf States predominate. Although chain migration arranged through personal connections, remains a significant force in the Gulf, most men and women arrive through a vast and expanding transnational labor brokerage system.²⁰ Manpower agencies in the Gulf States deal directly with manpower agencies in the sending countries. Agents and sub-agents in those sending countries advertise open positions and connect men and women with work opportunities in the Gulf. Research suggests these labor brokers are often key agents in the coordinated deception of potential Gulf workers.²¹ Unlike the elite and cosmopolitan migrants in the Gulf, migrants seeking unskilled or semi-skilled positions – as construction workers, office boys or domestic workers, for example – typically pay large sums of money for a two or three year employment contract. Nearly all the laborers incur significant debts to pay these fees: productive land is mortgaged, savings are depleted, and high interest loans are taken.²² The debts they incur remain lodged in the sending country, although significant portions of that money makes its way across the transnational divide to the agents and sponsors in the host country. While no comprehensive data have been gathered about the average amount of these fees, and although researchers have noted extremely broad variation in prices paid for these contracts, evidence suggests the typical payment amounts to several thousand U.S. dollars.²³ These

¹⁹ Longva 1997, 1999; Gardner 2005, 2009; Human Rights Watch 2006, 2009

²⁰ Perhaps the most detailed explanation of this system can be found in Michele Gamburd's ethnography (2000)

²¹ Gamburd 2000; Silvery 2004

²² For most migrants working in unskilled positions, the debts incurred for this work opportunity involved the extended household and its productive resources.

²³ A recent ILO report (ILO 2009) noted average payments of \$ 1000 in Pakistan and \$ 1400 in Bangladesh. Shah (2006:8) mentions \$ 4,084 for an Iranian migrant and \$ 2042 for an Indian migrant. There is no clear logic underlying the differences in these numbers. Certainly nationality plays an important role, but men from the same country often pay significantly different amounts for essentially the same visa.

amounts should be comprehended in relation to the typical salaries semi-skilled and unskilled labor receives in the Gulf. Again, while no comprehensive data about salaries are available, the 66 laborers I interviewed in Bahrain worked for monthly wages varying from BD120 (\$318) to as low as BD40 (\$106). In Qatar, where I am currently conducting fieldwork, I hear similar numbers -- QR500 (\$137) at the low end, QR900 (\$247) at the high end for unskilled labor.²⁴ As the range of both sets of figures suggests, these contracts may provide an opportunity to, mathematically speaking, walk away from two years of work with several thousand dollars in saving. Alternatively, by this calculus the migrant may concludes his two years with as little as a few hundred dollars in savings.²⁵

Many forces conspire to undermine the tenuous logic of these numbers, and the possibility of concluding two years of service with even the smaller of these figures in hand is far from assured for the semi-skilled and unskilled majority of transnational migrants. Systematic research clearly suggests these transnational migrants face a patterned set of challenges, problems and hurdles.²⁶ Overall, the core problems are numerous and interrelated. Employers frequently withhold contractually promised wages.²⁷ Laborers are often forced to work longer hours than indicated in the contract they originally signed, and they are often not paid at all or not paid overtime rates for these extra hours. Almost all employers retain possession of the laborers' passports, despite the fact that this is expressly forbidden by law in most Gulf States.²⁸ Many men and women arrive in the Gulf State to discover they will be required to work a job different than the one they were contractually promised in the sending country: men, who thought they would be

²⁴ Based upon his research in the United Arab Emirates, Sulayman Khalaf (2005) mentions the numbers \$ 130 to \$ 200 per month as a estándar wage bracket for unskilled positions.

²⁵ More importantly, however, these distant debts combine with the regulation of the kafala to build a highly dependent workforce.

²⁶ al Najjar 2002; Longva 1997, Gardner 2005; Pessoa 2008a, 2008b; U.S. Department of State 2007; Human Rights Watch 2006, 2009; Migration News 2009; ECSWA 2007: 44; ILO 2009.

²⁷ While examples abound, Al Jandaly (2006) will serve fine here.

²⁸ In a recent study using a stree-intercept method to survey low income workers in Qatar, Pessoa and her research team found that 88% of the 169 participants in her study had relinquished their passport to their sponsor (Pessoa et al. 2008b:6). In my fieldwork in Bahrain, all but one of the low-income workers I interviewed were not in possession of their passport. See also Longva 1997, Strobl 2009. The first portion of this sentence, as well as the previous sentence, is supported by most systematic research conducted in the area. Those teams or individuals who ask large numbers of transnational laborers about these issues, or teams or individuals who spend longer periods of time studying smaller groups of men and women in the Gulf clearly corroborate this (Human Rights Watch 2006, 2009; U.S. Department of State 2007; Gardner 2009; Gamburd 2000).

"office boys," for example, find themselves working construction site laborers. Many foreign workers are charged for benefits for which the employer is contractually responsible, such as return tickets to the sending country, visa renewal fees, or room and board.²⁹ Research in the region also clearly demonstrates that migrants generally remain unable to assert their basic rights in the various courts and venues charged with adjudicating these issues.³⁰ The frequency with which components of this constellation of issues recur in the middle and lower echelons of the workforce, are key factors in the production of an undocumented (or "illegal") migrant population. Typically, unskilled and semi-skilled migrants who face significant problems abscond from untenable positions with their sponsors, and thereby from the only employer for whom they can legally work. They then seek employment on the black market. As undocumented migrants, they present an entirely different sort of challenge for the Gulf States.³¹

Regardless of class, residence patterns in the Gulf States are highly segregated. Members of the transnational elite typically dwell in somewhat luxurious accommodations. High-rise apartment buildings are increasingly common throughout the Gulf, but large walled compounds remain the predominant urban pattern for elite foreigners. These compounds often combine sets of large villas with agglomerations of spacious apartments. Most of these compounds resemble western gated communities, in that entrance and exit is loosely monitored by security guards. Excepting those foreign workers employed in the domestic sector, most of the semi-skilled and unskilled migrants in the Gulf States dwell in "labor camps," a singular term that refers to a wide variety of living arrangements common in the region. At best, laborers can expect to room in large, organized camps with basic amenities -- water, air conditioning, a canteen, and transportation to the central urban areas on Friday (the only day off for most men). More typical, however, are ad hoc structures in industrial yards or areas, or decrepit villas in older suburban neighborhoods. The men typically live four to eight to a room. Many of the labor camps in the Gulf have problems with itinerant supplies of electricity or water, and the dispersal of these living areas in industrial hinterlands often prevent laborers

²⁹ Gardner 2005, 2009; Longva 1997, 1999; Human Rights Watch 2006, 2009

³⁰ ILO 2009; Strobl 2009; Gardner 2009; Longva 1997

³¹ Estimates suggest hundreds to thousands of workers in the GCC States are currently undocumented (Kapiszewski 2001: 92-94). See also Crystal 2005.

from easily obtaining groceries, socializing, or generally moving about during the few periods they are not working.³² Most of the Gulf states are currently amidst the construction of "worker cities" or "bachelor cities" that are intended to simultaneously improve the living conditions of these laborers and to more distinctly segregate them from the public spaces in the city..

Overall, the system by which migration to the Gulf is organized has been a lightning rod for international critique. All the GCC States, for examples, have for much of the last decade occupied the lower tiers of the U.S. Department of State's Human Trafficking Report. The lowest tier is reserved for those countries that, by the U.S. Department of State's evaluation, are unable or unwilling to make significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking in personas. These sentiments are echoed by the International Labor Organization.³³ International non-governmental organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, continue to issue scathing reports about the problems seemingly endemic to this system. In general, the GCC States historically responded to this sort of criticism by challenging the methodological underpinnings of these reports, by portraying them as part of an ongoing Orientalist rhetoric, by directing attention and blame to the labor brokers in the sending countries, or by noting the extraordinary logistical and bureaucratic challenges posed by the rapid pace of development characteristic of the region.³⁴ In the past few years, however, a plethora of signs suggest the battle lines, once sketched as vociferous western human rights activists versus a recalcitrant or indifferent local population, no longer characterize the situation in the Gulf States. Scholars, Arab and local, now play and increasingly central role in the development of a critical understanding of migration to the region, and overall, scholarly conversations that were previously perceived as threatening are now welcome in the public sphere.³⁵ In Qatar, for example, the Qatar Foundation

³² Gardner 2005, 2009

³³ ILO 2009; Plant 2008

³⁴ e.g. Gulf New (2009s, 2009b); Gulf Daily News (2009a, 2009b)

³⁵ Perhaps the most telling scenario has emerged in Bahrain. In the past, resistance to the international human rights discourse and the changes it recommended was framed in cultural terms in the sense that outsiders were portrayed as meddling in the political and cultural affairs of Bahrain and the other Gulf States. As the impending changes to the sponsorship system approached, however, the public debate in Bahrain shifted from a cultural one to an economic one: opponents of the proposed changes have now framed these rights-related changes as an economically debilitating shift that will slow profits and hamper development on the island.

has sponsored a series of research projects and forums that critically examine the migration experience on the Peninsula.³⁶ The internationally televised Doha Debates had an extended discussion on the topic. And the State of Qatar's National Human Rights Committee most recent report pointed directly to the very same problems described by the critical reports from international governments and non-governmental organizations noted above.³⁷ Several Gulf States are amidst discussions concerning the potential end of the sponsorship system, and Bahrain has embarked on a series of significant experiments aimed at directly addressing the problematic experiences many foreign workers face on the island. Bahrain's Minister of Labor Affairs is at the vanguard of change in the region. As he recently noted,

The prime challenge facing authorities in the Gulf is the elimination of the traditional sponsorship system and creation of an effective governmental body to assume the responsibility of importing manpower needed for development ... We also need to improve working conditions of those workers. Governments must guarantee their rights and that they receive the benefits they were promised when they were recruited.³⁸

These sorts of sentiments are new to the Gulf, and while they certainly don't reflect a consensus in the region, they might more easily be interpreted as a potential harbinger of significant change in the governance of foreign workers in the region.

III. Family and Migration to the Petroleum-Rich States of the Arabian Peninsula

The second half of this paper is directly concerned with the impact of Gulf migration upon families in both the sending and receiving countries. It is widely understood that transnational migration and, more broadly, the increasing flow of human capital,

³⁶ A partial list World include three o the Qatar Nacional Research Fund's recent awardees: Pessoa et al. (2009) Migrant Workers in Qatar (QNRF UREP Grant #05-09-71); Pessoa, Carlson et al. The State of Migrant Workers in Qatar (QNRF UREP Grant #07-12-03); Gardner and Watts (2009) Constructing Qatar: Narratives from the Margins of the Global System (QNRF UREP Grant #05-018-5-002). That list would also include The Human Rights Youth Conference, Migrant Labor Forum (Qatar Foundation, April 18, 2009); should Qatar Abolish the Kafala System? A Student Debate (Qatar University, May 25, 2009); Georgetown-Qatar Center for Regional and International Studies Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf Research Grant Program (active as of 2009); Carnegie-Mellon University in Qatar's Panel on Immigrant Labor (Sunday, August 24, 2008).

³⁷ State of Qatar (2008)

³⁸ Al Baik, Duraid (2007)

is significantly reshaping family in the contemporary world. With the particularities of the GCC countries in mind, the remainder of the paper will approach the issue of family and Gulf migration through three distinct questions. First, what effect has labor migration to the Gulf States had upon families in the sending countries? Second, how might we unpack and analyze the experiences of those families that accompany the employed family member to the Gulf States? And finally, how have these vast migration flows reshaped families in the host societies?

a. Families in Sending Countries

In 2003, I sat in the small living room of my flat in Manama, Bahrain, with two Tamilian laborers. Both had just survived an intense building fire, and had been left with nothing but the clothes in which they had rapidly departed their rooms in the aging villa in the center of the city. Ten years before that night, Arkesh, one of those two men, had been an entrepreneur in a large village in southern India. He owned a small bicycle shop in the central area of town, and was able to make \$10 or \$12 a day. He even employed two people. Arkesh hadn't really wanted to leave India, but his parents thought he could earn more money abroad. One day his father told him that he was going to go to the Gulf. Arkesh noted that even if you don't earn more money in the Gulf, you earn more respect. If you return from the Gulf people at the tea shop will get up and give you their seat. Gulf migrants are respected. And, Arkesh added, that helps explain why his family pressured him into going to the Gulf. His parents wanted that respect for the family.

He paid 1300 Dinars (\$3488) for the visa to come to Bahrain. His family mortgaged the agricultural land they owned, borrowed some from a moneylender, and borrowed even more from an acquaintance already in Bahrain. Upon arrival, the promised job disappeared, but over the years he was able to find work as a carpenter, electrician, and manual laborer. Although he paid another 1700 Dinars (\$4509) in various attempts to renew or regularize his status on the island, Arkesh spent most of the last decade as an illegal worker. He sends all of his savings from the various manual labor positions home to his parents. Several months before the fire, his parents took out another loan in his name to pay for his sister's dowry. He figures he will need another eighteen months to pay that loan off. Then he hopes to go home. At that

point he will have been gone twelve years. He hopes to start up the bicycle shop again upon his return.³⁹

Several salient points can be culled from Arkesh's story. First, it should be clear that the decision to migrate to the Gulf States was a decision produced at the familial level. For many migrants -- and this is particularly true of South Asian migrants -- a sojourn to the Gulf is a strategic component of an extended family's economic strategy. The individual migrant's interests are clearly subordinate to the needs of the family: as Arkesh describes, remittance are often sent to parents, and the decision to migrate is decision that often doesn't belong to the migrant. While the literature often frames migrants, in the tradition of homo economicus, as rational individual agents, migration research in the Gulf States clearly suggests that most Gulf migrants should be considered emissaries of extended families.⁴⁰ Remittances generated by this migration are used to buy families' basic consumption, as the seed money for entrepreneurial activities, to fund the education of migrants' siblings or children, and in South Asian society, for the dowries of male migrants' sisters or daughters.

Arkesh's story reveals a second important and related point: while these migrants often represent an entire extended family, migration to the Gulf also typically risks the productive assets and savings of that extended household. Because potential migrants face charge of \$1500 to \$3000 for the right to work in the Gulf, poor families often mortgage agricultural land, redirect income from siblings' wages, pawn the gold jewelry that stores familial (and, more typically, maternal) wealth, and so forth. In the Gulf States, South Asian labor is often portrayed as more docile than other sources of labor (and, particularly, other Middle Eastern sources of labor).⁴¹ A better understanding of the organization of these migration flows, however, reveals that what is often portrayed as a cultural trait is more clearly the result of a structural arrangement: poor (and mostly South Asian) migrants risk the well-being of their extended family to simply arrive in the Gulf States. Their reticence to assert their

³⁹ This is from an interview (#B051) conducted by the autor, June 15, 2003.

⁴⁰ Gramburd 2000; Gardner 2009

⁴¹ Nakhleh 1976, 77; Weiner 1986, 53-54

rights is directly related to the fact that they risk their families' well-being with these potential actions.

Although many migrants encounter significant problems in the Gulf States, remittances from the Gulf are undeniably central to the economic activities of countless communities in the Indian Ocean world. Billions of dollars in remittances annually flow from the Gulf, and much of this money finds its way to some of the more impoverished regions of Africa and Asia.⁴² Somewhat recent data suggest that over \$26 billion is remitted every year from the Gulf States, a figure which places the region ahead of the United States in total remittances.⁴³ Particular regions of Asian and the Middle East are highly dependent on Gulf remittances: in the interlinked Kerala communities in which Filippo and Caroline Osella worked, migrants (mostly to the Gulf) made up 27% of the total male working population.⁴⁴ Overall, remittances contribute 22% to Kerala's state income, and the impact of these remittances can be seen at both the family and community level.⁴⁵ Remittances, mostly from the Gulf, also make up the single largest source of Pakistan's export earnings.⁴⁶ Similarly, in the Sri Lankan village in which she worked, Michele Gamburd noted the paramount role these remittances played in the local economy, although she indicated that the "villagers also note with resignation the high proportion of foreign earnings channeled to daily consumption".⁴⁷ While beyond the scope of this paper, the villagers' comment points directly to a much larger argument among development economists: do these remittances drive development (i.e. production) in the sending states, or are those remittances merely consumed?⁴⁸ Finally, migration to the Gulf States has a gender dynamic that directly relates to the function of families in the sending states. Through both chain migration and the emergence of dense nodes in the labor brokerage system, many regions and communities in South and Southeast Asia are intensely connected to the Gulf States. In parts of Kerala, for example, large portions of the young male population

⁴² Jureidini 2003:2

⁴³ ECSWA 2007:28.

⁴⁴ Osella and Osella 2000: 119

⁴⁵ Azeez, Abdul and Mustiary Begur 2009. See also Kurien 1994: 765

⁴⁶ Leonard 2003: 135

⁴⁷ Gamburd 2000: 45

⁴⁸ Mallick 2008; Zachariah and Rajan 2007

are absent.⁴⁹ Perhaps more noteworthy, however, is the impact of the increasing feminization of international migration. Demand for domestic workers in the Gulf States, combined with other positions in the service industry, has created a large and stable flow of female migrants to the Arabian Peninsula. These women come from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, India and several other countries. As absent sisters or mothers often function as the primary breadwinner, gender roles in the sending communities have been reconfigured around the contemporary realities. In some analyses, this female migration has been connected to a crisis in masculinity in the sending countries, with the effects to increased alcoholism and violence.⁵⁰

b. Families that accompany migrants to the Gulf

Although the majority of Gulf migrants arrive as the single emissaries of their extended families, millions of intact nuclear families also migrate to the Gulf States. The dividing line between single migrants, or "bachelors", and migrant families is almost entirely attributable to economic class, for the Gulf States require minimum incomes for family visas. Kuwait's monthly minimum salary for the family visa, for example, is set at KD450 ((\$1573), while the UAE recently raised the monthly minimum salary requirement for the family visa from AED 6,000 (\$1634) to 10,000 (\$2723).⁵¹ These state-mandated minimums, however, often prove insufficient, for the costs of living, and particularly the costs of educating children in private schools, pushes the costs of maintaining a family in the Gulf much higher than the state-mandated minimums. These family visas, however, must be understood for the significant changes they render. As Vora observed in the United Arab Emirates, "most foreign families living in the UAE are nuclear and patriarchal," and this is no coincidence, for the family visa policies of the Gulf States directly contribute to the nucleation of the family.⁵² As noted above, many of the transnational migrants arriving in the Gulf States come from areas in which extended families are the predominant familial form. The Gulf States' migration policies, however, allow only

⁴⁹ Osella and Osella 2000: 75-79

⁵⁰ Gamburd 2000

⁵¹ Sambidge, Andy. UAE raises minimum salary limits for expats with family. Arabian Business.com Thursday, July 2, 2009. See also Leonard 2003: 138-139 for a description of this system.

⁵² Vora 2008:381

spouses and children to accompany migrants. As a result, the nuclear family can remain intact through the migration process, while the extended family can only be maintained across the transnational divide. The policies and procedures in place in the Gulf States, then, can be seen as one force contributing to the reorganization of the family around its nuclear core.

Perhaps due to issues of access, these nuclear migrant families have been the subject of relatively more ethnographic attention than the much larger bachelor population.⁵³ Collectively, this research suggests migrant families find themselves in a series of complex and ambivalent positions in the Gulf States. With naturalization almost impossible, many foreign families are in the precarious position of making a life and a home in a country to which, in the final accounting, they can never belong. And while this is true in the long-term, there is a more direct anxiety produced by the unpredictability of their relations with their sponsors and with the various localization campaigns, for the duration of their stay is never ensured.⁵⁴ Conversely, research also suggests that these families struggle to replicate the cultural setting of home, to protect children from the perceived negative impact of cosmopolitan westernization, and to instill a sense of belonging to a distant home.⁵⁵ In the final accounting, children in these diasporic families often lose this connection to the homeland. As Karen Leonard describes it, the Gulf unsettled these middle class migrant children's "knowledge of and commitment to their parents' home nations".⁵⁶ As a result, the Gulf States have emerged as a stepping stone to further diasporization, with Canada, England, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States as typical destinations.⁵⁷

These issues are often framed in terms of identity. In the author's ethnographic study in Bahrain, the children of foreign workers spoke at length about their struggle with their placelessness in the contemporary world.⁵⁸ A young South Indian man, for example, noted that as a student at the Indian School, they were primarily educated

⁵³ e.g. Leonard 2002, 2003; Vora 2008; Gardner 2008

⁵⁴ Gardner 2008, Leonard 2003: 139

⁵⁵ Leonard 2002, 2003; Gardner 2008, Vora 2008

⁵⁶ Leonard 2003: 153.-154

⁵⁷ Leonard 2003: 131; Gardner 2008; Vora 2008.

⁵⁸ See also Vora 2008; Salih 2002

as Indian nationals. Hindi and English were the primary language of instruction, and his overarching notion of being Indian -- and Indian first -- was further reinforced by interactions with Bahrainis and Bahraini society, as well as the other national communities on the island. When the young man returned to India for higher education, however, he found himself out of place. He was stunned by the poverty of his homeland, and disconcerted by the lack of opportunities there. Most of all, however, he found that he lacked a "local" Indian identity: his regional language skills were poorly developed, and he was considered an oddity by the other students. He eventually returned to the Gulf, and has now made a home in a country that will most likely never welcome him as a citizen.

c. Impact upon families in the host countries

In this final section I describe the impact of these vast migration flows upon the families indigenous to the Gulf region. This topic remains one of the most unexplored facets of the migration literature in the Gulf States, and certainly the most important conclusion one could reach is that more research on this topic is desperately needed. Nonetheless, we can tentatively point to three basic issues that might potentially guide future research. First, the presence of large numbers of foreigners has produced a widespread insecurity about safety in the region. This insecurity is often expressed around concerns for the integrity of the local family, but also in terms of a social form of safety, as well as the perceived vulnerability to the erosion or loss of cohesive local cultural tradition. Second, the presence of foreigners in the Gulf States, and more specifically, their presence in the homes of the citizenry, has reshaped khaleeji family life and the responsibilities of the individuals who comprise those families. While the presence of these migrant populations has reshaped both men's and women's roles in Gulf society, it has played a particularly important role in altering women's roles in the family. Finally, in these traditionally insular societies transnational migration has fostered a high degree of personal interaction with foreigners and foreign culture. In a sense, the world beyond Arabia has come to the peninsula. Each of these three aspects will be dealt with in turn.

One of Qatar's leading newspapers recently paraphrased the sentiments of a "prominent Qatari woman," who noted that, "the menace of single workers is such

that many Qatari families avoid venturing out on weekends. She suggests the government build a large city complete with the entire needed infrastructure where single workers be accommodated." She further added that the city should "be located far away from Doha."⁵⁹ These sentiments echo those heard in other parts of the Gulf. The Kuwaiti Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, for example, recently embarked on the construction of a pair of complexes to house some 12,000 foreign male laborers in the country, and was explicit about its mission to eventually "relocate all bachelors from the residential areas of Kuwait to their very own city to limit opportunities for crime and to appease residents."⁶⁰ Similar proposals have been publicly discussed in Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. While the Qatari woman's sentiments were framed as a proposal, tens of thousands of laborers already dwell in the vast "industrial area" on the outskirts of Doha—an ad hoc bachelor city.

This sentiment that male laborers unaccompanied by their families -- "bachelors" in the Gulf parlance -- are a menace to local society is widespread in the Gulf States, and while this topic remains one of the least explored in the current literature, it is clear that in all parts of the Gulf many citizens envision the legion of migrants in their midst as a threat to their family, to their personal security, and to the integrity of their culture.⁶¹ In my fieldwork in Bahrain, for example, I was able to track multiple cases of threats and violence levied against foreign laborers. Much of this violence occurred in the neighborhoods where large numbers of foreign laborers were forced to coexist with local citizens, and much of this violence was justified by the citizenry in terms of the vague threats to the security of family and children.⁶² In Qatar, many

⁵⁹ The Peninsula September 16, 2009

⁶⁰ Summayyah Meehan. The Bachelor City. Muslim Media Network. December 11, 2008

⁶¹ Shah 2006:5-6

⁶² Consider a pair of examples from Bahrain. In late 2004, a Manama Municipal Council member declared the intent of the Segaiya neighborhood's Bahraini population to burn down a building occupied by Asian laborers. Issues of sewage and overcrowding gave way to what Councilor Ibrahim Hassan Ismail called the "moral aspect" of the problem: "The tenants, who are usually Asian, roam around in their underwear with disregard to the social and Islamic laws of the country" (Gulf Daily News, November 9, 2004). These issues continue to this day. Last month, a group of Isa Town residents reported their plan to break into labor camps and force the expatriate bachelors out. Residents reported that there are nearly two-dozen villas in the neighborhood that, together, house hundreds of laborers. As the neighborhood representative reported, while they are concerned about the mounds of dead rats the laborers pile next to their domicile, the (male) citizen's primary concern is with the safety of their women and children, as they fear those women and children will be harassed by the bachelors. The laborers told the Bahraini area councilor "that they can't sleep or walk around without rats bothering them, so they strangle them and throw them on the street." The councilor also noted that, "The problem is that these laborers are not under the sponsorship of

large shopping malls and public parks now enforce "Family Day" policies on Fridays, the only day that most foreign laborers have free. Asian men and other "low class" male migrants are prevented from entering these public places, ostensibly to safeguard these spaces for family use.⁶³

As Sulayman Khalaf has clearly argued, the attempt to spatially segregate the global flow of labor to the Arabian Peninsula is a central feature of the Gulf city.⁶⁴ The sorts of policies and practices that structure this segregation are, however, also connected to the overarching sentiment that an imagined past has been lost. As one Kuwaiti citizen related to the anthropologist Anh Longva, "Imagine seeing strangers everywhere around you, including in your own homes. We used to know all the Kuwaitis, and to trust each other. In the old days, when someone made a promise, you knew he would keep it. We are like a big family. Now, everyone is a stranger. You don't know whom to trust anymore."⁶⁵ Perhaps even more to the point, all the Gulf States are quietly spending large sums on internal security. Much of this spending can be seen as a reaction to the size of the foreign populations in these respective countries and, more specifically, as a reaction to recent labor unrest in Bahrain and the UAE. Essentially, the reinforcement of internal security will help ensure the GCC States are able to manage and control potential uprisings by the large foreign workforces.⁶⁶

Interestingly, while there seems to be a widespread notion of trepidation and fear about the impact of such a large foreign presence, foreigners are also deeply integrated in the private lives of most Gulf nationals, and without a doubt the presence of this large foreign labor force has reshaped family life and members' individual responsibilities. Much of this has to do with the widespread presence of domestic workers in GCC households. In the Gulf States, even middle class households typically have domestic workers. In Sharon Nagy's fieldwork in Qatar,

the landlord, who just buys houses and rents them out." The city councilor visiting the area confirmed that the residents are angry, and he warned the bachelors to beware as the residents plan to break into their camps soon if nothing is done (Gulf Daily News, March 14, 2008).

⁶³ The Peninsula, "Malls can enforce their own policies: Official" 13 October 2008; Gulf Times, "Shopping malls determine family day rules" 27 July 2008; Qazi, Sarmad (2008) Shopping Centers Stick to 'Family-Day' Policy. Gulf Times. October 12, 2008. See Maruska (2009) for an in depth analysis.

⁶⁴ Sulayman Khalaf 2005.

⁶⁵ Longva 1997: 124-125

⁶⁶ For a discussion of this process in Qatar, see Maruska (2009). See also Surk (2007).

for example, all 43 families she interviewed had servants, and most of them had multiple servants.⁶⁷ In her research in Kuwait, Nasra Shah noted that 87% of Kuwaiti households employ at least one foreign domestic worker.⁶⁸ Put another way, Jureidini found that housemaids made up 7% of the total population in the United Arab Emirates.⁶⁹

Overall, the presence of this large domestic workforce has allowed Gulf families to remain some of the largest in the development world: while modernity elsewhere exerts its pressures upon family size through the heavy investment required in children, the combination of an imported domestic workforce, along with the substantial social safety net provided by the state, has in the Gulf States preserved the highest natural population growth rates in the developed world. In a somewhat recent study, Nasra Shah found a strong correlation between the number of domestic workers in a household and the number of children in a household.⁷⁰ Local women have been largely freed from the labor of maintaining the household, and if not in the workforce itself, have assumed positions of managing the large household.⁷¹ Sharon Nagy's analysis also points to the freedoms rendered by this domestic workforce, particularly in terms of women's presence in the public sphere. She argues that in conservative Khaleeji societies, it is not customary for women to move about alone and unsupervised, but that the constellation of the drivers and housemaids available to contemporary khaleeji women expand their capacity to move about and establish a more public social presence.⁷²

Finally, the widespread presence of foreigners in the GCC States, and particularly their presence in GCC households, has brought the traditionally insular families of Arabian society into close contact with individuals from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. As Sharon Nagy noted in her study of domestic workers in Qatar, "The

⁶⁷ Nagy 1998

⁶⁸ Shah 2002

⁶⁹ Jureidini 2003:6

⁷⁰ Shah 2002

⁷¹ Mai Yamani's article (1994) provides a fine example of this. While the article is ostensibly about the resurgence or re-imagining of a local Saudi cuisine by the Saudi women of Mecca, it becomes clear only at the end of the article that the women of Mecca are not cooking themselves, but rather directing the cooks in their household in the development (or rediscovery) of this cuisine. Note that the appropriate role of "managing" the household and its labor force echoes the management roles that remain respectable vocations for males as well.

⁷² Nagy 1998:95

presence of foreign workers in the house is, for some Qataris, their most direct and intimate source of knowledge about Qatar's foreign residents."⁷³ While domestic workers' place in the family varies significantly, it is clear that many domestic workers are intimately involved in raising the children in the Gulf household.⁷⁴ This is perceived as both a threat and a benefit: children in Gulf households often learn Hindi, Malayalam, or English from their caretakers; at the same time, parents express fear that their children are not immersed in the cultural traditions specific to the region.⁷⁵

⁷³ Nagy 1998: 85

⁷⁴ Gamburd 2000

⁷⁵ Or, in the case of the recent move to promote Saudi nationals as housemaids in Saudi Arabia, local housemaids were portrayed as a safe choice because they didn't practice magic (Sambridge, Andy (2009) First Group of Saudi housemaids start work. Arabian business.com.

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Keynote Address:

THE SITUATION OF MIGRATION FROM MEXICO TO THE UNITED STATES

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(The author of this paper is the UN Special Rapporteur for human rights of migrants, but is writing on a personal basis, not on behalf of the UN or any other institution, and assumes sole responsibility for this text.)

Introduction

This paper deals with the relationship between the phenomena of international migration and human rights. That relationship is part of the theoretical context within which an attempt is made to explain the **vulnerability** of migrants as subjects of human rights and labor. Since the U.S. is the largest host country in the map of migration flows from Latin American countries, it is an attempt to understand the bottom of the issue of the vulnerability of Central American immigrants in Mexico. Although migration flows from Mexico and Central America to the United States are the most numerous in the hemisphere, the examination of the vulnerability of migrant workers should not ignore the population movements of South America, particularly the importance of the increase in immigration to Spain from the Dominican Republic and most recently from Ecuador. These Latin American countries are substituting emigration from the Maghreb to Spain in the first places in the numbers of immigrants to this country. This is relevant for a focus on the vulnerability of these migrants as subjects of human rights and labor. There are other important migratory movements in the southern hemisphere such as Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina and Brazil and, to a lesser extent, from Colombia to Ecuador. To varying degrees, in all these movements there are problems of

violations of human rights of migrants, the further north the country of destination in the hemisphere, the greater the violations of migrants human rights.

