

TRANSNATIONAL MOTHERS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ALTERNATIVE
MEANINGS OF MOTHERHOOD

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INTRODUCTION

During the 20th century, production and labour flows across national borders have increased the frequency of transnational social structures, including new forms of transnational family configurations (Andersen, 2006; Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002b; García-Prieto, 2005; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001; Zontini, 2007). Due to labour migration in the globalization era, spatial separation and dispersion of families across countries are now common arrangements among both the professional global elites as well as among poor foreign workers around the world (Zontini, 2007). Among the most prominent explanations of labor migration is the neoclassical economics theory, which posits that at the individual level, immigrants leave their countries because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect positive net returns from international movements (Cerutti & Massey, 2001). On the other hand, at the family level, the dominant theoretical paradigm points at a new economics of labor migration, in which household members see in migration a way to collectively maximize expected income as they overcome local market failures back home (Cerutti & Massey, 2001).

Historically, family configurations across borders have been composed primarily of an immigrant male income-producer living apart from women and children who remained in the sending country (Basch, Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001). In contrast, in recent years more immigrant women are also leaving their loved ones behind in order to become their family's main source of income (Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001). In many cases, immigrant women may even leave their children to be cared for by their partners or other relatives in their countries of origin (Bernhard, Goldring, & Landolt, 2005; Burholt, 2004;

Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Erel, 2002; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Zontini, 2007; E. Zontini, 2004) and some end up having more children while working abroad. Under these circumstances of geographical separation, the mothering role can be extremely demanding for transnational mothers. As Falicov (2005) noted, immigrant women “often become distant breadwinners who are peripheral to their children’s lives, as compared with their substitute caretaker” (p.231).

Moreover, these new trends of female migration and motherhood across nations challenge mainstream western ideas about family configuration and in particular, about women’s mothering role (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Burholt, 2004; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Erel, 2002; Glenn, 1994; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Zontini, 2007; E. Zontini, 2004). Whereas in many western cultures mothering is generally understood as a practice that involves the physical presence, nurturance and training of children for adulthood, migrating mothers generally opt for physical separation in order to better their children material conditions in their home countries (Andersen, 2006; Bernhard, et al., 2005; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Erel, 2002; Glenn, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). Consequently, mothers who live separated from their children often experience social stigma of being “bad mothers” (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001) and suffer as a result of peer pressure (Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). Still, as more immigrant women leave their children behind to join the job markets across nations, several actively struggle to negotiate the idea of mothering in order to account for “transnational motherhood” (Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001).

Transnationalism and Family Configurations

Family dispersion due to migration is not itself a new phenomenon of the globalization era (Erel, 2002). Historically, transnationally constituted families have followed different trends of migration including those streams coming from Europe to the U.S. during the 18th and 20th century. Although such phenomenon is not entirely new, an academic perspective on transnationalism and family configurations has recently arisen (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Zontini, 2007).

During the 1990's the idea of transnationalism was discussed in terms of the move of commodities and capital, particularly concerning frameworks of across-borders circulation of goods (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Globalization studies have focused on the analyses of socio-economic processes stemming from technological innovations in transportation and communication that have put people around the world into contact with one another (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Migration and Diaspora studies have documented people's movement across borders in terms of tracing ethnic streams of migration and population recomposing within nations (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002b).

However, despite the fact that transnationalism has contributed to the shifting and reconfiguration of families around the world, none of the above disciplines have strived to understand globalization at this level (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Up until the advent of the transnational perspective, the phenomenon of migration was understood primarily through the lenses of assimilation models and acculturation paradigms that emphasize bipolar ideas about the immigrants as "sojourners" or "settlers" (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). Instead, a transnational perspective on family and immigration stems away

from these paradigms to concentrate in the emergent cultures and identities that result from the circulation of goods, people, and ideas around the world.

Transnationalism urges us to understand that “the new emergent cultures and hybrid ways of life resemble neither those in the place of origin nor the place of destination” (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997, p.549). As Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) further noted, by studying transnationalism from a family-based framework “we are examining globalization from below, specifically from the point of view of individuals whose lives are largely inscribed by the membership of transnationally mobile families” (p.7). In this sense, transnational families embodied transnationalism and the effects that globalizing trends have on people’s lives and lifestyles, their sense of cultural belonging and their family identification processes (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002).

According to Bryceson and Vuorela (2002), transnationally structured families follow a similar logic to that of transnational corporations, as they seek to take economic advantages and better opportunities across borders (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002a). Thus, members of such families are characterized by a pattern of moving back and forth across national borders in order to financially support those that remain in their country of origin. Because of their dispersion across countries, some research has shown that as families are obligated to create their own spaces and adjust their sense of belonging within geographical and temporal separation, family members’ attitudes towards place and ethnicity are ambiguous and subject to change (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). In this sense, it has been argued that transnationalism forces the reconsideration of the understanding of households and families based on the idea of co-residency and physical unity and to take into account the possibility of spatial separation (Zontini, 2007).

Stripped off the idea of co-residency as the defining concept of family life, some authors have posited that transnational families are relational in nature (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002a). According to Zontini (2007), transnational families are constituted by relational and economic ties that aid the welfare and mutual support of its members and provide a source of identity. Through this shared goal of common welfare, family members of transnational families strive for a sense of cohesion even if spread across national borders (Ariza, 2002; Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002a; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001; Zontini, 2007).

Traditionally, men have been more prone to leave their families in order to migrate for employment. Family configurations across borders have been then composed primarily of a male income-producer living apart from women and children who remained in the sending country (Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas & ebrary Inc., 2001). In the U.S., these trends of family configuration due to male migration have been the result of immigration policies such as the Bracero Program (compose of Mexican “absentee fathers” who came to work as contracted agricultural laborers), as well as “voluntary” streams of male workers coming from countries such as Poland, Italy, Ireland and China (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002b; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997).

In contrast, given current rising numbers of immigrant women around the world, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) have described today’s trends of labor migration as the “feminization of migration.” According to the authors, half of the world’s 120 million current legal foreign workers are believed to be women. Like their male counterparts, immigrant women are also leaving their families behind in order to become their main

source of income (Ariza, 2002; Basch, et al., 1994; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). In many cases, immigrant women may leave their entire families behind, including their partners and children. As a consequence, current transnational families are increasingly composed of “transnational mothers” living abroad and family dependents staying in the country of departure (Andersen, 2006; Bernhard, et al., 2005; Burholt, 2004; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2005; E. Zontini, 2004).

Transnational Motherhood

In the U.S., the phenomenon of “transnational motherhood” has become increasingly common, particularly among immigrant women of Filipino and Latin American origins (Ariza, 2002; Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Donato, 1993; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). For instance, in recent years the percentage of female migration from Mexico has risen from 11% during 1959-1965 to 28% within 1990-1995 (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001). Similarly, current numbers of migration also indicate that today, about half of the immigrants leaving Mexico to migrate elsewhere - including the U.S. - are women (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Moreover, data showed that many of these women are mothers who leave their children in their country of origin (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003).

Despite the significance of this phenomenon of female migration, there is a generalized lack of gender specific perspectives that can explain the increment in the numbers of women migrating around the world (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001). Some scholars argue that this lack of a theoretical approach to female migration can be due to two basic misconceptions about the causes of women’s migratory patterns: a) That they

are passive reactors to male migratory decisions and b) that women migrate primarily to join family members abroad (Cerutti & Massey, 2001, p.187). In fact, as the authors pointed out, traditionally within patriarchal societies like the Mexican, women are generally viewed as “passive actors in household decisions,” while men are considered to be the ones who “evaluate various economic options and choose those that provide maximum utility for the household as a whole” (Cerutti & Massey, 2001, p.187).

Contrary to these ideas about women being “passive immigrants,” increasing Mexican and Central American women’s participation in U.S. labor force suggests the existence of financial and employment motives for female migration. Indeed, many studies have reported that most Mexican women work when they arrive in the U.S. (Ariza, 2002; Chavez, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Reichert & Massey, 1979. As cited in Cerutti & Massey, 2001). According to Hochschild (2003), African American women, who accounted for 60 percent of domestics in the 1940s, have been replaced by recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America.

Social inequalities and extreme poverty in Mexico and other Central American countries then, have been associated with rising female labor migration to the U.S. (Donato, 1993; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Hernandez, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). According to Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997), the scarce job opportunities for women in Mexico and Central America and salient demands for “female labor” in the U.S. such as domestic work, may account for the new trends of female migration with employment purposes.

On the other hand, some authors point at the growing numbers of female-headed households within Mexican and Central American women, as well as family conflict, and

/or marital disruption as some of the reasons that make women very likely to migrate for employment (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Chavez, 1992; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Reichert & Massey, 1979. As cited in Cerutti & Massey, 2001; Burholt, 2004; Hochschild, 2003). According to Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003), women's migration may serve as a way to escape from an abusive husband, or after a failed marriage, as a way to provide for their children without male help.

In deed, a number of studies on female migration indicated that a big portion of the women who migrate alone are working mothers who leave their countries in order to support their children and families back home (Donato, 1993; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Jaes Falicov, 2005; Parreñas, 2008). For instance, in their study of undocumented Mexican women in the U.S., Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) found that 40% of the sample was constituted by working mothers who migrated in order to support their children in their country of origin. In order to facilitate their work abroad and to avoid the dangers of crossing national borders - many times without legal documents - transnational mothers may leave their children with female kin and sometimes with paid caregivers (Andersen, 2006; Ariza, 2002; Bernhard, et al., 2005; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Jaes Falicov, 2005). In general, mothers leave their children with the idea to stay abroad only temporarily or the time necessary to save money to start their own family business and to help their family financially. Their temporary stay, however, may turn into a much longer and painful separation from their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2008). Yet, transnational mothers seem to feel compelled to take on the provider role,

even if this means being physically separated from their children for a prolonged period of time (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997).

Transnational Mothers and the Construction of New Meanings of Motherhood

The new trends of female migration and transnational mothering arrangements, challenge mainstream western ideas about family configuration and in particular, about women's maternal role (Andersen, 2006; Burholt, 2004; Erel, 2002; Glenn, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; E. Zontini, 2004). In particular, transnational motherhood challenges gender ideologies of "intensive mothering," which constitute the dominant moral order in contemporary U.S. culture regarding motherhood (Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Medved, 2009; Sotirin, 2008; Waggoner, 2008). In contrast to transnational motherhood, "intensive mothering" demands "dedicated one-on-one mothering time," careful choice of correct "alternative mothers," the expression of powerful, sacrificial love for children, and a focus on children's desires and developmental needs [...]" (Medved, 2009, para.10)

Similarly to the U.S., Latin American dominant ideologies about mothering also see in the mother-child dyad, the foundational relationship for the upbringing of children. This mother-child dyad is one of the key issues regulated by the social norms regarding the status and duties of mothers within the family (Jaes Falicov, 2005). Like in the U.S., biological mothers in Mexico and Central America are generally expected to bear the childrearing role, to the point that female employment is viewed as clashing with mothering (Hernandez, 2005). As biological mothers have the primary responsibility in many areas related to children, child rearing cannot be reassigned to others (Ariza, 2002;

Bernhard, et al., 2005; Hernandez, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997) (This is true in a number of other cultures as well. See Erel, 2002).

Such patriarchal ideologies about motherhood rely on monolithic notions of family and gender that circumscribe the female role to the domestic life of the family and nurturance of children (Glenn, 1994; Glenn, Forcey, & Chang, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Nonetheless, this notion about motherhood is far from being universal (Glenn, 1994). Instead, it is a social construction resulting from certain cultural and economic conditions of the Western world in the 20th century. As Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) suggested, “the cult of domesticity is a cultural variant of motherhood, one made possible by the industrial revolution, by breadwinner husband who have access to employers who pay a “family wage,” and by particular configurations of global, socioeconomic and racial inequalities” (p.551). For instance, like today’s Latina immigrant, working-class women of color in the U.S. have rarely had access to the socioeconomic privileges that allow a mother to a full time commitment to childrearing (Glenn, 1994; Glenn, et al., 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Yet, many unprivileged, working women - including Latina immigrants - adhere to the cultural ideal of full-time mothering. In fact, at the time they have children back in their countries of origin, many transnational mothers may even advocate a full-time mothering commitment to their children born in the U.S.

Hence, transnational mothering arrangements represent a transgression of traditional social norms and expectations that regulate motherhood in many parts of the world (see also Erel, 2002; Perreñas, 2008; Zontini, 2004). This transgression can have negative repercussions on transnational mothers’ identity. In their study of immigrant

women in Canada, Bernhard et al. (2005), found that transnational mothers suffered because they came to believe that they had “fallen short of their [maternal] duties” (p.5). According to this study, even in cases where their relatives in the home country initially were supportive of their migration, transnational mothers were subjected to social disapproval and stigmatization (Bernhard et al., 2005). Similarly, in her study of Turkish women residing in Germany, Erel (2002) reported how mothers who had their children back home often suffered because of the peer pressure of “good mothering.” Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) also found that Latina transnational mothers frequently report feelings of guilt of being “bad mothers” and that mothers who have their children with them in the U.S. condemned transnational mothers as “bad women” for leaving their children “behind.”

Despite the fact that many transnational mothers often report feelings of guilt of being “bad mothers”, research has also shown that not all of them internalize this negative image, and several actively struggle to negotiate the idea of mothering (Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). It has been argued that because of financial hardship transnational mothers may advocate more elastic definitions of motherhood, including forms that may include long spatial and temporal separations of mother and children (Andersen, 2006; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). Such studies have reported that in redefining motherhood, transnational mothers give important emphasis to the “duty” of providing for their children (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Erel, 2002; García-Prieto, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). For instance, a study of Filipino immigrant mothers found that the majority of transnational mothers try to compensate

their absence by “co- modifying” their relationship with their children, as meeting the economic needs of their children is seen as a substitute of physical and emotional care (Parreñas, 2001). Similarly, in their study of Mexican and Central American transnational mothers, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) discovered that most of the interviewees distinguished their decision of migrating from “abandoning” their children in so far as they were able to provide for their children from abroad.

Some other studies have found that another crucial issue in making the distinction between good and bad mothering is related to which kind of alternative care giver transnational mothers choose while they are in the U.S. (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). In other words, whom they leave their children with affects transnational mothers’ perception of their mothering role. For example, it has been reported that while Central American and Mexican mothers may leave their children with the children's fathers, other female kin or with paid caregivers, both groups of mothers showed preferences for grandmothers as the ideal caregivers (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). It has been suggested that by preferring the children’s biological grandmother the “violation” of the cultural precept of the presence and nurturance of the biological mother is “rehabilitated” (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997, p.559).

Through their new role as breadwinners and economic pillars of their families, immigrant women renegotiate their gender role and construct alternative meanings of motherhood. Because their families usually see migration abroad as a good way for solving the entire family's financial difficulties, transnational mothers often receive the approval and emotional support from their relatives. Thus, transnational mothers are not always ostracized by other family members or by their communities of origin; especially

when these latter rely on transnational mothers' remittances (Parreñas, 2008). According to McNamee and Gergen (1992), it is within relational contexts such as the family, where particular forms of interaction are constructed as legitimate premises for a given social role and where positive identification processes take place. In the case of Latina immigrants, it is within the family that the discourse of transnational motherhood is legitimized as "good mothering," and as a result, the construction of a positive motherhood identity is enabled.

The Construction of Meaning and Identity Formation

Social identity research indicates that people typically seek to see themselves in a positive way and that this positive sense of self is largely grounded in socially salient roles and in how those roles are perceived by others (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Heisler & Ellis, 2008). Several authors have denoted the importance of the mothering role in shaping women's identities (Heisler & Ellis, 2008; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Medved, 2009; Sotirin, 2008; Waggoner, 2008). According to Heisler and Ellis (2008), generally, women have the sentiments that motherhood is a priority in defining who they are and not just a role they enact (e.g., "motherhood is something you are not something you do") (p.455). Moreover, from a social constructionist perspective, the perception of "self" is influenced through interaction with others, and by cultural expectations that stem from the dominant ideology (e.g., Anderson & Goolishian, 1988; Hoffman, 1990. As cited in Heisler and Ellis, 2008). In this sense, a positive mothering identity relies heavily on whether a woman perceives her role as accepted by others or not (Johnston & Swanson, 2006), as well as on how she perceives herself with respect to the dominant mothering ideology's expectations (Heisler & Ellis, 2008).

According to Ashforth & Kreiner (1999), it is through social interaction and the internalization of collective values, meanings, and expectations that individuals “come to see themselves somewhat through the eyes of others and construct more or less stable self-definitions and a sense of self-esteem” (p.417). In this sense, social validation of an individual’s role is believed to sharpen and strengthen one’s self-definitions and self-esteem. For example, in their study of face negotiation in motherhood, Heisler and Ellis (2008) found that a positive gender identity was influenced by women’s perceptions of how their mothering role was seen by others. A number of women stated they actively sought to construct a positive mothering image that would be desirable or acceptable to others:

Participants listed various personal motivations for constructing self-images such as guilt (e.g., “...because sometimes I feel guilty about not spending enough quality time with my child”), insecurity (e.g., “Sometimes I’m not sure how I’m doing [at mothering]. Telling others about the good things makes me feel better”), values (e.g., “It’s very important to me”), and self-esteem (e.g., “to validate myself that I am a good mother”) (Heisler & Ellis, 2008, p.458).

The authors concluded that by portraying positive mother-child interactions to others, participants had a sense that others may then conclude that they were “good mothers.” On the other hand, some participants recounted they constructed positive images because they recognized societal expectations for mothers and they felt pressured to conform to the preconceived ideals for fear of criticism and or rejection by others (Heisler & Ellis, 2008).

Similarly, in their study of mothering identity and ideology among working and non-working mothers, Johnston and Swanson (2006) found that participants must reconciled their work status and the ideological expectations of “intensive mothering” in

order to have a positive identity. According to the authors, participants appealed to a variety of cognitive, dialectical, and ideological strategies to achieve “consistency” between their mothering ideology and their work status. While “at-home” women reported to choose a work status based on their mothering ideology, working mothers stated that their mothering ideology emerged in part to fit their lived experience with a particular employment decision. Thus, while at-home mothers prioritize a construction of good mothering as “always being there,” part-time and full-time working mothers emphasized a “happy mother -happy child” construction of motherhood (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). The study concluded that by modifying ideological mothering expectations to reinforce their work decision, all mothers were able to perceived themselves as having a “good mother” status (Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

Other studies confirm the idea that women take up available cultural ideologies to make sense of who they are as mothers, and that they need to discursively negotiate their position within conflicting mothering ideologies (Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Medved, 2009; Sotirin, 2008; Waggoner, 2008). According to this research, ideologies shape individual action by sanctioning and re-warding particular roles and behaviors via establishing social expectations for individuals (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). In the case of mothering, a given dominant ideology creates expectations for “good mothering” and chastises those who fall out. Those women who are not privileged by the dominant culture, are set up for failure and stigmatization of their mothering role (Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

Furthermore, as Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) asserted, when social roles are devalued and individuals who enact such roles are stigmatized, the construction of a

positive identity can be challenging. Social stigma severely threatens the social validation processes that typically sustain any social identity, and for this reason, the need for edifying alternative meanings that counteract social devaluation is even more demanding in order to achieve a positive identity (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) stated that there are varied ways in which alternative ideologies or discourse can be used to reframe, recalibrate, and refocus taint in stigmatized roles. As the authors illustrate in their study of stigmatized workers, the main purpose of these three ideological techniques, is to transform the meaning of the stigmatized role by simultaneously negating or devaluing negative attributions and creating or revaluing positive ones to enable identification with the role. Moreover, the authors showed how social weighting can also be used to condemn “condemners,” support “supporters” as a way to protect one’s role and selectively attend to referents that offer more appealing views and comparisons of a stigmatized social role. Selective attention and comparison enabled participants to place more weight on social referents that affirm certain roles’ value and less weight on referents that do not, thereby moderating the impact of the social salience of stigma, as well as directly enhancing identification (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

In the case of transnational mothers, given the relevance of the mothering role for women’s identity (Heisler & Ellis, 2008) and the stigma that they may be subjected to, some questions become apparent concerning transnational mothers capability to construct a positive mothering identity. Nonetheless, as it was previously mentioned, studies showed that despite the stigma and guilt, transnational mothers strive to negotiate new meanings of motherhood that aid a more positive self-perception. However, none of the

existent studies conceptualize this negotiating of meaning in terms of discourse as a constitutive process of identity formation. Moreover, while research shows that social roles are legitimized and validated in interaction with others, there is no research yet that explores the role of family members (e.g., grandmothers, partners and children) in the legitimization of transnational motherhood. Finally, despite the fact that many transnational mothers may end-up having more children in the U.S., and in many cases become full-time mothers to them, within the existent studies there aren't any theoretical perspectives that concentrate in how transnational mothers reconcile their mothering ideologies with regards to their U.S. born children and how this influences their self-perception as mothers. Consequently, the purpose of this study was to examine the processes of interaction and meaning construction that help to promote and negotiate positive motherhood identities among Latina immigrants who have children in the U.S. as well as children under their grandmothers' care in their country of origin. The main questions addressed in this study were,

RQ1: What ideologies of motherhood are present in transnational mothers' discourse?

