Title
Guatemala-U.S. migration: transforming regions

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6kn7t545

Journal
Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39(13)

ISSN
0141-9870

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Publication Date
2016-10-20

DOI
10.1080/01419870.2016.1181778

Peer reviewed
Studies of international migration have often focused on how and why people migrate and settle and fare as they do. Over the past couple of decades the field has moved away from examining almost exclusively what happens in the country of destination, to recognizing that migrants may continue to be deeply informed by and connected to what happens in their native countries. This line of scholarship revealed that for some migrants, settlement and incorporation in the United States was heavily influenced by their trips home, by how their families and communities were faring there, or by their political organizing efforts with an eye toward their home countries. In those cases, scholars have debated about the proper terms and lens to use—transnational or bilocal—to most correctly capture processes of migration. In this context, authors Susanne Jonas and Nestor Rodriguez persuasively propose a conceptual reframing that moves us to think more expansively and accurately about migration, settlement, and incorporation. Privileging the social production of space over time, the authors examine the case of Guatemalans—now comprising the 6th largest Latino group in the United States—as evidence for the need to approach migration through a transregional lens.

The transregional approach is multi-layered and multidimensional. It locates power and agency (in unequal degrees) among various actors and in multiple sites. In the case of Guatemala, the authors highlight U.S., Mexican, and Guatemalan state and non-state forces and actors. Specifically, they include politicians, government employees, corporate capital, nongovernmental migrant advocacy groups and community based organizations, as well as
research institutions, and grassroots communities. Together, these actors (unevenly) shape
migration and life circumstances throughout the region. Using this framework, the authors guide
readers through in-depth analyses of the consequential links between U.S. funding for the
genocidal Guatemalan civil war, Mexican border militarization, and Guatemalan elites’
economic interests in the Central American Free Trade Agreement, on the one hand, with
Guatemalans’ need to migrate, and the hardships they face while transiting through or staying in
Mexico, on the other hand. For those who reach the United States, immigration policies and
enforcement practices shape their lives in ways that have repercussions for relatives and
communities in Guatemala and in transit through Mexico.

With an emphasis on social space, this framework also makes it possible and necessary to
understand a single group’s migration and settlement in relation to and in conjunction with other
national-origin groups throughout the region. In the case of Guatemalan migration, Mexican,
Salvadoran, and other Latino groups also shape the region. Indeed, a transregional approach
reveals that their fates are often closely aligned under policies and economies at federal, state,
and local levels within the region. It makes sense, then, that the groups must at times work
collectively (even if unequally) to demand changes and seek improvements for their
communities.

Despite the expansive lens, this transregional framework does not sidestep local
experiences. On the contrary, the entire book and particularly Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that
people’s worldviews are powerfully shaped at the local level. Access to jobs, housing, education,
and transportation influence the changing approaches to advocacy and political agendas of
different generations of Guatemalan migrants. In centering local realities, moreover, the authors
reveal that even when steeped in the local, Guatemalan actors are moving throughout the region and their advocacy efforts, in turn, shape experiences for all in the region.

At the outset, the book lays out a dual agenda: 1) to provide a broad reconceptualization of the level of generality necessary in the study of migration, and 2) to provide empirical research on Guatemalans. As a scholar of Central American migration, I found both contributions to be incredibly useful, but I was particularly captivated by the authors’ documentation of the rich history of Guatemalans’ advocacy efforts. Chapters 2 and 3, “Phases of Migration” and “Organizing for Migrant Rights,” respectively, are an absolute treasure trove of information for anyone interested in Guatemalan migration to the United States. These chapters draw on extensive and impressive data from multiple multi-sited sources including statistical analysis of census and national survey data, participant observation notes, interviews with activists, emails from advocacy networks, scholarship, and photographs. In each case, the pairing of data with sociopolitical and economic analysis of the contexts in each historical moment in Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States helped cement the need for this regional approach to the study of migration.

This documentation also helps to contextualize the current moment of Central American refugee flows. Contrary to contemporary assumptions that child migration from the region began in the summer of 2014, the authors confirm that it has been an ongoing phenomenon, propelling advocacy efforts to protect children regionally since at least the 1990s. The book also substantiates that even within a contradictory policy context, the Mexican government has cooperated with the United States to block Central American migrants from heading further north since at least the 1990s.
Guatemala-U.S. Migration provides a superb foundation for the study of Guatemalan migrants. It documents Guatemalan migration to Mexico and the United States from the 1970s to the early 2010s and exposes the organized advocacy of Guatemalans for the human rights of their people throughout the region. Of course no book can do it all. Future scholars in this field can expand on the analysis of racism against Mayan migrants while also more centrally exploring their agency and specific experiences alongside those of Guatemalan Garífuna communities—another marginalized but important ethnic group in the region. In general, the book provides a rich analysis of the history of Guatemalan migration and political engagement, one made possible only through the authors’ intense and prolonged level of commitment to the people and the research. I highly recommend this book to scholars of international migration, and to those interested in Guatemalan, Central American, and Latino migration in the United States.

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