To further complicate life in the northern border cities of Mexico, in late May 2008, two ominous trends clouded the future of the region: one: the U.S. economic crisis and its negative effects on employment in the maquiladora industry and the other, the increase in violence and crime associated with drug trafficking. The inability of the government of Mexico to do something effective against these trends has not gone beyond the expectations derived from the so-called " Mérida Plan ", details of which are not still known as of late January 2009.

The inauguration of Barack Obama as the first African American to assume the presidency of the United States opened new hopes for the dispersing of the anti-immigrant atmosphere prevailing until then. The atmosphere was fuelled every day by U.S. radio programs targeting the most recalcitrant anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican sectors of opinion. Hal Turner, a radio host from New Jersey urged his listeners to kill each of the "foreign invaders." According to the findings of an investigation of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPL) and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "hate groups" have shown a 33% growth over the past five years. A statement by Susy Buchanan, SPL researcher illustrates the growth of xenophobia, saying: "Throughout the country the anti-immigrant movement is spreading like wildfire and a group of activists are fed these flames." Among the organizations that promote hatred against immigrants in general and Mexicans in particular are the Minutemen, American Border Patrol, Ranch Rescue and Save our State. According to Angelica Salas, director of the Coalition for the human rights of immigrants in Los Angeles (CHIRLA) monitoring by her organization has uncovered and documented the relationship these anti-immigrant groups have with the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis.

Jim Chase, 59, of Ocean Side, California, a veteran of the Vietnam War, who is leader of the anti-immigrant California Border Watch, sent a call over the Internet for people to join him, "those who don't want their families to die at the hands of Al Qaeda or undocumented criminals or, the Aztlan punks who wear Che Guevara T-shirts." The operational base of this agitator was Campo, California.

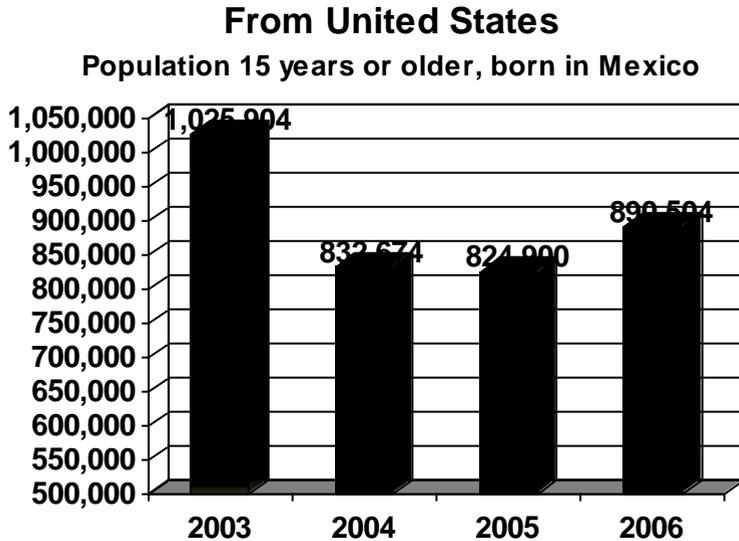
The actions of these anti-immigrant groups have represented a dimension that was not covered in the discussions of the 45 amendments that preceded the adoption of SB 2611 passed by the Senate on 26 May. It is no coincidence that the vast majority of these amendments intended to make tougher anti-immigrant proposals in this bill, SB 2611. There has been a clear process of feedback between anti-immigrant legislative actions and the actions of the groups mentioned above. The strength of this combination in retrospect explains the impossibility of a reconciliation of projects HR 4437 and SB 2611, approved by each House of Congress. The bitterness of the anti-immigrant arguments was the main factor in the failure of the so-called "immigration reform."

The flow of documented and undocumented workers from Mexico to the United States is a circular process of migration set in motion by the "forces" of supply and demand for a de facto international labor market. It is an imperfect "market", as conceptualized by Max Weber⁷⁶, where wages and working conditions are more the result of an asymmetry of power between the main protagonists of an employment relationship than the classical result of the interaction between supply and demand. The way that the asymmetry of power between the main protagonists of the social and economic relationship develops has to do with the values and ideologies that belong to a different dimension of the migration situation. Therefore, the conclusion that can be drawn from these data is still incomplete, despite the production of direct estimates of the migration of documented and undocumented workers from Mexico, which was documented for the first time by the COLEF.

The understanding of the circularity of migration between Mexico and the United States is particularly relevant in light of the appearance in Mexico in late 2008 of a new myth about migration, concerning the alleged mass return of several million

⁷⁶ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber an die deutsche Politik 1890-1892*, pp 23-54, cited by Dirk Käsler in *Max Weber: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). In this event, Mommsen regards Weber's detailed studies on agriculture in the region of the Elbe, in which he analyzed more than a dozen publications published between 1892 and 1894 (not yet translated from German) on the conditions of agricultural workers, including migrant Polish workers. Many of the ideas of Weber particularly relevant for industrial sociologists appear in this series of works commissioned by the Verein für Sozialpolitik in 1890 that Weber directed, along with Thiel, Conrad and Sering. My knowledge of this aspect of social and economic theory, in which Weber develops fully the sociological concept of a labor market, came from reading the book of Dirk Kasl, cited above, and the later work of Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

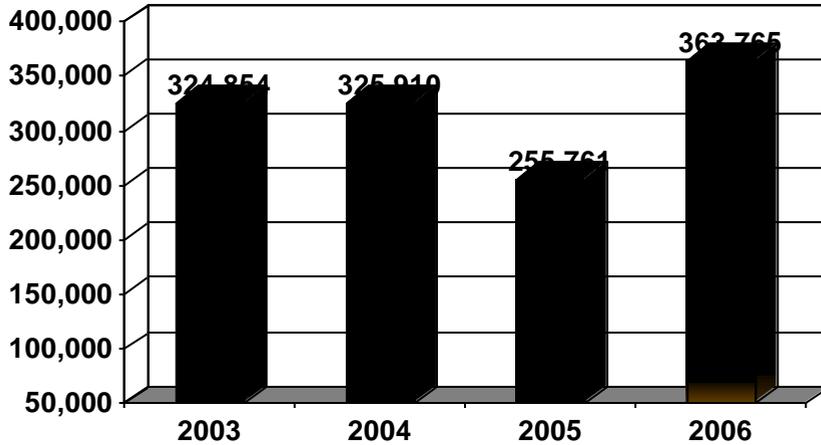
Mexicans in the United States as a result of the shortage of jobs caused by the economic crisis in that country. The data produced by El Colegio de la Frontera Norte displayed in the following graph:



Source: Prepared by the USEG - El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. Survey on Migration in the Northern Border. SEGOB: CONAPO, INM, STPS, SRE and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, several years.

From United States

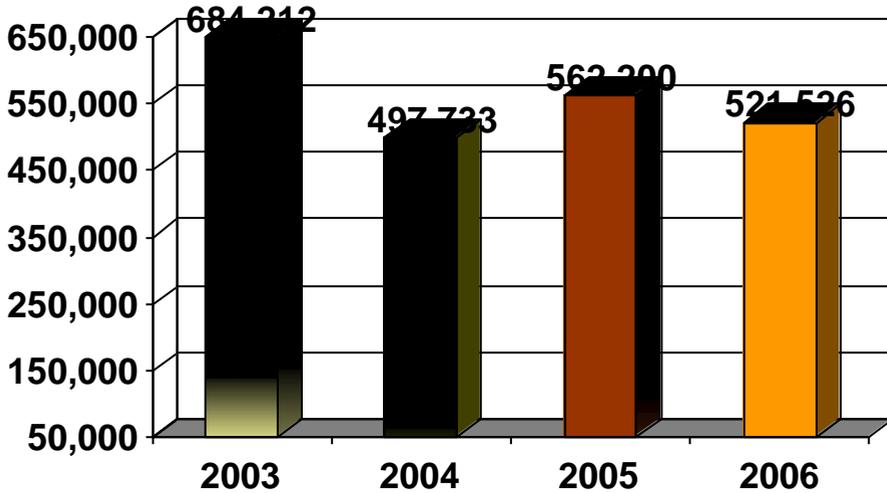
Population 15 years or older who were born in Mexico and residing in the U.S.



Source: Prepared by the USEG - El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. Survey on Migration in the Northern Border. SEGOB: CONAPO, INM, STPS, SRE and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, several years.

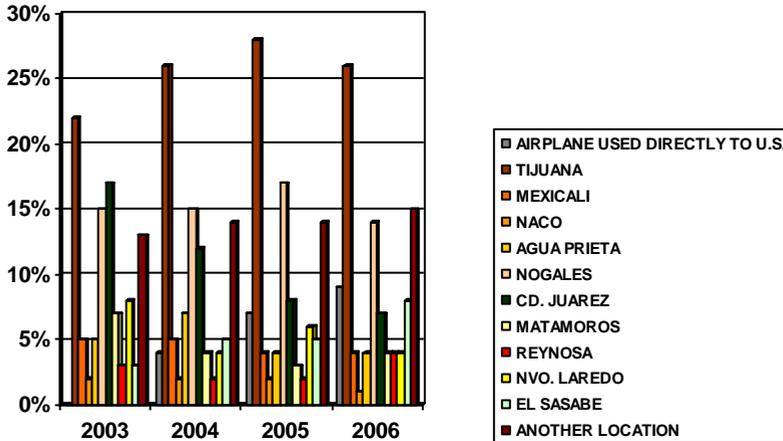
From United States

Population 15 years or older who were born in Mexico and residing in the U.S.



Source: Prepared by the USEG - El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. Survey on Migration in the Northern Border. SEGOB: CONAPO, INM, STPS, SRE and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, several years.

City of crossing into the United States. Population 15 years or older who were born in Mexico



Source: Prepared by the USEG - El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. Survey on Migration in the Northern Border. SEGOB: CONAPO, INM, STPS, SRE and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, several years.

These graphs correspond to the series of annual surveys carried out in several cities in the northern border through personal interviews with migrants conducted every year, going to both U.S. and back to Mexico and are based on systematic random sampling of migrants detained in several border cities. They show: 1) that Mexican migrants who leave for the United States, regularly return home; 2) those born in Mexico came back in 2006 in fewer numbers than the previous year and that it can hardly speak of a massive return when the numbers of returning migrants still have not reached the levels achieved in 2003; 3) that the levels of returning migrants has regularly been massive for many years; 4) so far no evidence that a mass return is occurring, beyond what occurs regularly each year.

There is certainly some logic in the supposed return of those who left the country in search of employment and, suddenly, jobs are scarce in the country where they

went to look for work as a result of a recession. The reason that reality does not support this assumption can be summarized in what is meant by the concept of the "social networking" of migrants. This concept must be understood as a series of "contacts" that migrants seek to establish to help achieve the objectives for which they emigrated. These "contacts" seen from a sociological perspective are "social" relationships established by migrants on leaving home until they achieve the objectives that motivated their migration. These "social networks" are composed of people who help migrants, particularly in times of crisis or emergencies or unforeseen events that impede the realization of their plans. Even in the loss of employment, migrants turn to their "contacts" for help before taking the decision to return to Mexico.

That is their last option, for the migrant tries to avoid returning to face the costs and sacrifices he had to endure in the previous migratory experience. In addition, the information he already has about the economic conditions in Mexico, does not provide the answer to the question of returning to what or why. In reality, the migrant acquires enough skills to build his "social networks" to call upon if necessary, which explains his reluctance to return in spite of factors contrary to the reasons for emigrating in the first place.

The vulnerability of Central American immigrants in Mexico

Several decades ago Mexico became a country of immigration and transmigration for Central American migrants traveling through Mexican territory to satisfy the demand for labor originating in the United States. Mexico is no longer just a country of emigration. The traditional migration from Mexico has been internationalized. There is still a dearth of research in Mexico on Latin American immigration and transmigration. There is even less data that allow us to know for certain the level of violations of human rights of Central Americans in Mexico, but there is enough evidence to suggest that such violations could be the same and even more serious than those committed in the United States against Mexicans. This assertion finds grounds in the work of several sources: first, the journalistic work of Sonia Nazario – winner of several Pulitzer Prizes in the United States, both for her research and

news photography and as a writer of a "Non Fiction" book entitled "*Enrique's Journey*", (published by Random House in New York, 2006).

In concluding this section, I don't want to skip a comment about the slow progress within the Government of Mexico, on the reform of the General Population Law, which governs the issues in this text. It is widely recognized in Mexico as an outdated norm that is insufficient to consider fulfilled the commitments made by Mexico regarding the obligation of having first promoted, then finally signed and ratified the *UN International Convention on Rights of All Migrant Workers and their families*. These UN norms came into force five years ago, after being ratified by at least 20 countries as the instrument that represents the most comprehensive regulation of universal validity that exists on the protection of international migrants' human and labor rights. In strict law, an amendment to the General Population Act may not be less than what has already been committed under the UN Convention of 1990. According to the Mexican Constitution, the law must be regarded as a domestic law in force in Mexico, the highest ranking of which the President of Mexico swears to meet and enforce on taking office as the Chief Executive. Of particular urgency for the Mexican legislature is to produce legislation covering the omissions in the laws of Mexico regarding the "trafficking" of migrants, particularly girls, in line with the Palermo Protocols on trafficking and international migrants.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO EXPLAIN THE VULNERABILITY OF MIGRANTS

The basic structural condition that determines the status of illegal immigrants in the country of destination is their vulnerability as subjects of human rights and labor. The understanding of this theoretical premise takes on importance according to the UN definition of international migrants as a "vulnerable group". The basic premises that will be discussed below relate to the concept of the vulnerability of migrants as subjects of human rights⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ See: Bustamante, J.A. "Immigrants' Vulnerability as Subjects of Human Rights", *International Migration Review*, Vol.36, no. 2, pp.333-354. An empirical reference of vulnerability as understood in this paper can be found in the resolution of the end of April 2004 a federal judge in Portland, Oregon, who called it "slave" in a trial against owner of "De Coster farms, located in the state of Maine where more than eight hundred undocumented Mexican immigrants were kidnapped. Could hardly find a picture of something worse than an "extreme lack of power" that "slave" to which he referred to the Federal judge in that trial.

Vulnerability is defined here as the condition imposed on an immigrant/foreigner of extreme powerlessness. It is central to this conceptual approach to understand this lack of power as a **social construction**⁷⁸ that is imposed like a label⁷⁹ on the immigrant.

The social process that involves the imposition of such a condition of vulnerability from one person to another implies an asymmetry of power between such persons. To paradigmatically identify those people as an immigrant or foreigner⁸⁰ in social interaction with a host country national, it is necessary for the purpose of this paper, to detail the nature of that relationship and the origin of the asymmetry of power that characterizes it.

Weber's distinction between the observable behavior of the actors and the intersubjective dimension of culture, is used here as a theoretical basis for distinguishing between **structural vulnerability** and **cultural vulnerability**.

The first concerns the difference between a national and a foreigner/immigrant in their dealings with the State⁸¹ in the host country. This difference stems from the sovereign right each country has to define who is a national and who is not. In this self-differentiation, which appears in the constitutional laws of most countries, is the structural origin of unequal access to State resources among nationals and foreigners or immigrants. Upon entering into a social relationship with others, this

The level of abstraction of this concept and **Vulnerability** to which this section are at risk of being lost in skepticism when it refers in its application to reality of a democratic country like the United States, and temporality of the early third millennium.

⁷⁸ L. Berger Peter and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Buenos Aires, Library of Sociology. Amorrortu Publishers, 1970.

⁷⁹ This term is used in the sociological sense used by **Howard S. Becker** in *Outsiders Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York, NY The Free Press. 1968. Pp 17 and 18. A basic premise of labeling theory "of Beker can be found in the following words: "Social groups create diversions by setting the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, applying them to specific individuals that are classified as intrusive. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act committed by a person but a result of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to which we have successfully applied that label. Deviant behavior is that of the people so labeled "Becker, *Outsiders*, p.9

⁸⁰ In this paper the terms "immigrant" or "foreigner" are used indistinctly while migrant means an international migrant, who by definition, is a foreigner in the host country.

⁸¹ As discussed below, the "inside" nature of the individual's relationship with the government in their country of origin, she acquires with the status of immigrant / foreigner, from which it comes into relationship with the state of the host country. The latter relationship is one that is relevant to international law, which examines the vulnerability of international migrants in this work.

inequality becomes, in practice, an understood value gradually evolves into a regulatory enforcement in ever wider social circles by the repeated experience of social relations between nationals and immigrants.

In these dynamics, nationals transfer the differentiation the State makes between nationals and foreigners to the social context of their relations with immigrants / foreigners. That distinction ends up being converted into a standard or normative basis of a **de facto** power asymmetry in the relations between immigrants and nationals.

This condition of vulnerability has two dimensions: the first, which is objective, and is conceptualized as a **structural vulnerability**, and the second, which is subjective, and is conceptualized as a **cultural vulnerability**. The first is characterized by an "extreme lack of power." This condition is understood in the way that Max Weber understood an **ideal type** in his theory of social relations. Similarly, the "extreme lack of power" is a theoretical construction that represents the extreme inequality that characterizes international migrants as subjects of human rights.

One of the empirically demonstrable expressions of "extreme lack of power" is "impunity", understood as a consequence of the condition of "extreme lack of power." This impunity is understood as the absence of sanction of the violation of immigrants' human rights.

Such impunity exists in practice because it is fueled by the ideological elements with which inequality is justified subjectively imposed on immigrants vis a vis the nationals of the host country. One of the regulatory frameworks relevant to the understanding of vulnerability as a condition of migrants as subjects of human rights is represented by the so-called Schengen Agreement". The spirit of these agreements is to achieve equal or " full integration " of immigrants' / aliens' access to public and private resources for the improvement of their living standards and the protection of their human rights. The "Schengen agreements" represent a regulatory framework under which countries interested in being accepted as members of the European Union, are measured.

This does not mean that those who currently members have complied in full. Candidate countries criticize current members for the double standard of accountability by asking for "accountability" on the observance of the regulatory framework in each member country of the European Union. The fact is that several countries in the system are at the forefront in their levels of observance and protection of human rights of immigrants. These levels of compliance with these international regulatory frameworks have had an empowering effect of enabling immigrants / foreigners as subjects of human rights whose clearest expression is implicit in the recommendation to grant the right to vote in local elections to all legal immigrants.

This effect is concomitant to a departure from the status of "extreme lack of power" of the immigrants in those host countries that have not accepted the compromise represented by the human rights frameworks based on the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

If it were feasible to construct a scale of "integration" of immigrants / foreigners as members of the societies of host countries with equal rights as nationals, it would be to have a criterion for measuring the vulnerability of immigrants in each country as subjects enjoying human rights. A **contrast /sensu** would have a yardstick to measure the empowerment or rating that dialectically "collides", as suggested by the diagram, with the conditions of impunity from the inequality initially created by the act of sovereignty that distinguishes nationals from foreigners/immigrants and by which the "asymmetry of power" is derived between each other, when that distinction was based on the social relations between them to the condition of vulnerability of international migrants.

On the positive end of these measurements it is likely to find countries that have granted voting rights in local elections to immigrants with legal residence. This is the case today of Spain, Sweden, Denmark and Portugal. It is unavoidable to make comparisons between these countries and the countries receiving the largest flows of immigrants in the world. From this comparison arises the daunting realization of what needs to be achieved regarding the conditions of vulnerability in which the majority of the 190 million international migrants who swarm around the world and

cross international borders without immigration documents live. This reflection brings us back to the diagram to understand that integration, as defined here, represents the most rational way to combat the impunity that is the most unjust and irrational result of the processes of vulnerability of migrants as subjects of human rights.

To the extent that in the practice of social relations, the alien / immigrant does not have enough power to successfully challenge the imposition of this asymmetry of power and social status of their relationship with nationals, the inequality this implies begins to acquire a legislative nature from which subsequent relationships of these immigrants with those nationals are repeated and perpetuated.

The recurrence of social relations between nationals and foreigners in the asymmetry of power that acquires "meaning content" in Weberian terms, involves a process of social construction of an inherent asymmetry of power and social relations between them. Social process that involves the metamorphosis of structural vulnerability in a cultural vulnerability, a "value understanding" reached in the origin of social relations between immigrants and national, has grown into a social equivalent of what Bourdieu calls a *habitus*⁸², that is, a *sui generis* regulatory framework that immigrants are subject to the social contexts of their interactions with nationals of the host country.

Taking our analysis a step further it becomes necessary to elaborate on the "structural" character of vulnerability. That character derives from the existence of a power structure that occurs in every national society in which some have more power than others. The concept of power as a factor shaping social relations used here is consistent with the use given this concept by the American sociologist Howard S. Becker as included in his theoretical development of the explanation of deviant behavior as follows:

The different capacity to formulate and apply norms to others is essentially a case of differences of power (legal or extralegal). Groups whose social position gives them weapons and power are best able to ensure that their norms are met. The distinction as to sex, age, ethnicity and social class is

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Meditations pascaliennes*, Paris, Editions du Seuil. 1997. Pp. 158-193)

***related to power differences, which explains the differences in the degree to which the groups so distinguished can make norms for others*⁸³.**

In this sociological approach to the power differential between those who "set rules" and "others" who follow them, the actors who interact to set up "rules for others" are implicit. The cultural nature of vulnerability derives from the set of cultural elements (stereotypes, prejudice, racism, xenophobia, ignorance and institutional discrimination) with derogatory meanings which tend to justify power differences between nationals and foreigners or immigrants.

The combination of: a) power differentials based on a structure in which the immigrant is placed at a lower level to nationals and b) the set of cultural elements that justify this results in various degrees of impunity in cases of violation of human rights of immigrants. This impunity becomes therefore an empirical indication of the powerlessness of the migrant, equal to their vulnerability. Here "impunity"⁸⁴ means the absence of economic, social or political costs for the violator of the human rights of immigrants.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The fact that no country with the highest immigration rate has ratified the UN International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, adopted in 1990, which came into force in 2003, is sufficiently

⁸³ The paragraph so eloquently refers to the application of labeling theory of immigrants: "In Hughes's analysis there is another element that can be usefully applied: the distinction between master and subordinate status. In our society, as elsewhere, some conditions supercede the other and have some priority. Race is one of them. Membership of the black race as socially defined, will have greater importance than other social considerations in most cases. Being a doctor, or middle class, or a woman shall not prevent any entity being treated as black, the other considerations taking in second place. Outcome status (depending on the type of deviation) corresponds to such master / slave relationship).

⁸⁴ In the first week of May an anonymous message appeared on the Internet inviting people to an "hunt of undocumented migrants" in the ranches of Arizona. One of these ranchers named Roger Barnett said he was ready to defend his property from damage caused by the "illegal foreigners". He told **USA Today** that they leave trash in their path and destroy water pipes. He said he was willing to put a stop to it with weapons and was willing to kill Mexicans if needed (see **Los Angeles Times**, May 9. Note Sergio Munoz). The context of impunity in which such expressions of xenophobic overtones abound took on a tragic face on May 13 when the migrant José Vega Bastida was shot by an officer of the U.S. Border Patrol steps away from the metal fence border in Mexico at the place called "the edge" (see: Mexicali newspaper **La Voz** May 18, p.23-A). Another Mexican was killed by a bullet in the chest by a Border Patrol agent in the United States in the early hours of Sunday, May 21, in Brownsville, Texas. In the same week five Mexican migrants were killed in violence caused by U.S. raiders (Diario **Frontera** de Tijuana, May 23, p. 1.).

eloquent as to talk of the resistance of host countries to recognize the benefits they receive from immigration. This fact leaves no doubt that in most host countries of immigrants there exists a reluctance to recognize the endogeneity of demand for labor of immigrants. It is quite possible that in the absence of such resistance, if, by contrast, there were an official recognition of the manner in which the immigrant workforce meets the requirements of their respective endogenous labor demand, such recognition would have a neutralizing effect on anti-immigrant ideologies that promote xenophobia and justify discrimination against immigrants.

Such recognition by the governments of the UN Member States would produce annual statistics on immigrant labor demand by sectors of the economy. Norms, adhered to by all countries who would commit to sending a UN quantitative information about the reality of their annual demands of workforce immigrants, could become an incentive for host countries to seek the path of negotiation with countries of origin to the international agreements by which the responsibility of countries of origin and host countries to combat illegal immigration more rationally would be propitiated. The growth of illegal immigration in the world is crying out for new strategies that enable international migration to be consistent with the principle of legality and rule of law without which it loses the rationality of markets and international coexistence. The acceptance of a UN standard that commits member states to produce annual quantitative information on their respective demands for immigrant labor force, would not conflict with the sovereign right of each country to decide who can and cannot enter its territory or would entitle any person to enter a foreign country without proper authorization from the government of that country. Such regulations would be aimed at inhibiting the emergence and proliferation of anti-immigrant ideologies that tend to fuel xenophobia and to justify discriminatory practices against immigrants. The production and availability of such statistics on the endogenous demands of the immigrant workforce might allow the anti-immigrant ideological confrontation with the objectivity of the facts.

For these reasons it is recommended that a UN norm be created that commits UN Member States to produce an annual report with measurements and statistics about the reality of their immigrant workforce demands.

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Panel:

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND BOY, GIRL AND TEENAGE MIGRANTS."

**NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES; GIRL, BOY, AND
TEENAGE MIGRANTS**

Marie-Claire O'Hagan
President of the
Institute for Internet Safety (ISI)

How many of you have been taught some new technological wonder, such as how to use your e-mail, chat, Face book, Skype, mobile, by a child or by a teenager? New communication technologies belong to the world of children and young people, including girl, boy and teenage migrants.

Cyberspace may however be as dangerous a place for underage migrants as the vulnerable border zones where their human rights are often violated. When migrant workers leave home and their loved ones behind, family is still the key element for their survival in spite of the distance. Communication is vital both for those who stay at home, and for those who go away. Not long ago migrant families kept in touch by telegraph, by post, or by phone calls to the local post office, when someone would run to the house in question to tell them they had a call waiting. New communication technologies can help enormously to strengthen family ties among migrants with mobile phones, text messages, email, Skype, web camera. All of these make communication easier and more enjoyable.

There are countless benefits that new communication technologies can bring to improve the quality of life and social well-being of the migrant worker and his family. They can help reduce the disadvantages faced by girls, boys and adolescents of migrant families in education and work opportunities, personal growth, even understanding the new culture in the country of destination, and learning the language.

By implementing an infrastructure of communication technologies, through broadband internet and other technologies, new technologies may become accessible to everyone in the country. The development of an information society, where connectivity and digital literacy have priority, plays an important role whereby migrants and their families can have access to new media and learn how to use them.

That said, it is interesting to note the increased use of new communication technologies in 2008, according to the study published by the Mexican Internet Association (AMIPCI) in May 2009. If before there was a digital division between the different socioeconomic groups that is no longer the case. It can be seen that the profile of the internet user is exactly the same as that of unaccompanied migrant children - ages 13 to 17 with secondary school education.

What are the risks of new technologies for the children and youth of migrant families?

There are three main areas of risk in the use of new communications technologies:

Content - material harmful to minors;

Contact - with sex predators, sex tourists;

Behavior – the uploading of inappropriate content for minors, or involving minors, and cyber bullying.

In all three areas illicit acts can be committed.

All children, indeed, are exposed to risks on the Internet. In our work in civil society, we have detected an increase in pathologies related to the use of new communication technologies among minors who do not present the risk factors that would normally make them vulnerable. According to the binational study "Crossing the Bridge", carried out between the U.S. and Mexico, in which "Family and Society" took part, migrant children present more risk factors than other children, which

makes them in turn more vulnerable to addiction and to CSEC, that is, the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Also according to other studies by the National Institute of Pediatrics (INP), victims of CSEC often turn into offenders.

In the research project carried out jointly by the Jalisco State government, the National Institute of Pediatrics (INP), and the Institute for Internet Safety (ISI), a change in social behavior was detected in the child spending greater time on the Internet. He or she showed greater aggressiveness. The "heavy users" show less self-control, less tolerance for frustration, less obedience to their parents, less obedience to other adults.

The research also detected that the more time minors spend browsing the Internet, the greater the exposure to inappropriate content online and the greater the risk of becoming entangled in an addiction to Internet pornography.

Children need to know how to use the Internet so as to not become addicted to what is now known as the new drug of the 21st century: addiction to online pornography. Any drug is addictive in that it makes us dependent on the sensation... it enslaves us ... and becomes the center of our desires, our thoughts, our decisions and our actions. By depriving the person of the use of their freedom, addiction leads them to act in an inappropriate manner to the desires of their heart. The new drug of the twenty-first century is a silent invasive and destructive disease. Because of its silent, nature and the lack of digital training, adults are often unaware of the problems children and young people around them are experiencing online.

The addiction to Internet pornography among children and young people began to emerge some time ago following the introduction of the Internet. Children and young people learned quickly how to use the computer, which was not the case for adults.

Unfortunately, there is still an amount of cyber illiteracy among parents. This is even truer when the nuclear family is separated, as in the case of migrant families, and the children live with their grandparents. Many adults do not know what children in their care are doing and seeing online.

Why has this addiction so easily overpowered children and young people,

especially, when there are no risk factors making them vulnerable to other kinds of addiction? Not so for the children and youth of migrant families who are already vulnerable.

Yet the main risk factor for becoming addicted to Internet pornography is being a cybernaut - someone who knows how to use the Internet.

The main cause for this addiction is that children and young people are victims of early exposure to pornography online, at an age when curiosity about sexuality is natural. Pornography is the commercial exploitation of a natural curiosity. The Internet has no limit. It is accessible any time of night or day. Children and young people can surf the Web for hours looking at porn sites without paying a single penny. Or they can connect very cheaply for \$10 pesos, or US \$1, an hour at an Internet cafe in the provinces.

The first reaction from children coming across porn on the Internet is one of disgust and rejection. Then, curiosity takes over and they start to look, and the risk of falling prey to addiction is easy.

Studies of adults addicted to pornography find that it happens to people with low self-esteem who often experience emptiness in their personal relationships. These are precisely the normal characteristics during puberty and adolescence, which are often accentuated in the migrant's family, where children lack the love and support of being with their parents. Children and youth are in the process of maturity, they are not yet mature, and they become easy prey when they accidentally encounter pornography on the Internet.

Pornography is as addictive as any drug. Sexual images create a chemical reaction in the brain related to pleasure by releasing the hormone epinephrine in the blood. This effect occurs equally when the same images are stored in the mind and later recalled.