RQ2: How do transnational mothers reconcile traditional mothering ideologies with transnational mothering arrangements?

RQ3: How do transnational mothers deal with the social stigma that stems from traditional ideologies of motherhood?

RQ4: How do mothers reconcile their mothering identity across borders (i.e., with respect to their Mexican children and U.S. born children)?

RQ5: What is the role of grandmothers in the legitimization of transnational motherhood?

METHODS

This study relied on an inductive qualitative design for data collection and data analysis. Qualitative research is best used to discover themes and relationships at the case level, whereas quantitative research is best used to validate those themes and relationship in samples and populations (Baxter & Babbie, 2004). Accordingly, qualitative inquiry uses a context-based perspective in which emergent meanings and interpretations are negotiated with participants to develop an idiographic perspective (i.e., an analysis of cultural phenomena from the perspective of those who participate in the culture being studied). In this sense, qualitative methods are mostly use for the study of social reality as conceived by the interpretive paradigm, which conceives social behavior as guided by cultural meanings built through interaction (Baxter & Babbie, 2004). Given that this study aimed at understanding processes of meaning construction that sustain Latina maternal identity through a thematic analysis of cases, a qualitative design was best suited for this purpose.

Primarily, in-depth interviews were conducted to explore the processes of meaning construction that sustain transnational mothers' maternal identity. The interviews were conducted with six female subjects drawn from a convenient sample. Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research to select participants who can provide a description of the phenomenon being studied (Baxter & Babbie, 2004). Criteria of inclusion involved those women over 18 years old who had immigrated to the U.S. in the last 5 years and whose children remained in their country of origin. All six individuals included in the study were Mexican citizens who immigrated to the U.S. for employment purposes and who were currently the main source of income for their children in Mexico.

At the time of their migration to the U.S., three participants were single mothers and three were married women whose partners were already foreign workers in the U.S. All married participants stated they migrated in order to work and help their husbands abroad. Single mothers stated that their decision to migrate was related to the necessity to support their children in the absence of a male provider. One of the six participants said that in addition to supporting her child in Mexico, she migrated in order to evade marital conflict and domestic violence from her ex-husband. All six participants attributed their decision of leaving their children in their country of origin to the dangers involved in crossing the frontier without immigration documents and to the difficulties of finding “adequate care-givers” in the U.S. Four participants left children with maternal grandmothers; two with paternal grand mothers. Five participants on the sample left one child in Mexico and one participant left two children. Children’s ages at the time of participants’ departure ranged from one to six years old. In average, participants reported that since the time of migration, they hadn’t seen their children in three years. One of the six participants had reunited with her daughter after one year of separation and was currently living in the U.S. with her and her husband. The other five participants who remained separated from their children had formed new families while in the U.S. (e.g., they had children born in the U.S., three of them with new partners). All individuals were diverse in terms of demographic characteristics (such as education, civil status, and number of children).

Interviews were conducted individually at the participants’ residence. Each interview lasted for approximately two hours. Individuals were asked questions relative to their experiences as immigrant mothers who live separated from their children, their

perception of their maternal role and the meanings of motherhood. Upon participants' permission, the interviews were audio taped and written notes were taken. Interviews were conducted in Spanish and later transcribed and translated into English. Interview transcripts are attached in Appendix A and B.

Subsequently, transcribed data were coded thematically. For this purpose, a back-and-forth thematic analysis was conducted in discovering the saturation of conceptual categories and linking relationships between themes across all interviews. After reading through narratives several times salient phrases that carried similar meaning were marked, and then grouped into coding groups. The coding groups were then grouped in broader themes. After these themes were identified and saturation was reached, quotes that better exemplified each theme were selected from each interview and used in the articulation of a grounded practical theory (GPT) (Barge & Craig, 2009). As Barge and Craig (2009) noted, GPT takes place between the interpretation of particular communicative practices of a given community (in this case, of those quotes found within interviewee's narratives) and an evolving conceptualization of such practices (Barge & Craig, 2009). Emergent themes were interpreted and conceptualized through comparing them with related scholarship to enrich the comprehension of the phenomenon (Josselson & Lieblich, 1999).

FINDINGS

Regarding this study's first research question, overall findings suggest that there are salient traces of traditional ideologies of motherhood in transnational mothers' discourse. Such traditional beliefs, expectations, and norms about motherhood were found to aid participants' perception of being stigmatized for leaving their children behind. Regarding this study's research question about how transnational mothers reconcile traditional mothering ideologies with transnational mothering arrangements and how they manage stigma, findings indicate that these two processes occur in a parallel way. In all six cases participants appealed to discursive strategies to redefine transnational motherhood in a way that allowed them to reconcile traditional ideologies about mothering with their own role and at the same time, to buffer social stigma. Specifically, this study identified five emergent themes that deal with alternative meanings of motherhood and social stigma management. These themes include, "It is easy to judge someone when you are not in their own shoes," "Motherhood beyond physical contact," "Motherhood as breadwinning," "Mothering as a sacrifice for one's children" and "Mothering as a remembrance of one's children."

Moreover, findings indicate that in order to reconcile their mothering role with respect to their U.S. born children, participants rely on a fragmented and temporary mothering identity that allows them to be transnational mothers, and, at the same time, to enact a more traditional mothering role with their U.S. born children (e.g., to be stay-at-home-moms). Particularly, three themes address this study's research question about transnational mothers' role reconciliation across borders based on the construction of a fragmented and temporary mothering identity. These themes are, "It is like a blind date,"

“The all-pleasing-mother Vs. The disciplining-mother” and “It is like being two mothers.”

With respect to the research question about grandmothers’ role in the legitimization of transnational motherhood, data showed that grandmothers’ attitudes towards transnational motherhood and their willingness to become their grandchildren’s “substitute mothers” are crucial in validating transnational motherhood as a legitimate form of mothering. The themes “Mothering as a job for two” and “It is like having two mothers,” primarily illustrate the role of grandmothers in the relational-discursive validation of transnational motherhood.

In the four sections that follow, each of the themes mentioned above and their relationship to this study’s research questions will be developed. Each section deals with specific research questions and discusses the themes that better address such questions. In the first section, the research question and emergent themes regarding existent ideologies of motherhood within participants’ discourse will be addressed. In the second section, themes related to alternative meanings of motherhood, identity construction, and social stigma management will be developed. The third section will go over the question of how transnational mothers reconcile their mothering role across nations. Finally, in the last section, issues concerning grandmothers’ role in the validation of transnational motherhood will be addressed. In order to illustrate the pertinence and grounded nature of each emergent theme, all of the sections include excerpts from individual interviews as well as general comparisons drawn from the group of participants as a whole.

1. Traditional Ideologies of Motherhood in Transnational Mothers' Discourse

Regarding the first question of this study, which asks what ideologies of motherhood are present in transnational mothers' discourse, the majority of participants (5) identified the "self-sacrificed," "stay-at-home" mother as the ideal of good mothering according Mexican traditions. When asked to define what a traditional "ideal mother" is, all participants mentioned accessibility in terms of time and physical proximity to children as the main traits of this "ideal mother" construct. Other characteristics included "having a good marital relationship with the father of the children," and being a "non-working mother." The analysis of data suggests that all participants circumscribed the ideal of good mothering to cultural expectations for mothers in Mexico. Interestingly, out of four participants who were raised by their mothers, those who reported having a positive mothering role model (3) identified their own mothers as the model of the "ideal mother." In contrast, one participant who had bad mothering in her childhood and two participants who were not raised by their mothers did not identify anyone in particular as the "ideal mother."

First, data show that all participants considered that within Mexican culture, there is a special emphasis put on a mother's time investment on children. For example, one woman said "In Mexico the mother who is always there with her children, who is never away from them is regarded as the best mother, the ideal mother." Moreover, the image of "the ideal mother" as "the stay-at-home mom who is always there for her children" illustrates how not only time, but also physical presence constitutes cultural expectations for mothers in Mexico. Participants also mentioned traditional gendered traits associated with the role of women in the family as part of being the "ideal mother," "is the one who

takes care of her husband, her children and her house.” In just one case did the issue of employment and “being hard working” come up as a constituting trait of the “ideal mother,” “She (the ideal mother) fights for her children, is hardworking and educates them and is there with them for good and bad.” Moreover, for the majority of participants, the construct of the “ideal mother” is influenced by their own maternal role models. Three of four participants who were raised by their biological mothers identified them as embodying ideal mothering traits. For instance, one woman said, “My mother is a great mother, she has everything I can think of in a good mother ... she was always there for us, she never worked. She was present all the time...” and another said, “(the ideal mother) is just like my mother: She was always with us; she was there for us and we could count on her.” In contrast, in the cases where women were not raised by their mothers or they had a negative maternal role model, participants did not identify a specific “ideal mothering” model. For example, one woman said “What happens is that I did not live with my mother, my mother separated from my dad when I was about eleven years old ... so I grew up with my dad. So I do not know (what an ideal mother is) because I had no mother.”

While some participants associated “the ideal mother” with their own mothers, none of the six participants associated it with their own mothering role with respect to their children in Mexico. In fact, data revealed that women perceived leaving their children in Mexico as a violation of “ideal mothering” norms, and in the majority of cases, this affected how they perceived themselves as mothers. One woman said,

I really don't feel like a mother with respect to my child, because as they say, 'mother is the one who raises you and not who conceives you.' By Talking with my son on the phone it is very little what I can provide for him emotionally speaking. Because children need attention, cuddling and

affection, they need that you are there constantly telling them and letting them know that you are their mom with your actions. In that way, I could not say that I am 100% mother of my son, because I am not there, I am not present. He knows that I exist; he knows that I gave him the life and that everything he has is because I have bought it for him but that is it. I don't think I am a mother to the 100% of the term.

Moreover, almost all participants in the study feared their violation of “good mothering” norms, could carry negative consequences for their children later in life. As some participant expressed, “We all make mistakes in life but that is how we all learn. I know leaving my daughter in Mexico was not the right thing to do because it has brought consequences for her (e.g., not doing well in school).” Similarly, another interviewee attributed her four-year-old son's sickness to her absence “... my mother who is the one who takes care of him told me he really felt bad for my absence so he got sick; and up until now he keeps getting sick very frequently.” Overall, data indicated that participants' fear of the negative effects of their non-compliance with full-time-mothering, was associated with their partial adherence to traditional ideologies of motherhood. In deed, a participant argue that in contrast to other mothers, “ideal mothers” children wouldn't be subjected to such negative consequences, i.e. “their children would never turn into drug addicts; they would be good students.”

Paradoxically, in the majority of cases, the “fear” of the negative consequences that their migration could bring for their children contrasted with mothers' tendency to minimize and positively reframe such outcomes. Statements like “Can you see that she looks like a happy girl in all of these pictures,” “She is not that emotionally perturbed” or “He is developing in a normal way, at his own rhythm,” show participants' intent to deal with negative feelings such as fear and guilt, as well as with other people's perceptions towards their mothering role. With this same purpose, participants also strive to give

their children an active-positive role, rather than a victim-like role in their narratives. Participants made comments like, “She is making a huge sacrifice, she is a strong girl ... My daughter knows that this time is necessary so we can succeed as the team that we are. She knows we are a team. I am the one who works here and she has to be strong for me and support me.” And, “I do not think he (her son) is a victim. I know he feels sad sometimes and maybe it will affect his life forever, but he is not a victim of what is happening.” Similarly, when asked about how she thought her child would remember the years they lived apart from each other, one participant commented,

I think I want her to remember this time as a good experience for both of us. Because we both had to struggle, it is a mutual struggle, you know. A struggle to achieve a better future, a struggle that has made her a stronger person. She has to realize that life is just like that: you cannot have everything you want, no matter if you are rich or poor we cannot have everything. Whether we are happy together but starving or...she knows these things.

Hence, as the excerpts above illustrate, participants struggle to deal with negative emotions that stem from the violation of traditional motherhood norms and not meeting the ideological expectations for a mother in Mexico.

2. Alternative Meanings of Motherhood, Identity Construction, and Social Stigma Management

With regards to the second and third research questions of this study, which refer to how transnational mothers reconcile traditional mothering ideologies with their own mothering arrangements and how they deal with social stigma, data analysis showed that participants appealed to alternative meanings of motherhood to positively identified with their mothering role and at the same time, to buffer social stigma. Specifically, this study identified five emergent themes that dealt with how alternative meanings of motherhood

aid transnational mothers' positive mothering identity as well as social stigma management.

2.1. Social Stigma: “It is easy to judge someone when you are not in their own shoes”

Data analysis shows that in all six cases mothers felt their violation of the “ideal mother” precepts, may not only negatively affect their children, but it may make them susceptible to social stigma and criticism. Participants attributed criticisms to the fact that leaving their children behind was against traditional mothering expectations in Mexican culture. In five cases, mothers said their perception of “being judged” by others was elicited by indirect and/or direct comments made by other people, and in one case by family members. As a mother said, “Well, people talk at work...there were always some people who told me ‘Not even dogs leave their poppies dumped like that.’” Similarly, other participants said, “My family does (judge me). Some relatives told me that ‘it was a thousand times better to be there with my children and not come here and have more children’” and “Yes, I know people judge us (transnational mothers) even I, if I were not in these circumstances, I think I will judge a mother who leaves her children ... Because I wouldn't be able to understand their own circumstances, and I would think it is foolish to leave their children; but there are many different situations that oblige you to be apart from your children.” Like the latter woman, four participants said it was the lack of knowledge and empathy (e.g., “Not being in their shoes”) that drove others to judge them for leaving their children back home. As some participants put it, “I do believe there are people who see such actions (to leave their children) as a bad thing, but I think that it is because they are ignorant people. No one should judge other people's actions without

knowing the other person's circumstances," "In my case if someone ever judges me I will just ignore them because it is very easy to judge someone not being in their own shoes, like it is in any other situation in life" and finally, "I would accept such criticism but they should not judge my actions as bad... because they were not on my own shoes so they cannot judge my actions. Perhaps if they were in the same circumstances, they would have done even worse things."

Thus, data showed that by dismissing outsiders' criticisms and by framing transnational motherhood as a "last-resource" situation, or an "obligated" solution for their circumstances, participants exempt themselves from the responsibility of deliberately "leaving" their children. As some mothers argue, "I don't pay attention to (judgments) because I know that it was not the case: I did not leave my daughter because I wanted to, but because I had to."

Participants' discourse is primarily rooted in this idea of the inevitability of their migration, which helps them to construct alternative meanings of motherhood that validate transnational mothering under these "forced" circumstances. As it will be illustrated in the coming sections, such alternative definitions of motherhood ultimately allow participants to positively reconcile traditional ideologies of motherhood with their own childcare arrangements as well as to deal with the social stigma that stems from their violation to traditional motherhood norms.

2.2. Motherhood beyond Physical Contact

Despite their perception of their leaving their children for employment as a violation of traditional ideologies of motherhood, the majority of the participants (4) did not perceived themselves as "bad mothers." When inquired about how they viewed

themselves with regards to “the ideal mother” role expectations, the majority of participants modified traditional mothering discourse so as to reconcile it with their own mothering arrangements. One woman said, “I don’t think I am a bad mother... Because of the distance, it is just physical contact that is missing, that I am sacrificing. But I don’t consider myself a bad mother for that reason. I don’t consider myself a 100% mother because I am not there but that doesn’t mean that I am bad.” Similarly, other participants reframed a mother’s physical accessibility as subjected to the circumstances, “(being a good mother) is to be there for your children when ever you can, not all the time. I mean, like in my case you might not be there because of the separation but being a mother is to be there in some moments of your children’s life.” Other women simply rejected the ideal of the all-accessible mother, “I think that ideal doesn’t exists. You go through a lot in life, adolescence, etc., and it is difficult to have your children there with you all the time. So I believe the ideal of the perfect mom is impossible to attain” and “God makes children but the Lord lets us have them temporarily, they are not ours.”

In other cases, mothers appealed to non-traditional definitions of mother-child bonding or “maternal love” that does not involve physical contact. For instance, participants said, “if a mother cannot be physically with her son but if she makes him feel that he has a place in her life and that she cares about him, like I do, I do the role of a mother because I make him feel important in my life, part of my life, even though we do not live together” and “(to love your son is) to be aware of everything he does, to know if he misbehaves or if he is crying or why he is crying. They have to feel that even though you are far away you care.” Thus data showed that as an alternative to physical contact, the majority of participants appealed to ideas of mother-child bonding such as “caring

about your children,” “having a good communication,” “talking on the phone,” and “being aware of your children.”

In this way, mothers not only redefined the traditional idea of maternal bonding beyond physical contact between mother and child, but at the same time, they managed to discursively buffer social stigma. By changing the defining criteria of maternal bonding, transnational mothers strive to differentiate themselves from “those mothers” who “even being physically present do not give love to their children,” and hence, they evade the stigma of “bad mothers.” As some participants illustrate “If you are there and you still have no empathy for how your child feels, it is not enough... Children need to know that you care, that you are there for them and that they have a place in your life,” and “For me a bad mother is the one who doesn’t give love to her children by not paying attention to them. Overall, it is love (that makes the difference between a good and a bad mother)” and “I am not abandoning my daughter because I am giving her love; I call her all the time.”

2.3. Motherhood as Breadwinning

Findings indicate that interviewees perceived themselves as being “good mothers” on the basis of their financial capability to support their children abroad. Furthermore, participants cited the absence of a male provider and the lack of financial means to meet their children’s needs as the main reasons for migrating and leaving their children in Mexico. Thus, data show that by appealing to the logic in which the absence of a male provider makes a mother compel to become breadwinner, all six participants were able to positively re-define mothering expectations as “providing for one’s child” and to minimize the social stigma associate with this role.

Interviews for this study revealed that participants mostly migrated in order to provide for their children in Mexico. At the time of their migration to the U.S., three of six participants were single mothers and three were married women living apart from their husbands. Single mothers and mothers joining husbands in the U.S. equally spoke of financial reasons for migration (i.e., insuring a better life for the children). In addition to financial reasons, one participant said that her decision to migrate was based on the need to evade marital conflict and domestic abuse,

I decided to come here after getting divorced. I wanted to get away from my ex-husband. I did not see it like that then, but that was the main reason I left. It was a very difficult divorce, and very hard relationship. There were domestic violence issues and the day of the divorce, he threatened to kill my son and me. I tried to do something but you know in Mexico it is very difficult, and the police do not really do anything. So, I did not want to sacrifice the relationship with my son, and I wanted to bring him with me, but my parents didn't want me to because of the dangers. My parents really supported me in that way.

In the case of the married participants, all three women also said they migrated to help their partners who were already living in the U.S. and, as one participant expressed, “to keep the family united as well.” One married participant stated that after two years of being apart from her husband, she decided to migrate to “make some money to build a house for the children” and to “save” her marriage, “My mother-in-law told me: I'll take care of the children and you can save your marriage. Between the two of you, you can work and send money for a house for the kids. So, I thought, maybe she was right because my husband was having an affair with another woman here.”

Thus, whether they were single mothers who migrated to support their children, or married woman who left Mexico to join their partners in the U.S. to help them with breadwinning, in all six cases participants' migration followed the absence of the male

provider. Accordingly, this study found that in the scenario where there is not a male provider, women saw it justifiable and even expected from them to give up full-time mothering to become breadwinners. For instance, one participant said that although she did not want to migrate without her daughter, she decided to leave her, “Because my daughter’s father and I separated and I ended up having no means to support her.” In all narratives, the model of the “ideal mother” then, contrasted to the construct of “the ideal father,” which was defined as the patriarchal stereotype of the male provider. As one participant described it, “The ideal father would be the one who provides for his children. The one who works and supports the entire family.” In such messages, the existence of these two gendered roles suggests that they are inseparable and mutually constitutive. Data showed that most participants believed that the presence of a male provider made it possible the existence of the “full-time-mother,” while its absence opened up the possibility for non-normative definitions of motherhood, such as “being able to provide for one’s children.”

Accordingly, as participants’ partners were absent, they felt they were expected to take over the provider role, and in that way, they should not be stigmatized by others for violating the “ideal mother’s duties.” When asked what their parents thought of her leaving her children to work abroad, one woman said, “they (her parents) are aware of the difficulties that single mothers go through in Mexico, so they have told me that I have to be both the father and the mother for my son...as we do not have the economical support from his father, that I have to take over his role as well as the role of the mother.” Similarly, other participants said, “I think they understood that me coming to the U.S. was for financial reasons. If I had stayed there alone, I would have had to provide for my

daughter and they knew that in Mexico it was going to be very difficult. They are poor people so they could not support my daughter and me either” and “My mother never said anything because I was going to leave...she knew that I was always away working, so she did not judge me that way.” Five participants reported that their families did not judge them for leaving their children, and that on the contrary, based on financial difficulties, their immediate relatives encouraged them to migrate. As one mother recalled, “I think my brothers talked to my mom without me knowing and convinced her that it was the best thing for me to do. My mother started to tell me that I could leave my daughter with her and that she was going to be all right. After a while, I end up accepting, but they made all the arrangements.” In brief, in the absence of the “ideal” male provider, not only mothers perceive they are socially allowed to be physically separated from their children, but they are compelled to re-define motherhood to include breadwinning as part of this role. As a one mother put it, “(it is a mother’s duty) to give love, affection and to provide for her children as well.”