Symptoms of addiction can manifest themselves as depression, isolation, problems of concentration, mood swings, loss of hope, and thoughts and or threats of suicide. There is also the fear of losing the affection of their loved ones, if discovered. The child victim of addiction feels the need to act out what he has seen since it

overwhelms his whole being. This is where there is a great danger of abuse with peers or relatives of the same age or younger. Suicidal tendencies are more prevalent the younger the child is. Addiction in youth tends to manifest itself with fantasies, masturbation, and sometimes visits to sex workers. The sex addict is totally self-centered and cannot achieve intimacy because the obsession he has with his own needs leaves no room for giving to others. So addiction leads to the search for intensity rather than intimacy. It also has consequences that concern all of society, ranging from personal disintegration, mental health problems, and the danger for all of the increase in domestic violence and sexual crime.

There is evidence from addicts who say they are surprised at themselves for what they have come to see or do: "...Bit by bit, addicts intensify their behavior going through moderate stages to others that go beyond what they could have imagined, including seeing or doing things that months or years before would have disgusted them."

The levels of intensity of sex addiction that can manifest themselves among addicts to pornography on the Internet are described below:

First level: fantasy, pornography and masturbation.

Second level: real life pornography, fetishes, love affairs.

Third level: criminal offenses, prostitution, voyeurism and exhibitionism.

Fourth level: serious sex crime, sexual abuse of minors, incest, rape.

It is essential to ensure equal treatment about addiction to online pornography, in school education and government campaigns, as with other addictions, so that children learn about the dangers as soon as they start to use the computer. Children must learn to protect themselves from online pornography and cyber crime, so as to avoid being vulnerable to acts of corruption or violation of their human rights. These safety campaigns can be carried out by schools, health centers, media, workplaces, in close collaboration with the Ministries of Education, Health, Labor, etc.

Children and youth in migrant families can be supported by teaching them the proper use of new technologies at school, so that they learn to protect themselves online and to avoid the risks of new technologies by learning to navigate responsibly, safely and happily. Children have the right to be protected.

New communication technologies should serve to support and to respect, and not to violate, girl, boy and youth migrants' human rights. These same technologies could prove to be very useful in stopping crime, by reporting via the Internet, through the establishment of a national registry of missing children, through a national registry of missing persons and an online national register of sex offenders.

The Cyber health of our children and youth, as well as girls, boys and youth from migrant families, is in our hands. Everything depends on the GPS or SatNav we want to give them.

Panel:
"HUMAN RIGHTS AND BOY, GIRL AND TEENAGE MIGRANTS."
COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN*

Maria Isabel Alcantar Escalera
CAINM-INP-UNAM

TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

By trafficking in persons we refer to the capture, transport, receipt of persons through the use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deceit, abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another for purposes of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (Palermo Protocol, Art. 3, Act to Prevent and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Art 1).

What is CSEC?

"The commercial sexual exploitation in children is a fundamental violation of the rights of children. It comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or in kind to the children or to a third person or persons. The children are treated as sex objects and as merchandise. CSEC is a form of coercion and rape against children; it amounts to forced labor and a contemporary form of slavery".

* Note from the organizers: In Mexico, migrant children, often unaccompanied minors, are deemed to be at high risk from commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking in children.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM "THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER"

- It is a global phenomenon that does not belong to any culture, ethnicity, religion, social group or economic context.
- It is a form of torture, as each act of abuse of the body is a cruel and inhumane treatment that causes pain, embarrassment and attacks the dignity, life and health of children who suffer from it. Furthermore, their submission reduces or degrades them to the status of "object."

WORLD PANORAMA OF CSEC

- 2 million children are sexually exploited through prostitution and pornography.
- 1.2 million is the number of "trafficking" victims for these purposes or as cheap labor.
- 246 million children work, of which nearly three-quarters, 171 million, do so in dangerous conditions or are subjected to the worst forms of slavery or similar practices to slavery (sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage, serfdom, child recruitment for activities of sexual exploitation such as the promotion of prostitution, for the production of pornography or pornographic performances (ILO/IPEC 2003, 24-25).
- 65% of children who are on the streets in the capitals of Latin American countries are involved in one way or another in sexual exploitation.
- 15% live on what they earn from this practice (Castaña 2001).

PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography is the display of genitalia and sexual acts of all kinds, where sadomasochistic images, pedophilia and other paraphilias, individually or in groups, abound.

It is a billion dollar industry that sells sex debasing men and women. It is the exploitation of human beings (Lazo, Marin and Marroquin 1997).

Pornography is an industry (involving people who profit from it, working directly in it and consumers who pay for it in return for sexual gratification (Piñeros [11-08-04]).

It constitutes a form of sexual exploitation in which children are sexually abused for sexual gratification, financial gain or personal achievements, wherein the children's human rights to dignity, equality, autonomy and physical and mental well-being, are breached,

It involves the:

- Producers
- Intermediaries
- Broadcasters and distributors
- Consumers

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

Any representation, by whatever means of communication, of a child under 18 years of age, or resembling a child, engaged in real or simulated sexual activities, explicitly or implied, for any purpose.

The consent of the children to participate in pornography in accordance with international law is illegal.

In the various forms of commercial sexual exploitation it is impossible to assume that a child voluntarily chooses this condition.

The connotation of children's willingness to participate in such activity is dispelled, and the responsibility lies with the third party, that is whoever induces, compels or encourages the boy or girl who are assumed to be victims (ILO/IPEC 2003, 26).

TYPES OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

According to material or content:

Soft pornography: this type of pornography involves explicit "seductive and suggestive" nude images of children, or people looking like children and adolescents, rather than sexual activity. It includes them in various erotic poses, but not participating in any sexually explicit conduct.

Hardcore pornography: this is the display of carnal intercourse, sexually explicit, or both, involving children, adolescents or people who look younger than 18. (Ruiz, 1999).

Purposes:

- Commercial pornography produced for profit.
- Pornography produced for circulation and exchange.
- Pornography used for other criminal purposes (blackmail, trafficking, etc.).
- Pornography produced for personal consumption only, among other purposes.

The Internet and Child Pornography

- Emergence of national and transnational networks of operators (global information networks media most used).
- Allows for the capture of vulnerable segments of the population, especially children and youth.

- Easy accessibility to the Internet by children, often without adult supervision, enables them to be hooked for use in these practices of exploitation, especially pornography.

People who exploit children use new means of technology because it is easier, faster and cheaper to download video or photographic materials and have instant gratification.

Pornography via the Internet facilitates the capture of children to be used in the production of pornographic material; hence this activity becomes profitable.

- Email, chat rooms or online discussions, virtual communities, and even live sex acts.
- Web pages with explicit sexual content.
- Chat rooms, or conversations between several people, where they can exchange all types of child pornography, are most commonly used by pedophiles.

Some of the techniques used for child pornography over the Internet are:

Visual: includes photographs, videos, films and cartoons. In the latter drawing is used to represent sex scenes with children, accompanied by texts whose main argument is always the sex and violence. In general, girls and youth are represented with bodies of adult women. Many of these comics describe sexual abuse of girls, boys or youth or the seduction of children, or youth by adults or by other minors.

Audio: This type of pornography includes messengers, audio-chats, and video-chats, among others, with sounds suggestive of sexual activity involving children or youth, or people with children's voices or pictures.

Text: Stories, reports or testimonials. Many of these are part of "Letters from our readers" or "e-mails from our visitors," which are sent to the website telling their own experiences, giving the impression of real-life situations relaying a message that it could happen again with the participation of the reader.

In any one of these texts descriptions can be found of child abuse, rape or incitement to sexual violence, or school kids obsessed with seducing adults.

It is estimated that 27 000 pedophiles or child molesters exist on the Web, better known in the market as producers of child pornography, who sell all sorts of children pornographic material.

One million children are photographed and filmed each year to meet a demand that generates between 2,000 and 3,000 million dollars a year.

The production, distribution, possession and use of child pornography involves the conversion of children, of childhood itself, into a sex object for commercial purposes.

VULNERABILITY FACTORS OF CSEC

- All children and youth regardless of their economic or social status.
- Poor social conditions (such living on the streets, no family ties, migration, high-risk employment, drug use, victims of another form of sexual exploitation).

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CSEC

Impact on Personality

- How they perceive themselves.
- How they perceive their environment.
- How they think.
- How they act.
- How they express their emotions.
- How they relates to others.
- Symptoms of PTSD, such as sleep and eating disorders.
- Mood disorders.

- Personality disorders.
- Profound alterations in self-esteem, self-image, self-concept and self-efficacy.
- Self-destructive behaviors, such as psychoactive substance abuse or suicide attempts.
- Social isolation.
- Permanent and pervasive feelings of shame, guilt, fear.
- Difficulty in socializing.
- Feelings of hopelessness and dissatisfaction with life.
- Difficulty in achieving a healthy perception of sexuality.
- Tendency towards the hypersexualization of affection and interpersonal relationships.
- Tendency to exchange affection for things and to form pseudo-affective, superficial, extremely dependent, or utilitarian relationships.

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**Panel:
"HUMAN RIGHTS AND BOY, GIRL AND TEENAGE MIGRANTS."**

**"RISKS AND IMPACT ON THE HEALTH OF GIRL, BOY AND
TEENAGE MIGRANTS".**

Corina A. García Piña
Pediatrician Specialist in Child Abuse
National Institute of Pediatrics

Mexico is a country of origin, transit and destination for Mexicans to the United States. Transit migration has increased over the last decade. It is currently estimated that one in four households in Mexico, receive income from the U.S. According to studies made by the Coordinating Committee of the National Institutes of Health and Highly Specialized Hospitals (in 2009), there are more than 12 million Mexicans living in the U.S., and approximately three million are undocumented.

The migratory flow and the context in which Mexican migrants live pose a significant risk to their health and their families' health.

During the transit of illegal immigrants, health problems associated with drowning, accidents, heatstroke, dehydration, hypothermia and violence are reported. Among Mexican migrants, there are high rates of substance use and abuse (alcohol, tobacco and drugs). Dietary changes also result in cardiovascular problems, hypertension, diabetes and obesity.

Migration leads to an increase in risky sexual behavior that increases the vulnerability of sexually transmitted diseases like human papillomavirus, HIV and AIDS, as well as tuberculosis, infectious diseases, parasitosis and other conditions like chronic degenerative diseases: obesity, malnutrition, diabetes and hypertension.

Another concern is limited access to medical care and lack of information and prevention of diseases.

This is why the greatest boost to health should aim, via institutional support and health education, to achieve that the same environmental and social determinants of these foreign families be matched to their country of origin.

We shall consider the repercussions from a medical point of view on the impact on migrant children and adolescents.

They face innumerable risks from the start, from where they begin to transit, until they reach their destination. There is a risk of physical and emotional violence, as well as assaults. They are constantly at risk for injuries, sometimes even death by animal attacks or insect bites, drowning when crossing rivers, or suffocation when moved in trucks without adequate ventilation.

If the child or adolescent transits with a deteriorating nutritional status, with varying degrees of malnutrition and/or obesity, which does not indicate a proper nutrition level, it is certain that this will flare up during the trip.

During the trip, migrants are often subjected to adverse weather conditions that cause acute dehydration and electrolyte imbalances. They may have clinical manifestations, such as decreased body fluids and, at a more advanced stage, may have central nervous system disorders that may begin with drowsiness, convulsions, or bleeding, when electrolyte imbalance is more severe. When nutrition is deficient during the trip, there could also be decreased caloric intake, and apart from the dehydration, this could also lead to hypoglycemia, and the symptoms already present due to dehydration, can become much more severe due to hypoglycemia.

We tend to believe that children cannot suffer from diabetes or hypertension. We have seen that this is not true. We have children ages 11- 12, who already have hyperinsulinism. This means they have a high risk of developing type two diabetes mellitus, which has to do with their eating habits, and some genetic factors.

They can be trapped in sexual exploitation networks, but may be also be subjected to labor exploitation. Labor exploitation is another risk. The type of labor and hard work sessions to which they are subjected to, are often very long with very limited breaks, and this as well can harm them significantly.

There are many risks in the workplace. These include musculoskeletal injuries, deformities, or growth imbalances. When subjected to hard manual work that requires use of force beyond their means, this often leads to bone deformities and short stature, because the growth functions are subjected to stress which does not allow for proper bone growth.

They are also exposed to adverse weather conditions in their workplaces, heat stroke or sudden changes in temperature.

In relation to the risks of infectious diseases to which girls, boys and youth migrants may be subjected to, the more common ones are intestinal diseases, upper or lower respiratory infections, and those related to sexually transmitted diseases.

In a study undertaken in the National Institutes of Health, it was found that the most common infections in migrant children are intestinal amoebiasis. Giardiasis is another type of intestinal infection, which is also common in children and Ascariasis that are nematodes. These types of worms can damage the intestine, but also the respiratory tract, when the larva passes through the respiratory system.

In relation to respiratory infections, as we mentioned, they are exposed to extreme climatic conditions. The most frequent infections are the upper respiratory tract infections, asthma attacks and in some cases, lower respiratory infections such as pneumonia, though not as frequently. They also suffer from vaccine-preventable infections. We know that the migrant population here in Mexico is generally from different provinces, where vaccination is not always complete. The most frequent infections are tuberculosis, chickenpox and pneumococcal disease, which should have been covered in the national vaccination program for these viruses.

The risks that have to do with sexually transmitted diseases are plenty. First sexual abuse, which is one of the most significant risks, and often the reason why a child,

usually a teen, leaves home, is precisely because of this kind of abuse. In many cases, children and teens suffer sexual abuse, as well as physical abuse of all kinds, within the family, which drives them to leave home, and they often end up on the streets or decide to migrate to the United States alone.

Another reason may be that they get involved in commercial sexual exploitation networks from the beginning of their trip or during transit. There is an apparent freedom in these networks, because there is no one to set any sort of limits, unlike if they had gone with their families and spent the days working long hours. So this makes them fall into these networks, having unsafe sex with high-risk populations, such as having multiple sexual partners, or as prostitutes, which places all this population at a high risk level.

The types of sexual risks are related to many of the infections, with teenage pregnancies, which we also have to keep in mind because of the risks at stake for the teenage mother, as well as for the baby at a developing stage, and all the clandestine abortions that take place.

Among the most frequent infections found, according to studies performed in the National Institutes of Health, was the infection caused by the human papilloma virus and this has to do first of all with individual susceptibility. Not everyone is susceptible to developing the human papilloma virus, this depends on individual characteristics, and on the nutritional status, which we have seen is not always optimal for our young female migrants, so the risk factor is considerable.

We have seen that addictions are a risk factor for developing any type of sexually transmitted infection, such as the human papilloma virus. We know that there is a high risk, as we have seen that adolescents with addictions, with promiscuity, may develop a high-risk virus from an early age that could develop into cervical cancer.

What we have seen in some studies in relation to AIDS, is that children and adolescents who are involved in the commercial sexual exploitation of children or have lived on the streets, or perhaps suffered some abuse from before, are more likely to develop biological characteristics for acquiring this type of infection. Children are more susceptible to acquiring this type of infection, especially and most

commonly when there is a violent act of sex. Therefore the risk of transmission of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) will increase significantly due to injuries in the genital or anal area. Children have a highly vascularized genital mucosa. Generally this type of vascularization causes the infection to spread faster than in adults, as the mucus is very immature in populations of children under 18 years of age, because there are no immune defenses as there are in adults, and so this also increases the risk of acquiring the virus.

There are other infections that have been detected in these children, in the lab tests that have been carried out on migrants. Such infections are *Neisseria gonorrhoeae*, Chlamydia, and syphilis, which were not so frequent, but there has been an increase in these infections recently.

In conclusion, I would also like to comment on addictions. We have seen that addictions are basically an adaptive mechanism that increases the risk of addiction in children and youth migrants. For example, if the child or adolescent is away from his/her family, away from the place they are used to, away from a certain lifestyle, their situation changes and then they often fall into an addiction more easily. I mention children due to the fact that the ages have now decreased for becoming addicted to tobacco, alcohol and drugs. Being away from family, social isolation, perhaps social discrimination, situations of conflict as they are living away, all increase the risk of addiction.

Finally, I want to mention that the government and other institutions have developed some programs related to health care for girl, boy and teenage migrants and their families. They have established networks to offer guidance, care and also talks on how to prevent or detect a disease.

Nevertheless, I think our scope is still very limited. I believe that within the rights that we have already mentioned, one of the most important rights, and the one we should all keep in mind, is that we must strive to make the rights of girl and boy migrants equal to those of the country of destination. I know this is very difficult, like a dream, perhaps, but it would be the ideal. There is no need for discrimination. There should be equal health services for migrant families. So, I would like to leave you with this thought in mind. It is important that the initiatives that have been

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proposed be taken seriously into account and worked on in order to accomplish them, so that migrants are equally treated in the country of their destination.

On behalf of the National Institute of Pediatrics and the Comprehensive Care Clinic for Abused Children, I would like to thank you for your attention.

Panel:

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND BOY, GIRL AND TEENAGE MIGRANTS."

EXPERIENCES IN THE CARE OF MIGRANT MINORS

Juan Carlos Garduño Coronel
Officer for the Protection of Infants (OPI)

OFFICER FOR THE PROTECTION OF INFANTS PROGRAM

Comprehensive Training Plan for Child Protection Officers (*OPIS*).

- *Officer for the Protection of Infants (OPIS)* come from a model for the protection of unaccompanied migrant children and adolescents designed by various institutions.
- They were chosen according to a profile prepared by the National System for Comprehensive Family Development (*DIF*).
- The program is an inter-agency agreement between the National Institute of Migration (*INM*) and *DIF*, whose fundamental origin is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratified by Mexico on September 21st, 1990).

What is meant by child?

- ▶ Human being under 18 years of age.
- ▶ Incorrect term "MINOR."

Rights under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (*CDM*).

- ▶ **Survival.**- Right to life and to have basic needs covered.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM "THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER"

- ▶ **Development.**- Right to play, to information, freedom of expression and recreation.
- ▶ **Protection.**- Because of the fact that they are people in development, they have fewer options for defending themselves. (abandonment, labor and sexual exploitation, drug addiction, human trafficking, etc.).
- ▶ **Participation.**- Freedom of religion, education, association.

Tasks of the OPIS

- Assess the need for international protection.
 1. As a refugee claimant.
 2. As a victim of domestic violence.
 3. As a victim of trafficking or exploitation (sexual and/or labor).

Why do they travel alone?

- ▶ Desire to reunite with their families.
- ▶ Desire to improve their living standards through the performance of work.
- ▶ Desire to escape domestic violence.

They face...

- ▶ Accidents (suffocation, dehydration, wounds...)
- ▶ Being subjected to labor exploitation.
- ▶ Being involved in crimes. (Drug trafficking, trafficking of undocumented persons).
- ▶ Institutional abuse, especially at the time of repatriation.
- ▶ Being victims of crime.

They are in a violation of rights status

- ▶ Their regular studies are interrupted, which hampers their development potential.
- ▶ They don't enjoy basic rights, such as the right to food, health, family life, among others.

Functions of the *OPIS*

- ▶ Greet deported children.
- ▶ Confirm citizenship, physical and mental state.
- ▶ Identify immediate needs.
- ▶ Check if accompanied by an immediate family member or is unaccompanied.
- ▶ Determination of medical and / or psychological needs.
- ▶ Assignment of *OPIS*:
 - Inform children of their rights.
 - Maintain contact with the child's family.
 - Identify if a possible refugee claimant. (In this case consulate not notified, advise Mexican Commission for Refugee Assistance (*COMAR*)).
 - Provide assistance at the hearing.
 - Attending to the best interests of the child, the following shall be determined:
 - Immediate repatriation.
 - Regularization.
 - Or application for refugee status.

Unaccompanied Migrant Children

- ▶ The widespread perception of unaccompanied child migration is that it happens infrequently.
- ▶ There are insufficient data, however:

2007

- The number of repatriations of Mexican children and adolescents increased from 7,100 in 2003 to 35,546 in 2007, of which almost half were traveling alone, and 73% were male.
- More than 5,983 Central American children and adolescents were repatriated to their countries of origin from the southern border of Mexico.

2008

- Between January and June 2008, 18,249 repatriations of Mexican children and adolescents were carried out, and 57% (10,395) were traveling alone, 78.3% were male and 9% were under age 12.
- Between January and June 2008, there were 3,022 repatriations of Central American children and adolescents to their countries of origin from the southern border of Mexico. Of these, 78% were male, 13% were under 12 years-old and 72% were traveling alone (2,184).

Principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

- No discrimination.
- Best interests of the child.
- Participation of children.

- Right to life, survival and development.
- Right to family life.
- Right to a life free of violence.
- Joint responsibility of the family, state and society.

GUIDELINES

- ▶ Protect and guarantee the rights of migrant children.
- ▶ Make sure children know their rights, to protect their physical and psychological condition.
- ▶ Satisfy basic emergency medical and / or psychological needs.
- ▶ Do not separate children from their families.
- ▶ Provide safe and adequate housing; provide food, medical and psychological care.
- ▶ Contact diplomatic or consular representatives for the child's documentation.
- ▶ Decide on non-repatriation when the child is at risk in their own country.

5 Key Ideas of the *OPIS*

- *OPIS* are a select group of unique officers hired by *INM* to ensure the rights of children and adolescent migrants.
- The *OPIS* program works in conjunction with the Border Minors Program and the Human Repatriation Program.
- Children are no longer referred to as "minors" since the word's pejorative sense can imply that they are worth less, or have fewer rights than an adolescent.
- The law underlying the *OPIS* is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (*CDN*).
- *OPIS* always look out for the best interests of the child.

Panel:

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND BOY, GIRL AND TEENAGE MIGRANTS."

THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Senator Adriana Gonzalez Carrillo

I would like to thank the organizers for their kind invitation to participate in the International Colloquium "The Family of the Migrant Worker" to reflect with you on the phenomena of migration and the impact it has on Mexico's southern borders, with special mention of the vulnerability of thousands of boys and girls living in the region.

Without doubt, this forum will contribute to the formulation of proposals that become increasingly necessary to modernize our legal framework and more effectively protect this highly vulnerable sector of the population.

Introduction

The migratory phenomenon has spread to a greater number of countries, acquiring simultaneously greater complexity. According to UN data, the world has about 175 million people living outside their country of birth, i.e. one of every 35 persons is an international migrant. The most recent data show that in 2000-2005, migrants increased by about 16 million.⁸⁵

At the regional level, Latin America has become a very dynamic area in terms of migration. ECLAC data describe the particularities of those flows, where we can see that Ecuador has positioned itself as the largest supplier of illegal immigration in the

⁸⁵ United Nations, Trends in total migrants stock: Revision 2005, New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2006.

European Union. In South America the economic and political crisis and the insecurity caused by war and drug trafficking have led to the displacement of people from Argentina and Colombia; while Venezuela experiences the exodus of professional and technical cadres.⁸⁶

In the case of migration occurring in the northern part of the Continent, the boundary between Mexico and the United States is the one that has received the most attention since the early nineties and where there has been more or less continuous documentation of the dangers faced there⁸⁷. However, this is only a small part of the migration situation that ignores what happens in the southern border where the constant violations of human rights demonstrate the seriousness of the situation.

In this logic, Central American and Caribbean migration to the United States and Mexico emerge as one of the most complex and intense migration flows in the region. On the one hand, the geographical and socio-economic situation of our country makes it a place of origin, transit and expulsion of thousands of people seeking the American dream in search of better opportunities for themselves and their families. On the other hand, the expansion of organized crime has changed the traditional migration flows that traditionally existed between the two regions, making visible new groups of actors, including unaccompanied migrant boys and girls who have suffered the consequences of these exchanges.

Therefore, I will demonstrate that migration in the southern border of Mexico is characterized by its intensity and danger, mainly affecting migrant children, who are appearing as the victims of human rights violations, due to the absence of a legal and institutional framework with a guarantor vision that serves the best interests of the child.

⁸⁶ Juan Miguel Petit, *Migration, vulnerability and public policy. Impact on children, their families and their rights*, Population and Development Series, (ECLAC, Santiago de Chile, 2003) , pp. 11-12.

⁸⁷ Olivia Ruiz, La migración centroamericana en la frontera sur: Un perfil del riesgo en la migración internacional, (Center For US- Mexican Studies, 2008), p.1, en: <http://repositories.cdlib.org/usmex/ruiz>

The Protagonists and Their Rights

The phenomenon of migration, particularly concerning children is a phenomenon that is recently being studied and analyzed by various academic human rights institutions. Hence the establishment of concepts has become a real challenge to theorize these movements, exposing those involved and the main problems affecting their human rights.

We therefore propose using the concept of boys and girls and not that of minors because we consider it necessary to incorporate the gender perspective in order to identify the risks and dangers that children face. Most of the time, boys are subjected to forced labor and girls are victims of trafficking. Similarly, we use the concept of "unaccompanied" to distinguish the group of children who originally migrate alone from home, or with relatives or supposed relatives who are not prepared to or who are not capable of assuming the responsibility of these children.

In any case, the boys and girls, regardless of their immigration status or social condition are subjects with rights that are recognized in various international instruments, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child⁸⁸. Indeed, the Convention was signed on November 20th, 1989 and entered into effect on September 2nd, 1990. This international instrument consists of a Preamble and 54 articles that include several rights that have to do with children's right to security, freedom and equality.

Best Interests of the Child

Article 3 of the Convention states: "In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration" and refers to the level of well-being enjoyed by children. Such well-being is associated with the particularities of each child, for example, age, maturity, presence or absence of parents, the environment in which the child has

⁸⁸ Adopted and opened to the signature and ratification by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/25, November 20th, 1989. Ratified by Mexico in 1990.

grown up in, life experience, etc. Precisely because each case is unique, it is difficult to give a general definition of the best interests of each child, so this must be determined by taking into account the characteristics of each individual case.

In this regard, General Comment No. 6 of the Committee on Children's Rights is very clear warning that "all powers of government (executive, legislative and judicial) are required to enact legislation, create administrative structures, and articulate research activities, information, data collection and comprehensive training necessary to protect minors who are unaccompanied and separated from their family.

"Determining the best interests of the child requires a clear and thorough evaluation of the identity of the child and, in particular, his nationality, his upbringing, ethnic and cultural background (...) as well as evaluation of his vulnerabilities and special needs for protection. This assessment must be conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and security by professionals who take into account age and gender. In any case, "the appointment of a competent guardian as expeditiously as possible is a basic procedural guarantee for the respect of the best interest of minors, who are unaccompanied and separated from their families, and can help the child to engage into some process of obtaining asylum or other processes of administrative or judicial type".

From that perspective, we consider that the principle of protecting the best interests of the child places them as subjects with full rights, in the measure that decisions taken by third parties must take into account the damages that can affect their development. This is a considerable improvement regarding approaches that question whether boys and girls have basic rights, such as the right to a dignified life, to preserve their identity, to continue their education, to enjoy the highest attainable standard of health, to rest and be at leisure, and to express their ideas.

While it is true that it is within the family context, surrounded by love and security, where children can achieve greater well-being, there are many cases, such as that of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls who flee from their countries because of the situation of widespread violence in their social and family environment. Hence, beyond defending the integrity of families, the principle of protecting the child's best

interest makes it possible to protect those boys and girls whose families violate their rights together with the possibility of building a healthier life, emotionally and physically.

The Southern Border: the Realities of Unaccompanied Migrant Children in the Southern Border

The southern border of Mexico is 1.138 km long and corresponds to the shared territory of the states of Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco and Quintana Roo, of which 962 km border with Guatemala and 176 km border with Belize. Due to the many geographic, socio-cultural, economic and political realities in that area, it is not possible to establish a heterogeneous migration profile, although it can be said that ports and permanent settlements, such as Ciudad Hidalgo in Chiapas, and Tecun Uman in Guatemala, show a strong contrast with those depopulated areas, covered with natural flora and even without clear or fixed international boundaries⁸⁹.

Without a doubt the first stage of the Mexico's migration situation with the Central American region has a historical explanation. In the early eighties, Guatemala suffered a civil war that led to the displacement of Guatemalans, caused by the government's political and social violence, and by that of guerrilla groups. As a result, Guatemalans took refuge in our country to seek protection for their lives and those of their families⁹⁰.

However, migration between the two regions intensified and the area was transformed into a magnet for labor, with the agricultural boom in crops such as coffee, soybean cultivation, banana, sugarcane and mango⁹¹. In the same way, the freight train, built in 1908 to connect the fertile agricultural areas of Chiapas and Guatemala with markets inside Mexico, prompted another kind of international mobility. The railroad introduced a means to move within the country and to the United States, being the principal means used by the majority of undocumented

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4

⁹⁰ Edith Kauffer Michel, "Refugiados guatemaltecos y conformación de la frontera sur de Chiapas en los años ochenta", en Philippe Bovin (coord.), *Las Fronteras del Istmo, Fronteras y sociedades entre el Sur de México y América Central*, (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2003), p. 126.

⁹¹ Ruiz, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Central American immigrants in order to go further north into Mexico or the United States⁹².

One of the most visible effects of this was the increase and diversification of migration flows on the southern border, the most important being: 1) local border residents who cross the border for family, economical or labor reasons, 2) temporary agricultural workers in agricultural sectors such as cane, bananas, coffee and papaya, 3) domestic workers, 80% of them minors, and 4) workers from the service sector, such as construction, tourism, trade or restaurant industry⁹³.

We can then say that on the southern border, Central American migration flows are persistent and diverse, according to the local activities that attract international migrants as they move into the region, or according to the conditions in which these incursions occur, and the diversity of actors involved in the transfer, stay, etc⁹⁴.

However, the intensity of this activity on the southern border, that went unnoticed for a long time in Mexico, became apparent thanks to two events. On the one hand, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, generated adverse reactions to strangers, while on the other, governments recognised the need for increased security at the borders of the countries receiving migrants. Thus, the people's desire for mobility to seek alternatives and the existence of restrictive immigration policies, led to the creation of spaces for illegality, such as the appearance of the industry of the "coyotes" or "polleros" that bring migrants in clandestinely⁹⁵.

On the other hand, the increasing flow of migrants in this area began to create a crisis scenario for the migrant family, because the transfer of the whole family, in search of new perspectives, brings with it the need to install themselves in a new hostile environment, where family members, including women and children, live in a highly vulnerable situation, which affects the respect of their human rights"⁹⁶.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁹³ Sin Fronteras, 2005, p. 7

⁹⁴ Rodolfo Casillas, La trata de mujeres, adolescentes, niñas y niños en México: Un estudio exploratorio en Tapachula Chiapas, (CIM, INMUJERES, INAMI, México, 2006), p. 30.

⁹⁵ Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*

Indeed, groups of boys and girls begin to emerge in situations of vulnerability in international migration, either because of family reunification, ie the father and mother are in a country other than where the children are, or as an option to change their current living conditions. In both cases, the loss of family ties "increases the likelihood of not receiving the same health care, food or adequate protection against all forms of violence, including the risk of forming criminal gangs or becoming victims of organized crime"⁹⁷.

Unfortunately, the fact that this migrant group of unaccompanied migrant minors has only recently been identified, is reflected in the lack of information and statistics that can allow the establishment of a comprehensive diagnosis in order to guide the formulation of legislative solutions and public policies to address the situation of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls.

Migrant Boys and Girls: a Group in a Vulnerable Situation

Indeed, a couple of decades ago, migrant boys and girls were not a significant group in number. However, observing their increased presence in immigration detention stations in recent years, the seriousness of the problem has become evident.

According to the Colegio de Michoacán, about 40% of immigrants detained in immigration detention centers are Mexican youths from about 14 to 17 years old, most of them unaccompanied. Some data from the Regional Delegation in Chiapas of the National Migration Institute, show that more than 2,468 minors were detained in 2008.

Some studies consider that they are part of a regional migration flow to the south-southeast of Mexico, where their main destination is the city of Tapachula, Chiapas. They come mostly from Guatemala, especially from Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quetzaltenango, Guatemala (Capital), Totonicapan, Escuintla and Retalhuleu. Others come from Honduras, El Salvador, Ecuador, Brazil, Cuba, Nicaragua, Peru,

⁹⁷ Dr. Norberto I. Liwski, Migraciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes bajo el enfoque de derechos, (Instituto Interamericano del Niño, la Niña y Adolescentes, OEA, 2006), p. 2.

Chile. We find them working in different informal trade activities and various services, such as sweet vendors, shoe shiners, windshield cleaners, or car caretakers⁹⁸. Others are forced into prostitution or forced to participate in activities related to organized crime in its various manifestations.

The risks suffered by migrant boys and girls are various for as they travel alone, they are more likely to be exposed to drugs, suffer abuse or rape, to fall in trafficking networks. In the case of girls, they may be victims of sexual exploitation and forced prostitution at the hands of organized groups of human trafficking. Therefore, with increasing urgency, we need to have clear policies and procedures that ensure the protection of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls, and respect for their human rights, and protect them from the the risk of being captured by criminals and perpetrators. In addition, these children have greater difficulty in accessing medical, educational and recreational services given that their priority is survival, and not welfare.

The reporting of these violations, however, is few and far between. During 2007 and 2008, the Fifth General Inspectorate of the National Commission on Human Rights received 615 complaints about alleged violations of human rights of migrants. Of these, 67 were human rights violations of boys and 41 of girls and in most of these, the National Institute of Migration is stated as the first offending agent. In second place, comes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because of its lack of consular assistance and, thirdly, the Republic's Attorney General's Office and the Ministry of Public Security. Other officials cited to a lesser extent are the Ministries of Public Security in the States, the Mexican Navy, the Mexican Commission for Aid to Refugees, municipal governments and police, the Ministry of National Defense, among other agencies.

The common feature of these complaints is that children are not separated from adults during detention, often medical care is not provided to them even when it is clear that they need it and complaints are made of violations during the process, regarding abuse of immigration authorities and grave breaches concerning the physical and psychological integrity of the minors detained.

⁹⁸ Casillas, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

Some examples from the major recommendations emitted by the Inspector must suffice to illustrate this. For example, the case of scavenging on the landfill of Tapachula (Recommendation 25 / 2007) resulted in one of the toughest recommendations of the National Commission on Human Rights on issues relating to the rights of children. Hundreds of undocumented foreign children and adults entered the municipal garbage dump of Tapachula in order to collect objects that could be resold. Their situation has led to many media reports that showed the high risk to their health posed to them by this activity. In addition, the Landfill was acting as a center of contact between boys of Guatemalan origin, who worked selling gum, candy and cigarettes, as shoeshiners, windshield cleaners, and even as beggars, and were exposed to sexual and labor exploitation that went unnoticed by the authorities of the State of Chiapas.

However, much of the effort aimed at reporting the abuse committed against migrants, particularly against unaccompanied boys and girls, has been possible thanks to the work of organized civil society groups. This is the case of the network of shelters that are located in selected cities on the southern border, on both the Central American and the Mexican side. It is enough to mention the work done at the Casa del Migrante⁹⁹ that receives migrants going to the United States and where, in addition to receiving food, company and shelter, migrants are warned of the threats and risks that they may experience when entering Mexico. Or the "Jesus the Good Shepherd" Shelter where the poorest are given shelter, as well as migrants mutilated by train accidents, or victims of trafficking, or of forced prostitution, or even older people who have been abandoned, who are sick or terminally ill¹⁰⁰.

Windows of Vulnerability: Some Proposals to Protect Migrant Boys and Girls

In Mexico, the three conditions of being a country of origin, destination and transit of migrants makes it a country with a special obligation to design better mechanisms in

⁹⁹ Interview with Rev. Father Ademar Barilli, director of the Casa del Migrante, Tecún Umán, Guatemala, on Saturday January 24, 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Interview on Thursday January 22, 2005 with migrants from the Shelter and with the Shelter's director Olga Sánchez García, 2005 National Human Rights Prize Winner, Tapachula Chiapas.

this field. Until recently, there was virtually no public policy that directly addressed the issue of unaccompanied migrant children, both Mexican nationals who migrate to the U.S., and Central Americans who migrate to Mexico with the aim of staying in this country, or of reaching the United States, to work, to meet up with their families and, in general, to seek a better future.

Institutional Response

The specific context of immigration policy in Mexico comes from an old law whose implementation can be traced back to the decade of the nineteen thirties. Historically, at least until the nineties, Mexico displayed the policy of "no policy" to organize the flow of undocumented migration. Only some legal and institutional background of importance in the context may be mentioned. This is the case of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States that in Article 4 states that children have the right to satisfy their needs for food, health, education, and recreation for their integral development. In another case, the Regulations of the General Population Law Article 217 provides that the Interior Ministry will sponsor, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National DIF, agreements with State governments and with the State System for the Integral Development of the Family, to establish mechanisms for the collaboration and coordination in carrying out actions for the benefit of returning migrant children to their countries to guarantee the rights conferred upon them by law.

In addition, the Law for the Protection of the Rights of Boys, Girls and Adolescents states that they have the right to be afforded protection and help in all circumstances, to be attended to before adults in any situation, to receive the guarantee that their survival and development be ensured in the best possible way, to respect them without any discrimination and to live under conditions that allow their physical, mental, material, spiritual, moral and social welfare. This order also speaks of the right to health, not to be deprived of their family of origin, the right to rest and play, to freedom of thought, to state opinions and not be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Other laws containing similar provisions are the Mexican Social Assistance Act.

However, in the case of institutional responses to the growing number of unaccompanied boys, girls and teenagers in our country, the policies implemented are of very recent data.

One of the first major initiatives in this area was the Interinstitutional Programme for the Border Child Care. This was, in fact, the first program of its kind in Mexico. Since 1996 it has been coordinating the activity of the National Migration Institute and the National System for Integral Family Development (DIF) in joint actions for the benefit of boys, girls, young migrants, and repatriated Mexicans and foreigners. Moreover, both agencies signed a Cooperation Agreement on June 11, 2007 to guarantee the full exercise of the rights conferred by Mexican and international law, as well as establishing strategies to provide humanitarian and comprehensive aid.

According to this agreement, both institutions agreed to work on the training of immigration staff at the National Institute of Migration and on the rights of migrant children and on the coordination of actions between the State and Municipal DIF Systems of the northern and southern border regions in order to implement strategies for the care and prevention of the infant population during migration processes.

In this context, on July 12th, 2007, another vanguard instrument was signed, one that the other Border States should seek to imitate. This is the Specific Agreement between the National Migration Institute, the National DIF and DIF Chiapas to establish a partnership to provide temporary shelter to foreign children and adolescents migrants in the border area of the State.

Through this instrument, the Government of Chiapas through the State Committee for Monitoring and Surveillance of the Rights of Children and Adolescents called the consulates of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras to hold regular meetings to carry out joint actions for the benefit of boys, girls and adolescent migrants, repatriated Mexicans and foreigners in order to guarantee the full exercise of their rights and provide comprehensive care immediately.

This Agreement enumerates the commitments made by the various governmental and international instances for a close cooperation of support to migrant children -

defined as foreign boys and girls, who having crossed the southern border of Mexico, entered and are in national territory- and also of those children who are seeking refugee status - defined as any girl or boy, whether alone, or accompanied by their parents or any other person, who asks for immigration status as Nonimmigrant Refugee as provided in the General Population Act and in its Regulations.

Since its establishment, the program has been drawing an ambitious agenda of work in order, among other things, to develop a formal plan of care for foreign migrant children in the southern border, to create a single information system at a national level to guarantee the localization of migrant children throughout the whole process, and to establish a process of reintegration of repatriated minors to their home community, with shared responsibilities among countries. It also aims to establish the homologation of criteria in the region to make the procedures for the receiving and returning of minors to their countries a state policy, and not a temporary or *ad hoc* mechanism, and by our example continue to demand that the U.S. provide shelters to attend migrant children in that country and set up safety committees and vigilance on the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Southern Border.

However, with the intention of broadening the scope of these programs and providing specific care for children and unaccompanied teenagers the first session of the Interinstitutional Roundtable on Children and Unaccompanied Teenagers and Women Migrants was held on March 30th, 2007. This Committee, comprising representatives of the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Commission on Human Rights, the International Organization for Migration, the Ministry of Social Development, UNICEF, ACNUR, COMAR and, of course, the National DIF System, operating under the technical secretariat of the National Migration Institute.

The purpose of this mechanism was, as it was then announced, to discuss the situation and the problems associated with this vulnerable sector of population, during detention by the National Institute of Migration, or in an irregular situation in the country, in addition to defining actions to address the issue from a holistic

perspective and take useful measures in providing care to unaccompanied minors and women migrants.

The Bureau called itself a "strategic inter-agency body" to exchange information between the different authorities and agencies and to coordinate specific policies, to recommend others at various levels of government, and to provide proposals to the Interinstitutional Program for the Border Child Care.

One of the most relevant proposals of this Committee has been to implement a *Model for the protection of boys, girls, and unaccompanied teenagers* in order to develop a program for their care and their detection, to prompt canalization to the center of care for unaccompanied migrant children to their own network of shelters in the DIF.

For the purpose, this model provides for the creation of an "Officer for the Protection of Infancy" (OPI). At first, 180 Federal Immigration Agents who met a certain profile were selected nationwide. According to information provided by the National Institute of Migration (interview with INM officials, December 14th, 2008) the OPI's received training in emotional literacy, communication with boys, girls and youth migrants, international protection, care in crisis, rights of children, ill-treatment, violence and abuse prevention, as well as consular notification and processing of records. With support from various international organizations such as OIM, COMAR, ACNUR and UNICEF, two workshops have been given to date on comprehensive training for all officers. There are already OPI's operating at the point of repatriation for migrant children at both the northern border and the southern border, and at different migration detentions stations.

The key responsibilities of these officers include 1) assessing the need for the international protection of children either as victims of violence, or as seeking shelter or simply in their migrant status, 2) performing the appropriate consular notification, 3) admitting them to the appropriate shelter, according to their age, nationality and place of detention, 4) assigning a guardian to accompany the migrant minor, 5) providing counseling, 6) ensuring their rights are respected and 7) where appropriate, arranging their return home according to the protection of the best interests of the child.

Under this model, the National DIF System created modules for the care of boys, girls and young repatriated migrants traveling alone. In these modules a psychological and social assessment is enacted, the migrants are given access to food, health and education, the families are located and their reunification is supported, except in cases contrary to the best interests of the child. To date there are 7 modules in the northern border. However, modules are still waiting to be installed in the migratory detention stations in Tapachula, Acayucan, La Ventosa and Tenosique on the southern border.

Progress has been noted, however, in the Unique Information System for boys, girls and youth migrants and repatriates. Through this System - which will methodologically and technically homologate the information available to the DIF, the National Migration Institute and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there will be reliable and complete statistical data to monitor migrant children from the process of repatriation until their reintegration into their communities of origin.

In addition, the National Migration Institute has been signing agreements to expand the scope and depth of these measures of protection. Thus on September 17th, 2008 an agreement arose with UNICEF in which both bodies are working on the drafting and implementation of a reference manual to operate this model of protection in a perception survey, in more Training courses for OPI's and other mechanisms to ensure that migrant children and repatriated children may be in communication with their families. NEXTEL has recently covered all the costs of the installation of free telephone lines in the migration detention centers.

In the third report submitted by Mexico before the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the Committee congratulated "our country for the establishment in 2002 of the Program of protection and assistance to unaccompanied minors in refugee status of the Memorandum of Understanding on a safe and dignified repatriation "(op. cit., 2006, paragraph 60. 15). However, it expressed concern about the large number of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls that are repatriated to their countries of origin, without the State being able to take all the necessary measures to protect the best interests of the child, providing shelter, recognising their refugee status and ensuring their social reintegration. (Ibid, paragraph 61, p. 16)

The Committee also made clear its concern about "the extent of sexual exploitation, trafficking and abduction of unaccompanied migrant children as well as the absence of effective legislation to address this problem." (Ibid, paragraph 64, p. 17).

Immigration Authorities with a Human Rights Vision

The National Migration Institute has made efforts to protect the rights of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls. Proof of this is that it has signed agreements with the DIF System and with the consulates to respect and protect the rights of this clearly vulnerable group. However, in this section we want to make some additional proposals that will undoubtedly contribute to the better performance of the immigration authorities and, therefore, to the effective exercise of the rights of children.

First of all, we want to point out that there is a notorious lack of systematic organization of information on unaccompanied migrant minors who enter Mexico and who are detained by the authorities. In fact, the type of information that the INM currently has, does not identify the migratory status of these children, if they are repeated offenders, or have been victims of kidnappings, forced labor or human trafficking networks, etc. Therefore, we believe that for statistical and diagnostical purposes, but also to better identify the victims situation, immigration officers must systematically complete a form with the children's personal information, remembering at all times the principle of confidentiality, and noting all the additional information that can help illustrate the status of the child. This should be done in order to identify repeated offenders, victims and most important, to identify family members who are in the immigration station or in some other shelter, provided it is in the best interests of the boy or the girl to proceed towards family reunification.

For all the boys and girls, family reunification should be a priority, either in the host country or in their country of origin. However, if this does not suit the best interests of the boy or girl, or if it were not possible within a certain time, other medium or long term solutions should be sought, such as foster homes, adoption and recognition of refugee status. However, today in Mexico, despite the historical tradition of welcoming asylum seekers, unaccompanied migrant boys and girls from Central

America are not eligible to receive immigration status¹⁰¹. There, should therefore be greater coordination between the agencies in charge, specifically the COMAR and the INM in order to recognize the refugee status of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls, if it be in their best interests, if they so request it, and if repatriation should represent a serious threat to the integrity and the enjoyment of their rights.

Greater Involvement of the DIF System

It is desirable that the DIF System -the entity that deals with family matters in Mexico - should be much more involved in the protection of migrant minors, even more so than the immigration authorities. According to an ACNUR report on repatriation procedures from Mexico to different Central American countries, it is clear that the main responsibility for the care of this vulnerable group falls into the responsibility of the counterpart institutions of the DIF here, namely, in Honduras, the Honduran Institute for Children and Families (IHNFA), in El Salvador, the Salvadoreanian Institute for the Integral Development of Children and Adolescents (ISNA), and in Guatemala, the Undersecretary for the Protection Shelter and Family Rehabilitation of the Social Welfare Secretariat, institutions that coordinate the actions of care and protection of migrant minors.

To a large extent this reflects the fact that it is necessary to provide a different treatment to migrant children not only because they are migrants but because they are boys and girls in need of protection. It would be desirable that the DIF System took the lead in the operation of this policy, with its own autonomous criteria, that of course, are different from the criteria operated by any other immigration authority in the world.

New Immigration Law

The complexity of migration flows on the southern border, our triple conditions of being a country origin, destination and transit of migrants, the need to show example to the United States regarding the situation of hundreds of thousands of undocumented Mexicans who cross the border annually in that country, as well as

¹⁰¹ Interview with the Consuls of Guatemala and El Salvador on Saturday January 24, 2009, Tapachula Chiapas.

the basic need for safety, welfare and infrastructure, all demand that Mexico make an effort not only to update an out of date Act like the current Population Law, but to that it develop a new Immigration Law. This should reflect not only the legal and conceptual advances in human rights in recent years, but should also lay the groundwork for a new, more humane, modern immigration polic in tune with the need to ensure better opportunities for development in the south and southeast region. Necessarily, this new design of legislation and immigration policy will need to incorporate an entire chapter on the issue of migrant boys and girls that makes authorities responsible and points to a mechanism of protection and, where appropriate, to a repatriation system that fully meets the latest developments of the international law of human rights.

Keynote Address:

**TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES IN ASIA:
WITH A FOCUS ON THE PHILIPPINES
A LITERATURE REVIEW**

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International migration from poorer Asian countries to wealthier countries, along with remittances from overseas workers, is seen as a way to help both the migrant’s family and their country. Three countries that have seen a significant increase in migration, since the early 1990s, are Nepal, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Since the 1950s, Nepal has a history of migrants working in India. In the 1990s, additional work became available overseas – in the Middle East, and East and Southeast Asia – and between the early 1990s and the early 2000s, the number of overseas workers grew from less than 100,000 to more than 700,000. By the mid-2000s Nepal’s total migrant workforce totaled more than 1.7 million (approximately 1 million in India and 700,000 overseas).¹⁰² These 1.7 million workers remitted possibly more than US\$ 1.5 billion to Nepal.¹⁰³

Following the 1997 economic financial crises shock, the number of Indonesians living in poverty increased “from 34.5 million in 1996 to 49.5 million in 1998.”¹⁰⁴ This

¹⁰² Yamanaka, Keiko, Changing family structures of Nepalese transmigrants in Japan: split-households and dual-wage earners, *Global Networks*, 5, 4 (2005) 337, 340. See also, Seddon, David, (2005) ‘Nepal’s Dependence on Exporting Labor, Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC, available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?id=277> (last viewed 18 October 2009).

¹⁰³ *Id.* At 340-41.

¹⁰⁴ Tjiptoherjanto, Prijono and Sonny Harry Harmadi, (2008 draft) “Indonesian Migrant Workers: Analysis of Trends, Policies,

increase in poverty had a direct effect on the number of legal migrant workers, increasing from approximately 384,822 in 1994 to approximately 1.5 million in 2004.¹⁰⁵ During this time the remittances from migrant workers grew from less than US\$ 1 billion in 1997 to more than US\$ 2.93 billion in 2005.¹⁰⁶

While Nepal, Indonesia and other countries play a significant role in exporting migrant workers, this paper will focus on migrant workers from the Philippines. It will look at the migrant father, the migrant mother and the impact on family members left behind, and how transnational families cope with the years of separation (the average Filipino worker returns to visit their children every four years and stays for two months).¹⁰⁷

Since the 1970s, the Philippines has supplied all kinds of skilled and low-skilled workers to the world's more developed regions¹⁰⁸ and is the third largest migrant-sending country in the world. As of December 2007, roughly 10% (8.7 million) of the population was abroad. Of this 8.7 million, 3.6 million are permanent migrants to other countries, 4.1 million are temporary, documented labor migrants (274,497 of whom are sea-based workers), and 900,023 are irregular migrants. Remittances in the Philippines have grown from US\$ 6 billion in 2000 to USD 14.4 billion in 2007.¹⁰⁹

In 1974, President Marcos implemented the Labor Export program, which encouraged, facilitated and earned revenue from the systematic and more or less orderly export of workers."¹¹⁰ The program began, following the effects of the 1970s oil crises. The Filipino economy was severely affected by the increase in oil prices and oil-producing countries had an excess of money available to spend on projects

and Proposed Solutions," paper presented at Eropa Seminar 2008, "Governance in a Triptych: Environment, Migration, Peace and Order," 23-25 October 2008 in Manila, The Philippines. [get permission from the authors to quote statistics]

¹⁰⁵ Silvey, Rachel, "Consuming the transnational family: Indonesian migrant domestic workers to Saudi Arabia," *Global Networks*, 6, Vol. 1 (2006), pp. 23, 28.

¹⁰⁶ "Indonesian Migrant Workers: Analysis of Trends, Policies, and Proposed Solutions," at 12.

¹⁰⁷ Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "Mothering From a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Inter-generational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 27 No. 2 (2001), pp. 361, 367.

¹⁰⁸ Asis, Maruja M.B., *The Philippines' Culture of Migration*

¹⁰⁹ IOM, *Migration Initiatives Appeal 2009* at

http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/books/Migration%20Initiatives09.pdf, pg. 72. See also *Overseas Filipinos' Remittances* at <http://www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/spei/tab11.htm>.

¹¹⁰ Weekley, Kathleen, "Saving Pennies for the State. A New Role for Filipino Migrant Workers?" *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 34 No. 3 (2004) 349, 352.

that needed migrant laborers. President Marcos encouraged migration to help reduce unemployment in the Philippines and to increase remittances of foreign funds.¹¹¹

Following implementation of the program, and an increase of both men and women in the migrant workforce, government officials and journalists criticized mothers who left their families and went abroad to work. The government officials and journalists claimed that, by leaving their families, the migrant mothers were causing the "Filipino family to deteriorate, children to be abandoned, and a crisis of care to take root in the Philippines.... [and] admonish[ed], those mothers must return."¹¹² In May 1995, then President Fidel Ramos "called for initiatives to keep migrant mothers at home. He declared, 'We are not against overseas employment of Filipino women. We are against overseas employment at the cost of family solidarity,'"¹¹³ implying that the migration of women was acceptable only when the migrant was a single, childless woman.

In 1975, the majority of the migrant workforce was men, representing 88 percent of the population. By 1990, the workforce population was evenly split between men and women.¹¹⁴ Between 1992 and 2006, women made up the majority of newly hired migrant workforce. In 2004, at their highest point, women represented over 74 percent of the new hires. In 2007 and 2008, the percentage of new hires was much closer, with women representing approximately 48 percent of the work force each of those years.¹¹⁵ A major reason for the large increase in female new hires is the improving economy in many countries of the world. As economies expand and better paying jobs become available, local women decide to enter the workforce and they, in turn, look for someone to come in and help with, or take over, the housework and to help take care of the children. Many of the women who fill the domestic worker positions leave their home and children and become transnational mothers.

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "The Care Crisis in the Philippines: Children and Transnational Families in the New Global Economy," in *Gender Relations in Global Perspective*, Cook, Nancy, ed., p. 229.

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ Asis, Maruja Milagros B., Shirlena Huang and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, "When the Light of the Home is Abroad: Unskilled Female Migration and the Filipino Family," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 25(2), 2004, p. 198, 203.

¹¹⁵ See <http://www.poea.gov.ph/html/statistics.html>. Last viewed 20 Oct 2009. Appendix 1 shows the total of overseas new hires between 1993 and 2008, the number of female and male new hires, and the percentage and female and male workers.

Children in Filipino transnational households "suffer from the emotional costs of geographical distance with feelings of loneliness, insecurity, and vulnerability. They also crave greater intimacy with their migrant parents."¹¹⁶ However, children suffer more when their mothers go abroad than when their fathers leave because of the Philippines' "gender ideological frames of parenting."¹¹⁷

Historically, there is a distinct division of labor within Filipino households. The father is seen as the pillar of the home and the mother as the light of the home. As the pillar of the home, the father's primary duty is to provide for the family and to "build a home for [them].... It is he who... must literally build a home for his family."¹¹⁸ The father is also the authoritarian figure in the home. Thus, for a father to fulfill his role, he must "acquire" a home for his family. As the light of the home, the mother has the responsibility of caring for the children and managing the home. She is usually the parent who holds the family together.¹¹⁹ Most "children see their mother as soft and calm, while they regard their father as strong and the eminent figure in the family."¹²⁰

When a father leaves his family to work overseas, the family continues to resemble a conventional nuclear family. "The only difference is the temporal and spatial rearrangement [caused] by the father's work instead of the father... getting back home to his family at suppertime, he comes back... every ten months."¹²¹ Then the father leaves, the mother continues her role as caregiver and also steps into the father's role. The family left behind seldom relies on help from extended family members.

¹¹⁶ Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "Mothering From a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Inter-generational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 27 No. 2 (2001), at 375.

¹¹⁷ Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "Transnational Fathering: Gendered Conflicts, Distant Disciplining and Emotional Gaps," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 7, Sep. 2008, pp. 1057, 1061.

¹¹⁸ *Id.* at 1062.

¹¹⁹ *Id.* at 1062, [quoting Pabico 2005].

¹²⁰ See, "In the Absence of 'The Light of the Home,'" available at <http://www.filipinamom.com/index.php/category/personal/abakada-articles>, last viewed 18 Oct 2009.

¹²¹ Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "Transnational Fathering: Gendered Conflicts, Distant Disciplining and Emotional Gaps," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 7, Sep. 2008, at 1061.

While abroad, the father will oversee the building or remodeling of the home. By having a home built, the "father is symbolically present in [his family's] daily activities" and it reinforces his status as the breadwinner.¹²²

In her paper "Transnational Fathering: Gendered Conflicts, Distant Disciplining and Emotional Gaps," Rhacel Salazar Perrañas interviewed 26 adult children who had grown up in transnational families. Of the children interviewed, all but one lived in a nuclear-based household.

While interviewing the children, many of them complained about a "gap" which they described as a "sense of discomfort, unease and awkwardness" toward their migrant father. The "gap" also referred to "the inability of the young adult children to communicate openly with their fathers.... [and] captures the ambivalence... they feel over the unfamiliarity that has developed."¹²³ Understandably, the children whose fathers had worked overseas most of their lives felt more emotionally distant than children who were in their early teens when their fathers left.¹²⁴ When asked to describe the relationship with her father, an 18-year-old college student explained:

*The first time my father went home, it was as if I was really afraid of him. (Laughs.) It is because I was not used to having him around. See every night, I would kiss my mother good night. But when he is around, I am so embarrassed. So when he and my mother are together when I am about to go to sleep, I do not kiss my mother.... My mother of course noticed this. She asked me about it and I told her that I am embarrassed around him. She told me not to be because he is my father. She told me that I should try to be close to my father. So I agreed and I tried, but it is still the same. I am still embarrassed around him. Up to now, I am still very uncomfortable around him.*¹²⁵

¹²² *Id.* at 1063.

¹²³ *Id.* at 1064.

¹²⁴ *Id.* at 1065.

¹²⁵ *Id.*

The college student was seven years old when her father left and has few shared family memories. She believes "that the 'gap' in her family is due to the lack of shared experiences."¹²⁶

Also, many of the young adults interviewed talked about "distance disciplining." The only time heard from their fathers was when he felt they needed to be punished. One young man, whose father has worked as a chief engineer on a shipping vessel for 15 years, explained:

*My father only writes letters to my mother. There he would ask about us and our school grades. Then he asks that my mother photocopy our report cards and sent them to him. Then if we have a low grade, he will call immediately and reprimand us. He will spend everything, his entire phone card, on scolding you.
How do you feel about this?
Nothing. He always says the same thing again and again and again.¹²⁷*

This young man would prefer that his "incredibly authoritarian father... work permanently outside the country and never come home. He appreciates the monthly remittances... but would rather not interact with his father at all."¹²⁸

In questioning why fathers exercise their authority, Perrañas speculates that "not knowing how to act around their children, fathers... feel the pressure to act with authority, as that is what they think they ought to be doing to be good fathers... [T]hey assume that they must discipline their children to fulfill their parental duties."¹²⁹ Perrañas recognizes that the fathers are good "material" providers but don't provide emotional support for their family.

Most of the young adults understand that their fathers care for them, but would like their fathers to "cross the gender boundaries of fathering" to include nurturing.

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ *Id.* at 1068.

¹²⁸ *Id.* at 1069.

¹²⁹ *Id.*

"While appreciative of the material security afforded by migration, children would also like fathers to try to achieve intimacy with constant transnational communication... [to help] ameliorate the gap that plagues their relationship."¹³⁰

While many fathers may not think it's their responsibility, or understand how, to emotionally provide for their family while working overseas, most mothers who work overseas are very good at staying in touch with their family and "mothering from a distance."¹³¹

When a mother leaves to work overseas, she not only retains her role as the "light of the home," but also adds the role of provider and breadwinner. However, even though they've gone overseas to work, some mothers don't consider themselves a "provider and breadwinner." Since their remittances are paying for children to go to school, or to purchase furniture, appliances and other improvements for the home, the mother considers her earnings as an additional way she can take care of her children and the home.¹³²

Depending on the study, fathers may or may not become emotionally involved with their children. In "Long Distance Intimacy," Perrañas found that when mothers go overseas to work, "fathers are physically present but emotionally absent from their children's lives."¹³³ In "When the Light of the Home is Abroad" Asis and her colleagues found that for six of the seven husbands they interviewed, "their wives' migration initiated their entry into the world of 'women's' work."¹³⁴ However, most studies agree that fathers rarely become their children's full-time caregiver.¹³⁵

The mother's day-to-day responsibilities in the home are often taken care of by an older daughter or female relation. One way a mother stays involved with the day-to-

¹³⁰ *Id.*

¹³¹ Perrañas, Rhacel Salazar, "Mothering From a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Inter-generational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 27 No. 2 (2001), at 361. See also "Transnational Fathering" at 1059 and Long Distance Intimacy at 323.

¹³² Find article where this is discussed.

¹³³ p. 327.

¹³⁴ p. 206

¹³⁵ Long Distance Intimacy, p. 327.

day family life is to co-manage a bank account, usually with an older daughter.¹³⁶ In interviewing young adult children of migrant mothers, none of the sons who participated in Perrañas' study co-managed bank accounts with their mothers.

While many sons received monthly remittances directly from their mothers, these funds were often designated for their own personal consumption. The responsibilities of sons did not extend to the well-being of other members of their family. Daughters, by contrast, often had to distribute their mother's remittances to other members of the family. Hence, in telephone conversations, mothers usually asked sons about their school performance, while with daughters, mothers enquired not only about their school performance but also about the well-being of other members of their family including their father and siblings.¹³⁷

Co-managing bank accounts also allows migrant mothers to "imagine their life in the Philippines while they toil as domestic workers abroad."¹³⁸

While mothers have learned to stay involved with their family financially, many "are trapped in the painful contradiction of feeling the distance from the[ir] famil[y] and having to depend on the material benefits of their separation. They may long to reunite with their children but cannot, because they need their earnings to sustain their families."¹³⁹ A mother's emotions may include "feelings of anxiety, helplessness, loss, guilt, and the burden of loneliness."¹⁴⁰ Perrañas found that mothers deal with these emotions in three main ways: "the commodification of love; the repression of emotional strains; and... [regular] communication to ease the distance."¹⁴¹ In discussing the "commodification of love," one mother Perrañas interviewed stated:

¹³⁶ *Id.* at 324.

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ *Id.* at 326.