2.4. Mothering As A Sacrifice For One’s Children

Another ways in which participants discursively positioned themselves with regards to the ideology of “full-time-mothering,” are via articulating physical separation as a “temporary arrangement” and defining maternal love as a mothers’ willingness to make such temporary sacrifices for the sake of her children. All interviewees in this study argued that migrating was a temporary “sacrifice” to overcome financial difficulties and to build a better future for their children. In this sense, participants were found to be able to positively re-defined transnational motherhood as “sacrificing physical

accessibility for the sake of one's children," and at the same time, by discursively appealing to the construct of the "self-sacrificing mother," to deal with social stigma. As previous research has shown (see Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997) participants interviewed for this study argued that they opted for leaving their children in Mexico because it was a "temporary" arrangement and not a permanent one. In all narratives, a temporary separation from their children was "acceptable" and essentially different to "abandoning one's children." As some participants recalled, "when I told my parents I was coming here I told them I was going away for one year only, so they thought it was not that long" and "At first I thought I would stay just for two years. I was going to go back next December to bring my son here with me, but it turned out that I was pregnant so..." Like this mother, out of the six interviewees, four ended-up staying longer than they had originally planned. In the majority of the cases, the longer stay was due to the fact that participants had children born while in the U.S. and to the lack of means to go back home. Just in one case, the delay was due to medical reasons (e.g., medical treatment).

Although some participants had been in the U.S. as long as five years, all of them expressed that this was still a transitional time that would allow them to make enough money to procure for their children "a better future." Like one mother stated, "Out of the women [that have children abroad] I know, they all talk about being able to provide for your children abroad now and to be able to build a better future for them." Thus, giving one's children a better future is prioritized over one-to-one care. Almost in all the narratives, "a better future" was conceptualized as "building a house for the children" or paying for the children's education. As one mother said, "It is very important in Chiapas

to have a house more or less good...all my family and my husband say that at least we were able to build a house, a house for the children. That is going to last forever. (Now) I'm not going to have to walk around Chiapas with my children without a place to stay." Like this mother, other participants positively framed their physical absence as a way to overcome difficulties in the past and to attain better conditions for the future. In some cases, this idea of sacrificing the present to overcome the past, went even further back, as a way to overcome the mother's own memories of a childhood in poverty,

My responsibility is to care for my children and give them an education something that I did not have...Something different from what I had because I led a complicated life, very sad. My mother was not there for us, she made her life with another man and we stayed with my father. He struggled to raise us and we were rather poor. But my children do not have those needs; they don't know what it is to go do the cleaning for a neighbor to earn a meal or to buy a pair of shoes.

By including their children in their narratives as the ultimate beneficiaries of their absence, like this mother does, participants also try to mutually construct the mother-child relationship beyond physical contact. For instance, some mothers recall some of their conversations with their children, "I tell him that if it was not because I am here he would not have what he has, that he wouldn't have any money, all the presents I give him or the eye surgery I paid for. I tell him that I want us to have a house; I want him to go to school and to have a better future. I guess he barely knows what I am talking about but I still try to explain it to him," "I make them understand that this is for their sake...I said 'look, you have everything: clothes, shoes, whatever you want. Food'" and finally,

I told her that I loved her very much and that she is a grown up and very smart girl and that she is now able to comprehend the difficult circumstances in which we were living, and that we always had to borrow money and to asked my mother for food. I explained her just what she also witnessed, I don't lie to her. I tell her how her dad did not help us nor

did he visit us, for that reason I wanted a better life for us and that she had better things.

Furthermore, on the basis of making a sacrifice to meet one's children's financial needs, participants deal with social stigma by distinguishing themselves from neglecting mothers (e.g., full-time mothers who don't make sacrifices to meet their children's needs). As one participant put it,

As cruel as it sounds... things are not like those parents think...you hear them preaching about loving your children and being with them, meanwhile everybody is starving and with no shoes. It might be just stuff, but they are indispensable for life...and so these parents say, "I cannot leave my child, how can you even think about it! They can be maltreated!" That is not to love your children! We have to make a sacrifice so we all are better.

Furthermore, as this last excerpt illustrates, maternal love is defined as the willingness of a mother to make sacrifices in order to meet her children's needs. As one mother further corroborates, "I did it for love, because I could not see her (her daughter) suffering." In this sense, data showed that re-framing maternal love as "a sacrifice," helps mothers to reconcile traditional ideologies about motherhood and transnational motherhood arrangements. After all, transnational mothers, like "traditional mothers," are also self-sacrificing, loving mothers, preoccupied with their children's wellbeing.

As for participants' perception of their mothering role, although this definition of transnational motherhood as a provisional sacrifice allows them to have a temporary positive identification, in the long run, a positive perception of their future mothering role is subjected to the idea of "going back home" and "making-up" for the lost time. As one participant said, "Well, that is what I hope (when back in Mexico): To be able to be the best mom; to be a good role model," and yet another said, "I will try to compensate for this time that we have been separated." By anticipating a positive future-mothering-role

enactment, participants not only positively identify with their mothering role, but at the same time, discursively deal with social stigma as they distinguish themselves from women who “abandon” their children in Mexico. As one participant recounted, “I have seen some women who even forget about their children once they get here...I really cannot understand what can make a mother forget about her children in Mexico. I am very different... no matter if I go back to Mexico or if he (her son) comes here, we will be together.”

In short, this study shows that the articulation of their absence as a temporary mother’s sacrifice for her children, alike the idea of “going back home” to “compensate” for the lost time, allows participants to positively identify with their mothering role and to minimize negative emotions associated to social stigma.

2.5. Mothering As An Endless Remembrance Of One’s Children

Findings indicate that among participants, the most prevalent stigma that mothers perceived they were subjected to was the “abandoning mother” construct. This research shows that in order to construct a positive mothering identity and to deal with social stigma, all participants recurrently tried to differentiate themselves from being “abandoning mothers.”

First, data suggest that participants argue that to abandon one’s children was not so much related to physical separation, but to emotional distancing. In particular, “abandoning one’s children” was in all cases defined as “forgetting about one’s children.” Like one participant suggested, “To abandon a child is... I think it is to forget about him.” Specifically, this idea of forgetting about one’s children was associated to evading economical responsibility (e.g., “Not send them any money”), having irregular,

or little telephone contact with children (e.g., “(abandonment) would be to just call my daughter once a week”) and simply, not keeping their children’s memory alive (e.g., not keeping photo albums, letters or souvenirs). As one participant put it, “ I know this woman who is doing well economically and everything - I think she has two children in Mexico - and never remembers her children or calls them over the phone or sends them money or nothing... She completely abandoned them.”

Consequently, all participants recurrently tried to differentiate themselves from such “abandoning mothers” by describing the ways in which they support their children financially as well as how they keep their children’s memories alive. When inquired about how she hypothetically would respond to someone who judge her for abandoning her daughter, one mother said, “I have all the papers that prove that I have sent her money every month, I have the phone records to prove that I call her everyday, my mother comes and visits, I have all the pictures that she has send me.” Similarly, another mother said, “this is different (from abandoning one’s child) because I send my kids money. We look after them, every year we send things to them; I came here to do something for them.”

Like these women, all mothers consented that having regular phone calls, sending their children remittances and having pictures sent regularly were legitimate ways to keep their children’s “present” in their lives. One mother said, “We also talk about when he was a baby, and I tell him that he is just like his new baby brother that is on the way. In that way I also try to make him involved in my present life so he can feel like he is here.” Data analysis revealed that there was a recurrent need for “remembering the past with their children” as a way to maintain continuity in the relationship. For instance, one

participant said, “We talk about the few photos in which we are together and I ask him if he remembers when I was there with him, and I tell him what we did together and things like that. Now that he is older, he understands more and more...that is how I try to not let him forget that I was there.”

Such statements revealed participants’ intent to counteract the effects of time and distance and the devastating consequences of forgetting. A mother states,

Imagine if I did not talk to her on the phone... She would grow apart from me!...I know many people that leave their children to come here and after 5 or 6 years their children end up staying with the grandparents...but in my case, I won’t allow that to happen. My daughter knows that my parents are her grandparents and that one day, I will go back and we will all live together...I could not be able to be separated all that time...It is an exaggerated time! That is why I tell my partner that even if we have a good life-style here, I want to go back for my daughter...I don’t want to happen to us what happened to those children who forget about their mothers.

The task of remembering is performed not only by the mother and the child, but also by the grandparents and other relatives. Data showed that family members have a crucial role in keeping the memories alive, and in that sense, in preserving mothers’ mothering identity. As one mother put it, “When we were going to come my mother in-law told me, ‘if it’s because she is going to see me as her mother, don’t you worry, because I will always make sure she remembers you are her mom, and that you’re going to send her money to buy her better things.’” As in this excerpt, grandmothers appeared in the data as the main supporters of the mothers’ memories, and in that sense as the guarantors of participants’ mothering status, “I think my mother is always telling her stories about when I was there... both of us have the same pictures so we both talk about them.” This role of the grandmother as the one who preserves the absent mothers’ role contrasted to one case in which the mother “blamed” her own mother for not granting her

mothering status, “she (her mother) did not inculcate anything to her (her 15 year old daughter), that I was her mom or anything like that (so) she knows I am her mother but she doesn’t see me as such.”

Participants’ mothering identity then, depends in part on the collective act of remembering. Because of the passing of time and the distance that separates them from their children, not forgetting and not being forgotten is a way for transnational mothers to exist in the memory of their children and their families. As one mother put it,

She won’t forget about me, because the advantage I have over other women who left their children too little and go back when they are too old, is that I left my daughter when she was 4... no wait, when she was 5 years old and I am coming back before she turns 9 years old. Babies do not remember their mothers but my daughter felt “that maternal love” when she was little so she remembers...and I will go back before she forgets.

Despite efforts that are put into remembering the past, the consequences of passing of time are not avoidable and along with the distance, and as the next section illustrates, it has an impact in participants’ ability to reconcile their mothering roles with their children in Mexico.

3. Reconciling Roles across Borders: Overcoming Time and Space Separation

In this section, issues concerning the research question that inquires how mothers reconcile their mothering role across time and borders will be illustrated. Data showed that the consequences of passing of time along with the distance, has an impact in participants’ relationships with their children and their perception of who they are as mothers. One visible consequence of such prolonged mother-child separation is participants’ estrangement with regards to their children’s persona (i.e., who they are as persons), as well as how they were perceived by their children after several years of being apart from each other. Furthermore,

data revealed that participants' fear of being rejected by their children in Mexico, resulted in mothers' tendency to privilege the role and self-image of the "all-pleasing- mother" (e.g., the mother who meets the children's financial needs and sends them gifts) over the role of the "disciplining mother," as a way to deal with feelings of guilt. In this same direction, data indicated that in reconciling their mothering role across borders, participants rely on a fragmented mothering identity - based upon traditional and non-traditional mothering ideologies - that allows the co-existence of transnational motherhood and "intensive mothering" practices at the same time.

3.1. The Imaginary Construction of the Mother-Child Relationship in the Distance:

"It is like a blind date"

Out of the six participants, three participants expressed their estrangement with regards to their children's persona as well as how they were perceived by their children after several years of being apart from each other. When asked whether she thought she knew her daughter after four years of being apart, one mother said "I don't really know her; she has grown a lot...I remember her but she has grown up now." Data showed that without the quotidian face-to-face interaction with their children, the construction of who they are as mothers, that is, how they think their children perceived them as mothers, was also severely affected. As one mother articulated it, "Well yes, I know what my son likes to eat and what his favorite color is; But I don't know his personality and how he is developing as a person. He does not know me either. He has heard me say I can get very mad sometimes or that I will spank him if he does this or that; but he has never heard me yelling or has never been spanked by me, and I have never witnessed a tantrum." These

messages correlate to what Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) conceive as the process of identity formation. According to the authors, it is through social interaction and the internalization of collective meanings that individuals come to see themselves through the perception of others and construct a relatively stable definition of who they are. In contrast, data in this study revealed that when prolonged interruptions in a relationship occurs, individuals end-up with a somewhat diffuse perception of who they are and how others perceive their role within the relationship. Thus, during the interviews, most participants stated that one of the challenges they would face in terms of their relationship with their children when they reunited would be “to get to know each other again.” For instance, one mother imagined how it would be when her daughter and she reunite, “First, I need to win her over. I have a plan more or less figured out of how I will do it; I know what she likes, where she likes to go eating or where she is used to going, so it will be less difficult for her to leave my mother.” As in this excerpt, other participants framed their reunion with their children as “a process of adaptation” in which they would get to know each other, and in that way they would re-establish their mothering role. As one mother elaborated on this imaginary scenario of the reunion, “(it will be) just like a blind date. You have spoken on the phone many times but you have not yet seen each other. I know that when we get together the relationship can be something unexpected.” Thus, the data revealed that in the absence of a face-to-face interaction with their children, not only do mothers appeal to an imaginary idea of how they will be as mothers, but they also construct an idea of how the relationship with their children will be. In that sense, another participants said, that she perceives her son “Like an imaginary son, I think so. As I told you, when I left him, he was little and what he used to do when he was little, he

does not do anymore. My mother tells me he is still a very loving boy but he is older now.” Similarly, she said the perception that her four-year-old son has of her as a mother is “imaginary,” “I am the mother that gives everything to him and never gets mad at him” (laughs).

3.2. Being a Good Mother from the Distance: “The all-pleasing- mother Vs. The disciplining-mother”

Data analysis further identified that one of the most repetitive themes among participants was the fear to lose the recognition of their mothering role from part of their children. In particular, participants manifested their fear of “not being loved as a mother” and or, of loosing their parental authority. Data showed that such a fear of not being recognized as mothers was associated to sentiments of guilt for leaving their children in Mexico. Moreover, analysis of participants’ narratives revealed that such a fear of rejection resulted in mothers’ tendency to privilege the role of the “all-pleasing- mother” (e.g., the mother who meets the children’s financial needs and sends them gifts) over the role of the “disciplining mother.”

During the interviews, all six participants expressed a fear of loosing their “status” as mothers due to relationship distancing. In some cases, mothers expressed a sentiment of “not being loved as mothers,” i.e. of not having the mother-child bonding with their children. For instance, a mother recounted how her adolescent daughter struggled to recognize her as her own mother after five years of being apart, “she (her daughter) told me ‘if you want me to call you mother, you have to earn it’...She knows I’m her mom, but she loves me like a sister, not as her mom.” Similarly, two mothers expressed that because of time and distance, their children did not have the commonly

expected mother-child emotional attachment towards them. One mother said, “I feel we do not have that mother-daughter trusting relationship, you see? The relationship you develop when a mother lives with her children...She knows I am her mother but I don’t feel she loves me in the way a daughter loves her mother.”

Three participants “feared” their children would not recognize their mothering role in terms of their parental authority. As one participant explained, “He is my son and I have to understand that for him it is difficult that someone is going to impose something on him, and that he feels that after I excluded him from my life that I cannot discipline him. I want to believe that this is not the case and that he won’t feel that way, but the fear is there.” Like this statement, participants’ narratives revealed that mothers felt unconfident about their parental authority with respect to their children who were in Mexico due to the fear of being rejected for leaving them. For instance, one mother recounted how she felt about disciplining her child; “I feel that I have no authority over him. I think because of the feelings of guilt that I have I am too flexible with him. When he wants something, I cannot say no.... I feel that in that way I am pleasing him, but at the same time I am spoiling him by giving him everything because I am not there.” In this sense, data showed that in order to avoid rejection, participants perceive the need to privilege the enactment of positive aspects of their mothering role (e.g., to send them gifts and money) over the “negative duties” of parenting, like disciplining their children. One mother expressed how she “struggled to be the disciplining mom” and not just “the all-pleasing- mom,” “I try to ignore the fear (of being rejected) and try to be tough with him. Otherwise, I will be pleasing him in everything he wants and at the same time acting as if he is a victim and I am responsible for everything that is wrong in his life.”

Thus, data showed that there were also sentiments of guilt that impede mothers to fully enact their parenting role and to privilege the positive aspects of mothering, in this way meeting their children's needs. Not disciplining their children constituted a way not only to preserve a positive interaction with their children, but a discursive mechanism to deal with their own feelings of guilt. In deed, participants identified with the idea that by pleasing them "in everything they want" they felt were compensating for their absence. One participant said, "(my daughter) knows that she gets gifts in exchange for our physical presence ... for instance she knows that she has friends who have their parents with them but that they get no gifts and pretty things like she does."

Furthermore, this study found that the presence of negative emotions like "guilt" and fear of rejection resulted in participants delegating the role of the "disciplining-mother" onto the children's grandmother. For instance, one mother said, "she (the grandmother) is the one who is there with him everyday, she is the one who can judge his behavior." In other cases, they enact their authority indirectly through grandmothers "I tell her what to do when they are misbehaving. I tell her not to let them watch TV or things like that. I tell her not to buy them anything until they behave well."

3.3. Reconciling Two Different Mothering Roles across Borders: "It is like being two different mothers"

Finally, data indicate that in reconciling their mothering role across borders, participants rely on a fragmented mothering identity - based upon traditional and non-traditional mothering ideologies - that allows the enactment of transnational motherhood with their Mexican children and "intensive mothering" with their U.S. born children. In this sense, data show that instead of a unify self-perception as mother, participants have

different perceptions of their mothering role with regards to their Mexican and U.S. born children. In all six cases, participants' perception of their mothering role with respect to their American born children was seen as a more traditional role and in the majority of cases, mothers see it as a more positive role enactment. Indeed, three of the six participants were at the time of the study stay-at-home moms, and three had part-time jobs that allowed them to spend time with their U.S. born children.

When queried about the way they perceived their mothering role with regards to their American born children, all six participants appealed to traditional mothering ideologies precepts - such as being physically accessible to one's children - to describe their mothering role. One participant said, "I am always watching after her (U.S. born daughter)," similarly, another said, "Well, I think that before (bringing my daughter to the U.S.) I was not exactly forgetting about 'being a mother' but I was forgetting about the responsibility ... I wanted to do what mothers do, i.e. to bathe her, feed her, all that ... Now, I have to get home, prepare her lunch for the next day, help her with her homework and so on."

Moreover, in five of six cases, participants evaluated their mothering role enactment with their U.S. children in a more positive way that they did with respect to their children in Mexico. For instance, one participant expressed how she view her parenting patterns with her 3-year-old American daughter in contrast to her Mexican daughter, "In my case I think my husband and I are more caring than my parents, we spoiled our daughter here more, buying everything she wants, but it is not the same way for my other daughter in Mexico. I can see that my parents really love her but it is not the same." Similarly, another participant said, "I feel bad just because of the fact that I

never know how my daughter in Mexico is doing. When I go to eat, I wonder if she will have food to eat or not.” Furthermore, other mothers expressed the differences in how their children in Mexico saw her as a mother, “Perhaps as a little detached, not so loving mother. I talk to them on the phone ... but it is not the same, not like if I were there with them and all; not like my daughters who are here with me and feel my care and support see me.”

Moreover, in most cases, having more children in the U.S. helped mothers to deal with negative emotions associated to transnational motherhood such as sadness. As one mother said, “Before, when I did not have my daughters, I used to cry all the time for my children in Mexico, and my daughters gave me a reason to be here.”

Nonetheless, while having U.S. born children may be a positive factor for participants’ self-perception as mothers, participants also reported that after having children in the U.S., they experienced higher levels of guilt and preoccupation with respect to their children in Mexico. One participant stated, “Because of the pregnancy I think I was very sensitive and emotional, and I was feeling bad because my daughter was back home and she would feel bad ... I was very worry about my daughter that she would take it the wrong way” and another said,

I had a previous pregnancy that I terminated because I was scare...and I was foolish too. This time I wanted to have an abortion as well and I told my partner that I did not wanted to have a family here because I don’t have my son with me ...I had my son in Mexico waiting for me, and that I felt bad having another baby here ... I felt guilty...

Just in one case, a participant argued that having children in the U.S. made no difference in how she perceived herself as a mother, “I feel as good as a mother having my son here even if my daughter is in Mexico. I love both of my children the same. I am

the same with both of them. I buy the same kind of stuff equally and if I have no money, I do not buy anything for any of them.”