¹³⁹ *Mothering from a Distance* at 371.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

All the things that my children needed I gave to them and even more because I know that I have not fulfilled my motherly duties completely. Because we were apart... there have been needs that I have not met. I try to hide that gap by giving them all the material things that they desire and want. I feel guilty because as a mother I have not been able to care for their daily needs. So, because I am lacking in giving them maternal love, I fill that gap with many material goods.... (Author’s emphasis.)¹⁴²

Regarding the “repression of emotional strains,” another mother told Perrañas:

I have been lonely here. I have thought about the Philippines while I am scrubbing and mopping that floor. You cannot help but ask yourself what are you doing here scrubbing and being apart from your family. Then, you think about the money and know that you have no choice but to be here.¹⁴³

A mother who had not seen her children for 12 years stated:

If you say it is hard, it is hard. You could easily be overwhelmed by the loneliness you feel as a mother, but then you have to have the foresight to overcome that. Without the foresight for the future of your children, then you have a harder time. If I had not had the foresight, my children would not be as secure as they are now. They would not have had a chance. (Pauses.) What I did was I put the loneliness aside. I put everything aside. I put the sacrifice aside. Everything. Now, I am happy that all of them have completed college.¹⁴⁴

Regarding mothers communicating with their families, Perrañas found that most of the women she interviewed phoned and wrote their children at least every two

¹⁴² *Id.* at 372.

¹⁴³ *Id.*

¹⁴⁴ *Id.* at 373.

weeks. This allowed them to "keep abreast of the children's activities and at the same time achieve a certain level of familiarity."¹⁴⁵

In her study of Filipino migrants in France, Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot found that mothers had similar strategies for "building family relations:" sending remittances, giving gifts, communicating (by various forms) and visits.¹⁴⁶ In explaining the importance of giving gifts, Fresnoza-Flot observes that "mothers use gifts to symbolize gratitude and upward social mobility, to express maternal love, and to affirm their place and existence in the family."¹⁴⁷

Although most mothers believe that, while not easy, their time away for the family is in its best interest, the children left behind do not always agree.

First, children disagree... that commodities are sufficient markers of love. Second, they do not believe that their mothers recognize the sacrifices that children have made toward the successful maintenance of the family. Finally, although they appreciate the efforts of migrant mothers to show affection and care, they still question the extent of their efforts. They particularly question mothers for their sporadic visits to the Philippines.¹⁴⁸

Children do recognize the material gains provided by their mothers working overseas. For example, a survey by Paz Cruz indicates that "60 percent of the children do not wish for their parents to stop working abroad."¹⁴⁹ However, in the same survey, although 82.8 percent of the students surveyed would advise their friends to 'allow your parents to work abroad,'... [a] breakdown of the responses actually shows that 59.5 percent would advise friends to allow their fathers to go abroad, 19.7 percent would advise both parents, and only 3.6 percent would advise

¹⁴⁵ *Id.* at 374.

¹⁴⁶ Fresnoza-Flot, Asuncion, "Migration status and transnational mothering: the case of Filipino migrants in France," *Global Networks*, 9 Vol. 2 (2009) 252, 256.

¹⁴⁷ *Id.* at 258-259.

¹⁴⁸ *Mothering From a Distance* at 375. On average, mothers visited their children every four years for two months. Reasons given for not visiting more often were the cost of travel, they couldn't afford to take more time off, and fear of losing their job. See page 367.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 376.

friends' mothers to work abroad. Children are clearly less comfortable growing up with an absentee mother...¹⁵⁰

A college student, who lived without either parent between the ages of 5 and 10, recalls being insecure because he didn't know when he'd see his parents again. He also wants his parents to recognize that he sacrificed for the family:

But I don't blame my parents for my fate today, because they both sacrifice just to give us our needs and I just got my part. . . . And now, I realize that having a parent abroad may be a financial relief. But it also means a lot more. The overseas contract worker suffers lots of pain. They really sacrifice a lot. *But, hey, please don't forget that your kids also have lots of sacrifices to give, aside from growing up without a parent. Specifically, for those who thought that sending money is enough and they've already done their responsibilities, well, think again, because there are more than this. Your children need your love, support, attention and affection.... The whole family bears the aches and pains just to achieve a better future ...* (Author's emphasis.)¹⁵¹

Also, when children have support from extended family they may not miss their mother quite as much. A young adult Perrañas interviewed who grew up in her grandmother's home was 6 when her mother went to Rome and 8 when her father went overseas to work. She states:

It was not hard growing up without my parents because I grew up with my grandmother. So it wasn't so bad. I'm sure there was a time when there were affairs that you should be accompanied by your parents. That's what I missed.... I wasn't angry with them. At that early age, I was mature. I used to tell my mother that it was fine that we were apart, because we were eventually going to be reunited....

¹⁵⁰ *Id.* at 383. [If possible get information / numbers from the Paz Cruz survey.]

¹⁵¹ *Id.* at 379.

I see my mother having sacrificed for our sake so that she could support us financially....¹⁵²

However, by taking the time, some mothers are able to achieve transnational intimacy, and their children appreciate the effort. A 22-year-old, whose mother was a domestic worker in the United States for more than a decade, explains:

We communicate as often as we can, like twice or three times a week through emails. Then she would call us every week. And it is very expensive. I know.... My mother and I have a very open relationship. We are like best friends. She would give me advice whenever I had problems.... She understands everything I do. She understands why I would act this or that way. She knows me really well. And she is also transparent to me. She always knows when I have a problem and likewise I know when she does. I am closer to her than to my father.¹⁵³

While recognizing that transnational families are not the ideal, if parents and children communicate frequently, they can build a close relationship by sharing their experiences. In addition, if family members are willing to cross the traditional gender boundaries, they will be better able to cope with the emotional tensions that occur while they're apart.¹⁵⁴ The adoption of new gender roles would help migrant fathers become emotionally closer to their children, and relieve migrant mothers of their self-imposed burden to, not only be the "light of the home" but also breadwinner. Finally, the pain children feel when their mother migrates and is unable to nurture them can be decreased if the father goes beyond the traditional gender roles and adopts a more nurturing and caring role.

This paper will conclude with the story of a young woman who grew up in a transnational family. She was 11 when her mother left to work in Denmark. Some years later her father went to Spain to work. Her story relates to much of the

¹⁵² *Id.* at 376.

¹⁵³ Long distance intimacy at 328-329. The young woman's father lived three hours away.

¹⁵⁴ Transnational Fathering at 1070.

research discussed in this paper. Also, she's had time to view her experiences over time, which helps put things in perspective.

In a traditional Filipino family, the father is considered the head and the provider of the family and he is often referred to as the "Haligi ng Tahanan." The Pillar of the Home. While the mother takes the responsibility of taking care of the children and managing the home, she is called the "Ilaw ng Tahanan" or the light of the home. Children see their mother as soft and calm, while they regard their father as strong and the eminent figure in the family.

But in our case our mother is the one who has the strong character; she is not only a mother to us but she also does some of the things that my father lacks like handy man, and sometimes also making ends meet when my father's earnings can't support their 5 children.

My father tend[ed] our fishponds but sometimes typhoons, floods, and other calamities that always pass through our province [made] it a very unstable source of income. He also used to be a . . . merchant so we had market stalls in 3 towns . . . but it was still not enough to provide [a] good education for us kids which was [my parents'] dream since they had only [a] minimal education themselves.

In 1981 our lives changed when my mother left us to join her siblings . . . in Denmark to find work. I still can remember that time, I cried for several hours because I [could not] imagine what our life [would] be without her. In a family, the mother is the light for all the pains and comforts. She is the light for all the mistakes and corrections. She is the light for all the happiness and sorrows. Without that light, the house can still stand but, there will be darkness. And with the darkness, there will be constant searching for direction and survival.

I was the eldest of the five children and I was 11 at the time she left us. Her responsibilities fell on my shoulder[s]: I washed our clothes, cooked our food, and cleaned the house. I also became the surrogate mother of my youngest sister who was only 2 years old at that time. My brothers were 6 and 8 years old and my other sister was 9. There was a constant feeling of sadness and deep longing for us to be with our mother. Birthdays, Christmas, graduations and all the special events without our mother will forever be etched in our hearts. Gifts we received like new toys or new clothes were a momentary plaster to the emotional sores that made us numb with longing for family togetherness.

I can't remember how I felt when I saw my mother for the first time in 4 years but what I can vividly remember was my youngest sister[s] reaction at that time. She could not recognize my mother, it took her a month to get... used to the idea that we indeed [had] a mother. The sight of the postman was a relief during that time. I can't describe the excitement whenever we received greeting cards or letters from our mother. That was during the pre-internet age and there were no telephone lines in our place. Whenever we missed her we would just read her letters to reassure ourselves that she [was] still with us... just thousands of miles away.

If it was difficult for us kids, it was even more so for our father who had to assume the mother and father roles at the same time, especially when we reached puberty. My father was very strict with us: no parties, no gimmicks and no discos. I almost did not attend the Junior Senior Prom (Dance Ball). There was a lot of resentment and confusion for a teenager due to hormonal changes to our bodies that were happening, but somehow we managed through [with] the help of my one and only female cousin. Most of my aunts and uncles were also abroad at that time so mostly we had to manage ourselves.

Later, our father left us to join my mother who moved to Spain 8 years later because there were already 2 of us who went to college. After a few months my sister followed him, leaving my 2 brothers and youngest sister under the care of my grandmother. I was in college and lived in Manila at that the time until my other siblings joined me when they went to college. My parents [came] home every 3 years after that.

Living without our parents was difficult but it made us closer to each other, and stronger to face life's challenges. We've been through a lot of problems like studying, jobs and relationship problems. We even experienced that our apartment burned down, not . . . once but twice, [along] with most of our prized possessions like pictures from childhood and most of the material things I gained while working. . . . We were lucky to receive help from other people like my employer at that time, who gave us financial help when we needed it most. But those experiences taught us that the family is more important thing than anything else in one's life. Material things can vanish any time.

My parents were present during our graduation, except my youngest sister's graduation. When we entered the Philippines Convention Center where our graduation was, one can clearly see the tears in their eyes and the pride to see us in our togas, when we went up [to] the stage to receive our diplomas.

I got a degree in Civil Engineering and [am] now pursuing another degree in [either] Constructing Architect or Architectural Technology here in Denmark. One brother is [a] dentist and one is a[n] Electronics and Communication Engineer. My youngest sister finished [her degree in] Chemical Engineering, and another sister finished International Relations studies.

It was the dream of my parent[s] for us to finish our education so we will have a better chance to have a good future.

But there's an anti climax to our story. After several years of working in the Philippines, we still could not see a better future for all of us, [so] we followed [in] our parents' footsteps and [have joined] the millions of global Filipinos trying to find a better future, which our own country unfortunately cannot provide us.

...

Did my parents dream turn into nothing because we are working and living abroad after earning our academic degrees in the Philippines? No, I don't think so. It is not our fault that the economy of the Philippines is in disarray and that it can not keep its highly educated citizens home. But we will always be thankful [for] the sacrifices of our parents because having [an] education [was] the best thing they can give us because it will never vanish and someday it will help us to find the right jobs here in Europe.

Even in the absence of the Light of the Home, we still functioned as a family because of the sacrifice my parents [made] . . . for the sake of a better future for their children. They became our guiding light to stay away from all kinds of temptations and we became responsible adults. It's the love for the family that drives many Filipinos to leave and work abroad.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ "In the Absence of 'The Light of the Home,'" available at <http://www.filipinamom.com/index.php/category/personal/abakada-articles>, last viewed 18 Oct 2009.

Panel:

**"CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN AND DESTINATION"**

ANECDOTES OF A MIGRANT

Ary Kahan
Entrepreneur

First of all, thank you for inviting me to come and talk about a subject that is very familiar and very dear to me.

In several other places there are events on migrants. The word migrant or immigrant is sometimes not perfectly understood. I think it is a phenomenon that happens around the world, for various reasons. Due to climate change, changes in earth movement, ideological changes, for goodness knows how many things. I think man has always been a migrant or immigrant, just as Adam and Eve also became migrants because they were expelled from paradise all because they "misbehaved". But one does not necessarily need to misbehave to be expelled from a land where one lives.

I belong to a very ancient people, the Jewish people. My parents had to emigrate from Europe in 1923 - 24, simply because in Russia and in many European countries they were persecuted. And they were persecuted because of the people to which they belonged. That was when my grandmother had to emigrate with three children because the Bolsheviks would not let my grandfather leave, because he was a useful. He knew how to handle steam engines and therefore they did not want him to leave.

My grandparents had to divorce and my grandmother had to travel with my uncles, and my grandfather devised an escape and emigrated. They were travelling to the United States, but had to go ashore in Cuba, and then in Veracruz, because there

was no way to enter the United States even then because of the famous immigration law.

They arrived in Veracruz and, my dad used to say that the smell of the fruit, mango, melon and watermelon, was the most beautiful memory he had of reaching the mainland.

They travelled to Puebla, settled there, and the story goes that my grandfather offered to fix an engine. He did it and earned his first 200 pesos. Thus, without knowing the language, empty handed, but with a fighting spirit, my family came to Mexico, as many other immigrants have come from all over the world.

Mexico, blessed country, to have received them with open arms! If not, to be honest, I would not have been born and would not be here today with you, giving a testimony of gratitude to this place in the world. Believe me; I do so with great respect and affection.

I can say with great joy that sometimes we do not understand what money is, and in these times of crisis, even more so. We are unhappy, do not participate, we have no money in our pockets, we have lost a lot, but let me tell you something. I have not always been successful, I have had many failures and success is paved with failures. Have you ever seen a hearse followed by a safe? No one has, right? Then, what are you worried about? True, however, is that often a hearse is followed by people, friends, good people, as a result of the things we do in life.

Finally, an immigrant is known for what he did to succeed and how involved he is in the life of the country. What happens is that the migrant has had a hard life. He must live a life of thrift, deprived of many things, he has to save for later, start that small fortune and begin to multiply it.

The migrants in this country have had opportunities in every way. Their children have become professionals, have done wonderful things and have come to collaborate with the country.

The question we must finally ask ourselves, whether migrants or not, in the end, we are all the inhabitants and citizens of this country, but what does citizen mean,

someone who goes and votes? No. A citizen is one who works with the country and who commits to doing good things for his country. We can have good or bad, better or worse governments, but it is civil society, where I have been working in "*Society in Motion*", that has to work for Mexico.

But, we should not limit ourselves in any forum; let us not leave it to others to solve our problems. Let us become leaders, the first ones at home, in our families, our streets, our neighborhoods, in our country.

So, I do not know if my time is over, it probably is, but you have made me pour from my very being what I most love, you my brothers from Mexico. God bless you.

Panel:

**"CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN AND DESTINATION"**

**THE SOCIAL CAPITAL OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND OBSTACLES
FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF CENTRAL AMERICANS IN MEXICO**

Rodolfo Casillas Ramírez

Research Professor

Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO)

I intend to talk about the social capital of international migration based on the experience of the Central Americans, who for different reasons, migrate to Mexico, mainly staying on the southern border, where there is employment to be found, or others in vast numbers who travel through Mexico in an attempt to reach the United States.

Usually when we talk about international migration in Mexico, we have a general tendency to refer to their economic contribution, the remittances, and explain migration primarily from an economic standpoint. There are other elements involved; we rarely stop to explain these and the relative importance of economics through the flow of the generations of migrants and the evolution of the economy over the years. This has also greatly limited our appreciation of all the other social, cultural, linguistic and religious skills that migrants develop during their stay or transit through other countries.

As migrants, they leave their place of origin, with its culture, its society, and on reaching or passing through other places, they learn and develop new things. If they are away for a long period of time, when they return, over and above the money that can fit in their pockets, or advanced in remittances, they bring with them new skills.

The fact that we have paid so much attention for so long in the remittances, which usually are sent to solve the most pressing problems facing families: food, clothing, housing, health and a small surplus used for other purposes, sometimes for the family or local community, for example when the hat is passed round to give a hand to the church, or to repair the road or school, or for any other work needed in the community. This is reflective of the migrants' social organization and their ties to their place of origin.

And what's left of everything else they have learned?

I will list some elements that enable and impede the channeling of learning of migrants abroad to the benefit of their communities of origin.

I've been working on this issue of migration since 1985, when I started my first field work in the coffee plantations in Soconusco, Mexico, watching the Guatemalan workers who came to reap the harvest and other crops. I then did a follow-up on them, observing them from Central America to their final destinations in California, in Texas, Illinois and other U.S. locations. I started to see some elements of what these migrants were doing.

Many of the undocumented migrants from Central America, because of the total 100% of illegal immigrants arriving in or transiting through Mexico, 96% are Central American and I am going to focus on that 96% who are mainly from four nations: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua, which for many years now these four nationalities remain the constant.

If we look at their places of origin and understand the economic situation in Central America, we can appreciate the number of limitations. If for many of us not having a clear destination in mind, other than going to California with just have a phone number and \$10 in our pocket, would be enough to deter us from advancing even 100 meters. A phone number in California is a phone in a whole country. California is much larger than many European countries and their economies; it is one of the top 10 economies in the world. So with the knowledge acquired in college or in our social environment, we build barriers that prevent us from going, we reckon winter is

coming, I don't have the clothes, for \$ 10 I won't even get as far as Querétaro, so there's no point in going.

We would have to understand the different logic of people who do not have the money, who have no clear path of where they're going, who neither know nor care about the weather, and if there's negative news, does not prevent them from going and getting to what they have in mind, even without knowing anyone in Mexico. We have to accept that they have different social mechanisms that will allow them to achieve their objectives. These are the social and humanitarian networks along the routes, that migrants establish with the helping hand that gives them a taco, the home that allows them to rest a while, the church that welcomes them, and others who guide them along the way to telling them which way is north.

Societies advance, not only among themselves, but also with the knowledge society offers. University knowledge is not the only one that allows us to transform society. Knowledge is social. At their level and within their social centers migrants do the same.

Let's consider another set of elements, those that allow them not only to leave their home, but to know where they traveling to and how to insert and manage things in their places of destination.

I have witnessed how many Mexicans from Tijuana, Mexicali, Nuevo Laredo, when they cross over the border to the US will stand on the street corner and wait for the traffic lights to cross and who do not throw garbage on the streets and know well what to do. Whereas back here in Mexico, they cross the street anywhere, "bullfighting" their way through trucks and cars. What is it, that makes them behave differently, did they forget the basics of something as simple as the street code, when they cross a border, or are they adapting to the various codes of conduct, civic culture, according to where they are, surely this is the logical explanation.

We can also mention other examples over here like if we buy an appliance and it goes wrong, we swear at the whole family tree of the guy who sold it to us, but most likely we won't go and complain, we probably won't buy anything again from that store, and will go to the one opposite. But in the US we demand our rights as citizens, begin to argue and demand that they give us another blender or whatever it

was, because it's broken, and we have the bill and know that we will be respected. I could give a lot other examples where the more conceptual knowledge that you see on screen is telling us how we as a society are becoming stronger.

If I were to ask many of you here right now why you sat where you sat, you will probably say, well, because this is a friend next to me or they come from the same neighborhood. In this way, we are calling on a number of skills that enable us without words to say where I am and who I get on with. The same applies to migrants who are looking for accompanying codes, such as nationality, language, sex, age, where they come from, where they are going, the places where they will stop over, and you see how all of this generates knowledge that forms a social fabric. This is where the weight of economic aspect comes up again because many times when we say I'm going to Los Angeles or New York, you say I'll go by plane, here's my passport, visa and plane ticket and as the individual thinks, according to the resources and means chosen, you're not concerned who will travel with you, because it's completely irrelevant from this way of thinking, that is there is no social fabric weaving, or appeal to codes of sociability, but contractual codes.

On the social side, all this provides us with a source of wealth that allows us to understand how migrants function along the way. There is a set of ten different elements that help explain how migrants, without knowing English – which is not indispensable for them to live, work and send money or to do anything else in the United States – can survive from their place of origin, during transit and at their destination, by forming these core social nucleus that are perfectly well connected to their places of origin.

After the reading of these positive elements, one could ask why, with so many pros in their favor, migrants are so badly off, why are there always low social sectors, which are reproduced and remain low. Only one or two manages to jump to the middle class and eventually have greater social mobility, as happens in some cases.

In the same way as we travel with our society and our culture and our positive aspects, we also travel with the negative. Let's consider how some elements that encourage the daily development of positive social capital are also accompanied by others that weaken us.

One thing that is very painful is that it first must be remembered that many of these migrants are from Central America, where the building of the nation state is hard work, unfinished and with many weaknesses.

But we are social hubs and many of you also work with social groups that move in the range of institutions. That the State does not arrive or arrives late or arrives erratically or with different aims, means that these subordinate groups in society, who have also developed ways to reproduce, also have ways to avoid interacting with institutions. So sometimes we are faced with a problem of communication, from institutions that do not know how to work with these groups, but also with the groups who do not understand the institutions. This is a big weakness as we come across very well-intentioned civil servants who want to do something and are misunderstood by the sector, who don't want to know. Often they are also struggling with a history of disagreement between society and institutions and when a new well-intentioned member of staff arrives and crouches and starts to run like a dog beaten in the street. Who is going to sit and wait for the next beating? Whoever is not accustomed to receiving kindness, expects to be beaten and social groups also sometimes react instinctively as well. So that's the first problem, but there are also others.

Sometimes the building of a nation state which helps us to identify common elements also helps us to form our identity. In Mexico we say that as the gringos stole half our country, for whatever reason it may have been, they are a bunch of crooks. Many times in order to strengthen national identity, nation states sometimes overestimate positive elements, but if we look in the mirror at our neighbors and we get emphasize their negative points, and this is what leads to confrontation between the two. Well, the same happens to Central Americans.

They come here in separate groups, as Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Hondurans and Nicaraguans here and there. If consider other elements, we see that the *Garifuna* communities of Honduras, a black population who do not mix with the *mestizos* neither do the *mestizos* mix with the *Garifuna* who are black and have their own language, and then any possible benefit we could have begins to vaporize, the social fabric begins to fracture and there is no moving forward, and this doesn't help

us. We ourselves are boycotting any progress we could achieve. If we appeal to other kinds of social distinctions, we begin to see how on the way we start to divide up before we suffer any kind of aggression.

Another aspect in the case of the U.S., are the cyclical waves of new proposals to change the U.S. immigration law. In Congress in Washington, 400 to 500 proposals to amend the law are presented. Many of them are hard-liners, with proposals not to receive any more immigrants and when one sees the origin of the representatives proposing the initiative, there is a high rate of first-generation migrants who are the ones who don't want any more migrants. This has been the case since the end of 1970 up to the present day. The first generation wants to deny access to those who come back from similar backgrounds.

Many migrants already in the United States, rent an apartment and then sublet a room, or sublet the sitting-room or space within the sitting-room, to their compatriots, and sometimes the sublease to 8 or 10 fellow-countrymen pays the rent and even the migrant who rented the apartment earns a bonus. That's how we exploit our own communities.

If we look at the subject of human trafficking, we can see how many women migrants from Puebla, Tlaxcala and other places are taken to New York to satisfy the sexual appetites of Puebla Mexican immigrants living there. These are many of the elements.

There are other actors who do see the potential that can be made out of migration. Those red dots there on the map correspond to the 1,600 cash points where migrants' remittances can be cashed in Elektra Western Union in Mexico and is what has made it easier for migrants to receive partial remittances throughout the territory to help pay their transit through the country.

This boosts the economy, trade and, unfortunately, has boosted criminal gangs that 5 years ago began express kidnappings of migrants when they saw this was a lucrative business. Since last year mass abductions of migrants began, so that it is estimated that in one semester, more than \$25 million dollars have been paid in the ransom of kidnapped migrants in Mexico.

This map points to the routes, where the institutions are located, where humanitarian aid is available and the red asterisks point to the zones where most attacks are committed against migrants.

There are areas where 60% of kidnappings and violent assaults occur than we have on file. When I say us, I'm talking about a joint social effort, which involves 10 humanitarian shelters, all with the mandate of aid to migrants. We register all who pass by and the type of aggression and the result so far this year is a record of already more than 20 thousand Central Americans who have gone through this network. This operates without any subsidy or grant other than the social moral commitment of the priest, religious and volunteers who work there. Certainly if we had a budget, we could do many other things, but without it this is what we are able to do.

Here we can see a few of the elements that could strengthen the social capital of migrants and Mexican networks that help create social permeability. Notice how in the 20th Century, civilized Europe has changed national borders several times because of the conflicts affecting everyone and that does not mean it is not civilized in many other things. We may be without similar parameters for many other things in the economy of culture, but we have enjoyed great stability on our borders since they were established in the 19th Century. There must be good reason for this, namely, because of permeability, good relations among border communities of Guatemala, Belize and Mexico and some Mexican border communities with the United States. These are some positive elements.

In relation to the negative elements, I would say that we need to work hard, because apart from the fact that they undermine institutional life and the construction of state rule of law, they also have strong negative effects on the governance and daily life of the populations involved.

In conclusion, I would summarize with two sentences:

We need to encourage a redefinition of state policy on migration and new practices to understand migration, not only from its economic point of view, but from all aspects.

We have a general law of population that dates from the '70's and for the last 30 or 40 years our Mexicans and foreigners who come or go through our country has changed a lot in social composition, in gender composition and in territorial composition, but the laws we have still date from the '70's. The legal framework we have is totally anachronistic to the new realities of the 21st Century; we are still living in the 20th Century when we are people who are going to cross the 21st Century. So we need to change the general law of population, but we must also give a new dimension to general human mobility.

We cannot view migrants as a workforce or as a source of cash, because in doing so, we are enriching our own social development. We need to see migration in its wider view, with benefits both ways. So we need an ample legal framework.

We need to have a stronger society and from society to have the clarity to say we're here, we can share and we can grow.

Some time ago we used to talk about what it meant to be Latin American. Last year I analyzed trade between Mexico and Central America. Total trade with Central America reached 1.6 in the last 20 years. That means that our relationship with Central America isn't an economic one fails, our relationship is through the population. So we should update our laws to understand the population and if we strengthen the population, perhaps we can also encourage the economy because if we don't do it soon, that 1.6 is going to go down to zero, because China is already in Costa Rica and Chinese products are growing by leaps and bounds, faster, which we already know their different quality and price and in the country, they will soon eliminate that 1.6 that we have now. So even for these reasons I think it is appropriate to strengthen our social, cultural, linguistic, religious and all technical bonds, with Central America and not lose sight of the contribution of their social capital to achieve this goal.

Panel:

**"CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRY OF
ORIGIN AND DESTINATION"**

THE MIGRANT FAMILY AS A GENERATOR OF WEALTH

Leticia Gutierrez Valderrama,
Scalabrinian Religious,
Executive Director, DPMH

First, my thanks to Ms. María Elena Bribiesca and the organizing committee for inviting the Commission for Pastoral Care of Human Mobility (DPMH) to participate in this important event. His Excellency Rafael Romo Muñoz, Archbishop of Tijuana and head of this mission within the Mexican Episcopal Conference, sends his warm greetings and prayers, and trusts that the experience shared today may be a unifying theme in the mission that you are, and will be, carrying out with families, especially with migrant families.

The organizers have asked DPMH to talk on the subject of the migrant family as a generator of wealth, and I congratulate them upfront. For truly, the migrant worker and his family carry with them a cultural and religious heritage rich with Christian elements,¹⁵⁶ and through their mother tongue express a mentality, mindset and culture that are features of their spiritual life and of the traditions of their churches and communities of origin.¹⁵⁷

This, then, gives us an indication that migrants and their families carry with them an immense wealth of culture, values and customs, without ignoring that they also carry with them anti-values, of which we must be mindful. I call on the migrants' countries of origin, where often migration is only seen as a generator of remittances, to look at

¹⁵⁶ c.f. E.A, 65

¹⁵⁷ C.f. DPMC, 11

it from a more human perspective, so that they can address the social flow from a more comprehensive point of view.

Is it possible to find family, wealth, people in migration:?

Perhaps it may seem difficult to keep in mind the people, and the families behind or alongside them, when thinking about migration, because we have become used to seeing and speaking of migratory flow in terms of its positive or negative social effects as related to: migrant law, migrant remittances, migrant criminals and migrant national security concerns, and not in terms of deeper issues, such as the migrant himself.

So I dare to assert that, indeed, we find wealth in migration, because the migrant is part of a family and, directly or indirectly, the entire family, their community and their cultural environment migrates. In this context, we can say that people migrate with values, dreams, ideals and prospects, though also with shortcomings and vices.

To discover the family environment of the migrant that also moves in the migratory flow is important. We need to internalize it in our attitudes, and free ourselves from the poor and degrading views and pity that we have for those who migrate, in order to see them with the dignity and rank to which they are entitled, as expressed by the bishops of Latin America when they say that the family (and, in this case, the migrant worker and his family) is one of the most important treasures of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean.¹⁵⁸ It is part of our World Heritage.¹⁵⁹

For the supreme value that the migrant and his family have, it is important that we always aim as hard as possible for migrants to be able to benefit from the reintegration of the family as part of the migratory process. We need to be open as a society, as individuals, to see them with the place of dignity that belongs to them within society, in the countries of origin, transit or destination.

¹⁵⁸ Aparecida document, art. 432

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

This is a call to the conscience of all listeners or readers to see them as people, as citizens of the universe, with rights and obligations, with access to public policies, with the right to freely express their faith, their cultural heritage, to develop in the country that feeds them (Blessed Scalabrini).

Above all, we need to defend, the right of the migrant to live in a family and to be with his family, because it is there, in the heart of the family's, where a person learns, or should learn, to dream, to map out his life objectively, to face life with its successes, challenges and failures, however far he is from the land of birth, to experience diversity and unity. It is in the family where one learns to face death and illness, to position oneself in life as a person and member of a society. It is in the family where one learns to have faith, confidence, hope, etc.

With these reflections, I will examine the incalculable wealth brought about by the migrant and his family to a people or society, and the challenges it places on the inhabitants of that society.

Migration enriches peoples and humanity

Emigration, immigration, transmigration and the return of migrants to their places of origin have become global phenomena in today's world, creating challenges for nations to keep the family environment alive and well. Yet the legal restrictions that host countries apply, striving to attract and retain single men and women, incomplete families, to satisfy their production needs, fail to take into account the migrant as a person, his family and his environment.

The struggle of those committed to the cause of migration, is to reveal the harm done to humanity by the separation of families, as a result of restrictive laws geared to economic factors, rather than to the well-being of the individual person. The structural decomposition of small families, and new ways of being and living as a family, have hurt not only a people, but all humanity. It is necessary to commit to showing the good it would do mankind if migrants and their families were reunited.

So, the changes that these movements of people/families cause in social reality are to be seen from the point of view of wealth, and not loss, because the culture, customs, religions, food, music, etc. of the people migrating permeate our communities, and transform or enrich the host peoples, and humanity itself.

An example of the result of thousands of years of migrations is the diversity and cultural richness to which we are witnesses today. It is said that the diversity of culture in the contemporary world is "just a fraction of the diversity that has existed."¹⁶⁰

The migration of people, families and environments today offers us the opportunity to see and to live in societies that are increasingly multicultural (which does not necessarily mean a relationship or integration between cultures, between people). Nevertheless, they make it possible for multiculturalism to become interculturalism; from mixing to a relationship, to a welcome, to integration, to accepting ourselves as diverse and equal, that is, to live and coexist naturally in the unity of diversity.

We need to position migrants, families and society in the new concept of migration.

The greatest challenge we have ahead is what can be done for migration and its changes to become a natural process: how to continue being myself as a person, family and society, without depriving you of the chance to be yourself as a person, family and society?

If we want to leave the generations to come a world of cultural wealth, we have to be concerned about being recognized and valued as individuals, as families, as ethnic peoples, capable of contributing something to humanity, as well as valuing migrant families arriving in our lands as equals. No cultures or people are better or worse; they are only different. No cultures or people have greater or less dignity. It is important to bear this in mind in order not to annihilate our being and living in this

¹⁶⁰ Mark Pagel y Ruth Mace, "The Cultural Wealth of Nations", *Nature*, v. 428, March 18th 2004, p. 275

global village; in order not to lose our identity as a person, family or society, but rather to enrich ourselves with cultural diversity.

It seems to me that there is a great challenge ahead for everyone: for those who legislate, to generate and promote sound migration policies that allow such integration, as well as at the education level, to create spaces of openness and acceptance of diversity. It certainly poses a great challenge to society, religions and countries of origin, transit, destination and return, to achieve this goal, and to preserve the rich heritage left to humanity by migration, and not to close ourselves off in fear and xenophobia, which demean us.

Some examples of the changes migrant workers and their families bring to society and to humanity.

I will point out some examples just to show that in migration there are indeed riches, and we can deal with them with open or closed minds, depending on how we see and experience the migrant world in which we find ourselves.

Migration has transformed gastronomy: A simple example in Mexico is black beans, as a staple food.

For the people of the central and southern parts of the country, they are a treat. But for the people of the northern part of the country, black beans are not part of the basic food offerings on supermarket shelves. Now that migrants and their families from the central and southern regions have established themselves in the northern and border regions, such as Sonora, Sinaloa, Tijuana, etc., black beans are out on the supermarket shelves, along with other types of beans that are common in the north, creating interest among these populations to try this food, since the migrant families themselves have begun to prepare and sell them as part of the daily menu.

Migration has led to changes in musical styles and dance rhythms. For example, listening to a band, we identify the rhythm with the state of Sinaloa, because the musical style is characteristic of this region. However much of this type of music identifies or belongs to a people, migration has carried this style of music with it,

permeating our country and beyond. It's not just music to listen to, but music that transforms ways of dancing, moving and expressing joy; so much so that the Caribbean, Europeans and Latinos learn to move to the beat of this band, and their very human constitutions adapt themselves to these rhythms.

Migration has caused changes in religion, or religions. Here we can speak of the faith and devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Mexican migrants and families in the United States, and specifically in Chicago, have built a replica of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and have named it *la Villita*, in order to go on a pilgrimage on December 12, to pray and express their love for the Virgin in unity and devotion, as do the Mexican people here in her Sanctuary.

This is a devotion that has permeated the faith of a very Protestant people, and has been introduced to other cultures, different from the Mexican culture that has taken it as its own. This expression of faith and devotion is very flattering, because it is interesting to see Asians, Europeans, Africans, Latinos, etc., make a pilgrimage to the hill, and bow to pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe, or get up early in the morning to sing a serenade to Our Lady.

The same is true of mosques and places of worship of other religions, which are being established in response to the spiritual needs of migrant families, etc.

This wealth that the Mexican people have given to humanity has also enriched them. Just consider this cosmopolitan city, Mexico City, and see how other cultures have enriched us with their tenacity, their determination, their ways of being and living in the family. We can take a look at the determination the Jewish community has had to have to position itself in our nation. It is worthwhile to assess their strength in the workplace, their food, culture, etc. The same can be said of the Lebanese, the Spanish, and the Colombians, etc.

I believe, and I dare say, that the migrant worker and his family remain conquerors, precursors of a different way of being and living in the world, and so we must recognize the cultural and human heritage that migration bequeaths to a renewed and renewing humanity.

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Panel:

**“CONTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION”**

**THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR RETURNING
MIGRANTS**

Maria Dolores Gonzalez Sanchez
Federal Representative, Zacatecas

I wish to thank the National Institute of Migration, Families and Society, and the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development, and each of you, for the invitation to be here. I appreciate your having an interest in migration, because we all will take advantage of the wealth of knowledge of each speaker, of each paper, for our specific areas of work.

My main objective is to have Mexico define migration in public policy, and in state policy, with a long-term perspective.

Another objective is that migration be an interdisciplinary issue, in order to promote the welfare of migrants and their families with respect and humility, as a human tool for national improvement. Migration should never be understood as a phenomenon, but rather as a socioeconomic, cultural and educational process. Why do I say that it should not be called a phenomenon? Because I was born a migrant. I was born on the border in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas. My birth was registered in Nuevo Leon. My father is from Nuevo León. I spent my first five years in Zacatecas. My next four years in Guanajuato. My next seven years in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas. And, at the age of around 15 or 16, I “jumped the puddle” as a “wetback”, and went to Seattle, Washington, for the blueberry harvest.

In Seattle, Washington, we were working as a family in stores. From there we went to Florida, after that to Ohio, and from there we went to Texas. I am talking about a period of 10 years as an undocumented immigrant. It was terrifying to hear about the immigration authorities, because while driving in the car it was: "get down and be quiet." The Ku Klux Klan, as they walked through the streets, was especially frightening because I actually got to see them. It was a palpable fear that still gives me the shivers when I think about it. However, in 1988, when amnesty was given, my family was able to be legalized, and from then on we started to get ahead. In my time as an undocumented immigrant, I worked as a farm worker, because we were a poor family, but I also worked in hotels as a maid, on the sly. In some restaurants there were piles of pots, and since I did not like washing pots, I said, "I was not born for this." But time passed and we prospered in Texas, and we went to the border at Laredo, Texas. My business was in foreign trade. I worked in imports and exports, as a customs broker. From there, I was able raise money and begin work in civic organizations in the United States. We started working with children aged 6 to 14 years.

In previous papers, when they talked about child abuse, I felt and experienced all of that. It was so frustrating to find a child in a school, knowing that he had been torn from his family and taken to another country with the grandmother, godmother, or friends, in order to study English, because if the mother was not going to be able to give him a degree, at least he was going to speak both languages. Moreover, that child was absorbed in television, the internet or in dreams, and often they were sexually and mentally abused, many of them even hanging around with satanic cults, which was most horrifying.

Then we began to work with the "Big Brothers" organization. These were undocumented children, ages 16 -17, who had studied and had got on, but were unable to continue studying because later, in the colleges and universities, they would be international students, and at the time their mother or father had no money for them to become professionals. We started working with some universities and at conferences in the State of Texas so that these undocumented children could be adopted.

As Mexicans we celebrate the interest shown and the work done for our nation, the contributions made through these kinds of forums, not only the attendance, but also all of your solidarity, the support and gratitude of these organizations that make these events possible. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge and thank everyone, for the tireless struggle on behalf of Mexican migrant communities.

The provisions enacted through permanent public policies, built from the very foundations of each migrant community, must be steadfast.

In history, migrations are different. Migrations are opportunities, from the point of view of each migrant. The main objective that motivates the person or individual is the family.

People think that emigrating to a certain sector or place is to achieve progress in their economic, social or educational lives. No one emigrates to go backwards; they always emigrate to get ahead. People do not have the same causes or the same results, much less the same characteristics. They can emigrate for a short time or for a long time. Also, they can emigrate as individuals or in groups.

There are different types of migration:

Interstate migration. Migrations where people emigrate from one community to another community, one neighborhood to another neighborhood, from one municipality to another municipality, or from one state to another state. Emigrants are those who are exported, those who go. Immigrants are those who are integrated.

Transnational migration is when Central Americans pass through Mexico to and reach the destination country of the United States.

The United States is a country of migrants, not just Mexicans, but from all over the world.

Currently there are migrations without physical movement: television, radio, the Internet. Communication is important and conveys ideas and knowledge of values, which are equally transcendent.

Every person of whatever race is human, and we adapt to circumstances and climates according to our great need and purpose, taking into account our values and customs, economics, ideology, ignorance, beliefs and, especially, the courage to cross that river or desert or, many times, to get a visa, to break away from the family core. Migrants deserve to be respected wherever they are. There are reasons to move up in society, but ultimately we share the will of everyone to live together, to share; this is what makes us different and important.

The migrant population in a society is a process of productive progress, with young capital, ability and creativity.

Communities are forged at geographical crossroads with highly mobile cultures, as in the different Mexican states.

I want to mention that we have different states in Mexico, like Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Puebla, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Morelos and the Federal District to mention a few. Wealth also moves among them, as well as art, literature, culture, education, customs, virtues and, especially, beliefs. Values intersect where there is an adaptation of appreciation and prosperity. There is also a clash in the acceptance of the vices of others, and thus a new complementary culture is created; a young culture with its own characteristics.

American society in the United States, the "gringos", offers a positive impact. Americans assimilate and incorporate cultural elements, ideas and values from different peoples through the U.S.'s immigrants. I'm talking about different immigrants from around the world: Chinese, Japanese, brown people, as we are referred to there. Let me tell you that it's not just by using "coyotes" that one can migrate to the U.S. from Mexico. There are 23 opportunities, 23 types of visas to legally enter the United States. But people are often not informed, or the government does not communicate this, or we do not ask at the American

consulates how we can get a visa and what the requirements are. But there are 23 types of visas to enter the United States.

When host countries don't readily accept immigrants, the atmosphere can become very negative, violence can erupt and create problems of disintegration and discrimination, an unfavorable situation for the host society as well as for the immigrants and their families living there.

I believe, and have experienced, that mass migration in groups represents one of the fastest methods of social and democratic change, with growth in education and solidarity, which I think they should be considered as an economic evolution, social integration and acquisition of political rights.

Mexico is currently experiencing the cultural development of its people. The National Statistics Institute (INEGI) states that 20% of the population is migrant. 98% of that 20% is in the United States, and the other 2% in other countries.

The United States, our neighboring country, besides being a country that has many immigrants, provides a great motivation in the value of its currency, the dollar, for the individual person to emigrate there. The dollar is worth 13 times the peso, and that is motivation, because they pay by the hour. Whereas working here you would work 12 or even 14 hours, there you can work 6 or 8 hours and be well-paid.

Central Americans and all of us Mexicans will always have an interest in the United States, while the value of the dollar higher than the peso, In that population group of 98%, we're talking about 13 states of Mexico, but that 98% means about 20 million people.

20 million people is the population living here in the State of Mexico and Mexico City. The people living here in Mexico have the opportunity to request financial support from the federal government, perhaps an investment loan. Then there are scholarships, there is a health program. So why not even legal support? However, those 20 million people living in the U.S. only have the Mexican consulates, which are not enough for 20 million people distributed among 50 U.S. states.

Of the population which I am speaking about, we are the fourth generation of Mexican-Americans or, now, American-Mexicans. In my case I'm now bi-national, but my children are American-Mexican citizens with dual citizenship. So, we are a young culture, we are a young nation. I have been working with civic organizations for 18 years, with migrants, on the issue of immigration in the U.S., and let me tell you that we Mexicans over there are pretty well organized. There are the Guanajuato houses, the Puebla house, the Chihuahua houses, Nuevo León houses, Zacatecas federations, Durango clubs. So we are organized. What for? Because many times when there is a problem, when families live in one room, or just one house sometimes, and there's roast pork and drinking, there is an argument, the neighbor calls the police, the officer arrives, the immigrant is drunk, argues, struggles, and many times he is accused of abusing and assaulting the officer, and may be imprisoned for up to 3, 4 or 5 years. Often he is not visited by his family because they are undocumented, and neither is he visited by his mother, because she has no documents to go there, and neither does he have a lawyer to defend him; and so those people are forgotten by the government.

I can tell you that in these organizations there are people who donate their time, their skills and their experiences to those most in need. The migrant society and government must be united, from which can arise initiatives such as the 3 for 1 program, where a migrant contributes a dollar, and the state or local government contributes another dollar, to do public works. We launched this program in the Zacatecas federations, where I was one of the pioneers, where we were able to build highways, dams, roads and soccer fields. But with this experience we realized that we could also apply for investment and business projects. This is what I want to focus on. There is an organization of which I am president, called *Enlace Mexicano* (Mexico Link), whose purpose is to link government and migrant families.

In the 1 to 1 program, which we launched in February of this year, I also worked with organizations so that the Ministry of Education (SEP) would recognize the experiences of migrants who are in the United States. Many migrants there worked 2, 4, 6 or 20 years on one thing, laying floors, installing roofs, working in kitchens and in hotels, and are experts. They aren't engineers and they don't have a degree, but they are experts. Then with CONALEP, thanks to the SEP, with Josefina Vázquez Mota, we were able to achieve the recognition of their experience and the

certification of the experience of these Mexicans. Now when they return, they will return with a certificate, and will return to a higher salary.

On the part of the government, there are federal programs to support productive projects. Apart from the experience I have as an organizer of civic associations in the United States, during the last legislature I was a Federal Representative, which was an opportunity to present the problems migrants have on the other side before the House.

We spoke with many Representatives about migration. I got the feeling there was not much interest. The issue of migration was secondary, and even though I tried to tell them that there was a young Mexico there, a productive Mexico, an economic Mexico, it remained a secondary issue, and was not a subject on the agenda of the Chamber of Deputies. Still, I fought and fought and was able to achieve an increase in the budget of the Mexican consulates. 160 million was increased to 800 million pesos for the consular service. This was an achievement that was obtained from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was hard because the Secretary of State said that the budget was already extended, and it could not be done. But thank goodness we did it. We also got a budget for the repatriated children's program, of which there are thousands. In the previous paper they said that 5,000 children were repatriated last month alone.

5,000 children who have no parents, no mothers nearby and who are often pretty confused. We were able to work on this problem; we were able to work on scholarships for child laborers here. We have 2 million undocumented Mexicans here in Mexico itself. How is this possible? We have 2 million undocumented Mexicans in Mexico, without birth certificates, without voters' cards, without vaccinations, unable to go to school, but we were able to achieve that they be given the certification of the National Institute of Migration. All of this has now been worked out.

We are now the fourth generation established in the United States, with small and medium Mexican businesses that have evolved and are looking for development opportunities. We need consulting and cooperation agreements between Mexican,

American and Mexican-American business groups, in the interest of their growth in both countries.

We Mexicans contribute to the U.S. economy, and to the Mexican economy as well with remittances. As a Federal Representative I was able to invite the various Ministries and we were able to participate on behalf of *Enlace Mexicano*. I invited several international directors, and we were visited by the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture (SAGARPA), the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Social Development (SEDESOL), the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Communication and Transport. No one had ever seen a gathering like this, but I think the issue of migration needs to be felt in the soul in order to fight constantly and donate many hours and, sometimes, even spend your own money to get the needs of Mexicans outside the country heard by the government.

The governments of Mexico and the United States are working together, and must work together, because they are neighbors and because they have one thing in common: the Mexican-American community, or the American-Mexican community. We live and carry out international policies together.

We should not view migration as a people distant from us, but as another door that is opened for development. Migration is an activity for the common good. We are generating much of the economy.

Migrants and government, that's my motto. We look at each other and the goal is to look together in the same direction: towards the creation of bi-national Mexican political and socio-economic policies.

Finally, let me say that the development of the economy is based on faith, hope, family values, traditional values, cultures and customs.

This forum has special significance, as it shows the challenges of Mexico and immigrants facing the challenge of competitiveness. We have the migrant community that requires conditions designed to improve their living standards, and we have the resources to carry out projects, and we give hope to all of Mexico and the Federal Government.

With Business Link and the Federal Government we were able to accomplish personal business projects.

In the Chamber of Deputies they said we had to take some of the remittances, but this is impractical. Remittances are 400 to 500 dollars per family per month, and that money goes to pay rent, electricity, water. Where are you going to take it from? They have to pay 16% tax, now increased to 19%. For migrants over there, let's say they earn \$100, send 50 home, spend 40 and save 10. They are good savers and many of them have savings of 10 thousand, 20 thousand, 30 thousand dollars, and want to return to Mexico to meet a 15 year old daughter with a wife he left 10 years ago, and he wants to come back, and he want to invest, but does not know how. Then, thanks to the presence of these institutions, we were able to accomplish the 1 to 1 program, and now, in this business program, if the migrant has 10 thousand dollars, the Federal Government, through SEDESOL, matches another 10 thousand or 20 thousand U.S. Dollars, and with this we have stimulated the economy with companies or firms such as a tortilla makers, butchers and even barbers, and why not even greenhouses, through SAGARPA? And so we have helped Mexico grow, with those returning here.

So we have achieved that breakthrough, and I am thankful for the perseverance and the help of many people who, like you, donate their time, because the association is not one person; we are many, we are several, and these associations are nationwide, we have representations in Austin, Texas, Laredo, Chicago and Los Angeles.

I believe that migration is an open door to the growth of equity and productivity, and unique in the law. To strengthen the growth of competitiveness in all sectors, we need to break with the old paradigm of our Mexico for this 21st century.

Keynote Address:

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Rodrigo Iván Cortés Jiménez

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We intend to analyze family and social networks in order to understand the transition from the migrant family to transnational communities. We have to start from the binomial relationship that exists between family and society. There is no society without families nor families without society. There is a two-way link from family to society and from society to family.

Networks created by families make the fabric of social networks possible. This relationship can be positive, since it provides the elements for the survival and development of families and from families to society; it can also be a negative relationship: in a society vicious and virtuous circles can be generated simultaneously between family and society.

When a family does not function properly, an element of dysfunction is also transmitted to society. When society and several of its key elements, economic, political, or cultural, do not function properly, families are also affected. Family is therefore the most important instance for the process of socialization.

In order to understand this in more deeply, we will look at the different dimensions of this binomial, the anthropological dimension, the family dimension itself, and the social dimension, from the perspective of anthropology of encounter.

Man is a being of encounter. What is encounter? If we go to the great Spanish philosopher Alfonso López Quintas, we can say that an encounter is not a tangential juxtaposition, that is, it does not mean being in the subway at rush hour, crammed

cheek to cheek with all the others; no matter how crammed they are it is not an encounter with someone, it is juxtaposition, .

An encounter involves something as active as interweaving two or more areas of life, which are centers of initiative, sources of potential. Encounter means that two people meet, their spaces intermingle and constitute a degree of unity, of connection. Such interweaving involves a form of presence, which is a common form of union, hence the community.

In time or space a mutual presence remains, a union exists that will give fruit. This occurs in couples, in parent-child relations, in fraternal relations, among families and among communities. This is why this dimension is so important to human beings. A human being is a being of encounter, by origin, development and fulfillment. Man comes from a previous encounter; he is debtor, so to speak, to an encounter prior to his being. Human beings develop in their encounter with others. Let's look at the mother-child relationship, where that encounter, that interweaving of spaces is very strong. The relationship that exists between the child, still inside the mother's womb and, after, is a presence that in fact is physical, since one is inside the other. When the child leaves the womb, that bond remains, and it is through this bond that the person develops in the early days and stages. Encounter with others is essential for growth.

In an encounter, a person updates his basic human potential, such as intelligence, willpower and emotions. Let us say that in terms of these faculties, when the person is attaining the object of fulfillment whereby he is fulfilled, he will attain self-fulfillment, which in philosophical terms, is referred to as the transcendent properties of being, such as goodness, truth, beauty and unity, and these are attained precisely in the encounter with others. This is how we fulfill our intelligence, our will, and our emotions.

In the strictly family dimension, we find that the family, the first area of close and natural that human beings have, is therefore the place where complementarity, integration and transcendence are lived. Complementarity is experienced physically, emotionally and, psychologically, or, as the song by Roberto Carlos goes "we are

concave and convex" and that is in the actual physiological and anatomical dimension, but also in the emotional, psychological, and physical aspects.

This complementarity becomes integration; we become integrated into the family. It is an expression of love, of a couple, that yields fruit and that is why they say: "they are no longer two but one" and this leads us to consider the transcendental aspect.

From here we connect to the social dimension, the family, which is the basic cell of society. We have often heard this expression repeated, quite rightly, because the family is the basic cell by which society is formed. If we say that a human being is social, it is because he belongs to a family. Here we find in a concrete, real and daily form the social dimension of the human being.

The family is also the first political unit, since in the family there is government and administration, and it constitutes a source of common good for all family members. The family is also like a spiritual womb, in that it does the same for the community as a mother's womb does for the unborn baby, because preparing and protecting it, until it delivers it as citizens to society. So, citizens come from families.

This important dimension makes family a subject of rights and of obligations. This is extremely relevant and not mere chance, and is the reason why universal codification of family relationships exists.

Family connects to society and we have to assume that it is the first and fundamental prerequisite in relation to the possibilities of making society. Family is transcendental as the very place where social problems can be solved, through something that is key to understanding its value: reciprocity, communication and solidarity, both for gender and generations.

Such relations, framed in care and authenticated authority are constituted in self-giving relations. In them people give of themselves, they are valued for what they are, not for what they do.

As a group, the family constitutes a social formation with its whole structure, its own organization and a series of highly specialized functions.

As an institution, family represents a vitally important social sub-system, within the wider social system it belongs to, not just as any part, but rather as a seed, as a foundation, as a constituent.

That is why, those who defend the disintegration of family life, its possible death or disappearance, do not understand that family has a substance that cannot disappear. It can go wrong, it can be badly used, but it cannot disappear.

Although its contribution is constitutional and fundamental, this does not mean that family life is optimal at all times, but there is a natural tendency to try and make it work as best as possible. Families can be malfunctioning, but they still achieve their goal over and over again.

This brings us to specify what family functionality is, the function performed by families in society, which at the same time humanizes society and each one of us.

A family that performs the functions that society expects from it is a family that prepares its members for socialization, practices generational equity, transmits culture and constructs certain social channels for its members. To explain further, these are the four specific and fundamental functions of family.

We can point out that generational equity presupposes a solidarity that could be called diachronic. What does diachronic and synchronic mean? Diachronic is, in a way, like a vertical relationship of communication and solidarity between parents and children, from parents to children, and then from children to parents, and then to their own children, once they have become parents, and so then, there is a kind of vertical communication, or solidarity that goes up and down.

There is also synchronic solidarity or communication on a horizontal level between husband and wife, between couples or between siblings. This diachronic and synchronic intermingling provides us with the fundamental element of society, that is, as we will see later, the social and family element.

The family also facilitates the transmission of culture, learning not only of a language, but of a number of things we cannot even imagine.

Socialization provides the mechanisms for belonging to a social group, which includes emotional education and social channeling which is very important because families commit to avoiding behavior considered socially harmful. Family dysfunction can be due to pathology, disability or imbalance.

Pathology is when there is a pattern of abusive behavior.

Family Disability is when one of the family members is missing

Family imbalance is when there is no harmony.

This leads us to stress the question of this intermingling, which we could call the substantial question in the family, constituted by relations within the family.

Family is constantly constituted through its social statement because it is where the relationship that exists between generations, grandparents, parents, children, who are themselves a social subject, takes place.

Family functions, as already mentioned, are based on this relationship.

Only family, I insist, is the multipersonal subject performing diachronic functions that only such a subject can give. This is so valuable that it becomes the good to be overseen in most family codes in civil law, so that this synchronic relation of horizontal communication can exist among those who promote such synchrony.

Communication and solidarity between people of different ages is the most important mission of the family. Maternal parent-child relations are the axis on which society is structured. The recognition of these relationships enables society to communicate better. It is in the family where we learn different basic rules to establish contact and communicate with our peers.

Good grooming in the rules of social communication and healthy habits, not only makes life easier for everyone, but contributes to the overall welfare of society as a whole, and so society is a family of families. This is what connects a family network to a social network, the fact that they are a family of families.

Family therefore is one of the most important factors in society. It is in families that succession of mankind takes place. Therefore that synchronous relationship is very important, because only with that synchronic relationship can there be a diachronic relationship.

8.000 generational successions, considering an average of 25 years each, have formed our civilization. Our history begins when homo sapiens appeared about 200,000 years ago, and man has expanded his community in time and space. It has been possible to connect all that culture, history, technology precisely because of the succession in the diachronic relationship, made possible through synchronic relations, which we usually call family.

There would be no social progress without families as the transmission of knowledge between generations would be unattainable, there would be no legacies or inheritance. This is the essence of family functionality; the function performed by the family for society, which, at same time, I repeat, humanizes each of its members, and socializes us as a whole.

A family that performs the functions that society expects of it, is a family preparing for socialization, living generational equity, which transmits culture and creates a certain social channel or control among its members.

There is a book called "The Great Disruption", written after several years of analysis, studies of crime rates, and family situations, which demonstrates that when something strongly affects the synchronic and diachronic link in the family, the results are rising crime rates, proving, together with other studies, the importance of functionality in families for functionality in society.

One element that is relevant to locate is the way this synchrony, this solidarity between parents in the couple, has to adapt in their relationship of solidarity with

their children, whether born in the family or adopted; it has to acquire elements of balance, according to the historical moment and social context, so there must be a greater balance, a rearrangement between the masculine and the feminine role to make a family.

We should not go from one extreme to the other, because this has dramatic results. Just think of Ciudad Juarez and the young "sicarios", or drug cartel thugs, which is something terrible. First they had no father, either because he had migrated or was absent, and then they were left motherless because there are policies that define that women are only hired with awful working hours, then the child had a terrible time because he had no father, and then worse, because he had no mother. When we see the type of education we are giving them at the government level, at municipal or state levels, we see schools are very poor and we ought to be making a great effort and taking steps to arrange such a problem. Usually, when there is a problem, the first thing they do is kick the kid out of school. He is then deprived of his father, his mother and his school. And in places where we find the greatest concentration of population there are only two high schools, not enough for the large demand of young people who should be at school at their age, and there is a huge offer in youth gangs associated with organized crime. In a place where there are two high schools, there are more than 380 youth gangs providing thugs to the large cartels fighting for the site. Family is weakened and society feels the consequences.

This leads us to reflect on the migrant family. We can say that family networks not only constitute social networks at a national level, but also real transnational networks. Such transnational networks are not international relations. They are relations among communities of very concrete people which transcend borders. International migrations, on the contrary, as atomized flows, are not transnational. On the other hand, transnational migrations create cultural bonds, community spaces for an encounter with the communities of origin because their base is family. Part of the family stays behind, another part leaves, and those who go to that community of origin bring back elements from their destination, they maintain the bond.

The real community transnational bond, then, is family, which by striving to overcome physical and cultural distances, often painful and costly, creates multi-

local spaces and communities. Observe how in a globalized world, marked by uncertainty, financial, social and legal insecurity, families and migrant networks try to find a way to carry the social, political and economic position they have attained in one context to another: by linking communities. In this sense we can understand how migratory networks tend to intensify the flow and geographic extent of their destination communities.

Transnational families with members in different nations, maintain their communication and solidarity through an emotional unity that allows them to protect their own identity, origin, by living bi-national cultures, that is, transnational realities creating hybrid cultures.

Family identity overcomes the distances in time and space, and migrating families demonstrate the strength of this bond beyond borders and difficulties. Migrating families teach us a lesson in humanization, solidarity in full globalization. If somebody thinks this is no big deal, let us just look at the fact that demonstrates the migrant family bond, the "remesas" or remittances. Speaking only of Mexico, we should point out that our country held the third place in such an income, only below India and China, and above countries such as Philippines, France, Spain, Germany and Poland.

In 2007, in the total uptake of remittances worldwide, our country accounted for 7.1%; meaning that in 2008 the total flow of these revenues was estimated at 61.267 million dollars.

So far this year, from January to August, remittances reflected in the act of solidarity from a part of the family in one country to the other part of the family in another country, in the specific case of Mexico, sum up to 14.692 million dollars. Let us go beyond the economic impact. We do realize it is important for economic and monetary finances not only at a national but at an international, level, but we must look further.

This phenomenon of great relevance reveals the importance of the family as it maintains, renews and recreates bonds between people and communities that transcend borders, beyond the family core, and creates social networks that link

communities in multiple ways: cultural, social, political , economic, which is also reflected in a thousand and one ways: festive, religious, sports, politics, etc.

Thus we come across the anthropological reality with which we began: the human being as a being of encounter, as an intertwining of spaces. This is the reality from where we come, where we develop and where we fulfill our ambitions. Therefore, this human being, who is a being of encounter, is naturally projected in this first and dear natural institution of the family, which generates true social cohesion that involves great human and social capital, worthy of being taken into account, supported and cared for.

TESTIMONY

Lidia Platonoff & Alberto Lozano

Board of Directors,
Familias y Sociedad

Lidia Platonoff:

Normally we don't realize how we are all immersed in migration. I think everyone in this room has a relative somewhere along the line that came from Spain, Italy, or France. If you get to look at the family tree, you will find someone who came from abroad.

My father came to Mexico in 1928, as a result of the situation that was beginning to surface in Russia, when the Bolshevik government came to power with the start of Communism, the change over from the Tsarist period, and people were living in dire poverty.

My father was a Russian peasant and he was the youngest in his family. We had the pleasure of visiting his homeland in 2000, because I felt a great desire to get to know where my father came from, and also to find someone from his family. He never again had any contact with his parents nor siblings. After he died, and one grows up and matures, I realized he had a pain deep in his heart. We went to Poltava, Ukraine and saw the houses of the Russian peasantry made of adobe brick, covered with several layers of straw and limestone, to make them like a cave that would be very well insulated in the winter time. He would tell us the whole winter season was spent inside the house and they made crafts, and very nice embroidery, tablecloths, blouses that you have seen the Russian dancers with when they come here to Mexico, all hand embroidered. They had already made cold meats for the winter because everything was covered with ice and they couldn't go out.

My father left Russia, the Ukraine, and he crossed the entire area from Siberia and Manchuria, into China. All this took about 4 years. He used to say that there were

always good people on the way. Once he was on a train and soldiers boarded it looking for people who wanted to escape, and a small group of Chinese artfully stood in front of him, so that the soldiers passed by without seeing him. He told us how throughout his life, he always felt protected by God.

When he got to China he learnt Chinese and also began to learn English because then he said, "I'm going to America", meaning the United States. Then he took a boat in Shanghai, with only a few letters from a Consul of Denmark, as a presentation to get to the Danish Embassy or Consulate in the U.S. It was a long journey of 40 days on a cargo ship, sometimes without seeing the sun, or anything, because he was down below. The first ship docked in Manzanillo and said, I'm getting off here, not a minute more on the ship. The place was Nueva Rosita and there he met a good person who helped him, although he didn't speak Spanish, he was a Russian foreigner, and at that time, Russians were a bit scary.

However, my father always told us that there were good people, and I say this a lot, because we all should understand this. There are always good people who will help us, whether we are immigrants or not, when we are out feeling rather fearful on the city streets, and we realize there are kind people willing to help, so we should be free from fear. In themselves, people are good.

Then my father reached the capital and began working as a laborer, carrying cans of cement for houses under construction, and so continued until he began to build his own little houses in Lindavista. He began to think seriously of staying in Mexico and learned to speak Spanish. There was a married couple, the Alonso's who took him in as their son, and to date remains his family. They always treated him as a son. Their children were also like his brothers and sisters, and we were their grandchildren and nieces and nephews. Lovely people who were near my dad throughout his life and gave him a family, the family that he couldn't bring over here. He found one in Mexico, good generous people, who took him in.