Accordingly, data analysis suggests that while having new children in the U.S. positively contributes to mothers' perception of their mothering role, for most of them, it increases their feelings of guilt regarding their mothering role with their children in Mexico. Nonetheless, in all cases, data revealed participants' appeal to traditional and alternative meanings of motherhood as to allow for the co-existence of transnational motherhood and “intensive mothering” practices at the same time.

4. The Role of Grandmothers in the Validation of Transnational Motherhood

In this final section, the research question concerning the role of grandmothers in the construction and validation of a mothering role will be addressed. Data revealed that by transferring their children's care onto their grandmothers, participants not only discursively deal with negative feelings associate with their mothering role such as guilt and fear of rejection, but they manage to cope with social stigma as well. In all six cases, mothers said that leaving their children “in the best hands,” i.e. with their grandmothers, made their absence less “reproachable.” Moreover, having their children's grandmothers' support and to some extent, their complicity in leaving their children in Mexico, participants feel validated and approved in their new mothering role. In all cases, validation from grandmothers further resulted in a positive definition and legitimization of their mothering role.

4.1. Grandmothers and Transnational Mothers: “It is like having two mothers”

Consistent with Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila's (1997) research, participants in this study exhibited a preference for grandmothers as their children's caregiver. Out of the six participants sampled, four left their children with their maternal grandmother and in

two cases, in which participants were not raised by their biological mothers, children were left with their paternal grandmothers. Participants reported they preferred grandmothers over any other relative based on their maternal qualities and the level of closeness they previously had with their children.

Data analysis suggests that in four out of six cases, grandmothers appeared as the “ideal mother” and so as an optimal caregiver. Participants said things like, “He (her son) has love and affection and there is no better person I could ever have left him with,” “I knew she would take care well of him,” and “I totally trust her (the child’s grandmother) and I would never even think that she would be treating my son bad or giving him a hard time when he misbehaves.”

Moreover, by discursively articulating grandmothers as the embodiment of “the ideal mother,” participants reframed the idea of “just leaving one’s children” as “leaving one’s children with the best mother.” For example, one woman said, “I used to get very sad to think that he suffers for my absence, (but now) I feel he has love and affection and that there is no better person I could ever have left him with.” Similarly, the rest of the participants distinguished their decision of leaving their children with their grandmothers from “just abandoning one’s children.” In this respect, one woman stated, “It is very important (who you leave your children with). Recently a friend told me how she left her children with her mother but the grandmother did not take good care of her grandchildren” and “that is something very important too. Who you leave your children with...it is not the same in all cases, some grandparents may not support their daughter and so they leave their children with someone else.”

Like this woman, for all six participants in the study their children's grandmothers' "support" (e.g., having them as caregivers) is identified as a key element in how they perceive transnational motherhood. For example, statements such as "My mother assured me that leaving was for the well being of my daughter, that it was a good decision and that my daughter was in the best hands," "I think if she (her mother) would not have supported me, I would never have left my son and I would have brought him with me" and "If my mother had not supported me I would not have left my daughter ... I do not think she will ever recriminate me for anything. She agreed with me in that this was for the good of my daughter" illustrate the role of the grandmother both as a caregiver, and as a source of role reassurance.

In contrast to mothers who left their children with maternal grandmothers, those who left their children with paternal grandmothers experienced more guilt and negative feelings associated to stigmatization. For instance, one mother said: "I thought I had done the same as my mother (who abandoned her as a child). I did the same thing leaving my daughter, and she is going to reproach me for that." Similarly, these two participants viewed themselves as "bad mothers" for leaving their children behind. When queried about whether leaving their children made them "bad mothers," one participant said, "Maybe, I think so" and "yes, sometimes I think so." Such statements corroborate the significance of the maternal grandmother-transnational mother relationship in helping participants to construct a positive perception of their mothering role.

4.2. Transnational Motherhood: Mothering as a job for two

Data analysis showed that delegating childrearing to their children's grandmothers further enables the idea of mothering as a shared responsibility. As a

consequence of transnational mothers delegating childrearing duties onto their grandmothers, the line between grandmother-mother roles becomes blurry. In five cases, participants regarded as a positive outcome the fact that their children and their grandmother were bonded “in a mother-child kind of way,” and that grandmothers were partially or fully substituting for them as mothers. Nonetheless, data showed that in five of six cases, such positive feelings of sharing their mothering role contrasted with participants perceiving themselves as “not a hundred percent a mother” and/or “fearing to being displaced” by their children’s grandmother.

Participants said that their children’s grandmothers were ideal caregivers not only because they embodied “the ideal mother’s traits,” but because grandmothers were able to have a mother-child bonding with their children during their absence. Accordingly, some participants said, “She (her mother) really feels that my son is her own son because since he was little she has taken care of him and watched after him so she really feels more like he is her son,” “She is giving her whole life to my children just like a mother” and “her grandmother was a good mother for her.” Just in one case, a mother expressed her mothering role and her daughter’s grandmother was “clear,” “...She knows that she is the grandmother she loves her as a grand-daughter and she knows I am the mother and that she will live with me.”

Thus, five of the sampled participants expressed that their sharing mothering role with grandmothers was a positive outcome for them and their children. Participants, described this sharing their mothering role with grandmothers like “having two mothers” instead of one. For instance, one mother said, “The way I see it, is like if my daughter had two mothers. I think even when I get back to Mexico, my daughter will always have

two mothers.” Similarly, another mother expressed how her four-year-old son perceives her and his grandmother, “Whenever they ask him, he always says that he has three mothers (me, my mother and the Guadalupe virgin) and a grandmother, who is in fact his great grand mother.” Thus, children and grandmothers were found to be actively involved in this construction of shared mothering role. In all six cases, participants emphasized the fact that their children not only called their grandmothers “mother,” but that grandmothers indulged them in doing so,

Well, for what I know, when my daughter started calling my father “dad,” he told her he was her “grandfather” and that she had a father who lived in the U.S., so she assimilated it. On the other hand, my mother never made that distinction when my daughter started calling her “mom” so it is not her fault...maybe my mother liked it when she started calling her “mom” and that is ok with me.

Under these circumstances, grandmothers’ co-parenting role is further defined as having a full or partial “substitute mother” for their children during their absence. One participant said “I think it is like if my mother is doing the role of mother while I am not there, and I am glad that she is doing so because otherwise I would feel sad that my daughter is lonely.” Similarly, another mother said, “I am being replaced by my mother yes. She is compensating that part (physical contact) right now. I am the economic support, the one who provides for him and for his future.” In this sense, data analysis suggests that participants’ perception of their mothering role as a shared job positively impacts their mothering identity as they perceive that their children’s economical and emotional needs are being met.

However, data showed that positive feelings of co-mothering contrasted with participants’ fear of being displaced from their mothering role by grandmothers. Some

participants said, “I am also scare that she would say to me ‘this is my son and I won’t give him back to you and you won’t take him away from me’ or something like that...I really don’t think that that is going to happened in reality but the fear is there,” and another said,

What if they don’t give me my daughter back! Yes, (Grandmothers get really attach to the grandchildren) they start feeling like if they were their own children ... my mom tells me that she loves my daughter dearly but that she knows to respect that we have different responsibilities with her and that that she is my responsibility. That, I think is very important. Imagine what would happened if she would get too attach to my daughter she would not give back my daughter to me. My mother and I talk about that, that my daughter is my daughter and that she has a new brother here.

In Just one of the six cases, a participant did not express fear of being displaced by her children’s grandmother. When inquired about her children’s perception of their paternal grandmother as a caregiver, the interviewee said,

They love her grandmother very much. Much more than they love me. Perhaps, it is because she has raised them. I feel a little sad. But I think it is good that they love her like that, it is an obvious thing that if she is the one raising them they love her more than me because she is there with them every day and we just talk on the phone ... I truly feel she is the mother of my children even if I conceived them.

Except in this case, all mothers equally strive to keep their status by making clear linguistic distinctions with their children. In other words, participants expressed the importance of persuading their children as well as their grandmothers to called them “mother,” and to “make them understand” the difference. Some mothers stated, “Yes, I think it is important (to establish that difference), because if I do not do that, then my daughter would go onto see her grandmother as her mother...besides, that is why I brought my daughter here to the U.S.,” and “I try to remind my daughter all the time that

I am her mother and that my mother has her borrowed just for a little bit...(laughs)” and regarding her son’s grandmother, one participant said,

I try to make her understand that he is not her son but mine ... we have been talking about that all this time, and I tell her to tell my son that she is his grandmother and I am his mother. When I call him on the phone, I tell him “hello this is your mom” or “could you put you grandmother on the phone please?” So he will see the difference. Still, he sometimes he calls me “mama L” and I have to tell him “no, not Laila, I am your mother.

Even though participants manifested their fear of being replaced by their children’s grandmothers, none of them reported experiencing negative feelings towards their children’s grandmothers. When asked whether she resented her mother for indulging herself in referring to her grandson as “my son,” one participant said, “No, I don’t even see it as a rivalry. Simply my mom loves him in that way for these given circumstances” and another, “I think it is a privilege that not everybody has (to have two mothers). I really don’t see it as a rivalry with my mother.”

DISCUSSION

This study finds that in accordance to previous research, the majority of transnational mothers migrate to become their children's provider (Andersen, 2006; Bernhard, et al., 2005; Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Donato, 1993; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2001; Zontini, 2007). This study also indicates that to a lesser extent, mothers migrate to evade marital conflict and domestic violence (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Chavez, 1992; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Reichert & Massey, 1979. As cited in Cerutti & Massey, 2001; Burholt, 2005; Hochschild, 2003). Like other studies on transnational motherhood have pointed out, findings from this research indicate that at the family level, family members see female migration as a way to better life conditions, and in that sense, the decision to migrate is generally taken in consultation with extended relatives (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). Furthermore, data from this study also suggest that family's support of transnational mothers' migration is not exclusively granted on the basis of financial retribution, but also as a way to contribute to "better the future" of transnational mothers' children. Indeed, in contrast to previous research in which participants were found to support their family, of six participants in the present study only one supported her family financially.

Theoretical Implications

Regarding the research question about what ideologies of motherhood are present in transnational mothers' discourse, participants identification of the "self-sacrificed" and "stay-at-home" mother as "the ideal" of good mothering is in agreement with existent research that point at the predominance of patriarchal ideologies of motherhood among Latin American mothers (García-Prieto, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Jaes

Falicov, 2005; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Moreover, the model of the “ideal mother” is associated with the gendered construct of “the ideal father,” defined according to patriarchal stereotypes of the male provider (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Data from this study further shows that in the absence of “the ideal father,” traditional motherhood expectations change and participants feel compelled to take over the provider role even if this means violating “ideal mothering” norms.

As other studies have pointed out, participants in this study perceived that their violation of the “ideal mother” ideology makes them susceptible to social stigma and criticism from others (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2001). This study finds that transnational mothers believe they are subjected to social disapproval, stigmatization, and peer pressure of “good mothering.” Like other authors have indicated, this research shows that social stigma can have negative repercussions on transnational mothers’ identity and it can stir negative feelings associated to role failure such as guilt of being “bad mothers” (Bernhard, et al., 2005; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2001). These findings also corroborate existing research on identity and social perception, which indicate that self-definition is partly influenced by the perception of others, and that negative perceptions of individuals’ role enactments, may interfere with positive role identification (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Heisler & Ellis, 2008).

As other studies have found, interviews for the present research show that despite the fact that mothers feel their violation of the “ideal mother” expectations makes them susceptible to social stigma and criticism, they don’t necessarily internalize this negative image and actively try to negotiate the meaning of mothering (Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-

Sotelo & Avila, 1997). This study points to the fact that transnational mothers may advocate alternative definitions of motherhood, including forms that may involve long spatial and temporal separations from children (Andersen, 2006; Erel, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Parreñas, 2008; E. Zontini, 2004). Data analysis further shows that in order to positively identify with their mothering role and buffer social stigma, participants also appeal to alternative meanings of motherhood such as the “breadwinning-mother,” mothering as “making sacrifices for one’s children future,” and/or “mothering as a shared role” with grandmothers. By appealing to such alternative meanings of motherhood, transnational mothers positively reframe transnational motherhood, evade the impact of social stigma and identify with their mothering role. These findings correlate to what other scholars have found in different populations regarding meaning construction, social stigma and role identification processes (see Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999 and Johnston & Swanson, 2006). For instance, in their research of motherhood ideology and identity construction among working mothers, Johnston and Swanson found that in order to resolve inconsistencies between their job status and intensive mothering ideology, mothers modify their mothering ideology, i.e. they alter the meaning of “being a good mother” to accommodate their working status. Similarly, in their study of identity construction and taint management among individuals performing “dirty work,” Ashforth and Kreiner found that in order to counteract social stigma and to enable the construction of positive role identifications, individuals take onto non-conventional meanings that legitimize their role enactment. According to the authors, individuals often recast their role in more positive terms, through alternative ideologies that confer esteem-enhancing meaning and, through practices that moderate

the impact of stigma (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) and in the case of mothers, so the tension between their work identities and their mothering role no longer exists (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Furthermore, these studies identified the use of ideological techniques such as reframing, refocusing, and recalibrating as to justify a “tainted” or conflictive role and render it more tolerable (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

Comparable to what Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) as well as Johnston and Swanson revealed in their research, this study shows that transnational mothers use similar ideological strategies in redefining transnational motherhood as a legitimate form of motherhood. This study finds that through reframing, recalibrating and refocusing, transnational mothers alter the meaning of motherhood in ways that allow them to reduce the negative effects of social stigma associated to mother-child separation as well as to resolve inconsistencies between their mothering role and their motherhood ideology. For instance, by redefining motherhood in terms of “a sacrifice” instead of “abandoning one’s children,” participants are *infusing* stigma with a positive value, and thus, as Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) state, “transforming it into a badge of honor” (p.421). Similarly, individuals may *neutralize* stigma, by negating its negative value, via “*denial of responsibility*,” “*denial of injury*” and “*denial of victim*” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Hence, this study finds that by using *neutralizing* strategies, such as *denying responsibility*, transnational mothers reframe mother-child separation due to migration as unavoidable and mandatory, instead of a chosen path. Interviewees’ statements such as, “(I left my child because) I had to take over the provider role” or “I did not leave my daughter because I wanted to, but because I had to,” illustrate the use of *denial of*

responsibility. On the other hand, comments like “my daughter is a happy girl,” “My son is in the best hands he could ever be” or “She is not that emotionally perturbed,” exemplified how participants evade negative attributes associated to mother-child separation. Finally, by using a *denial of victim* ideology, participants argue that their children are the ultimate beneficiaries of their migration and that they are not “victims” but active members in their “mutual struggle for a better future.” The use of *denial of victim* as a discursive strategy is illustrated in this study in statements like, “my son is not a victim” and “my daughter knows that this separation is necessary so we can succeed as the team that we are. She knows we are a team. I am the one who works here and she has to be strong and support me.”

This study also finds that in order to achieve a positive balance between negative and positive values of transnational motherhood, participants use what Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) describe as meaning *recalibrating*. For instance, statements such as, “because I am here, I have been able to do things for my son that otherwise I would have never been able to do.... like paying for his eye surgery” and “(because I am here, they) have everything: clothes, shoes, whatever you want. They have food,” illustrate how participants put more weight or value on the positive attributes of their absence to counteract the negative ones. Thus, “Adjusting the perceptual and evaluative standards can make an undesired and ostensibly large aspect seem smaller and less significant and a desired but small aspect seem larger and more significant” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p.423).

This study further indicates that participants also use *refocusing* techniques, in the way that Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) describe it. In *refocusing* a meaning, the center of

attention is shifted from stigmatized features of individuals' role to the nonstigmatized features. For instance, Ashforth and Kreiner suggested that by regarding their efforts as instrumental to longer-term goals, individuals manage to disregard negative attributes of their current role enactment, by concentrating on positive outcomes that are yet to come. Hence, interviews for this study exemplified how participants tend to redefine their leaving their children as a "sacrifice to achieve a better future." The negative values associated to mother-child separation are then justified by positive outcomes expected in the future like "building a house for the children" or "paying for one's children's education." According to the authors, whereas reframing actively transforms the properties of stigmatized roles, and recalibrating magnifies their positive qualities, refocusing overlooks the stigmatized attributes of a social role (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). In brief, reframing, recalibrating and refocusing are complementary strategies that can be used simultaneously to negate and transform stigma.

Moreover, "because an ideology, like any theory, attempts to resolve unequivocal and simplify complexity in a manner that people can accept, multiple ideologies are often necessary to address multiple questions and multiple individuals" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p.422). As excerpts from the interviews illustrate, transnational mothers exhibit multiple and somewhat contradictory justifications for transnational motherhood that serve diverse ideological purposes.

In sum, the authors argued then that because of the power to transform the very meaning of a given role itself, such ideological techniques have the potential to combat negative attributions and to strongly associated with individuals' role identification (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). However, it is important to point to the fact that it seems

evident that most transnational mothers – alike “dirty workers” in Ashton and Kreiner’s study - remain ambivalent about their role as mothers; this is possibly due to the fact that as Ashforth and Kreiner stressed, individuals are part of the larger culture with its stigmatizing views. Moreover, because it is difficult for a single individual to transform the meaning of a role subjected to social stigma, this process requires a larger relational context where alternative meanings are legitimized and reproduced in interaction with other individuals. In short, a particular ideology needs to become shared among members to foster confidence in its validity. In the present study, transnational mothers’ immediate family, and in particular their relationship with their children’s grandmothers, is identified as the mentioned “relational context” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; McNamee & Gergen, 1992) where transnational mothering is validated and positive role identifications are enabled. Thus, this study suggests that as idealized images of motherhood (e.g., “my mother is the ideal mother”), grandmothers, more than any one else, can legitimize transnational motherhood by validating it as “good mothering.”

This study’s findings regarding participants’ preference for grandmothers as their children’s caregiver correlate with previous research on Latina transnational mothers in the U.S. (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). However, different from what such research has suggested, this study indicates that participants’ election of grandmothers as substitute caregivers is not only based on convenience and cultural traditions of intergenerational childrearing in Mexico (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997), but also in participants’ identification of grandmothers as “the ideal mother.” Hence, given that transnational mothers perceive that their children’s grandmother is “the ideal mother,” they assumed that grandmothers are able to provide similar or better care to their children

than they would. Hence, this study indicates that transnational mothers' perception of their children receiving quality care from their grandmother, positively affects how transnational mothers perceive their mothering role. The more transnational mothers perceive that grandmothers provide quality care to their children (i.e., they act like "a substitute mother"), the less transnational mothers perceive transnational motherhood as a negative role enactment, because perceiving that grandmothers are giving their children "maternal love," makes transnational mothers feel that their children's emotional needs are met and consequently, that they "are good mothers."

Furthermore, the analysis of cases indicates that having "the support" from grandmothers regarding transnational motherhood makes transnational mothers feel validated and to experience less guilt associated to the violation of traditional mothering expectations. Given that transnational mothers identify their children's grandmothers as an ideal of motherhood, this study suggests that they attribute them an authority and expertise regarding motherhood issues. Thus, the more transnational mothers perceive that their children's grandmothers support transnational motherhood as a form of good mothering the less transnational mothers have negative feelings towards the lack of physical contact between them and their children. Statements like "My mother assured me that leaving was for the well-being of my daughter, that it was a good decision and that my daughter was in the best hands" or "(my mother) tells me that she is proud of me and tranquil," corroborate how validation from grandmothers resulted in a positive redefinition and legitimization of their role as mothers. In contrast, hypothetical disapproval from grandmothers (e.g., "not having their support for migrating without their children") was found to be a deterrent for transnational motherhood, as well as a

source of transnational mothers' negative perception of their mothering role (e.g., "If my mother had not supported me I would have not left my daughter"). These findings correlate with social identity theories that posit that in order to strengthen self-definition and self-esteem, individual appeal to social referents for validation, and in particular, they come to place more credence in those referents who provide a positive view of their role (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

This study finds that while family members like grandmothers, constitute a referent for legitimization and role approval, transnational mothers tend to perceive stigma and criticism primarily coming from outside the family. Accordingly, this study shows that in order to preserve their mothering identity, participants usually appeal to social weighting practices, such as "*condemning the condemners*" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). As Ashforth and Kreiner noted, given the desire for social affirmation, individuals subjected to social stigma need to reconcile outsiders' derogatory perceptions with their own desire for self-esteem. One way, is to "condemn the condemners," i.e. "to impugn the motives, character, knowledge, or authority -in short, the legitimacy- of critical outsiders as moral arbiters" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p.424). Hence, data show that participants tend to attribute judgments and criticism to the lack of knowledge and empathy from outsiders (e.g., "Not being in other people's shoes"). Participants made comments such as, "I do believe there are people who see such actions (to leave their children) as a bad thing, but I think that it is because they are ignorant people. No one should judge other people's actions without knowing the other person's circumstances." Moreover, interviews show that participants also condemn condemners by differentiating themselves from "other mothers," in particular, from "bad mothers," (e.g., "things are not

like those parents think... you hear them preaching about loving your children and being with them, meanwhile everybody is starving and with no shoes ... that is not to love your children!”). In this way, *condemning the condemners* enables individuals to dismiss the condemners' perceptions and preserve their identity from the negative consequences of stigma.