About 10 years after his arrival, in 1938, he met and married my mother. This wedding was against the wishes of my grandparents because he wasn't only a foreigner, he was also Russian.

My father continued to struggle; he began building more significant houses. There are many houses in the Polanco neighborhood, some of the ones with stonework that he built. He went and worked with Jewish people, with Mexican people, and began making his fortune. My father was very thrifty; I think that should be the first rule for migrants, don't waste money.

In 1955 someone suggested making lubricating oils for cars. My father was interested in the business and became partners with him. Afterwards, the partnership was dissolved, but my father was the one who continued with the business. Today, it is a business that has almost a thousand workers, most employees are in offices. My father was always very concerned about all his workers. He was a man who cared. For example, once a man who had a very swollen gum, and he said, so and so what's wrong? I don't know, sir. But have you been to the doctor ... well, in the end, my dad took him to the doctor. It turned out he had the most terrible appendicitis, if he hadn't have seen a doctor right then he would have died, because he would have developed peritonitis. My father was very humane. He lived the works of mercy in capital letters. He didn't give for the sake of giving, that is no way to help, but if somebody explained what was wrong, he would definitely help him. My father loved his grandchildren very much.

He used to say he had no religion, but the truth is I think that was very devoted to Our Lady. I was about 5 when we went to the Basilica of Guadalupe. We walked there because it was the anniversary of the coronation of the Virgin. My brother and I went with him and my mom couldn't go because my third sister was newborn. I believe my father was devoted to the Virgin, that he had been baptized, but I think that the experiences he lived through during the times of the Bolsheviks, the separation from his family, not knowing absolutely anything about them ever again, had an effect on him and many things were erased from his mind. He personally took me, to enroll in a convent school; I finished primary school, in a school close to home, but then he took Motolinia University where I stayed through high school until I finished my degree, because he cared about our growing up in the faith. He didn't go to Mass but went to church whenever he was worried. I know that, at the time of the war, he had many commitments, contracts that were already in force, and he was a person who always fulfilled his obligations, and they were extremely hard

times and he lost everything he had, but I used to see how he would stop the car and go in to pray to the Virgin.

When he already had his business, he started having kidney problems. They had to operate and the nuns at the hospital said, don't you want us to bring you Communion. No, I am not Catholic nor anything. The nun stood there talking with him, and she said, if you come out of the operation alright, promise God that you will be baptized. The following year he was baptized and confirmed. It was a conditional baptism as most likely he was already baptized. He also made his First Communion and my father and my mother renewed their wedding vows. After, he took some Christianity workshops. He was a very loving, extremely helpful person in the neighborhood. It was new, and he filled it with trees. He used to get up in the middle of the night to see if the police were working on surveillance, he would make sure the gardens were well tended; he personally did his own garden. What I really want to say is that my father was an immigrant who came to Mexico and he was like a Mexican. At the time of the big devaluations in '76, '82 and the others he felt patriotic and never wanted to convert a peso to dollars, because it would further aggravate the situation in Mexico. He always wanted his business to be good for the welfare of his workers. He said: "This business has to grow so the workers' children can work here ", and so it remains today. This is my experience as the daughter of a migrant, which as the years go by, I have been more able to understand what that means.

One small detail is that my father, on 2nd November, ever since I remember as a child, would take us to the cemetery and we would walk around the whole Spanish Cemetery, this was in the '50's more or less, when cemeteries were much better, and he would walk and walk around, and whenever he found an abandoned tomb, he would place flowers there. That's what we always did on 2nd November. I had never understood it, it was something traditional. Long after, I understood that what my father did was like putting flowers on the graves of his grandparents, of his parents.

One of my goals when I arrived in the land of my father was to put flowers on the graves of his parents. When we got there, it turned out that during Communism, all the churches and cemeteries had been destroyed, because graves give people their

roots, that's where their loved ones are, and in the church that's where their faith is. Church and cemetery disappeared overnight. Now the cemetery is a large square and there is a garden, and as the dead are underneath, because they just took everything on top off, trees and plants have planted in one corner where there is a sculpture of a poet, a Ukrainian writer called Ivan Kotlyarevskiy, that's where we laid a bouquet of flowers to our grandparents. It is a story I already wrote a book about for my grandchildren, because I say they should know their roots, know where they come from. I feel very proud to have the Russian roots of my father and Mexican descent on my mother's side, and best of all is that my father taught me to love my country.

Alberto Lozano:

I remember a story about Nicholas, Nicholas Platonoff was his name. Someone came and stood in the doorway of his home. Then, with no fear, he asked him what was up, what do you want and the man said I don't need anything. I came to thank you because I came here blind and you realized and without knowing me you sent me to a hospital, you talked to the doctor, paid all the bills, and look at me, I have my sight back.

Well, Lidia spoke of her experience of living with her migrant father and I am going to talk a bit about the subject of our migrant children. We have 8 children, and of the 8, there are only 2 living in Mexico City. It really wasn't that we gave them the example to seek out different environments, but the world has changed. Speaking here in this congress on migration makes us aware of the serious problems migrants have.

Well, six children have left us to seek a better habitat, better opportunities development and have found really great things. Our oldest daughter is in Saltillo. She is the director of a school for native Mexican Indian girls and teaches them hotel and catering. As soon as they finish their studies, the hotels, including ones in Monterrey and all those places, are looking to hire girls from that school, because they are very well trained.

Another son, the eldest boy, went to Poland. He had already finished his career as an industrial engineer here, and met a lady over there, who was married with children, who then came to have an important position in politics. My son arrived during a change in government. The lady told my son she was being offered an important position in the new government, but that on consulting with so-and-so, and so-and-so, everyone had advised her not to accept because government was awful. My son was the one who said, this is a chance for you to be useful, go ahead. I followed his advice and not the others'. My son acts as an advisor to this lady and is still very close to her family.

I have another daughter who married a Spaniard. By the way there was a nice story because he came to meet us and then returned for the wedding. It turns out I was with him the day he was getting married. He already had his trousers on, white shirt but still getting ready when his cell phone rings, it was a friend of his, who had no idea where he was, and so he said: do you know where I am and what I'm doing? I am in Mexico and I'm getting married, so it was a real surprise for his friend.

All that I'm talking about years ago wouldn't have happened. Migration wasn't so common, although there were pools of people coming over here, like the Spanish, but it wasn't happening all over the world, it was because of the problems, and now our children are leaving us

At the time the Spanish came here, it was because in Spain there were problems of hunger in their country and we were prospering. They are simply life changes, but in all cases you can see the positive side. When I get to read the papers, I realize that what they do is spread alarmist news that attract readers, but which dampen your morale tremendously, while what the migrant really needs is encouragement to reach out and open doors, to come and be successful and have other opportunities and enjoy them.

Let's see, another of my daughters went to Cancun, when Cancun was starting out a few years ago. Her husband is an American who she met here in Mexico City. They are paving their way out there, he's in real estate and she helps a lot because she is an expert in computing, which is what she studied. Every weekend they manage to go and visit places they don't know and that is wonderful. Cancun is a fantastic

place, or Yucatan, because they go to places that have are unknown to people or very little either by boat, or by bike through streams and they have a wonderful time.

If we were to come to a conclusion, ever since Don Nicholas arrived here, migration in our family has been a wonderful opportunity. We must give our migrants that optimism and we must support all of them so that, with the rest of humanity, our humanity, we can make that journey in search of a better life for families more feasible.

Lidia Platonoff:

I have a letter here. We forgot to say we have a son who last week, on 12th of this month emigrated to Canada. He has 4 children. He felt drowned in Mexico City. He wanted to go to live outside of the capital and someone suggested Canada. They had been there twice, for work and they thought it was a good idea. So as not to make a long story short, he left on 12th, that is, a week ago on Monday, and is already in Canada, beginning to pave his way. He didn't have a job or anything waiting. A company here in Irapuato is going to send him frozen vegetables to sell there. This letter is from my son Alberto, who is in Poland. He sent it to his brother the day he left. It is a letter that I am going to read because it really is very interesting.

Poland, October 10th, 2009.

Dear Ernesto, Irene, nieces and nephews,

May our Lord Jesus Christ and the Virgin of Guadalupe help you in such beautiful and important moments that you are now experiencing. I will try to be brief.

In two days, the nature of your personal, family, social and

professional life will change radically. Each of you as a person will undergo a period of intense maturing.

Each of you, especially Ernesto and Irene will have to act very righteously, in the broadest sense possible to succeed. You will live in a country with customs, beliefs and traditions that are completely different to Mexico. This will greatly enrich you.

You may delve deeper into the knowledge of mankind and the world in general. You will face the beautiful challenge of assimilating the positive and the negative aspects as your new environment.

Your family will experience intense moments that it will bring you even closer together.

If you take care of family unity, if you communicate among yourselves and respond first to the needs of others before your own. Each will have many needs considered more important than the others´.

You will create the foundation of what is so important for the stability of the family. You will have to be assimilated into the new society, taking care not to lose your identity.

During the early years you will be like strangers, then like foreigners, and then later you will be known, and finally you will become members of that society. To achieve this, you need to be very careful, respectful, and open. At the same time, you should be careful to always maintain your standards of conduct, without hurting others when they differ in their ways.

Always remember that the Canadians didn't come and live near you, nor even asked you to go and live near them, you are the ones who want to live near them, never forget, you should adapt to them, and not vice versa, all the time remaining true to your principles.

The biggest challenge will be in the professional field. So far you have worked in a very familiar and friendly environment, where you had the support, guidance and respect of many people who love you. From now on, you will be working in a strange environment, where you must fend for yourselves.

Advice over the phone and via e-mail may not be as effective, since the others don't know the environment you are living in. The way you make decisions and how you reach them, your tenacity, resolve, skill, perseverance, promptness in correcting errors, there will be many, and so on, will have a major impact on the success of your business.

You are taking a step that you will have been thinking, planning and dreaming about for a long time. It won't be easy, on the contrary, it will be very difficult but possible.

You should always analyze your steps coldly and critically, and, quickly correct any errors that occur, there will be lot. Take very safe steps and have a long-term perspective.

Be aware that for the first few years you will suffer a lot, lack of money, time, success, etc. and in that time you have to sow the desire for a better life in the medium and long term.

Be very careful and clever, don't waste a cent, always save some money. At the beginning with savings and after with profits, only in 10 years time will you begin to achieve your

desire. 10 years is a long time, but then come dozens more.

It's something they want to do in order to improve your standard and quality of life that you have had until now. It is risky and difficult but achievable, don't ever forget that.

You have to weigh the risks, be very virtuous in the face of difficulties and have firm hope in the realization of your projects.

In early June 1995, I was asked if I wanted to come and live in Poland, I immediately said yes, but was asked me to think about it. The confirmation was made on 26 June. From that moment we went through a very intense time of preparation until 3rd October arrived. We said goodbye at the airport and I got on the plane. Until then my head had been full of preparation. I had not paid much attention to what lay before me. I got to my seat where I was alone among strangers. The plane taxied on the runway, the pilot received permission to take off, the engines revved. The plane begins a rapid acceleration, the passengers feel the momentum as we feel stuck to our seats, I feel a lump in my throat. I look outside the window and on the top floor of the parking lot, I see a group of people with a banner "Goodbye Alberto, we love you." My heart sunk to my feet, I was stunned and began to cry. I was all alone. My heart was torn.

For a point I understood a certain part of the madness I was committing. Still crying, I could hardly breathe. My mind kept seeing that sign with the people so dear to me, around it, I was still alone. The plane rose and rose to full power and I wanted to jump out. Then the plane passed through some clouds, it was dark, then the plane came out of the clouds and the sun's

rays shone on me. It was God telling me you're not alone, we are together. I felt comforted but I kept crying, until exhausted, after several hours of meditation, between sobs, I fell asleep.

I arrived in Poland and was welcomed by a wonderful family that so far has always loved, guided and supported me. Thanks to God and to this family, it wasn't so difficult to adapt.

The first years, I think the first ten, were very hard work, especially in the professional field. My biggest mistakes were when I wanted the professional development to be faster than normal. When I made decisions that were riskier than usual, I paid dearly for them, especially the first three years. After that I decided not to take risks. Faster progress should be grounded, not on risky decisions, but on labor intensity. I got on much better, but that wasn't the best decision either. I paid a high price for it, since I actually did develop, but my family suffered from the intense activity. I suffered too.

Now I understand that things have to be done with great intensity but it isn't good to want to jump steps. The results don't cover the price paid, the risk or deterioration of family life.

If in early June I had had the experience I have now, my answer would have still have been yes, go to Poland, but I would have been calmer and more collected, with a better hierarchy of things. Only God knows what would been the result. I do not regret the mistakes I made, I mention it now to convey my experience to you, so you who are going to have it more difficult for me, can get more out of it.

I'm happy and I think this is due to one thing, try to be always close to God. This is all that really matters. Something very good has been to have good friends, but that requires always being respectful and not asking for more than you should.

Remember the most important thing, our life on earth is temporary, we are on the way to heaven. Successes and failures are relative and we cannot judge them. We can learn from experience to seek a better future, but never judge. Only God knows if things went right or wrong. Always be close to God, in grace, relying on the family that although far, will always be near, always be happy in the face of suffering, needs, problems, successes and mistakes, but always be happy. Learn to distinguish and separate worldly things from things of the soul.

The whole family suffers with you at this very moment and will forever. We will try to support you with our prayers, everything else depends on you. Ask for what you want, we will try to help you, knowing that as far as advice is concerned, we don't understand, don't see, nor feel your circumstances.

May the Lord Our God give you special enlightenment to live this new stage of life with success, however that may be understood. Stay under the cover of Our Lady of Guadalupe and you will always be fine.

With much love, from your brother and uncle who loves you so much,

Alberto

PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION

Francisco Olguin Uribe
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The XXI century is the century of migration. In this century we will see migration as it has never been seen in history, on the assumption that migration is the eternal movement of peoples. It is a phenomenon that has been occurring since the beginning of mankind and has been developing non-stop since the first human populations started to grow. Only thus was the rest of the world populated, this is the only way we can explain our own nation. In the future, the movement will be intensely larger, which poses many challenges. One of them is maintaining a humanitarian vision of migration and its implications.

Why do I say that the 21st. century will be the century of migration? There are several reasons:

1. The growing inequality in wealth that exists between nations. A few countries, which fortunately are increasing, but a handful of countries possess 90% of the world's wealth and a large number of countries possess 10% of the wealth generated in the world. This inequality will cause those who have no opportunity, or who have very low standards of living, to move to places where they can have greater opportunities.
2. Growth rates in population are very different. Strangely enough, the growth rates of the richest countries in general tend to be lower than the growth rates of the poorest countries. This emphasizes the difference in global wealth even more, together with the urge to migrate to other countries.
3. The exponential growth of technology. In 1903, just a little over a hundred years ago, the world witnessed the first flight of the Wright brothers. The Wright brothers flew on a plane and the distance was, I think, 7 meters. After those first experiments some years went by before aviation began to

develop. This was an experiment that showed it could be done, but it was not the birth of aviation as such, which began later. In 1969, man reached the moon. This growth in less than a century, in this area, gives us a very clear idea of the meaning of the development of transportation. Then, if there are more people, unevenly distributed, and if wealth is unevenly distributed, and there are means to transport large population groups more rapidly and economically, then the movement of people we will see in the 21st. century will be immense.

4. The process of political modernization is also unevenly distributed. The number of democratic countries is on the increase. But many countries are struggling between traditional forms of governance and modern forms of government, and this step is usually generated through conflict. Social conflicts arise, there is political unrest, very high levels of violence can result, which is another factor that promotes migration.

If we were to summarize this concretely, migration is caused mainly by two types of phenomena: economic and political. People go where they can find a decent way of life, materially, and they also leave countries where they cannot find the security or political stability necessary to develop with their family. All these phenomena are converging so that in the 21st. century we will witness the largest population movements in history. This raises a number of challenges for the international community.

Migration certainly also has many positive effects. People, who have little productive capacity in developing countries, have their productive capacity enhanced when they move to developed countries. Highly developed countries are often overwhelmed by high income, salary levels, etc. They feel they can no longer perform certain activities that have become economically impossible, but influx migration allows their facilities, machinery, etc. to be reused because migrants work in much cheaper conditions.

There are also many cultural and other types of benefits. For example, the *Colegio de México (Mexican College)* in Mexico. This was the number one research institution in social sciences. It was the number one for excellence in all its areas of

activity. It was founded by Spanish migrants, and was not called the *Colegio de México* (*Mexican College*) at the beginning, but the *Casa de España* (*House of Spain*). It was the place where Spanish migrants arrived, those intellectuals who were expelled from or fled Spain during the Spanish Civil War shortly before the Second World War. They arrived with a wealth of knowledge and began here to convey here what they had learnt in Europe, and so trained generations of Mexicans.

Another clear example is the Lebanese who have had to leave their country. Now they form a Lebanese community in Mexico featuring truly outstanding and remarkable people, Lebanese immigrants who came to Mexico, people who came to our country in very adverse conditions, and precisely because they had left behind a very troubled place, they were willing to do anything to survive here, and they were very successful in their areas of expertise.

There are other foreign intellectuals, politicians and academics in Mexico who have done a wonderful job for our country. They have had an important role in the advancement of our country. I think it is worth celebrating diversity, it is worth welcoming foreigners. However, it is important to note that the positive effects of migration also have another side, which are the negative effects of migration.

The negative effects of migration are mainly social. I would you to consider a small community in the United States and imagine you are American, and suddenly a few Mexican migrants arrive in this small community of perhaps 100,000 or 125,000 thousand inhabitants. At first they are warmly welcomed, and when they see they can employ them in different tasks, then more come over, and then even more, and there comes a time when the original inhabitants start to feel besieged. There are now a considerable number of migrants with a different religion, with a different culture, with a different language, who look physically different. Americans begin to feel threatened in their way of life, they begin to feel threatened in the local culture in which they grew up, in which they developed and that they value, as we value our own. They begin to feel the threat that results in rejection and that translates into anti-immigrant movements, which we have to face, and we must be aware that many of these reactions are perfectly natural, understandable, and we have to deal

with them and confront them, and dealing with them will be a cultural challenge that we must all undertake.

All these reasons imply challenges for the international community. These challenges are emphasized by the growing awareness of human rights. For a very long time until World War II, the internal affairs of each State were considered as issues to be resolved by that State. Fortunately, after the terrible humanitarian tragedies of World War II, there was awareness that the community of nations had an obligation to guarantee human rights and the international law of human rights began to develop.

International law was created to regulate relations between States. It had nothing to do with individuals, but when the community of nations began to care for human rights, they had to change the paradigm and accept the fact that international law must see to the welfare of individuals, that there is a right over and above the sovereignty of nations, and that it is the duty of solidarity of all nations to care for peoples. We cannot remain indifferent and allow each country to solve immigration problems as they please, but we have to make sure that everybody is everyone's responsibility, and that everyone is taken care of from the standpoint of the human rights and dignity of the individual person.

Therefore, the international community must find ways to ensure that every migratory movement, which will happen in large numbers during this century, is legal, orderly and safe. Those are the three objectives that should be defined by the international community. This, from the standpoint of diplomacy, can only be achieved through international negotiation. This is a political challenge as well as a legal challenge.

If the challenge to overcome opposition to migration is a cultural challenge, it is a political and legal challenge. Of course, we have to face it in two ways:

1. Through bilateral agreements between countries of origin and destination who have to reach agreements on the humane treatment of migrants.
2. Through multilateral agreements. This means that within the United Nations or any other United Nations body or regional agency, such as the OAS, the

African Union or the Council of Europe, we have to reach agreements setting out the minimum standards that must be observed by a specific group of countries.

Panel:

"MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY"

EDUCATION FOR THE MIGRANT FAMILY

Elvia Marveya Villalobos Torres

Professor of the UP

Mexicans have a nationality, but not citizenship. Be it understood by citizenship, the series of rights, such as work, health, housing and education, which for over eighty percent of the Mexican population is not a guarantee.

The current situation of migration, coupled with the global economic recession, has resulted in the exodus of workers who leave their country in search of a better way of earning their living and overcoming the insurmountable difficulties facing them.

Why do Mexicans emigrate, adventuring into the desert for several days? Why do others from Central America and Ecuador emigrate knowing that in Mexico they will come across the worst kind of abuse? Why do Africans risk their lives by climbing into a passenger boat? Why do men and women throw themselves to sea, sometimes risking their own children's lives?

One of the reasons for these migrations is the effect of globalization characterized by the free flow of capital, together with the free flow of human capital.

Globalization is based on an economic model proposed by Milton Friedman, which establishes the free movement of capital, and creates its own rules. Chile served as a pilot project country in the seventies.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM "THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER"

Milton FRIEDMAN forgot that capital has no morals. The REAGAN, BUSH Sr., CLINTON and BUSH Jr. Administrations put the economy into the hands of a disciple of FRIEDMAN and GREENSPAN and as well as the four presidents.

Most surprising of all is that in Mexico, the lack of this same economic model has been evident since December 1994, and in spite of this, businessmen and politicians still cling to it. They don't remember that Mexico was able to overcome its economic crisis, thanks to the emergency loan from the Clinton administration, and the mass expulsion of the labor force into the United States, that eventually generated thousand of million dollars annually in remittances. Without these two variants, the Mexican economy would have plunged into disaster. It is therefore impossible to understand the unflinching support of this neoliberal economic model.

Neoliberalism today is out of control. The market indicates that the better the mercantile economy works, the WORSE other human economies work, such as the economies of human interactions that govern social well-being and the mechanisms of subjectivity, that is psychic economy.

Mercantile economy destroys human economy. This is the problem and the greatest contradiction of neoliberalism.

The problem in Mexico is that the northern border with the US was opened to trade, but it never even occurred to our authorities to defend the rights of Mexican nationals crossing the border in search a better life.

On June 25th, 2009, President Obama met with a delegation of congressmen. In his speech he proposed the need to bring the 12 million undocumented migrant workers out of the shadows. But he emphasized that this legalization would be accompanied by a substantial increase in US border monitoring with severe penalties for employers hiring undocumented workers.

EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

Just as Europe has closed its maritime borders to Africans, the United States will close its borders to Latin Americans.

First

The enormous task required of the institutionalization of public policy is a reform that cements true citizenship. The United States and Europe will no longer function as safety valves. Salvation lies in us.

In his book, *"Seven Complex Lessons in Education for the Future"* Edgar Morin states that an organized planetary community requires earth citizenship.

The ethical link of the person with the human species is affirmed from the most ancient of civilizations: "I am human being hence nothing that is human is strange to me". TERENCE

The finite nature of our planet imposes a principle of universal hospitality on all its inhabitants, such as the right not to be treated as an enemy. As from the twentieth century, community life on Earth urgently demands a sense of solidarity, to achieve global citizenship, an earth citizenship, a citizenship that allows me to be recognized as a citizen of the world.

Second

The fear of living like a nomad in a country where one does not belong, creates stress and anxiety for the migrant as well as for the family left behind. Added is the stress for the migrant's family who not only has to cope with everyday survival, but also with the two generations facing the woman as sole director of her home - young children and elderly adults, both requiring special care - plus the feelings arising from the absence of a spouse who has migrated.

The above situation requires four key educational strategies:

1. Learning how to become resilient, to be capable of adapting, overcoming and recovering from adversity and family chaos.
2. Building mechanisms of readjustment and re-adaptation to the reality of life faced with.

3. Establishing networks of relationships with people or institutions for support in the face of adversity.

Third

Globalization has taught us hybrid value.

The respect and recognition of collective identity claimed by whichever group or community to which one belongs, albeit mutilated or humiliated, demands taking into account the value of human dignity, on the uniqueness of its history, culture or ethnicity.

Today an ETHNIC SOCIETY must be built. For some years now, European countries have been faced with the presence of many emigrants, of different cultures, ways of thinking, actions, and religions that point towards the building of an ethnic society in the future where the multiplicity of ethnicities can live together.

This is the opposite to the U.S. policy of the Bush Jr. Administration, which proposed building a wall to keep immigrants out, while shutting others in, to try and curb migration in other countries, but migrants will continue to find ways to cross borders.

What kind of society are we going to build? One where economics, politics and technology take migration into account, and then one of the ways for the configuration of this multi-ethnic society has been and will be through CULTURE, for example the big museums.

The Quai BRANLY museum in Paris has become a cultural center for these ethnic groups where community life is presented through culture and finds a place of expression.

By means of culture, the range is widened providing an opportunity for the diversity of ethnic cultures.

The great challenge is HOW to create that ethnic society of coexistence, of respect for difference.

The framework of an ethnic society requires:

- Hybridization Processes
- Mixing
- Disappearance of borders

In the same way, infrastructure must be provided for ethnic groups to find a way out, so as not to become marginalized or exclude themselves, as BAUMAN claims, in his book *Wasted Lives*.

In order to form a new citizen of the world, who, while becoming globalized, at the same time does not lose his roots, a globalized world today needs:

- Hybrid Families
- Mixed Families
- Blended Families

The planetary citizen - states Edgar MORIN - has national and foreign, cultural, legal, political and educational identity.

The rampant liberalism that prevails today obliges us to develop a critical way of thinking against neoliberalism, simply so as not to become subjected to laissez - faire.

Institutions like schools and families are needed to educate people.

Critical thinking will lead us to find ourselves, and that critical capacity will act as the regulation necessary to make collective interests of humanity prevail, as opposed to the deterioration of humanity as a result of the free expression of private interests.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM "THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER"

The family itself is a permanent value, the family - in our case, is Mexico's cultural heritage.

The fundamental task must be to defend to the family to the last as a bulwark of safety and assurance.

Panel:

"MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY"

FROM A FRAGMENTED FAMILY TO A FAMILY OF NATIONS

Flor Maria Rigoni, c.s.
The Migrant House

Premise

To speak of family today on the one hand means delving into a legal, social, cultural and religious jungle. On the other hand, the family remains a landmark in our daily lives, a sign of contradiction and shifting table for moral, ethical and religious values. I say this in a somewhat radical way to avoid false illusions about a family concept, which many still consider sacred, healthy and resistant to any kind of questioning. The family is undergoing a crisis in its sociological and cultural environment, and therefore it also suffering from a profound crisis in its internal relationships. I am not referring only to the easiness of separation, or divorce, or ad tempus relationships, but also to the educational concept, the relationship between couples and between parents with children and within their neighborhood. In some European legislations, family is conceived as the coexistence of two individuals, whether it be people, or even a person with a pet. There's more. While the family in the traditional religious conception is considered as a whole, for modern marketing it is just a group where there are several targets. Let me explain myself: commercials are directed more and more to the various components of a family, including dogs and cats, with specific messages that disintegrate the concept of togetherness.

For example:

There are commercials for children where the parents end up being obliged to buy the product. Others offer food and medicine for your dog or cat at the same level as if it were for your children, because in the market economy what counts is profit, it doesn't matter whether it be from the sale of valuables or rubbish. Others are

focused on the father or mother to conquer the other with perfume, or shampoo, or a car, etc. And there are still others where they just say, *give yourself this* for Christmas, for your birthday. *You deserve it...* this way they break all ties of affection, values and unity.

Wounded Family

In this context I would like to mention another aspect. Marketing is not just for television, which has already suffocated us, but in all messages found all over buildings, highways, journals, magazines for men only, or so many others for women, where gossip reigns, and even in magazines for children. If we just once had a moment to analyze the content of Latin American soap operas, we would discover codified prostitution, swallowed up and even sought for by viewers. Its content is that of upper class families, where adultery, hatred, greed, gossip and whatever else you want to use to change peoples mentality to kill what we would call the *traditional* family.

Without getting enraged against the mass media, I would like to add a sociological and anthropological aspect of our land that has a destabilizing power on the family: **codified machismo**, which has been imposed, defended and praised. A family like this, which in my experience is very common today, is wounded, bombarded by conflicting messages, caged by that desire of excitement that Zigmunt Bauman calls *the liquid society* because it turns *love and relationships into liquid*. I relieve it is important to stress this aspect in order to avoid certain unilateral campaigns against migration, its consequences and the responsibilities of the various governments. The Central American and Mexican families are already wounded and fragmented before opting for migration.

One last aspect I consider important is the fragmentation and anonymity in which many families live in the city or in the suburbs, segmentation and anonymity that are both territorial and psychological.

THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

The Peasant Family

"Everything had been taken away by the river. Even the dead. My mother said to me: "Son, sell the old radio, take a handful of coins and go north ...". She said this trying to inspire me with hope. She said good bye, laying her hands on me and giving me her blessing. A sad silence linked the two of us: I had just lost my wife and my three children, now it was as if I were burying my mother alive.

This is the testimony of a peasant who lost everything in the unleashed fury of a hurricane that hit Central America and Chiapas. It is the experience of being torn apart in the farewell to the mother and wife and the quiet children in the background, before a drama that surpasses them and is too deep for them to understand.

Migration usually begins as a mission and takes on the characteristics of the response to a vocation. Migrants leave to give back a lost dignity to their homes. In the subconscious, this means complying with the Fourth Commandment: "Honour thy father and thy mother". They are not ashamed of poverty, no, because many of them still live it as beatitude. It is the poverty fraught with pain, the home and the streets transformed into roving hospitals that are the motive that drive these Christs of migration to walk their path every day. If in the Bible the mission that becomes exodus is born from the encounter of Moses with Yahwe, who hears the cry of the enslaved people, in the migrant the razor's edge that leads to the rupture between poverty lived with dignity, and poverty that already has a stigma, is composed of various factors.

- a) *The first factor is the perception of poverty that has already exceeded the threshold between death and survival;*
- b) *Secondly, media bombardment, fashion, migrants returning home from the North flaunting facades of empty wealth, and suddenly those who had stayed behind, become the object of derision, of a silent accusation that sounds like defeat and even cowardice.*

There is the perception of being an object of contempt, of being worth less... and on the other hand a suppressed complex of inferiority that claims to have and to be what the others show off. And here starts the process that leads to the dramatic decision of leaving. There is a confusing call that invites to abandon the situations that have crossed the threshold of endurance. There is a rupture with the environment and with oneself that cries out for an improvement. There are the absent and tired eyes of the loved ones, parents and children or couples that end up being interpreted as a request for something else. All these stories of migrants can be compared with the passage of the Gospel: As Jesus got off the boat, he saw many people... and felt compassion for them (Mt. 9,36 and parallels). In my experience with migrants, displaced persons and refugees in many different places and situations of our World, I have come to touch with my own hand the Boundary of the question that can become a curse against God, when it seems that even Providence has thrown in the towel because of the malice of man. *Where are you Lord? Did your promise to take care of those who are worth much more than a few birds come to an end?*

Sometimes it seems that God has abandoned our land. *"I looked at my village, Muñoz shattered by the war between brothers. The cornfields destroyed, mother earth lacerated in her intimacy, torn by the rage of warring brothers."*

The concept of land lacerated in its intimacy is perceived by the migrant who abandons his land as having to leave the garden of Eden, to leave the place chosen by God because of a repeated sin. It is the same concept expressed with dignity and tears by another peasant, who told us: If I have to die of hunger in my country, I'd rather die taking a step toward the horizon and leave behind a country embittered by the squandering of its governors. In this passage and in many similar others, we can see the inexpressible desire to rescue this Mother Earth, and to some day, give her back her dignity. The exodus here is transformed once again into a mission.

The Urban Family

The parting is less dramatic, the roots with the land, with neighbors, with the past, are often changeable so ties are also not so deep. But they still have to face a rupture, a wound that adds itself to other wounds, and that in time unfold hidden or camouflaged corners that end up exploding leading to total collapse. In both types of families, the main reason for migration is economic, which can vary from the need for survival to the hope of moving up the social ladder.

The increasing difficulties of achieving the dream of crossing over to *the other* side have eradicated the values that up till yesterday were considered and proclaimed as sacred. The most significant example is the ethical relationship with the body. In migrant slang, and even at other levels of society, the term **bodycard** has become more frequent. It is the subtitle for a credit card, to which the female migrant has no access, so she uses her body to achieve what would otherwise be impossible to attain. For undocumented migrants, the *bodycard* becomes a visa or a passport. This explains in part the tendency for women in general, and many young girls, to see the possibility of migration as an adventure that leads to easy money or fame as actresses or cabaret dancers. They start out as waitresses, or by trusting someone who tricks them for some pictures, promising they will be sent to professional magazines, or to television or film agencies, and they wake up in a brothel or as victims of trafficking.

The Social, Economical and Psychological Context of the Family in Relation to Migration.

Today everything in legislations concerning migration definitely constitutes an attack on the family unit. Migratory flows, migrant settlements in the new land, and neighborhood relationships are becoming increasingly hostile and discriminatory, like a time bomb against the family.

When, in the '60s the Swiss philosopher Max Fischer condemned the situation referring to migrants, when he said, "We have called for arms and we have received

men", (in German *Menchen*: people - person), he pointed to the deep and holistic core of migration: it is always a people who migrate, it is the history of a people that moves and has the power to move boundaries, to change establishments, to shape a new social and national identity. Migration cannot simply be considered as an import - export product in political or economic agendas. It is a nation on the move, it is a past and a present that pose as a project of tomorrow, when migration is up to our borders and challenges globalization, so that the common courtyard may be shared by all of us together.

However industry, trade and the economy in general relate themselves to a family member, whether it be a man, a woman, or any individual. The family relationship does not matter. It's a labor contract, almost like hiring another machine and adding it to my production.

On the other hand, societies that host migrants perceive the danger of these newcomers, either as individuals or as a family. They are not tractors that I can put in the fields and accommodate according to my needs. Nor are they wheels or cogs in a machine, they are people. Karl Marx said: "*sow an idea and the war tanks will soon come to crush it.*" Until yesterday I personally answered: "*sow an idea and a nation will be born.*" Today, in the face of a human river set on the way of migration, I say: "*plant a people and an idea will be born.*"

Almost all the immigration laws ignore family reunification or make it difficult for families to reunite. I will not go into the legal details of the different countries. It is enough to say that from a political and economical standpoint, seeing migrants as bearers of tradition, culture, values and dreams, does not pay, and is therefore ignored.

The Impact with the New Reality: Emergency and Justification of a Transgressive Ethic.

Migration is lived and contemplated by the migrant, male or female, as an emergency situation, where economic profit tends to justify any sacrifice, and allow

the diminishing of conscience and of values that were believed in or professed right up until the day before. What do I mean by this?

The entire journey of migration is seen as a war-like strategy, where normal life patterns change to cope with a temporary and dramatic situation, which allow for behavior that before was either rejected or forbidden.

Having sex with various partners, including homosexuals, lying and cheating to get out of trouble, even small thefts at the expense of fellow traveling companions, are justified by need, loneliness, stress or sleepiness, and become a psychological whip to get ahead.

Once the trip to the destination is over, unfortunately the emergency mentality continues. Wife, parents and children can wait, or even the husband if he was the one who stayed at home can wait. This scourge which has many facets, from the desire to send the most money possible, even a bet with oneself or with those left behind, the lust to be able to achieve dreams that were before forbidden will put chains on the migrant. This creates situations that with time become more comfortable, conscience is silenced and new chapters are opened.

The children, if they stayed behind with the wife, or grandmother or sister-in-law, become little packages stacked away at the bottom of the father's or mother's conscience. And when the desire or the cry comes from the south for these children to be reunited with their parents, they don't think twice about handing them over to an unknown coyote or pollero, so that they can bring them as soon as possible. The drama is just one more link in a chain that began to disintegrate into missing links along the migrant path.

The violations committed by law enforcement agencies, or common criminals, along the vertical boundary that runs from Chiapas to Rio Bravo, which is rarely discussed, is much higher than what is normally assumed. Using the body as mentioned above, in exchange for a passport and visa is also more common than what we think. We find small groups, usually from towns or villages, with two or three women

or minors, who offer themselves in exchange for financial support and protection in the States, once the journey has come to an end.

With this background, the cultural shock of passing from a farm or a village mentality, where everything under social control to a plain air environment where everything seems to be morally permissible and where you get by as anonymous and unknown, turns into a dangerous crossroad where *traditional morality is thrown away, and with it the other traditions, religion, and the concept of family and parenthood.*

The border in this sense becomes a turnstile where values of old are abandoned or deported without return. At this point I would like to observe that the causes of deterioration within the family, and the consequences it implies, are not always and exclusively to be found in a perverse migration law. There are psychological, social and cultural factors that deeply affect the migrant and can completely uproot his whole life.

The term **absent son**, that is even to be found some liturgies, is very misleading. At a glottological level the term "absent" is closely related to "lost", referring to a past that does not return. We are speaking of children that little by little are left out of the collective consciousness, of government planning, economies, cultures, etc. and that are mentioned without a face or a name in the statistics. They are remembered because of the dollars they send each month, without realizing that we fall into the same mistake as parents who are satisfied with giving their children Nintendo or TV games, because this way they keep quiet and are happy.

In terms of remittances, the sender ends up being considered, and considering himself, as a cash point that turns out money every time you press a key. The appreciation and gratefulness of the first few months turns into a claim with interest.

From the social aspect of relationships within the neighborhood, the migrant is perceived as an outsider in our world that we have reduced to a nutshell. We fear his otherness and in our subconscious we perceive migrants as betting on a future

that to us is uncertain, unknown and gloomy. We unleash our fears, our failures and anxieties against him, and we make the migrant a scapegoat for our emptiness.

In this framework we can see the first cracks appearing in the migrant family with their parents or their own home. The traditional channels of communication, the letter or the message given by the living voice of a fellow countryman returning, or of a relative, are replaced by digital technology and in time, the relationship becomes virtual.

At the beginning, there are frequent calls, after a while the calls become further apart, the same questions and answers, photos taken with the cell phone are stored with those of other girls and friends and sent by e-mail, they use the Chat, as with many other people and without realizing that the family relationship has been transformed into a digital connection without any serious commitment.

The loneliness and homesickness, that according to Scalabrini, are the subtle evil that quietly caresses and kills the migrant, that push the migrant to seek new alternatives.

Family of Nations.

Migration throughout history has always been a quotation of humanity in its different characters, races, languages, religions and cultures. Migrations are the great crossroads of opportunity; they are like a net thrown into the sea to collect fish of all types and sizes. In this context, the family surfaces as the core that surpasses the state and society, and breaks through the logic of fragmentation, to launch a bridge for dialogue and an outstretched hand. It is an opportunity where one gives and receives. Obviously, with what I've been saying, this *challenge - opportunity* is perceived today as a threat to the status quo, as an economical and social burden, think about school and health in the demographic changes of urban neighborhoods and centers.

The host society does not want to come out of its security bunker and sometimes its arrogance to lean out and look at these new people knocking on their door. There is

no one so rich that they don't need a smile or an outstretched hand. The contempt for one's neighbor because of his citizenship or ethnic belonging is hidden in the host society's fear to change, to face new situations that life will continue to propose and impose anyway.

We are living a childish contradiction. In an increasingly globalized world where we communicate on a global level and within seconds we go from Australia to Tierra del Fuego and travel through all Latin America, buying and selling all types of technology and goods, we close the door to a nation, to the migrant, who brings something more than a shopping.

Accepting Globalization Entails Globalizing Migration...

Migrants, especially undocumented ones, have a fear of expressing themselves, they fear the possibility of being teased, discriminated, or being reported. When the entire family is undocumented, this fear and inferiority complex creeps into the family dynamics, up to the point where family life is covered by a permanent fog, a veil to protect us from prying eyes and questions.

Returning to Max Fischer's statement, which reminds us that every migrant is a person and a nation, the Legislator of the host and countries of origin, must lead the way and lay the ground for migration to once again become an encounter between nations, where cultures and different world views can engage in dialogue and where children of different ethnic groups, oblivious still of border walls, racism and rejection, may build a common tomorrow that is different from me, here and now as a citizen or a foreigner. Humanity continues to walk in the First World and in the Third World, it is up to us to get on this train, which may be a cargo train, or we can choose to stay on the edge of the road: history never picks up corpses. With migration, history moves on and with it all kinds of borders, this is the way things go whether we like it or not. Loneliness always wears the face of death and decline.

Panel:

"MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY"

MIGRATION AS A CAUSE OF FAMILY DISINTEGRATION

Fernando Valadez Perez
Academic and Research Specialist

The five core messages of this paper are:

1. The migration of a family member results in family breakdown.
2. The deportation of a family member can lead to a traumatic impact on the family members remaining in the United States.
3. Family disintegration causes depression over the loss of one or more family members.
4. When priority is given to economic aspects, emotional and relationship issues are relegated.
5. As male migration dominates, women adopt new roles.

Migration and family disintegration

Today's families. The traditional family model of breadwinner, a housewife devoted to her children, and the gender-differentiated education of children is declining significantly, leading to new experimental models.

There is no single new family model. The new model of couple and family, especially for the new roles women are playing which are changing the male-female relationship is under construction.

Today we have couples and families where the women work and bring home either a lower, equal or higher income than the male. This means that women can no longer be a full-time mother exclusively.

We know today that full-time mothering and parenting is very important in the first year of the child's life. After it is essential that the child begin the process of socialization, so that in an ideal model, parents can work for 8 hours at their jobs and the children stay in the nursery or school for the same length of time.

There are families in which women cannot afford to spend a year with their child, they can only enjoy the three months' leave and then return to work.

Mexico still does not grant paternity leave to men. Some countries already grant a year's leave for mothers and fathers.

While there are some men who are already help in household chores and are more active as parents, they still represent a minority. The woman is left with the famous double shift. Work outside and work inside the home. This unjust situation often leads to separation and divorce.

This leads to other family models:

- Female heads of households who absorb the household expenses in the absence of the father.
- Women with a pension.
- Sons and daughters, who have contact with their father at weekends or every fortnight.
- Men left in charge of the children who have weekly, fortnightly or sporadic contact with their mother.

- Yours, Mine & Ours, families made up of partners both with children from a previous marriage who join up to rebuild a new nuclear family.

These are just some examples to show that today we cannot talk about the family, we have to specify which type of family we are referring to.

Families of Migrant Workers

I will refer to some family situations regarding those who are left behind.

The most common situation is where the male head of the household has emigrated from Mexico to the United States. He leaves a wife, sons and/or daughters. Some have called it the Penelope syndrome, the woman waiting, children waiting, the family begins to disintegrate and has to reorganize itself in order to function properly.

The woman adopts new roles, since although she receives money from her husband, she has to start doing new things that only her husband did before, such as managing the money.

From a psychological point of view, the families that stay behind first go through the sadness of the loss of their member, even if only a temporary loss. Then they experience anxiety, caused by the departure of one or more members of the family, not knowing whether they will return or not, what could happen to them, and whether they will send money or not.

Often the economic situation increases and the sense of family togetherness decreases. Emotional mobilization of the entire family increases.

These families face different scenarios in the future:

Maybe the husband will return soon through repatriation, with the weight of failure.

Or the husband returns after several years. He has not seen their children grow up, sometimes they hardly know him and they do not respect his authority.

When they return the re-adaptation process is as complicated as their adaptation in the United States. In some instances the wife has grown, she has matured, which has led her to change her traditional role as homemaker and wife. The man finds a different woman from the one he left behind.

Sometimes the husband becomes a circular migrant, spending periods in Mexico and others in the United States, so there are moments of disintegration and reintegration.

Another scenario might be that the husband does not return any more, finding a new partner and family in the United States. This represents a loss situation for the whole family, a sadness and anger that can lead to symptoms of depression of varying degree, in one or more family members. The wife, if coming from a small town, lives the shame of having been betrayed, not only because her husband was unfaithful, but because he betrays a whole life plan.

Another scenario is that the husband returns home to his wife, but another man has taken his place.

Another type of family is the broken home caused by repatriation. One or both parents are repatriated as illegal immigrants but they have children who are U.S. citizens by birth, who then remain in the United States, sometimes with a family member, sometimes under government care. Parents go from depression for the loss of their children to a great anxiety, not knowing whether they will ever see their children again.

Children themselves undergo the same emotional situation, especially if they don't stay with relatives. It is truly an inhuman situation. This disintegration is caused by the U.S. government which does not see the sometimes irreversible psychological damage that can happen to these human beings.

In another model, one spouse returns voluntarily, often women who are unable to adapt to the new environment or because they are mistreated by their husbands.

Not all people have the same mental strength to adapt to a new environment that is frequently hostile to them.

In the case of the spouse who stays in the U.S. or Mexico but is separated from their children, they usually manifest latent depression, sometimes denied, but that often has psychosomatic consequences.

Another situation, although less frequent, is when the mother migrates and leaves her husband and children and sends them money. Some authors say that the loss of the mother is more painful for children than the loss of the father. The fact is that there is a temporary loss similar to the departure of the father.

When the mother leaves, she misses the development process of her children, depending on how old they were when she emigrated, and scenarios are the same as those described above, such as circular migration, returning after several years or not returning at all.

Another situation is that of older people returning to their places of origin after a long stay in America, because they want to die in Mexico. Here, family breakdown is the reverse, since their children and grandchildren and other relatives stay behind.

Sometimes they suffer from depression since the place they return to is no longer the same. Everything has changed and an adaptive process equal or similar to the beginning of migration, such as "*I don't belong here nor there*", seems to happen to these people.

A woman who returned to Mexico after 20 years, told me that in the U.S. she was very well off financially, with multiple material satisfactions, but she had returned after 20 years because she had a constant longing for her country, her family of origin, food, language, etc. On top of the problem of re-adapting she herself faced, there was also an adaptation problem for her children born and bred in the United States.

All exiles suffer in the same way. Many Argentines, Chileans and Uruguayans who returned home after the dictatorships had ended left sons and daughters behind in

Mexico. Many were unable to adapt to the new situation in their home country and returned to Mexico.

While I have raised family breakdown situations of Mexican immigrants to the United States, the same can be said of Central American immigrants in our country. Family break-ups are similar, both in the case of those who go to the United States and those who remain in Mexico.

Sometimes it is single women and men who migrate and establish a nuclear family in the host country. While we cannot strictly speak of family disintegration, we find similar patterns from the emotional point of view, both in the family of origin and the migrant family.

The migration of children and adolescents is considerably increasing, not only among people on the borders, but also from several parts of the country. Children who are being abused or who have no perspective in life, see no chance of education, no work in Mexico, sometimes flee their family of origin or migrate with the permission of parents, especially those from rural areas where adulthood begins at an earlier age and adolescence is frequently erased.

When there is no parental consent, the emotional impact is much stronger, since they do not know whether the child was abducted, or died. This disappearance creates great trauma for all members of the family.

The impact is not so strong when the migration is with permission. The degree of vulnerability of children is higher and they may be deceived, be drawn into white slave trade networks or even be killed for organ harvesting. But many, perhaps most of them, make it to America and find different kinds of jobs.

Mental health is the ugly duckling of health. We always leave it till last. Organizations focus on the legal or economic aspects and ignore the mental health of migrants. Only a few organizations take into account the psychological and psychosocial aspects of migrants and their families. At *Universidad Intercontinental* we have a specialist course in the psychological care of migrants, short term therapy and two care centers. When we looked around to see what courses were available in the world, we found that only England and Mexico offer a graduate program for

mental health and counseling services specifically for migrants. There are counseling centers for migrants, but very few of them. It is a population whose human rights are constantly violated and there are repercussions on their capacity for thought and feelings.

The strength of the psychic structure of the members of a family is tested from the moment migrants leave home until they return or do not return.

Our aim is to approach the psychological perspective of mental and emotional regulation, by informing the families of migrants that what happens to them, how their thoughts and feelings are altered, is the same that happens to any family that loses one of its members temporarily.

Focusing psychology not on the pathological aspect, but rather addressing what happens to most migrant families that do not suffer from mental illness.

On the social side we want people to be aware of their human rights, their legal possibilities, promote adaptation and knowledge of the new family situation, for this reason we send the family to institutions dealing with other aspects of the migrant family.

On the academic side, we believe that migration needs to be studied from the multi-, inter- and trans-disciplinary aspects. We try to attend the various interdisciplinary seminars and academic events on the subject to try to gain as comprehensive an understanding as possible.

In online counseling via the Internet, we provide migrants with counseling and information on what is happening to the migrant or his family, or what will happen to them, emotionally and mentally.

We try to arrange for migrants to be treated at the scene from where they are consulting us and channel them according to their psychosocial needs. We are gradually building up a database.

We are about to start a research project, of cyber family reunion, via the Internet, with the University of California at Long Beach, in the United States. Here in Mexico we will see to the migrant's family, over there they will see to the migrant, and with

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video conference technology, the family will be reunited cibernetically, seeing, hearing, feeling and meeting with each other. This center is very new and is at an experimental phase.

I was pleased to hear the couple who gave their testimony of how this technology can help them to keep in touch with their adult children in different parts of the world. Let us make use of this technology to foster this family reunification.

Panel:

"MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY"

THE ROLE OF CSO'S IN HELPING THE FAMILIES OF MIGRANT WORKERS

Emilio Rigel Chavez Herrerias
Executive Director Sin Fronteras, I.A.P.

The vast majority of the masses of people who migrate do not do so because they want to. They don't go abroad to go to graduate school or to get happily married in the country of their choice. They leave because they have no choice, either because of lack of economic opportunities or because of political pressure. The vast majority of people leave in very unfavorable conditions. I mention this, because I am aware that in Mexico, after 500 years, we are still a deeply racist society with huge inequalities, that is, differences between the haves and the have-nots, between those who have a lighter skin, and those who are darker or native Mexican Indians.

I worked with native Mexican Indians in the Lacandon rainforest in Chiapas two years. I worked in a Mexican Indian high school and met really bright kids, who I think would have done much better than me, had they a slight coat of paint on the outside, had their skin bleached. But no, they were born into a marginalized native Mexican Indian family, with no opportunity to migrate of their own accord, as I have done, in my own country or abroad.

I think that these inequalities, unfortunately, are increasing dramatically, with clear lines of color, class, nationality, sex. This also creates massive and growing migrations of people who have nothing, and when in the United States they don't have Internet access – I wish they all had - nor a telephone to communicate with their family and maintain their roots.

Such racism can occur in various aspects. There are clearly aggressive racist positions, white people hunt who migrants at the Mexican border. There are also

more benign faces of such racism. When we refer to our "inditos" (poor Indians), "chinitos" (poor Chinese), the "negritos" (poor black people), there is an ontological difference, that is, a completely different understanding of who am I in relation to others and who is inferior to me. It is not a black person, it is a poor black person. This is not exclusive to governments or legislators, but permeates all society and is a cause for concern. We come across cases every day of black people, for example, physicians, who cannot find work because they are black, and if they do find work they can only work as laborers, and others who are Colombian, and on the verge of signing a contract to rent a house, then they discover they are Colombians, and, strangely enough, suddenly it turns out, gosh, you know, somebody else offered me to pay a higher rent, better forget it.

These expressions of discrimination affect the factors that push migrants to leave for lack of opportunity, and on top of it, when they reach their countries of destination, they do not arrive at the top with educational opportunities, employment, and so on, but arrive at the bottom of society, and they end up underselling themselves.

During the last few years there has also been a clear increase in acts of violence against migrants. There are no statistics, because the phenomenon is illegal, by definition illegal migration is not seen, heard, nor spoken about. The people whom we work with in shelters realize that there is marked increase in human rights violations, kidnapping, extortion by authorities, and systematic rape of women. This is why Central American women carry not only food or whatever in their bag, they also carry contraceptives, because they assume that they will be raped during the journey.

This increase in inhumane acts of violence against migrants has been accompanied by a strengthening in control and containment migration policies. For us, these two phenomena, i.e., better control of migration and the increase of violations of human rights, are not casual but causal. They are directly related, because the increase in control systems and other steps are supposed to make migration more difficult, and they do, but they will not stop migrants. They will find migrating much more difficult, but will they will keep on doing it, even under conditions of total vulnerability.

What about a foreign person, black or brown or whatever, who has no papers at all, is totally helpless and vulnerable in this society that sees itself as very progressive, open, and revolutionary. We note with great concern that the roots of the problems are not being addressed and this is creating many new problems.

To speak of the family, in particular, which is the theme of the symposium, it is impressive that in immigration detention centers there are specific areas for children, and areas for families, families and children, who have committed no crime, other than seeking a better life. Whole families are detained, deprived of their freedom. Children aged 10 - 12, stuck alone in a prison which has a nicer name, a migratory station. It is painted, has many bathrooms, at least no longer a bathroom for 100 people, but is none the less a privation of liberty for people who left their country seeking a better place to live, and who have not committed any crime. What is the impact on these families, these children, on their future? In what kind of a world are these children, these families growing up in? In what world are they living in?

I will give another example of the challenges facing families, particularly children. Our Constitution states that all those who were born in Mexico, or have been naturalized as Mexican, are Mexican. So if a Honduran or Brazilian mother or whoever, has a child here, that child is Mexican, therefore entitled to a Mexican identity, and a right to education, health and other services. But in practice when a foreign mother goes to register her child as Mexican, she is usually faced with tremendous barriers: "let me see your ID or your birth certificate". "I don't have one." "Then you cannot register your child". That is an issue that we're working hard on with Sin Fronteras, with the National Migration Institute and the Mexican Commission for Refugee Assistance, in order to train civil servants that it is illegal to deny birth registration, because the law says: a child is entitled to an identity and so on. We are working on that part of identity which is a lot of work, so that the child may have a birth certificate. Then the barriers for those children to enter school, the health service and other systems are also insurmountable in most cases.

I worked for a long time in the Puebla and Oaxaca Mixteca region. People say there are more Mixteca people in New York and Los Angeles due to the number of people migrating, than in the Mixteca area, which is one of the poorest and also one of the driest regions of the country.

What causes the migration of young people, the most suitable for physical work in rural areas? I have witnessed this in the Mixteca and in the Chiapas regions. Those who know how to work the land leave. Those who know how to work the land leave and work as laborers and things like that in the U.S. Educational possibilities in Mexico are deplorable and in rural, indigenous, villages, they are disgraceful. Then these children, whose family traditions provide their only education, for education really does not exist in the spaces that are called schools, have no possibility of getting educated. At school, they go and sit and the teacher keeps telling them that Benito Juárez was born on such and such a date and this is no use to them. Where they used to learn was in the field with their parents who worked the land, who knew which seeds were good and which were no good, how to "chaporear", as they say in Chiapas, clear the field so that plants can grow.

There is an extremely strong cultural breakdown, that is to say, there is no cultural reproduction within the family. When the people who have all the knowledge and strength to do the work leave, we only have the elderly, and women, and less and less so, as women also are leaving with their young children. So what is going to become of the other children left at home, with no family, no educational opportunities within the family, with few formal educational opportunities, and that is the future of Mexico, and it happens a lot. I am grateful that there are success stories, it really makes me happy, but the vast majority of people in Mexico do not migrate under these conditions, neither those who migrate from here nor those who come here as migrants.

CLOSING CEREMONY SPEECH

Jose Luis Hernandez Lozada

President of
Familias y Sociedad

After two days of intense activity, national and international civil society organizations have worked together with diplomats and leaders in the field of family and migration, it is gratifying to know that we have reached important conclusions among which stand out, to mention just a few, the following:

- The pressing need to address the issue of family reunification of migrants.
- The protection of unaccompanied migrant minors.
- Respect for the dignity of the human person.

It is clear that the work has just begun, there is already significant progress, but the road is still long and requires hard work and tireless commitment from each of us in our different areas of influence.

We would like to express our appreciation to:

- Madam Margarita Zavala, First Lady of Mexico, who with her presence and enthusiasm gave prominence to the event;
- Commissioner Cecilia Romero, and the National Migration Institute, who opened up this spot during the National Migration Week to accommodate the International Colloquium of the Family of the Migrant Worker;
- In a special way to Dr. Richard Wilkins, who flew more than 25 hours from Qatar to join us and show his support and concern for the family, and the *Doha Institute for Family Studies and Development*;

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- To the panelists and speakers who shared their knowledge, experiences and concerns with us;
- To the organizers, "*Familias y Sociedad*", and to the members of their Board;
- To "*Red Familia*", for their support and logistics;
- To Javier Castaneda, who went far beyond being just a Master of Ceremonies;
- Finally, to our hostesses, translators and all those who have quietly contributed to the success of this event.

We trust that during the event we have all been moved to do something for our fellow migrants, that after listening and criticizing, we go one step further to act upon and implement the proposals, the only way to achieve a more just world.

In conclusion, I would like to ask the Board of "*Familias y Sociedad*" to stand to offer our gratitude and congratulations to you, our guests, in recognition of your attendance and active participation, which have led to the success of this event. Thank you very much.

CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

"THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER."

Margarita Zavala Gomez del Campo
First Lady of Mexico

This has been a very interesting National Migration Week with high-level events. Thank you for the opportunity to be present here during the previous panel. I know you have been working hard for the past two days, putting heart and mind to the building of a culture for the migrant worker and his family.

I would like to invite you to stand. Given the importance of the moment, it is an honor for me to close this International Colloquium. On today, Thursday 22nd October, in Mexico City, I formally declare the International Colloquium "*The Family of Migrant Worker*" closed.

Thank you very much.

Many congratulations to all.

DECLARATION

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

"THE FAMILY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER".

"The strength of a nation lies within the integrity of its families".

The International Colloquium "The Family of the Migrant Worker", celebrated within the National Migration Week 2009 at *Centro Cultural Tlatelolco* in Mexico City, Mexico, on 21st and 22nd October 2009 approved the following

Declaration:

In solidarity with the families of migrants, we reaffirm that "the family is the natural and fundamental unit of society, and that it has the right to be protected by society and the State" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16, paragraph 3), that "migrant workers and their families require appropriate international protection" (International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families, Preamble) and that "children, for their lack of physical and mental maturity need special care and protection" (Convention on the Rights of the Child, Preamble).

The issues of migration have to be addressed from a family perspective, not only from the migrant perspective as an individual.

States should assume their responsibility regarding migrants and their families through the design and adoption of laws, public policies, and programs that contribute to the preservation of family unity and the promotion of quality of life by:

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- Acknowledging the benefits of economic development and social progress that migration produces for the country of origin as well as for the country of destination.
- Promoting bilateral and multilateral cooperation for identifying and duly assisting the needs of migrants and their families with the aim of their reunification and the integral human development of each of their members.
- Promoting mutual respect, which presupposes the recognition of the differences in race, language, culture, and religion, in order to allow harmonious coexistence and the preservation of the specific characteristics of each community.
- Supporting actions aimed at securing family unity, eliminating regulations that obstruct the circulation of migrants insofar as facilitating their entry and return.
- Creating synergy among the different sectors that fight for achieving legal, safe, and orderly migration in order to avoid greater vulnerability of illegal immigrants.
- Establishing a favorable climate of fraternity and solidarity for migrants and their families in order to eradicate their marginalization, family disintegration, and antisocial consequences.
- Providing education and health services for migrants' families that favor conditions of the dignity of life, the functionality of the family, and respect for the right of migrant parents to educate their children according to their beliefs.

The different members of society must, in turn, assume a responsible approach of solidarity toward migrants and their families, through actions such as:

- Reporting abuse and demanding respect for the rights of migrants in accordance with international human right treaties and work conventions.
- Taking concrete measures to eliminate labor exploitation of migrant children to ensure their personal and emotional development, their education, their health, and time to play.
- Applying the full extent of the law to eradicate the commercial sexual exploitation of children, human trafficking, and cyber crime against migrants and their families.
- Promoting scientific research on migration and its consequences on the family.
- Creating awareness in the media on issues relating to the families of migrant workers.
- Promoting new communication technologies and cyber culture to strengthen links and family unity in migrant families to mitigate the pain of separation and loneliness faced by their members.
- Taking advantage of and supporting initiatives of humanitarian work performed by civil society organizations, religious institutions, and social networks in favor of migrants and their families.

In the case of Mexico, as host of the International Colloquium “The Family of the Migrant Worker”, we respectfully suggest the following proposals be taken into consideration:

- Requesting that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs manifest our inconformity before the Government of the United States for the illegal raids performed against our fellow citizens by migration authorities in the US.

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- Demanding respect for the human rights of migrants and transmigrants in Mexico as a country of origin, transit, destination, and return.
- Supporting existing programs for guaranteeing the return of repatriated migrants to their places of origin with dignity, justice, and in an orderly fashion.
- Respecting and promoting family reintegration in the control and migratory verification operations in Mexico.
- Coordinating programs with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Treasury in order to guarantee the safe return migrants' belongings, documents and assets during the process of their custody and expulsion by the US authorities.
- Generating agreements with commercial banks to guarantee that checks issued by foreign authorities may be cashed by repatriated immigrant at a fair rate of commission.
- Assisting immigrants and families, victims of crime, abuse, accidents, violence, with due respect of their human rights.
- Urging state and municipal governments to take vigorous measures against abuses incurred by any authority against migrants and transmigrants in Mexico.
- Applying the full extent of the law to criminal bands that steal, extort, kidnap, violate, or assassinate migrants or transmigrants in Mexico.
- Guaranteeing the right to the registration of birth of children born in Mexico to transmigrant parents in order to reduce and eradicate the problem of nationality of newborns.

- Congratulating the National Migration Institute for the Infant Protection Officers (OPIS) program, responsible for overseeing the best interest of migrant children.
- Seeking the collaboration of OPIS in national school programs with the goal of preventing the phenomenon of unaccompanied migrant children.
- Requesting the support of government institutions in the implementation of programs that strengthen the functionality of separated migrant families.
- Continuing the work of inter-institutional and inter-ministerial collaboration in order to help migrants and their families, especially in areas of health and education.
- Working on social programs that allow children and teenagers to consciously evaluate the options of migrating or staying in their place of origin.
- Promoting productive investment strategies in order to create employment opportunities stimulate economic growth, social progress, quality of life, and the functionality of the family in Mexico, in order to reduce the phenomenon of migration, and promote the return of migrants to their country of origin.

Adopted on 22nd October 2009 in Mexico City, Mexico.

(This Declaration may not necessarily reflect the views of individual speakers and delegates.)