As already illustrated, this study advances understandings on ideas of identity as discursive, fragmented, and jointly produced in interaction (Cronen & Pearce, 1978; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; McNamee & Gergen, 1992; Medved, 2009). First, this study subscribes to the perspective that individuals' identity is discursive in so far as self-perception is inscribed in language and in specific cultural constructions about social reality (Stewart, 1995). According to Stewart (1995), “We are born into a world shaped by culturally distinctive speech communicating, and we develop our sense of ourselves and our place in it primarily in verbal-nonverbal address and response” (p.29). Thus, as it has been shown above, individuals - in this case transnational mothers - make sense of who they are as they take up particular forms of language (e.g., particular motherhood ideologies) and as they engage in certain patterns of social interaction (e.g., transnational mothering vs. full-time-mothering).

Moreover, stemming away from psychological ideas of the individuals' identity as a coherent, integrated and singular entity, this study draws upon concepts of identity as fragmented and produced in interaction (Baxter, 2007). This study illustrates how self-definitions vary as mothers try to situate in different relational contexts. For instance, transnational mothers who also have children in the U.S., simultaneously construct a transnational motherhood and full-time-mothering identity to fit both care-giving

arrangements. This study suggests that by employing discourse *segmentation* (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996) mothers are able to separate their transnational mothering and full-time-mothering identities and/or to shift between one ideology and the other in different points in time via *cyclic alternation* of discourse (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996).

Accordingly, this study revealed that in defining themselves as mothers with respect to their American children and their Mexican children, participants appeal to traditional and non-traditional mothering ideologies respectively, which enables the justification of transnational motherhood practices and intensive mothering at the same time. These findings also correlate to previous research on ideology and mothering identity, which posit that mothering ideology emerges in part to fit mothers' lived experience and in this way, to enable consistency and positive role identifications (Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

In brief, existent ideologies about mothering not only help mothers to understand their social world and their place in it, but also, as systems of beliefs, these create expectations for the constructions of their own experiences and identities as mothers (Bergum, 1997. As cited in Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Moreover, as Freedmen (2003) noted, as ideologies serve to legitimize and delegitimize particular social and political behaviors they "suggest what to do, think, and even feel" about one's self (As cited in Johnston & Swanson, 2006).

Limitations and Future Research

Limitations to this study include those related to the size and characteristics of the sample (not enough participants in each group). Although perfectly suited to a qualitative approach, convenient sampling techniques can lead to the homogeneity and over-representation of people with similar characteristics. The sample for this study consists of undocumented- low-income mothers of Mexican origins who left their children with

the paternal or maternal grandmother. Thus, the results say little about the experiences of transnational mothers of other nationalities (e.g., Philippine or Central American mothers), women who leave their children with paid-caregivers, elite-executive transnational mothers, or women with unlimited traveling options of going back- and forth countries. Therefore, in order to understand the exigencies of contemporary female migration and the variety of transnational motherhood arrangements that come with it, it is necessary that future research explore the issues here noted in mothers in bigger samples and across wider ranges of economic, racial, ethnic, and religious conditions.

CONCLUSION

Motherhood constitutes one of many social roles that are affected by labor migration across the globalized world. As more immigrant women leave their children to join the job markets in foreign nations, alternative motherhood arrangements emerge and the need for new meanings of mothering that can account for transnational mothering are imperative. The present study examined the processes of meaning construction that serve to promote and negotiate motherhood identity and stigma management among Mexican mothers who left their children back in their country.

In recent years, increasing number of Mexican women are leaving their children behind in order to work abroad and become their family's main source of income. Data from this study conclude that poor financial conditions and the absence of their male partners prompted Mexican mothers to transgress traditional gender-mothering roles and leave their children under the care of grandmothers. These trends of transnational motherhood, are found not only to challenge mainstream ideas about the family and women's maternal role, but to broaden the spectrum of available meanings of what constitutes "good mothering" in western culture.

Findings from this study advance understandings about ideology, identity construction, and stigma management in Mexican transnational mothers. In particular, this study reveals that transnational mothers use ideological strategies to re-define "good mothering" in ways that fit their own experiences and allow them to deal with social stigma that stems from traditional role expectations of motherhood. Hence, via the use of ideological strategies like reframing, recalibrating and refocusing, transnational mothers create alternative meaning of motherhood, as well as systems of values, beliefs, and norms around mothering that serve to legitimize their role enactment.

Moreover, these processes of meaning construction, identity formation, and stigma management occur simultaneously and in the context of transnational mothers' family relationships. Given that transnational mothers identify their children's grandmothers as an ideal of motherhood, this study suggests that they attribute them a high moral authority regarding motherhood issues. As transnational mothers perceive that their children's grandmother approve their leaving their children in order to work in the U.S. the more transnational mothers have a positive perception of their role enactment, because being approved by "a moral authority" of good mothering such as a grandmother, makes transnational mothers feel they are "good mothers." Similarly, this study concludes that transnational mothers' perception of their children receiving quality care from grandmothers, ultimately affects how transnational mothers perceive their role as mothers. Specifically, it has been argue here that perceiving that their children's grandmother acts as a "substitute mother," positively affects transnational mothers' identity, because perceiving that grandmothers are giving their children "maternal love" while they provide for them from abroad, makes transnational mothers feel their children's emotional and financial needs are being met. Ultimately, grandmothers' legitimization of transnational motherhood enables positive role identification and minimizes negative consequences associate to the violation of traditional mothering expectations.

This study also advances knowledge in other unexplored areas of transnational motherhood. It illustrates how transnational mothers who also have children while in the U.S. reconcile their mothering identity across borders. This study concludes that transnational mothers justify full-time-mothering and transnational mothering through

alternating between traditional mothering ideologies and alternative definitions of motherhood that legitimize each of those roles.

In sum, this study illustrates how as more immigrant women become transnational mothers, alternative meanings of motherhood emerge to account for new forms of mothering across borders. Via discourse, transnational mothers are able to re-define motherhood and to construct a socially acceptable image of self as mothers against current demands of society.

APPENDIX A: Spanish Transcripts

Demographics

Age: 26

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que la primera vez que hablamos me ha contado acerca de su hijo, el tiene tres años correcto?

ENTREVISTADO: tiene cuatro.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted vino aquí a los U.U.E.E. hace cuánto tiempo?

ENTREVISTADO: Hace tres años.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que su hijo tenía un año ...

Iba a cumplir un año cuando me fui de Mexico. De hecho, en abril va a cumplir cinco años y yo cumpla tres años de estar en los EE.UU.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, cuando te fuiste era solo un bebé ...

ENTREVISTADO: Si él no entendía mucho, pero mi madre, que es quien cuida de él me dijo que realmente sentía mi ausencia y se puso enfermo, y hasta ahora se enferma con frecuencia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y mientras estabas allí no se enfermaba tanto?

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que tu madre siempre te dice cuando tu hijo está enfermo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Ella siempre me dice todo acerca de mi hijo. Ella me dice lo que hace, si esta feliz o triste o enojado. Ella trata de no esconderme nada. Ella me dice que él no quiere ir a la escuela, que perdió una noche de sueño porque tenía fiebre. Cada vez que hablo con ella, ella me mantiene actualizada.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Le ayuda a ud saber todo lo q le pasa a él?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, eso me ayuda mucho porque yo sé que mi madre es consciente de lo que le sucede a mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando se decidió a venir a los EE.UU. Era importante para usted el hecho de que dejabas a tu hijo con su propia madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, totalmente. Sabía que iba a cuidar bien de él.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría usted decirme cómo fue la decisión de dejar a su hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, fue muy difícil. Decidí venir aquí después de divorciarme. Quería alejarme de mi ex-marido. No lo vi así entonces, pero esa era la principal razón por la que decidí venirme. Fue un divorcio muy difícil, y una relación muy difícil. Hubo una serie de situaciones de violencia doméstica y el día del divorcio me amenazó con que me mataba a mí o a mi hijo. Traté de hacer algo, pero usted sabe que en México es muy difícil y la policía no hace realmente nada. Por lo tanto, no quería sacrificar la relación con mi hijo, yo quería llevarlo conmigo, pero mis padres no querían debido a los peligros. Mis padres me apoyaron realmente de esa manera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que fue una decisión repentina?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, lo fue. Pero en el momento en que supe que me iba realmente me sentí mal.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y además de la distancia que quería con su ex marido habían razones económicas para migrar a los EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, sí. Porque si bien yo tenía un trabajo y mis padres me apoyaron, habría sido difícil para mí y mi hijo tener un lugar para los dos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿cree que sus padres le apoyaron en su decisión de venir aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, creo que ellos sabían que era lo mejor que podía hacer. También porque me estaba volviendo irresponsable ... yo salía mucho y mis padres me hablaron y me hicieron ver lo que estaba haciéndole a mi hijo. En ese sentido yo creo que venir aquí me ha ayudado mucho.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y después de estar separada de su hijo por casi tres años ¿Cómo diría usted que es su relación con su hijo, se siente como una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Realmente no me siento como una madre con respecto a mi hijo, porque como dicen,

“la madre es la que cria, no la que concibe.” Además hablando con mi hijo en el teléfono es muy poco lo que puedo proporcionarle emocionalmente hablando. Dado que los niños necesitan atención, caricias y afecto, que usted este allí constantemente diciéndoles y haciéndoles saber que usted es su mamá con sus acciones. De manera que no podría decir que soy 100% la madre de mi hijo, porque no estoy allí, yo no estoy presente. Él sabe

que existo, él sabe que yo le di la vida y que todo lo que tiene es porque lo he comprado para él, pero eso es todo. No creo que soy una madre al 100% del término.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué crees que es el ideal de la maternidad?

ENTREVISTADO: Una madre ideal es el que dedica la mayor parte de su tiempo a sus hijos. Es estar allí para ellos cada vez que uno puede o todo el tiempo. Quiero decir, como en mi caso no podría estar allí a causa de la separación, pero ser madre es estar ahí en algunos momentos de la vida de sus hijos.

ENTREVISTADOR: En algún momento o en cada momento?

ENTREVISTADO: En algún momento o en todo momento si se puede. Quiero decir, sus hijos necesitan ver que estas ahí, para sentirte cerca de ellos.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué clase de modelo de madre crees que es admirado en la cultura mexicana?

ENTREVISTADO: La madre ideal en Mexico es el ama de casa que siempre está ahí para sus hijos. La que cuida de su esposo, sus hijos y su casa. La que hijos nunca se convierten en adictos a las drogas, son buenos estudiantes, etc.... Para muchos ese es el ideal ... pero creo que ese ideal no alcanzable.... a medida que vas viviendo cosas pasan como por ejemplo la adolescencia, en la vida es difícil de tener sus hijos con usted todo el tiempo. Así que creo que el ideal de la mamá perfecta es imposible de alcanzar.

ENTREVISTADOR: De acuerdo a ese ideal o modelo de madre mexicana tu te consideras una mala madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que no soy una mala madre ... solamente es la distancia y mi presencia física lo que falta, lo que estoy escarificación ... pero no me considero una mala madre. Yo no me considero una madre 100% porque no estoy ahí, pero eso no quiere decir que soy mala ... así que no me considero una mala madre por no poder estar físicamente con mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Crees que la gente juzga a las madres que dejan a sus hijos cuando son pequeños en Mexico?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, sé que la gente nos juzga ... incluso yo, si yo no estuviera en esta situación creo que haría lo mismo ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿ juzgar a una madre que deja a sus hijos en Mexico?

ENTREVISTADO: Tal vez ... porque yo no sería capaz de entender sus propias circunstancias, y yo creo que es absurdo dejar a sus hijos, pero hay muchas situaciones diferentes que obligaba a sus hijos atrás ... En mi caso si alguien alguna vez me juzga sólo voy a ignorarle, porque es muy fácil juzgar a alguien sin estar en sus zapatos, como en cualquier otra situación en la vida.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y qué pasa si la persona que te juzga por dejar a tu hijo es tu hijo mismo?

ENTREVISTADO: Ah, que sería tan difícil y ese es en realidad mi mayor temor: que mi hijo me juzgue por los años que le deje. Lo único que espero es estar preparada para hacerle frente, y para ser capaz de explicar las razones por lo que me fui.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo le gustaría que su hijo a recordara todos estos años que lo dejó con su abuela, quiero decir, ¿cómo le gustaría que su hijo entendiera el hecho de que lo has dejado todos estos años?

ENTREVISTADO: Mm ... realmente no sé qué decir ... es una pregunta difícil ... porque ¿cómo me gustaría que mi hijo pudiera entender que si no estoy físicamente con él que pienso en él todos los días y yo siempre le digo cuando hablamos por teléfono “hoy estaba pensando en ti todo el día, fuiste un buen chico hoy?” y cosas así, pero será muy difícil de explicar. No sé, me gustaría buscar una manera para que no se sienta solo y todavía estoy buscando una manera para él no se sienta mi ausencia. Decirle que lo extraño, lo amo y que cada día que está aquí conmigo. Le pedí que me enviara una foto para ver la altura que tiene ahora. , me pregunta si tengo todas las fotos que me ha enviado ...

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cómo hablan de las fotos?

ENTREVISTADO: Hablamos de las pocas fotos en las que estamos juntos y yo le pregunto si se acuerda de cuando estuve allí con él, y le digo lo que hemos hecho juntos y cosas así. Ahora que es mayor que entiende más y más.

Ahora que se expresa mejor a sí mismo y que empezó a ir a la escuela Creo que entiende mejor las cosas ... aunque a veces se hace preguntas que no tengo una respuesta...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿A qué tipo de preguntas se refiere?

ENTREVISTADO: Por ejemplo, hace poco le dije que estoy embarazada y me preguntó quién es el padre del bebé y luego me preguntó por qué el no tiene un padre? ... Fue muy duro y lloré, pero mi madre trató de explicarle también.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y fue difícil para usted quedar embarazada después de estar aquí en los EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, fue difícil porque cuando me reuní con el padre del bebé que estoy esperando yo le dije que tenía un hijo y que he venido aquí por él ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo el hecho de que usted ya tenía un hijo en México afecta como se siente usted acerca de su nuevo embarazo?

ENTREVISTADO: Fue muy difícil porque había tenido un embarazo anterior que termine porque me asuste ... y yo era demasiado tonta. Esta vez quería tener un aborto, así y le dije a mi compañero que yo no quería tener una familia aquí, porque aquí no tengo a mi hijo conmigo ... Yo tuve a mi hijo En México me espera, y que se sintió mal tener otro bebé aquí, me sentí como si realmente no sé ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Diría usted que usted se sentía culpable por tener otro hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Me sentía culpable ... así que no sé ... después de un tiempo traté de asimilar el hecho de que yo estaba embarazada de nuevo y que no me tome las precauciones necesarias para prevenirlo y también el hecho de que mi pareja me apoya totalmente. Todavía tengo sentimientos de culpa, pero yo trato de incluir a mi hijo que es en parte de México de la situación, y parte de la familia. Puedo hablar con él sobre el hecho de que él va a tener un hermanito, y que le enviaré fotos y que pronto podremos estar todos juntos de nuevo. Y me pregunta cuando regreso a Mexico.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y podría decirme en más detalle cómo manejar las preguntas sobre el tiempo? En otras palabras, ¿qué tipo de cosas que decirle sobre el futuro y cuando volverá a reunirse con ustedes dos?

ENTREVISTADO: Trato de decirle que yo quiero que venga aquí y que todos vamos a vivir como una familia. Pero es difícil porque él ve a mis padres como a sus padres y mi hermano como a su hermano ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Crees que se ha desarrollado un apego a ellos?

ENTREVISTADO: es más hacia mi padre que él siente que es su padre.... Desde que era pequeño le llama padre ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo reacciona el padre de usted el hecho de que su nieto lo ve como su padre?

ENTREVISTADO: Mi padre es muy claro con él en que no es su padre, sino su abuelo y que él tiene un padre.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y tu madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella realmente siente que mi hijo es su propio hijo, porque desde que era pequeño es la que se ha hecho cargo de él. Yo trato de hacerle entender que él no es su hijo, sino mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Tu le le dijiste eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. “Hey, es mi hijo.” Y ella dice “sí, lo sé, pero para mí él es mi niño.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo te sientes cuando ella suena confusa al respecto?

ENTREVISTADO: No sé ... me asusta en ese sentido ... También me asusta que me dijera: “Este es mi hijo y yo no te devolverá” y que me lo quiten o algo así.... Yo realmente no creo que eso va a suceder en la realidad, pero el miedo está ahí, pero no creo que le suceda.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cree usted que este temor expresa que hay algo de rivalidad entre ustedes dos?

ENTREVISTADO: No, yo no lo veo como una rivalidad. Simplemente mi madre ama a mi hijo de esa manera por las circunstancias ... Creo que mi mamá ve a mi hijo como vulnerables y desprotegidos. Y necesitado de amor

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero es importante para usted que su madre entienda su papel de abuela?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. Hemos estado hablando todo este tiempo acerca de eso, y yo le digo a mi hijo que ella es su abuela y yo soy su madre. Cuando le llamo por teléfono le digo “hola habla tu mamá” o “¿Podrías poner abuela al teléfono por favor?”, Así que vea la diferencia. Sin embargo, el a veces me llama “mamá Mimi” y tengo que decirle “no, no Mimi, yo soy tu madre.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿cómo tu hijo se refiere a su abuela?

ENTREVISTADO: la llama “mama lily.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Crees que para él es como si tuviera dos madres entonces?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. Siempre que le preguntan siempre dice que tiene tres madres (yo, mi madre y la Virgen de Guadalupe) y una abuela, que es en realidad su bisabuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo crees que tu madre te ve como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Realmente no podría decir. Bueno, ella me dice que ella está feliz de que estoy cuidando a mi hijo y que siempre le pregunte acerca de él y que me preocupo por él. Así que ella me dice que está orgullosa y tranquila, pero yo nunca le preguntó cómo ve como madre.... Yo no estoy segura como me ve.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo ve usted como una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que ella es una muy buena madre ... ella siempre estuvo ahí para nosotros, nunca trabajó; estuvo presente todo el tiempo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Es importante para usted el hecho de que su madre le apoyara en salir de México sin su hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, fue muy importante.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Habría sido diferente si ella se hubiera opuesto a tu decisión de dejar a tu hijo en Mexico, por ejemplo, si hubiera considerado que era una decisión de una mala madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que si ella no me apoyara yo nunca habría dejado a mi hijo y tendría que haber llevarlo conmigo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo fue para tu nuevo compañero saber que tu tenías un hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Él no me creía al principio. Hasta que un día yo estaba hablando por teléfono con él y mi compañero escuchó cuando mi hijo me llamó "mami." No sé lo que pensaba en ese momento.... pero él siempre me ha dicho que admira a las madres solteras. Su madre es una madre soltera. El me dice que siga hacia delante y que no olvide la razón por la que estoy aquí, que yo tenía que trabajar para mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿usted cree que su pareja actual acepta su hijo como parte de la familia?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, en realidad el también tiene una hija en México así que tratamos de incluirlos en todo lo que hacemos como parte de la familia.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Puede especificar más por favor?

ENTREVISTADO: Por ejemplo, cuando vamos de compras siempre tratamos de comprar cosas para nuestros hijos y tratamos de hacer conciencia de que sí pensamos en los demás

niños. Eso me hace sentir bien ... aunque a veces me siento celosa.... creo que cuando nos reunamos como una familia va a ser difícil.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo crees que será tu sentimientos hacia este bebé? ¿Van a ser diferentes?

ENTREVISTADO: No creo que será diferente, no voy a sentir ninguna diferencia.... Espero que no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo. Y ¿Podría decirme, ¿qué hacer cuando se sienten tristes, cuando extrañas a tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, eso es difícil... me digo a mi misma “que soy una idiota,” pero tratar de resignarme a la idea de que gracias a que estoy aquí he sido capaz de hacer cosas por mi hijo que de otro modo nunca hubiera sido capaz de hacer.... Como pagar por su cirugía del ojo y todo lo que necesita.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted cree que pensar en el futuro, cuando usted y él estarán juntos, te ayuda a hacer frente a la distancia?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, me consuela y me motiva a pensar que pronto estaremos juntos de nuevo ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cuánto tiempo crees que ibas a estar separada de tu hijo la primera vez que decidiste venir?

ENTREVISTADO: Al principio pensé que me quedaría sólo dos años, que iba a regresar en diciembre para traer a mi hijo conmigo, pero entonces supe que yo estaba embarazada y no pude volver.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Estaba tu madre feliz de que volvieras y te traajeras a tu hijo contigo?

ENTREVISTADO: Al principio me dijo que estaba loca, que no tendría tiempo para cuidar de él. Pero al final yo le expliqué que había buenas escuelas aquí y ella termino diciendome “tienes razón, tu hijo te necesita más que a mi.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Te hace sentir bien eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, me hace sentir bien y me motiva a seguir adelante.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Como te sientes cuando tu madre te dice algo como eso, es como si ella te estuviera dando tu lugar como madre de tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, pero nunca me he sentido como si ella me estuviera desplazando, o robándome algo. Tengo que reconocer que cuando me dice que “mi hijo me abrazó hoy” Siento que debería ser yo quien el abraza, no a ella... pero después me digo a mí misma que no puedo ser tan egoísta, que fue mi elección a irme y que tengo que ser fuerte.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo que te sientes mal cuando ves que tu hijo está siendo afectuoso con tu madre, pero ¿qué crees que sentirías si tu hijo no sintiera ese apego a tu madre? ¿Te haría sentir mejor?

ENTREVISTADO: ¡Oh, no. Sería muy triste. Antes, cuando pensaba en que ellos me sentía muy triste al pensar que el podía sufrir por mi ausencia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, usted piensa que es bueno que el tenga algo así como el amor de una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, totalmente. Él tiene amor y cariño y no hay mejor persona con la que he podido dejarlo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿cree usted que las áreas de la maternidad, como el contacto físico, abrazar a su hijo para estar con él en que no puede hacer usted porque está aquí y las está....

ENTREVISTADO: Sustituyendo mi madre sí. Ella está compensando esa parte ahora. De otro lado, yo soy el apoyo económico la que provee para él y para su futuro.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cree usted que es como si usted fuera la madre del pasado y el futuro de su hijo y su abuela su madre del presente?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, esa es la forma en que lo veo a veces. Pero yo no sé cómo mi hijo irá a reaccionar en el futuro ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo ves a tu hijo en esta situación en que tu lo dejaste en México? Quiero decir, ¿lo ves, por ejemplo, como víctima de todo, o tal vez como un actor activo que requiere también ser fuerte para que todos puedan tener un futuro juntos?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que lo veo en cualquier otro papel que no sea el papel de víctima. No creo que él es una víctima. Sé que a veces se siente triste y tal vez todo esto tendrá un impacto en su vida para siempre, pero él no es una víctima de lo que está sucediendo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cree usted que aun cuando es joven, su hijo también tiene soportar la distancia y el tiempo como un sacrificio que tiene que hacer para tener un mejor futuro?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, creo que ha sido difícil para él también, le ha tomado el tiempo para entender por qué no estoy ahí y por qué su abuela está allí con él.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿El se queja?

ENTREVISTADO: Él nunca se ha quejado de nada conmigo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Te dice que se siente triste?

ENTREVISTADO: No realmente, pero mi hermano y mi madre me dicen cuando él está triste porque me extraña a mí. Y soy consciente de que incluso él sufre también.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo le explicas a él el hecho de que estás aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo le digo que si no fuera porque estoy aquí, no tendría lo que tiene, que no tendrían dinero o los regalos que le doy, o la cirugía del ojo. Yo le digo que quiero que tengamos una casa, yo quiero que él vaya a la escuela y tenga un futuro mejor.

Supongo que apenas sabe lo que estoy hablando, pero aún así yo le trato de explicar.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y tus padres entienden el papel de proveedora de tu hijo que tú tienes ahora?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ellos son conscientes de las dificultades que las madres solteras pasan en México. Ellos me dicen que tengo que ser tanto el padre como la madre de mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué quieren decir con que tienes que ser tanto el padre como la madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Quieren decir que como no tenemos el apoyo económico del padre de mi hijo, que yo tengo que asumir su papel, así como el papel de la madre también.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿diría usted que en la cultura mexicana, mientras que la madre ideal es aquella que se queda en casa y cuida de los hijos, el padre ideal es aquel que provee para sus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Ajá, el que trabaja, apoya la familia, etc.... Esto puede ser difícil, y a veces deprimente, pero yo trato de hacer lo que pueda.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, de acuerdo a lo que estás diciendo, parece que no es común que una madre como usted,,decida convertirse en el proveedor, incluso si ello implica dejar a sus hijos para venir a los EE.UU.?

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto, no es tan común, pero sí sé de una serie de mujeres en circunstancias similares. Sin embargo, no es el mismo para todos nosotros. He visto algunas mujeres incluso que se olvidan de sus hijos una vez que llegan aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Tú crees?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, completamente. Hacen una nueva familia aquí, tienen más hijos y así se olvidan de sus hijos en Mejiico. Yo realmente no puedo entender lo que lleva a una madre a olvidar a sus hijos en Méjico.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo tu te diferencias de las madres que “se olvidan de sus hijos”?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo soy totalmente diferente, porque a pesar de que tengo una nueva pareja y decidimos tener otro bebé trato de incluir a mi hijo en mis planes y como parte de la familia. No importa si regreso a Mejiico o si el viene aquí, vamos a estar juntos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu mencionaste que tu eres ahora el proveedor de tu hijo, tu crees que el hecho de proveer para tu hijo te hace sentir diferente de las madres que se olvidan de sus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, pero no sólo eso, sino que yo trato de hablar con él, estar al tanto de todo lo que hace, para saber si se portan mal o si está llorando o por qué está llorando. Los hijos tienen que sentir que aunque estés lejos te importan. Puede parecer insignificante, pero para los niños no lo es. Los niños necesitan saber que usted se preocupa, que usted está allí para ellos y que tienen un lugar en tu vida ... no solamente es darles cosas. Si usted solo envia dinero depues, años más tarde, los niños le diran que “usted me mandaba dinero, pero nunca se preguntan cómo me sentía.” Creo que esa es la clave de cualquier relación sana, en la que todos nos sentimos como una familia. Esas pequeñas preguntas hacen la diferencia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Incluso si la madre está físicamente presente?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. si usted está ahí presente y no tienen empatía para saber cómo se siente la otra persona es igual... el dinero no lo es todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, en ese sentido, si una madre no puede estar físicamente con su hijo, pero si lo hace sentir que él tiene un lugar en su vida y que ella se preocupa por él, en ese sentido ella ...

ENTREVISTADO: Hace el papel de una madre, porque hago sentir a mi hijo importante en mi vida, parte de mi vida, aunque nosotros no estemos juntos. Trato que el se sienta como yo quisiera que me hicieran sentir ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría explicarme mas por favor?

ENTREVISTADO: Me gusta que me hable de su vida cotidiana, donde va, etc me gusta que me diga cómo se siente y compartir conmigo. Quiero decir, me gusta tener una buena comunicación con el y también, trato de no ser tan dura conmigo misma y no ser demasiado exigente con él. En este caso creo que al que tiene que ser exigente, es mi madre...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Te refieres a ser exigentes en términos de disciplinar a su hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, hablo de disciplinarlo a él. Ya que todos vemos las cosas diferente (lo que creo que es un mal comportamiento de mi hijo puede hacer reír a mi mamá y al revés). Así que como ella es la que está allí con él todos los días, ella es la que puede juzgar su comportamiento. Yo y mi mamá somos diferentes y sé que yo manejaría las cosas de manera diferente si estuviera en su lugar....

ENTREVISTADOR: Y siendo eso así ¿tu estas de acuerdo con el juicio de tu madre en cuanto a la disciplina de tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: La mayoría de las veces estoy de acuerdo, pero no siempre. A veces no estoy de acuerdo y le digo para hacer las cosas de manera diferente. Yo le digo que yo soy la madre y cómo me gustaría que manejara una situación particular. Y ella me dice “sí tienes razón.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿cree usted que al intervenir en esta forma, está influyendo en la educación de su hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Por que yo le digo a mi mama que no a ser tan duro con él, o que hable con él de otra manera. Así que cuando habla con mi hijo me dice lo que su abuela hizo.... Una vez que se rego el aceite de cocina y mi madre se puso muy enojada, y cuando me llamó por me contó todo acerca de eso. Para mí, todo sonaba como una situación divertida, así que hablé con mi madre y trate de calmarla.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces no estás de acuerdo con ella en todo; pero te hace sentir mal o sufres cuando ella hace las cosas de manera diferente?

ENTREVISTADO: No, realmente no sufro ni me siento mal. Confío totalmente en ella y ni nunca pensaría que trata a mi hijo mal cuando se porta mal. Es sólo que mi mamá es una medio explosiva, pero sé que ella trata de manejar las cosas mejor.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo diría usted que es su sentido de la autoridad hacia su hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: ¡Oh, no.... Siento que no tengo autoridad con él.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bien, me puede decir más sobre ello?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que debido a los sentimientos de culpa que tengo soy demasiado flexible con él. Cuando quiere algo, no puedo decir que no.... Creo que de esa manera yo lo complazco a él, pero al mismo tiempo estoy chiquiando dándole todo porque no estoy ahí....

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que es como si usted estuviera compensando su ausencia al complacerlo y darle gusto a él en todo lo que quiere.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, en ese sentido, ¿crees que siempre eres la madre “Buena” y “complaciente” para tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Aha. Y yo no quiero ser así en realidad y estoy tratando de ser más exigentes con él. Yo le digo “tienes que ir a la escuela porque sino no te voy a comprar lo que quieres” o cosas por el estilo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero por dentro siempre existe el temor de que le dirá que.

ENTREVISTADO: Que me diga algo que me va a doler. Totalmente, eso sí me mataría.

ENTREVISTADOR: Como una demanda o reclamo como “usted no me puede decir qué hacer porque no ha estado aquí?”

ENTREVISTADO: Exactamente.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Es eso lo que más te asusta?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, eso es lo que más temo. Pero hay un riesgo en todo lo que haces y yo decidí tomar un riesgo al venir aquí y dejarlo en Méjico, así que tengo que aceptar las consecuencias. Es mi hijo y yo tengo que entender que para él es difícil que alguien va a imponerle algo a él, o que siente que después de que lo excluí de mi vida no puedo

castigarlo. Quiero creer que este no es el caso y que mi hijo no se siente de esa manera, pero el miedo está ahí, ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Así que trato de ignorar el miedo y ser exigente con él. De lo contrario, sería complacerlo en todo lo que quiere y al mismo tiempo, actuar como que él es una víctima y yo soy el responsable de todo lo que está mal en su vida. No creo que sea el enfoque que debería tomar. Espero que a medida que crezca sea capaz de asimilar toda esta situación: por qué no tiene un padre? Y por qué me fui? Yo siempre trato de responder a su pregunta y hacerlo parte de mi vida.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo le hablo de mi vida diaria, lo que estoy haciendo dentro de la casa, etc

ENTREVISTADOR: Es como hablar de la vida cotidiana en tiempo real?

ENTREVISTADO: Precisamente. Yo le digo lo que estoy cocinando y le pregunto lo que está viendo en la televisión ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted también habla sobre el pasado, cuando estaba con él?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, yo le pregunto si él recuerda cuando era pequeño y estaba allí con él y todas las cosas que le deje. Y él me dice que mi cama está todavía allí y que no déjã que nadie duerma en ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Le dice a eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Y es así que trato de no dejar que se olvide de que yo estuve allí antes. Y también trato de recordar la casa y los lugares que solía visitar en Méjico con él.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que es así como tu vuelves al pasado?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Y por ejemplo también hablamos de cuando él era un bebé, y yo le digo que él es igual que su hermano que está en camino. De esa manera también trato de hacer que participen en mi vida actual para que él pueda sentir que está aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y esta también la idea del futuro con los dos juntos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, sí. Yo le digo que cuando vuelva voy a conducir un coche rojo, como a él le gusta. Y me pregunta que adonde vamos a de viaje.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que cuando hablamos así, cuando es accesible para hablar colindan con los Thigs que ambos terminan por sentirse feliz después de que HUN-el teléfono. Debido a que todos los días que él quiere hablar conmigo. A veces me dice que está cansado y que quiere salir a jugar en lugar de hablar conmigo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo te sientes cuando te dice eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Las primeras veces que me dijo fue difícil. Pero mi madre me dice que no lo obligue porque él es todavía un niño y en ese sentido mi madre me ayuda mucho también, y trata de alentarla a que me diga solo hola cuando está cansado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es como si tu mamá también quisiera que el reconozca tu lugar como su madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, siempre. Desde que me fui ella siempre ha tratado de hacerlo así. Aunque a veces como ya te dije que nosotras podemos estar en desacuerdo acerca de su educación, pero mi madre siempre ha tratado de hacerle entender que yo soy su madre, y que tiene que darme un lugar como tal.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y después de que viniste a EE.UU. ¿has hablado con tu madre acerca de cómo te sientes?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, yo le decía que me sentía mal por dejar a mi hijo y que siempre estaba triste por eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo fue cuando con su mamá acerca de sus sentimientos de tristeza?

ENTREVISTADO: Especialmente en el principio, yo solía llorar mucho y mi madre siempre ha tratado de darme Consuelo. Ella me decía “no te preocupes, tu hijo va a estar bien. Si usted no se olvida de él, si habla con él constantemente, si te preocupas por él, en entendera. Cuando crezca no creas que voy a decirle que tu eras una mala madre porque lo dejó aquí conmigo ... Por el contrario.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y qué te dijo tu madre acerca de tu decisión de venir a EE.UU.?

ENTREVISTADO: Mi madre siempre me ha dicho que donde quiera que voy estoy sola, que no hay nadie cuidando de mí para darme lo que necesito. Así que mi mamá me dice que trabaje, para ser productiva y activa y no pensar en mi hijo y en la distancia, porque no será de ninguna utilidad para mí. Piense que su hijo es la mayor razón por la que tiene que seguir adelante. Y ahora que estoy embarazada, ella también me dice que me cuide

de para que el bebé este bien. Ella me dice que mi hijo está bien, que ellos les dan el amor y cuidan de él.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Todo esto que tu mama te dice te hace sentir menos “mal” de haber dejado a tu hijo en Méjico?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí ... me ayuda mucho. Mis padres siempre me dan consuelo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo fue la reacción de su madre cuando le contó sobre el embarazo?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella no me creyó y se echó a reír! ... Yo no sé si porque estaba enojada, feliz o sólo en shock, pero me dijo que “era divertido” y le dije que sí, eso es lo que le dije al médico también! Entonces se quedó en silencio durante un rato y luego me preguntó qué iba a hacer y cosas así... y le dije que tendría el bebé y tal y ella me dijo que no me olvidara de mi hijo. Yo le dije que no iba a olvidarme de él ... Yo creo que en ese momento, mis padres comenzaron a temer que me olvidara de mi hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así como usted me dijo antes? Que hay algunas mujeres que después de tener una familia aquí en los EE.UU. Se olvidan de sus hijos en México?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, se olvidan de sus hijos. Así que le dije a mi madre “no me olvidaré de él, no está en mis planes. Si yo no me olvidado de él aún después de dos años de estar separados, ¿realmente crees que puedo olvidarme de él ahora? Usted no debe preocuparse mama.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y por qué crees que ellos tengan miedo de que te olvides de tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, yo no sé ... tal vez porque voy a pasar más tiempo con el bebé...

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero, saben que incluso si usted se olvida de él, ellos están allí para su hijo, me refiero a que no se quedaría solo - ¿Por qué crees que tienen miedo? Depronto les da miedo del hecho de que su hijo sufra? O el que no será capaz de ofrecer por él?

ENTREVISTADO: Teme que mi hijo va a sufrir si me olvido de él ... ella no es demasiado preocupada por el dinero, porque como ella me ha dicho antes, es más la preocupación acerca de mi hijo, de que lo llame con regularidad, mas que el dinero. Me han dicho que si no tengo dinero no tengo de que preocuparme. Me dicen que me

apoyan, pero que tengo que llamarlo siempre a él ... siempre tartan de que me acuerde de él. Me envían fotos de él dos veces al año, etc.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bien, y ¿podría decirme qué es lo que significa abandonar a un niño para usted?

ENTREVISTADO: Para mí abandonar un hijo.... Creo que es olvidarse de él. (Hace gestos como poniendo algo lejos de los de si misma).

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿qué es ser una mala madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Para mí una mala madre es... esa es una pregunta difícil. Mm (Suspira) para mí una mala madre es la que no le da amor a sus hijos y no les presta atención. Pero el amor en general ... porque el amor es vital para cualquier persona, tanto si son pequeños o de edad necesitamos amor.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo crees que se puede definir el amor que una madre da a sus hijos? ¿Cómo un niño siente el amor de una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, creo que en este caso, con los pequeños detalles que tengo con él ... las cosas que puedo enviar, siempre le envío cartas o fotos. Mi madre siempre dice a el que me envíe algo bonito. La última vez que me envió una foto para la que había peinado. Mi madre me dijo: "Mira, se peino su cabello sólo para ti, para que yo viera cómo se peinaba su cabello."

ENTREVISTADOR: Lo hizo por ti?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, porque de lo contrario, odia peinarse.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Y de ese modo diría usted que siente el amor de tu hijo hacia usted?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Sí. Cada vez que me dice "gracias" o "te echo de menos" realmente me emociona y se siento bien. Creo que se siento el amor de un hijo a la madre hacia mí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y esas expresiones de amor de tu hijo te hacen sentir como una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cien por ciento una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: No, no al cien por ciento.... Pero me hace sentir que me necesita.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que necesitar de la otra persona es también digamos que un sentimiento entre la madre y el niño...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Se necesitan unos a otros...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y me puede decir, ahora que estás casada y hay otro bebé en camino, ¿de qué manera usted siente que necesita él?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno... necesito todo. Sus juegos, que me despierte en la mañana y me pida que vaya a jugar con él. Necesito que me abrace y se sienta a mi lado en la cama. Todas esas pequeñas cosas son las que necesito.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y crees que una madre necesita que sus hijos necesitan de ella? ¿Necesitas que tu hijo te necesite?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. No estoy seguro si él lo dice o no, pero sé que me necesita.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Te hace sentir bien entonces el hecho de que él te necesita?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, no realmente bien. Porque, de nuevo, no estoy allí con él.

ENTREVISTADOR: Usted no está allí con el...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí así que ...

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero, ¿y si no te necesitara, cómo te sentirías?

ENTREVISTADO: Me sentiría muy mal ... yo lloraría no sé ... es muy contradictorio y es muy difícil explicar todas las sensaciones que tenemos dentro.... A veces no estoy segura de si llorar de felicidad o de tristeza. A veces, porque estás pensando mucho en él, trato de centrarme en lo que tengo que conseguir aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Pero usted sólo tiene que lidiar con todo eso. Al menos como yo lo veo es que mi hijo y yo empezamos siendo una familia, y aunque estemos separados somos todavía una familia y como familia, hemos incluido nuevos miembros: mi pareja y el bebé que está en camino, y mi hijo lo ha aceptado. Tenemos que ser más fuerte para ser capaz de adaptarnos a las nuevas circunstancias.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, usted piensa que debido a estas circunstancias de la familia, su hijo en México tendrá que enfrentarse a mayores retos que cualquier niño de su edad?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, y él tiene que ser más fuerte para ser capaz de asimilar y para que pueda entenderlo. Creo que los niños pequeños ven cómo cambian las cosas a su alrededor, pero realmente no tienen una comprensión de lo que está sucediendo y se adaptan poco a poco a las nuevas circunstancias. Sí, ellos tienen sentimientos, pero ellos no saben lo que es la ira o el odio; en sí para ellos todo hasta cierto punto es bonito. Mi hijo está muy entusiasmado con su nuevo hermano y él sabe que tendrá que compartir con alguien más.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted cree que cuando toda la familia se reúna, será una madre al cien por ciento?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, eso es lo que espero. Poder ser la mejor madre. Ser un buen modelo. Aunque como un niño, los padres nunca son completamente buenos o totalmente malos. Voy a tratar de tener un equilibrio. Y no porque he sacrificado todo este tiempo con él voy a tratar de compensar todos los años de una vez. Como te decía antes, voy a tratar de compensarlos, pero de la manera correcta, y tiene que salir de mí y de él también. Tendremos que llegar a conocernos unos a otros también.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, sientes que no conoces a tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, sí, sé lo que le gusta comer y lo cual es su color favorito, pero yo no sé su personalidad y cómo se está desarrollando como persona.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y él te conoce a ti bien?

ENTREVISTADO: Él no me conoce bien. Él me ha oído decir que puede ser muy enojona a veces o que voy a pegarle si hace tal cosa, pero nunca me ha oído gritar o nunca ha sentido una palmada mía y yo nunca he visto una patalita de él.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, la relación es un poco como una relación a ciegas.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, como una cita a ciegas. Usted ha hablado en el por teléfono muchas veces, pero aún no se ha visto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Como una cita a ciegas? (Risas)

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto. Sé que cuando nos reunamos la relación puede ser algo inesperado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero, al mismo tiempo tú formas una idea de cómo te imaginas que es tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Una especie de hijo imaginario?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que sí. Como te dije cuando me fui de Mejiro, él era pequeño y lo que solía hacer cuando era pequeño no lo hace más. Mi madre me dice que sigue siendo un niño muy cariñoso.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo cree usted que es la idea imaginaria que tiene el de usted como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Ah, la madre que le da todo y nunca se enfada con él (risas). Estoy trabajando en eso. Estoy tratando de poner límites y hacerle ir a la escuela - que tiene un montón de problemas para levantarse por la mañana para ir a la escuela, siempre llora en la mañana y dice que no, no quiero ir. Yo le digo que tiene que ir y así sucesivamente.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted se comunica con sus maestro en la escuela?

ENTREVISTADO: No, pero mi madre me dice que los problemas que tiene son con los niños mayores, porque él tiene más cosas que los demás. Yo hablo con él y trato de explicarle que hay gente así, para que pueda empezar a desarrollar su carácter.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Crees que vivir esta situación de que su madre esta lejos lo hace más maduro o que se ha dado cuenta de ciertas cosas antes de lo que otros niños de su edad?

ENTREVISTADO: No, yo no lo creo. Vive de acuerdo a su edad. Ahora es difícil para él, se confunde y así sucesivamente, pero su carácter se desarrolla de acuerdo a su entorno y las experiencias que está viviendo. "Mi madre está ausente, mis abuelos están aquí." Tal vez más tarde, tendrá que entender todas las situaciones... que podrían afectarlo o no, pero él tiene preguntas acerca de todo. Él quiere conocer a su padre y cosas así. Yo sé que él está bien y yo trato de hacer las cosas lo mejor posible para que él se sienta como parte de mi vida. Eso es todo lo que puedo hacer por ahora. Con el tiempo tendremos que enfrentar cuestiones más difíciles y las decisiones más difíciles. Sobre todo, tendremos que enfrentar el fantasma del pasado y ahí veremos cómo vamos a manejarlo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y estas circunstancias actuales se convertirán en lo que usted llama "los fantasmas del pasado?"

ENTREVISTADO: Si. La separación de su padre, que creo que será la parte más difícil.

Pero trabajar, pensar en el futuro y hablar con él, mirar su foto e ayuda a seguir adelante. Aunque es difícil y es confuso a veces. Y por eso creo que algunas madres se olvidan de sus hijos después de ellas vienen aquí porque no quieren sentirme de esa manera.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Quiere decir que una manera de hacer frente a la confusión es olvidarse de sus hijos en casa?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, el bloqueo de los sentimientos hacia sus hijos y solo les envían dinero. Es difícil juzgar a otras madres y entender por qué venimos aquí y dejamos a nuestros hijos al cuidado de otra persona, o por la que nos olvidamos de ellos. Creo que es difícil para todas. Y eso es algo muy importante. ¿Con quién se dejó a los hijos... no es lo mismo en todos los casos, algunos abuelos no pueden apoyar a sus hijas y así dejar a sus hijos con alguien más.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que es muy importante para usted el hecho de que su hijo está con sus padres y que se apoyan?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, es muy importante. Recientemente una amiga me dijo que ella dejó a sus hijos con su madre, pero la abuela no se hizo cargo de ellos. Tus hijos pueden decir que estaban bien por teléfono, pero nunca se está seguro de verdad. Usted no tiene ninguna forma de confirmar si es cierto o no, tiene que confiar en quien le has dejado a tus hijos; algunas veces es un vecino, una hermana o tu madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que has conocido otras madres en las mismas circunstancias que tú?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, aquí he conocido a muchas y para todas ellas yo creo los sentimientos son los mismos: entre la culpa, la tristeza y la nostalgia. No todas lo expresan, pero todas lo sienten.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y hay algo positivo que usted y las otras mujeres que conoce que han dejado a sus hijos pueden pensar de esta situación?

ENTREVISTADO: Mira, la gente que conozco que toda se centran en el hecho de ser capaz de proveer para los niños ahora y para poder construir un futuro mejor para ellos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es como si ser madre es cuidar el futuro de sus hijos a costa de sacrificar el contacto físico con ellos en el momento actual.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, creo que es así.

ENTREVISTADOR: Gracias por compartir tu historia conmigo, tengo que aprender mucho acerca de lo que es para usted ser una madre lejos de su niño.

Demographics

Age: 30

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Esperaba que hoy pudiéramos hablar de su experiencia como madre que está separada de su hija.

ENTREVISTADO: (movimiento de la cabeza afirmativamente)

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Por cuánto tiempo has estado aquí en los EE.UU.?

ENTREVISTADO: He estado aquí durante 2 años y medio

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, usted no ha visto a su hija en ese mismo tiempo, correcto?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y podría decirme Yazmin, ¿Cómo se decidió a dejar su hija en Mejiico para venir a los EE.UU.?

ENTREVISTADO: Dado que su padre y yo nos separamos y no tenía medios para mantenerla. Yo solía trabajar en una fábrica, pero mis hermanos estaban aquí y me preguntaron que si quería venir que me iban a ayudar. Les había pedido prestado algo de dinero para hacer los pagos de la casa y esas cosas, porque no era suficiente con mi salario.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: En la fábrica ganaba 700 pesos y tenía que hacer los pagos que fueron de 600 ... así que les pedí que me prestara 30.000 pesos para iniciar una pequeña empresa y me dijeron que en lugar de eso me ayudaban a venir aquí para que yo pudiera trabajar. Así que hablé con mi madre y ella también pensaba que era una buena idea que yo viniera a hacer dinero para pagar la casa y me dijo que podía dejar a mi hija con ella

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que así como se decidió a venir

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, usted no tenía el apoyo del padre de su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: No en nada. Hasta el día de hoy ni siquiera la visita o la llama por teléfono, nada

ENTREVISTADOR: Ah no?

ENTREVISTADO: No. Nos separamos después de 5 años de estar juntos. Después que vine aquí fue un par de veces para visitar a mi hija pero como se metió en las drogas y bebía mucho alcohol llegaba a la casa de mi madre todo borracho. Por lo tanto, mi hija empezó a tenerle miedo y mi madre no le permitió seguir viniendolo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y por qué ustedes dos se separaron?

ENTREVISTADO: Porque no veía por nosotros. Fue su padre de él, que solía darnos dinero a mi hija y a mí - ya que vivía con mis suegros. - Por lo tanto, hable con sus familiares y explique lo que estaba pasando y que quería dejarlo y apoyaron mi decisión. Mi suegro me dio 5000 pesos para el pago de la casa, pero eso fue todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces usted dejó el padre de su hija y luego decidió venir aquí.

ENTREVISTADO: Eso es correcto

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué edad tenía su hija cuando salió de Mejico?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella tenía 5 años en ese momento

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella tenía cinco años ... ¿cuál es el nombre de su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: C

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, cuando te dijeron tus hermanos que vinieras a EE.UU, ¿sabías que venías solo tu y no C?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, era demasiado caro y me dijeron que ellos pagarían sólo por mí, así que les dije que de ninguna manera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si.

ENTREVISTADO: Y después de un tiempo, creo que mis hermanos hablaron con mi mamá sin mi conocimiento y la convencieron de que era lo mejor para mí. Mi madre empezó a decirme otravez que yo podía dejar a mi hija con ella y que ella iba a estar bien. Después de un tiempo, acepte, pero ellos hicieron todos los arreglos. Creo que mi madre no quería que me quedara cerca a mi ex ... así que un día llegué a casa después del trabajo y me dijeron que me iba al día siguiente! Me asusté y les dije que si estaban locos o que?

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿En serio?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ya todo estaba pagado.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Así que solo tenias esa noche para hablar con su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: sí para decirle

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo te decidiste a irte?

ENTREVISTADO: Ni siquiera se da tiempo para pensar. No pense, solo me dije a mí misma “me voy.”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo fue para usted decirle a su hija? Porque ella tenía la edad suficiente para ser consciente de que te ibas a ir

ENTREVISTADO: Yo le dije que la quería mucho y que era grande y muy inteligente y que era capaz de comprender las difíciles circunstancias en que vivíamos; que siempre tenía que pedir dinero prestado para la comida. Yo le expliqué lo que ella podía ver, no le menté. Le conté que su papá no nos ha ayudado ni nos visitaba, por eso quería una vida mejor para nosotros y que tener cosas mejores.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bien

ENTREVISTADO: en ese momento estaba tranquila y me dijo “mama esta bien” pero lo triste fue el momento en que realmente la tuve que dejar ... en ese momento lloraba mucho, no me dejaba ir, y mi mamá llorando tratando de controlarse como yo también estaba llorando.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella no te dejaba ir...

ENTREVISTADO: No, porque desde que era pequeña siempre habíamos estado juntos, hasta dormíamos juntas por eso fue muy difícil

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo fue para su hija pasar a vivir con su abuela?

ENTREVISTADO: Eso no fue tan difícil, porque estaban siempre en casa de mi madre. Tuvimos nuestro propio lugar, pero nos veíamos todos los días solía trabajar 12 horas al día y a veces en el turno de noche mi madre se hizo cargo de ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, para ti fue más fácil dejarla con su madre por que ya tenían una relación cercana?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues claro... siempre estaban con ellos..

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Y ¿podrías decirme cómo te sentías como madre en aquel entonces?

ENTREVISTADO: Qué quieres decir con, ¿cómo me sentía? Me sentí muy feliz y orgulloso de mi hija. La amo con todo mi corazón.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Diría usted que se sentía una buena madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y esos sentimientos cambiaron en algo cuando usted dejó su ex-marido, por ejemplo?

ENTREVISTADO: Qué quieres decir porque la estaba separando de él?

ENTREVISTADOR: Podría ser.

ENTREVISTADO: No, él no era un buen modelo para ella. Si era un buen modelo tal vez me hubiera sentido mal, pero.... Como yo siempre le digo a mi mamá “hay que dejar las puertas abiertas para el padre de mi hija, aunque sea un drogadicto o lo que sea, porque ella es inteligente y va a ser capaz de juzgar a sí misma.” En este momento, ella no habla de él. Ella dice que su padre es mi pareja actual. Ella lo llama mi papá-Steve le escribe cartas y le dice que quiere reunirse con él en persona

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿En serio?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, un día le pregunté por su padre y ella respondió “quieres decir mi papá, Steve?” Así que me mejor me quede callada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ella reconoce que tiene su padre biológico, pero su papá es papa-Steve.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, él es quien la mantiene. Mi esposo es el que paga todo lo que necesita

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿comparte usted la idea de que un padre no es el que te concibió, sino el que te mantiene?

ENTREVISTADO: El que te mantiene, es correcto. De hecho, yo nunca le dije que Steve es su padre. Ella sola lo penso. Pero ella sabe quién es su padre biológico, lo conoce. La cosa es que ella decidió que Steve era su padre porque él es quien ve por ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, Yasmin, ¿cómo fue para ti pasar de ser la madre que está allí físicamente el cuidado de su hija a la madre en la distancia que le manda dinero pero que no puede estar con ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Es muy triste. A veces te deprimas. No poder estar ahí cuando vuelva de la escuela y para preguntarle cómo le fue. Sin embargo, la llamo todos los días en el por teléfono.

ENTREVISTADOR: Todos los días?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, no hay un solo día que no hablemos. Ella tiene la edad suficiente y sabe mi número para que ella también me llame cuando quiera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que la comunicación telefónica es muy importante para las dos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, imagínate si yo no hablara con ella.... Se olvidaría de mi!

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Tienes miedo de eso?

ENTREVISTADO: No, porque trato de recordarle todo el tiempo que yo soy su madre y que mi madre la tiene prestada sólo por un ratito... (Risas)

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que....

ENTREVISTADO: Conozco a muchas personas que dejan a sus hijos para venir aquí y después de 5 o 6 años, sus niños terminan viviendo con los abuelos ... pero en mi caso, no voy a permitir que eso suceda. Mi hija sabe que mis padres son sus abuelos y que un día, voy a volver y todos vamos a vivir juntos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, para usted hacer esa distinción es muy importante.

ENTREVISTADO: ¡Por supuesto! ¿Y si no me dan a mi hija?

ENTREVISTADOR: Las abuelas se apegan mucho a los nietos que cuidan, ¿no?

ENTREVISTADO: Empiezan a sentirse como si fueran sus propios hijos!

ENTREVISTADOR: Los nietos que cuidan mientras que las madres están aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, pero ese no es el caso de mis padres.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo mantener esa distinción con tu madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Mi madre lo sabe! Ella incluso me dice cosas como “tienes que venir y llevarse a su hija”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿De verdad?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, mi madre es una mujer de edad y no tiene energía para seguir cuidando niños. Ella quiere descansar. Por eso mi mamá me dice que ama a mi hija, pero que ella sabe que tenemos responsabilidades diferentes con ella y que esa es mi responsabilidad de madre. Eso creo que es muy importante. Imagínense lo que sucedería si ella se apasionara mucho con mi hija...no me la devolvería. Mi madre y yo hablamos mucho de eso, que mi hija es mi hija y que ella tiene un hermano nuevo aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué edad tiene tu hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Tiene un año y medio. Mi madre vino a visitarme, no mucho tiempo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿si?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ha venido dos veces. Ella no puede quedarse mucho tiempo porque ella no quiere dejar a mi hija sola por lo que normalmente se queda por 2 semanas más o menos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y, ¿cómo fue para tu mamá y tu hija saber que estabas en embarazo?

ENTREVISTADO: fue muy difícil (risas)

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría contarme un poco más?

ENTREVISTADO: Inmediatamente después de que llegué aquí a los EE.UU. Desde Méjico, todos mis hermanos se fueron, así que me quedé sola en un país extraño. Yo empecé a trabajar y ahí conocí a mi actual pareja y empezamos a salir y poco después, quedé embarazada. Fue un embarazo muy difícil, me puse muy enferma.

ENTREVISTADOR: Eso suena como un momento muy difícil....

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, no podía ni moverme ... Yo tenía muchas náuseas y cuando hablaba con mi madre en el teléfono ella empezó a sospechar que estaba embarazada. Un día les dije que en realidad estaba embarazada y mi madre me dijo “¿cómo te atreves!”

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿cómo fue eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ella me dijo que yo venía aquí para trabajar y para pagar por la casa y regresar tan pronto como sea posible. Además, que esto era lo contrario de los planes que teníamos ... y le dije que era cierto, pero que no podía hacer nada al respecto

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿Fue difícil para usted cuando supiste que estabas embarazada?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh, no, yo estaba feliz desde el primer momento. Un bebé no tiene nada malo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo te hace sentir la reacción de tu madre a tu embarazo?

ENTREVISTADO: No me hizo sentir mal. Yo solamente la escuchaba, pero yo estaba muy feliz con mi barriga.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y el embarazo despertó sentimientos de tristeza, cuando pensabas en tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: Fuiste capaz de separar tus sentimientos acerca de las dos situaciones?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, porque en ese momento yo estaba en una buena relación con Steve, me encontraba embarazada y mi vida empezó a cambiar. En Mejico, no estaba feliz con el padre de C ... tal vez si Steve fuera un hombre malo quizás me hubiera sentido mal ... pero como él era un hombre bueno, me dio paz y tranquilidad

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Así que se podría decir que te sientes como una buena madre con tu hijo aquí, incluso si C está en Mejico y no aquí contigo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, yo quiero a mis hijos igual. Yo soy igual con ambos. Puedo comprar el mismo tipo de cosas por igual y si no tengo dinero, no compro nada a ninguno de ellos. Steve lo entiende y les compra cosas para ambos por igual.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que era importante para usted que Steve aceptara a tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Tenía que aceptarla porque si me ama a mí tiene que quererla a ella también. Porque ella es parte de mí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Te dio miedo cuando llegaste aquí de que tu nueva pareja no aceptara el hecho de que tienes otra hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh, no, porque si él no la aceptara no habría ninguna manera en que yo voy a participar en una relación. Desde el primer día que conocí a mi pareja-Steve le hablé de ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y Yazmin, ¿podría decirme cómo se considera usted como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: ¿Cómo me percibo como madre.... y creo que soy una buena madre porque yo amo a mis hijos, yo los respeto y dejo que mi hija tome sus propias decisiones y trato de apoyarla en todo, pero ella tiene que tomar sus propias decisiones.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Alguna vez has encontrado a alguien que te juzgue por dejar a tu hija en Mejico?

ENTREVISTADO: En realidad no, nadie me ha dicho nada, y la gente no tiene derecho a decirme nada al respecto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bien. ¿Crees que hay gente que piensa mal de las madres-como tu que dejan a sus hijos en Mejico?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo creo que hay personas que ven estas acciones como malas, pero creo que es porque son gente ignorante. Nadie debe juzgar las acciones de otras personas sin saber las circunstancias de la otra persona. Además, si una madre deja a sus hijos abandonados queda en su propia conciencia.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo respondería usted a alguien que juzgará lo que usted hizo como una manera de abandonar a su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Tengo todos los papeles que demuestran que le he enviado dinero cada mes, tengo los registros telefónicos para probar que la llamo todos los días, mi madre viene y me visita, tengo todas las fotos que me ha enviado.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y si alguien sostiene que una madre no es sólo la que mantiene a sus hijos, pero la que da a sus hijos amor y afecto?

ENTREVISTADO: Les diría que hay que dar amor, afecto y proveer para ellos también. Yo no la abandone porque yo le estoy dando amor a ella, yo la llamo todo el tiempo. Es super barato hablar con ella por teléfono. No darle amor sería simplemente llamar a mi hija una vez a la semana.... Usted puede llamar y preguntarle acerca de mí y le daría su opinión al respecto, llámela y ella le diría todo lo que hago por ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que ella se queja porque tú e fuiste?

ENTREVISTADO: Al principio, cuando vine por primera vez ella me decía que volviera pronto, que podríamos vender pasteles en la calle para que podamos vivir juntas. Y yo le decía que iba a irme pronto.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría contarme un poco más acerca de cómo manejas el paso del tiempo y sus planes de ustedes dos para el futuro? Quiero decir, algunas veces los niños no puede anticipar el futuro, cuando le dices que vas a ir pronto, ¿qué quieres decir con eso?

ENTREVISTADO: No, no.... Yo ya le dije una fecha exacta en la que yo me voy. Pase lo que pase ... si hay una amnistía o no. Algunas personas dicen que esperarán hasta que el gobierno nos de una amnistía, así que se quedan aquí para siempre, yo me voy con o sin amnistía. Hice una promesa y ese día voy a ir por ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y por cuánto tiempo ha tenido usted la fecha de su retorno de la mente?

ENTREVISTADO: Desde el día que decidí venir a los EE.UU.

ENTREVISTADOR: Desde que llegaste aquí planeabas quedarse por X número de años?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, aunque no cumplí ese plan.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando llegó por primera vez, ¿cuántos años usted pensaba que iba a quedarse aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Durante cuatro años.

ENTREVISTADOR: Durante cuatro años.

ENTREVISTADO: Cuatro años, y pase lo que pase voy a volver. Porque no podemos jugar con los niños con promesas ... “el próximo año voy a volver,” y luego pasa un año y usted dice “para su próximo cumpleaños voy a estar ahí” y así sucesivamente ... Si yo hiciera eso con mi hija ella dejaría de creer en mí. Ella creería que todo lo que estoy haciendo es jugar con ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, para ustedes dos que es muy importante tener ese límite de tiempo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ella sabe que el tiempo es necesario para que podamos tener éxito como el equipo que somos. Ella sabe que somos un equipo. Yo soy la que trabaja aquí y ella tiene que ser fuerte y apoyarme. Le he dicho que tiene que ser fuerte y no ponerse triste; tiene que saber que vamos a conseguirlo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces como un miembro del equipo ella tiene que ser fuerte...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, a veces ella se pone triste y me dice que quiere que yo me vaya...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y qué tipo de cosas le dices para consolarla?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo le digo que no este triste, que sabe que la amo y quiero estar con ella, que sabe los planes que tenemos y que pronto vamos a realizarlos. Yo le digo que ella está con “mama-Chela” y “papi-chulo, y que si no te tratan bien?” Y me dice “sí mami me tratan bien. Pero quiero estar contigo.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que, hablando del futuro, cuando ustedes dos esten juntas de nuevo, las consuela?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, hablamos de lo que vamos a ser cuando este allí con su hermano y que vamos a vivir en una casa nueva y que tendrá nuevos amigos.

ENTREVISTADOR: El futuro como familia todos juntos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, yo también trato de que Steve se involucre con ella y que ella participan de la familia de Steve, que también están en Mejico. Además, le digo a Steve que mencione a mi hija cuando el habla de nuestro hijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que es importante para usted que consideren a su hija como parte de la familia.

ENTREVISTADO: ¡Por supuesto!

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo. ¿Cómo describiría usted la idea de maternidad?

ENTREVISTADO: El amor que siento por mis dos hijos

ENTREVISTADOR: Y para usted, ¿cuál es el ideal de una buena madre?

ENTREVISTADO: ¿qué quiere decir “una buena madre?”

ENTREVISTADOR: Quiero decir, ¿cuáles son las características que hacen lo que usted considera una buena madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Como mi propia madre (risas). Mi madre es una gran madre que tiene todo lo que puedo pensar en una buena madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría contarme un poco más sobre eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Que lucha por sus hijos, trabajadora, que los educa y esta con ellos para bien y para mal, y que les ayude a resolver sus problemas ... puede ser una cosa pequeña que pueda parecer insignificante, pero esas son las cosas que hacen una buena madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y al ser una “gran madre,” como usted ha dicho, significa nada el hecho de que su madre la apoya en dejar a su hija con ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, si mi madre no me hubiera apoyado no habría dejado a mi hija...

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que si tu madre, digamos que ella te hubiera dicho que eras una mala madre, por dejar a tu hija, ¿qué habrías hecho?

ENTREVISTADO: No me hubiera ido ... porque si mi madre hubiera tenido esa clase de pensamientos no estaría segura de dejar a mi hija con ella y que la cuidaría bien a ella. Mi madre me aseguró que mi venida para acá era por el bien de mi hija, que fue una buena decisión y que mi hija estaba en las mejores manos (con mi madre). Si me hubiera dicho lo contrario no habría dejado a mi hija con alguien que tiene pensamientos negativos sobre mí, porque ella se quejarían y recriminarían todo el tiempo, y hubiera sido mi hija, la que tendría que soportar toda la amargura de mi madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Y yo siempre puedo saber cómo esta ella cuando hablo con ella por teléfono. Ella tiene la edad suficiente para decirme si algo no está bien. Por ejemplo, mi hermano pequeño a veces le gusta meterse con ella y por el teléfono hablo con él y le digo que no me ande pegando a mi C.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que usted superviza que su hija este bien por el telefono y ¿crees que por el telefono puedes darte cuenta de todo lo que pasa con su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Le pregunto personalmente, ella es la principal. Yo sé que ella nunca me miente. Desde que estba pequeña le decia que no importa lo que pase y siempre le voy a creer a ella primero ... ya sabes cómo son los temas de abuso sexual ... es por eso que siempre le dije que confio en ella. También hablo con sus amigos de la escuela para intervenir cada vez que puedo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿sientes que conoces a tu hija? Quiero decir, porque todos cambiamos con el tiempo...

ENTREVISTADO: Estoy totalmente segura de conocerla. Su personalidad no ha cambiado, uno tiene su personalidad desde que nacemos. Desde que la deje a ella sólo ha ido creciendo, pero su personalidad es la misma.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Te voy a mostras las fotos que tengo (saca álbum de fotos). Estoy preparada, ¿ves?

ENTREVISTADOR:(risas)

ENTREVISTADO: Se parece a su hermano.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tiene usted razón. Además, hiciste este fotomontaje de toda la familia? (Yasmin, su hijo y pareja aparecen en la foto junto a C, en un foto-montaje).

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es muy lindo, y tu hija es muy bonita.

ENTREVISTADO: Esta es su fiesta de cumpleaños (cuando cumplio 6, 7 y 8 anos), yo le mande los vestidos.

ENTREVISTADOR:¿Cómo te sentistes cuando ves fotos nuevas de tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Muy feliz ... sólo mirando a la cara en la foto puedo decir si esta feliz o triste ... ella no puede ocultarme nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Por otra parte, ¿cómo se siente tu madre sobre tu nuevo hijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella quiere que él esté allí con ella pronto ... hasta que no vea a los niños no se siente el verdadero amor.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Además, ¿cómo crees que tu mamá va a tomarlo cuando tu hija se vaya a vivir con ustedes en el futuro?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, eso no es mi problema ... ella tiene que arreglarselas como pueda

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué quieres decir con eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Quiero decir que yo me voy a llevar a mi hija pase lo que pase... ella es mi tesoro

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero en estos casos las abuelas se apegan mucho a sus nietos?

ENTREVISTADO: Pero no mi mamá. Ella sabe que ella es la abuela

ENTREVISTADO: Se puede decir que ella sabe sus propios límites?

ENTREVISTADOR: Sí, ella la quiere como una nieta y ella sabe que yo soy la madre y que va a vivir conmigo.

ENTREVISTADO: aquí está mi papá y mi hija en esta imagen, ve cuánto se quieren? Usted se da cuenta con sólo verlos a ellos...

ENTREVISTADOR: Se ven muy contentos. Tu padre es muy joven...

ENTREVISTADO: En esa foto estaban muy contentos porque mi papá llevó a mi hija al mismo lugar donde ella y yo habíamos estado cuando era un bebé ... el mismo lugar del parque tenemos una foto juntas. Mi padre le contó la historia de nosotros en el parque y estaba muy contento de ir allí de nuevo. ¿Ves que ella se ve como una niña feliz en todas estas fotos?

ENTREVISTADOR: Sí... pero, ¿cree que aún tan pequeña, ella está aprendiendo que en la vida hay sacrificios que hacer, igual que tu?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ella está haciendo un gran sacrificio, ella es una niña fuerte.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Mira esta es la carta que me envió recientemente (lee la carta al Entrevistador).

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Conoce usted otras madres en tu misma situación?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Es muy común?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, yo sé muchas mujeres centro americanas y mexicanos también ... las centroamericanas tienen el objetivo venir y de ahorrar dinero y se van ...

pero las madres mexicanas prometen volver, pero terminan quedándose ... ellas se olvidan de sus hijos...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué quieres decir, “se olvidan de ellos?”

ENTREVISTADO: Se olvidan de ellos. Conozco a una mujer que abandonó a su hija por 9 años! ¿Puede usted imaginar! No puedo entenderlo!

ENTREVISTADOR: 9 años es demasiado tiempo para ti?

ENTREVISTADO: no podría ser capaz de estar separada todo ese tiempo ... Es un tiempo exagerado! Por eso le digo a mi pareja que, incluso si tenemos un estilo de vida bueno aquí, yo quiero volver por mi hija ... no quiero que nos pase lo que pasó con los niños de los que se olvidan sus madres ... y se dicen a si mismas “mi hijo está muy bien con mi madre en Mejiico”

ENTREVISTADOR: Usted no quiere que eso ocurra con su hija...

ENTREVISTADO: Es que no va a pasar, porque la ventaja que tengo sobre otras mujeres que dejaron a sus hijos demasiado bebés y volver cuando son muy grandes, es que cuando yo me fui mi hija tenía 4 años ... no, espera, cuando ella tenía 5 años de edad y estoy regresando antes de cumplir los 9 años. Los bebés no recuerda a sus mamás, pero mi hija sintió “el amor maternal” cuando era pequeña por lo que recuerda ... y yo volveré antes de que ella olvide. Que creo que eso es muy importante, no es sólo enviar dinero...

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo se mantiene el recuerdo? ¿Hablan sobre el pasado?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que mi madre siempre le está contando historias de cuando yo estaba allí ... y me pregunta sobre ello y si lo recuerdo o que ... las dos tenemos las mismas fotos, así que hablamos de lo que vemos ... yo creo que ella se acuerda de muchas cosas, aunque ella era un bebé ... ella es una niña muy inteligente, igual que yo (risas). Realmente puedo recordar las cosas de cuando tenía 4 años, así que creo que es posible

ENTREVISTADOR: Y el hecho que ella recuerda te dice que ella no se olvida de ti.

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto. Se acuerda de lo bueno y lo malo ... como cuando yo le hale el pelo una vez cuando era pequeña! Pero está bien, es parte de la vida recordar

ENTREVISTADOR: Recordar y mirar hacia el futuro...

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto. Creo que los planes son muy importantes no sólo soñar con el futuro ... que es diferente. Le digo a mi pareja para hacer planes, para ahorrar

dinero. Debido a que estamos en los EE.UU. pero no somos americanos... en nuestros hombres la cultura tiene que mantenernos...

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: La otra ventaja que tengo es el hecho de que ella es una chica muy madura ...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿tiene que ver con el hecho de que ella ha tenido esta experiencia de tener a su mamá lejos?

ENTREVISTADO: Y también que ella es una niña muy inteligente. Ella entiende todo. Una vez le dije, lo feliz que estaba viviendo aquí y cómo las cosas han cambiado para mí. Poco después de leer la carta me llama y me dice algo así como “mamá estás muy feliz allí, pero ¿y yo que?” Estaba muy enojada...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Se sintió excluida? Tal vez ella quería oír que tu felicidad está incompletamente porque dos permanecen separados.

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que sí. Tuve que explicarle lo que yo quería decir con eso...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿ustedes comparten todos sus sentimientos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, hablamos de cómo nos extrañamos y cosas así.

ENTREVISTADOR: Yasmin, ¿cómo le gustaría que en el futuro ella recordara todos estos años que han estado separados ustedes dos?

ENTREVISTADO: Mm ... que es una pregunta difícil, yo no había pensado en eso ... creo que quiero que recuerde este momento como una buena experiencia para las dos.

Debido a que las dos hemos tenido que luchar, es una lucha mutua. Una lucha para lograr un futuro mejor, una lucha que la ha hecho una persona más fuerte. Ella tiene que darse cuenta de que la vida es así: no se puede tener todo lo que quieres, no importa si eres rico o pobre, no se puede tener todo. O somos felices juntas, pero muertas de hambre ... ella lo sabe.

ENTREVISTADOR: Usted está diciendo que a fin de lograr ciertas cosas en la vida uno tiene que sacrificar otras?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, esa es la verdad. Aunque suene cruel, porque, en realidad es cruel. Sin embargo, no se puede ser como los padres que dicen que quieren a sus hijos y están con ellos, pero muertos de hambre, sin zapatos. Pueden ser sólo cosas materiales, pero son indispensables para vivir ... estos padres dicen: “No puedo dejar a mi hijo,

¿cómo puedes siquiera pensar en ello! Me lo podrían maltratar!” Eso no es querer a alguien! Tenemos que hacer sacrificios para que todos estemos mejor.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Y eso es lo que mi hija ha aprendido...

ENTREVISTADOR: Eso es parte de su vida ahora...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí lo es. ¿Quieres hablar con ella por teléfono?

Demographics

Age: 30

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Yo quería que tú y yo habláramos de su experiencia como madre que vive separada de su hija, si esta bien contigo.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, está bien.

ENTREVISTADOR: La última vez que hablamos que estaba embarazada y ahora su hija es cuántos años?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella tiene tres años de edad.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿usted todavía vive con su marido?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: La última vez que hablamos recuerdo que estban teniendo algunos problemas con él, ¿verdad?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, antes. Ahora todo está bien.

ENTREVISTADOR: Me alegra oír eso. ¿Podría usted recordarme lo que estaba pasando en aquel entonces ... Recuerdo que se sentía mal por el embarazo debido a que su hija estaba en Mejico y usted me dijo que usted culpaba a su marido?

ENTREVISTADO: Debido a el embarazo creo que estaba muy sensible y emocional, y me sentía mal porque mi hija estaba en Mejico y ella se iba a sentir mal.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Gracias a Dios mi hija realmente ha asimilado el hecho de que ella tiene una nueva hermana ... creo que mis padres la han ayudado mucho en ese sentido, porque siempre están allí para ella y hablan con ella acerca de nosotros y le dicen que pronto vamos a volver a casa.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo lo tomaron sus padres cuando les dijo que estaba embarazada?

ENTREVISTADO: Era algo normal para ellos. Pero yo estaba muy preocupada por mi hija, por que ella se lo tomara por el lado equivocado. Ya sabes cómo son los niños ... y cómo la gente alrededor de ellos les puede decir cosas malas que los asusta. Pero ella ha asimilado bien y se que ella está bien ... Lo unico es que tiene problemas en la escuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: Problema en la escuela?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que es falta de atención de sus padres ... ella tiene la atención de sus abuelos, pero no tiene la atención de los padres ... es un tipo de cariño diferente, sabes?

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo diferente?

ENTREVISTADO: Porque tus padres siempre te dan atención de manera diferente, aunque sus abuelos te quieran ... En mi caso creo que mi esposo y yo somos más cariñosos que mis padre. A nuestra hija de aquí la mimamos mucho, comprando todo lo que quiere, pero no es de la misma manera para K, mi hija que esta en Mejico. Puedo ver que mis padres realmente la quieren, pero no es el mismo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo haces para lidiar con esa falta de cariño de tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno ... yo trato de hablar con ella por teléfono con tanta frecuencia como sea posible. Le pregunto acerca de su escuela, acerca de cómo van las cosas. El problema es que no creo que haya una buena comunicación conmigo ... Quiero decir que no está realmente abierta a hablarme de sus cosas ... o tal vez sea demasiado distraída cuando hablamos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: Si le pregunto por sus amigos o si tiene alguna pelea en la escuela a veces me cuenta a veces no lo hace ... creo que no me dice todo; tengo que preguntarle a mi madre ... ella no me dice todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Quién su madre o su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Mi hija. Sé que mi madre me lo cuenta todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Usted cree que su madre puede ocultarte algunas cosas para que usted no se preocupe o se ponga triste por no estar allí?

ENTREVISTADO: No realmente.

INTERVIEWWR: Te cuenta tu mama cuando tu hija está enferma?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ella me dice; como la semana pasada tuvieron que hacerle puntos de sutura en la mano.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Pero ya está bien?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, no fue nada grave, fue un accidente en la escuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. ¿Y cómo se siente cuando sabe por ejemplo, que su hija está enferma y no puede estar con ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, ella no es una niña enfermiza. Cuando se enferma es sólo un resfriado o algo suave ... creo que es porque no está tan mal emocionalmente ... pero ella no me dice nada. Me parece que no tienen esa confianza de la relación madre-hija tienen? La relación se da cuando una madre vive con sus hijos...

INNTERVIEWER: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Ella sabe que yo soy su madre, pero no siento que me quiera de la manera que una hija quiere a su madre ... cuando envío sus regalos es cuando está más comunicativa y que quiere hablar conmigo. Tres veces al año y para su cumpleaños le mandamos un paquete grande de cosas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. ¿Y cómo te hace sentir el hecho de que en este momento tu hija no siente ese amor de madre al que te refieres?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, tengo planes de volver pronto ... he tenido estos planes durante mucho tiempo pero he tenido algunos problemas de salud ... y ella lo sabe todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando viniste aquí por primera vez, ¿Por cuánto tiempo creiste que ibas a quedarse?

ENTREVISTADO: Por un año.

ENTREVISTADOR: Un año ...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, pero pronto comenzaron los dolores de cabeza y tenía que someterme a exámenes médicos hasta que me dijeron que tenía un tumor cerebral y que necesitaba cirugía. El problema era que yo ya estaba embarazada y por eso tuvieron que esperar a que mi hija naciera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces tuviste que aplazar su viaje a México?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. Pero ahora que estoy mejor y que la cirugía salió bien, sólo tengo que quedarme aquí hasta que me recupere por completo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo es para tu hija el no tener una idea exacta de cuando vas a volver?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que se acostumbró a eso. Ella sabe que tiene a sus padres, pero no estamos con ella. Ella sabe quien le envía sus regalos y eso la consuela ... creo que es como que su consuelo se materializa en los regalos que le mandamos ...

ENTREVISTADOR: Los regalos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, porque ella sabe que ella recibe los regalos a cambio de que nosotros no estamos ahí con ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces en cierta forma tu crees que es como si ella está también haciendo un sacrificio como lo haces tú?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, por ejemplo, ella sabe que tiene amigos que tienen sus padres con ellos, pero que no reciben regalos y cosas bonitas como ella. De hecho, ella les da las cosas a sus amiguitas sin contar con nosotros.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que ella tiene una idea que va a los va a herir si ella les dice que ella regalo lo que ustedes le enviaron?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted piensa que es quizás por esto (que ella no quiere herir tus sentimientos) que tu hija no es tan abierta con usted cuando hablan?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí ... ella se refiere a mi madre como la abuela cuando ella está hablando por teléfono conmigo, pero cuando no, cuando se dirige a ella directamente ella le dice "mamá."

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo ...

ENTREVISTADO: Así que ella sabe hacer la diferencia. Yo sé que ella nunca llama a mamá abuela, pero a mí no me molesta.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Podría contarme más sobre eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, lo que yo sé es que cuando mi hija empezó a llamar a mi padre "papá," él le dijo que él era su "abuelo" y que ella tenía un padre que vive en los EE.UU. Eso lo ha asimilado. Pero mi nunca hizo esa distinción cuando mi hija empezó a llamarla "mamá" por lo que no es culpa de ella ... tal vez a mi mamá le gustó cuando ella empezó a llamarla "mamá" pero eso está bien para mí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Esta bien para ti que tu mamá tome tu lugar de madre durante el tiempo que tu no estás?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Uno podría pensar que en estos casos algunas madres pueden sentir un poco de rivalidad con sus propias madres, ¿Tu te sientes así?

ENTREVISTADO: No, para nada. Creo que es como si mi mamá está haciendo el papel de la madre, mientras yo no estoy allí y me alegro de que ella lo haga, porque de lo

contrario me sentiría triste de que mi hija estuviera sola. Yo lo veo como si mi hija tuviera dos madres.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Dos madres?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, creo que incluso cuando regrese a México, mi hija siempre tendrá dos madres. Pero creo que es un privilegio que no todos tienen. Yo no lo veo como una rivalidad con mi mamá.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y usted piensa que su mamá se siente bien en el papel de madre de su hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que sí. Sin embargo, ella es consciente de que cuando regrese a México, mi hija va a vivir conmigo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Tu papá también está consciente de eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, y yo también soy consciente de eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Aunque puede ser difícil para tu mamá ¿no te parece?

ENTREVISTADO: Al principio, cuando hablamos de eso, hace unos dos años cuando yo estaba pensando en volver, mi padre me dijo que iba a ser duro para mi madre y que él temía que se enferma o algo así ... pero con los años, mi madre ha asimilado la idea.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y si usted vuelve y su hija no quiere irse a vivir con usted?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo tendría que quedarme en la casa de mi madre por un tiempo ... tengo que ganarme a mi hija. Yo no puedo obligarla a ir a vivir conmigo así como así. Tengo que estar allí con ellos y poco a poco prepararla para el cambio. Sé que esto afecta a mi hija mucho soy, consciente de ello. Ella me ha preguntado mil veces.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como madre de dos hijos, ¿cómo crees que va a ser cuando las dos estén juntas? ¿Cómo crees que se va a sentir?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo quiero que crezcan juntas ... quiero que se quieran como hermanas ... incluso si pelean me sentiré bien, porque eso significa que se quieren como hermanas. Al principio, mi hija menor, se ponía muy celosa, pero recientemente se acercado más.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu le hablas a tu hija en México sobre su hermana pequeña?

ENTREVISTADO: No mucho ... su papá no quiere que le diga acerca de su hermana porque dice que se va a poner celosa ... pero mi madre habla con ella y le muestra fotos ... y K ha empezado a preguntarme por su hermana pequeña.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Y Elisa, ¿cómo le gustaría que su hija K recordara todos estos años que ustedes dos han estado separadas?

ENTREVISTADO: Por eso estamos ahorrando dinero ahora, para que si quiere estudiar en el futuro pueda estudiar, habría dinero para que si ella quiere convertirse en un profesional lo haga.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ser capaz de proporcionar a los niños un mejor futuro es por lo que una madre debería ser recordada?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, creo que sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Es el papel de una madre sostener económicamente a sus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, yo creo que sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y digamos que usted conozca a alguien que te dijera que tal vez no ha podido pagar por la educación de sus hijos, pero que ella ha estado con ellos toda su vida ... ¿cuál sería su reacción?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que le diría que cada persona pasa por diferentes circunstancias en la vida que llevan a tomar ciertas decisiones. Esa es la decisión que tomé, y debe ser respetada ... Yo aceptaría sus críticas pero no debe juzgar mis acciones ... porque no esta en mis propios zapatos así que no puede juzgar mis acciones. Tal vez si ella estuviera en las mismas circunstancias, habría hecho cosas aún peores. Todos cometemos errores en la vida, esa es la forma en que todos aprendemos. Sé que dejar a hija en México no fue correcto por que le ha traído consecuencias a ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿de alguna manera ves el futuro como una oportunidad de compensar el tiempo que has estado separada de tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, eso espero. Que cuando nos juntemos de nuevo tengamos tiempos mejores.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿usted siente que está siendo un tipo de madre diferente de la madre que te habías imaginado que ibas a ser?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno ... como todos los padres que siempre quieren dar lo mejor, pero los niños a veces simplemente no pueden o no quieren para ellos lo que ellos habían soñado ... Por ejemplo, mis padres iban a pagar por mi educación, pero yo no quise ir a la escuela. Así que lo mismo puede pasarme a mi con mi hija.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y el hecho de que tu madre no pudo darte todo lo que querías
¿Cambia la forma en que tu ves a tu mamá?

ENTREVISTADO: No, en nada. Creo que mi madre es la mejor madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué quiere decir con “la mejor madre?”

ENTREVISTADO: Quiero decir que ella siempre estuvo ahí para mis hermanos y yo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Es el ideal de lo que una madre debe ser?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, nunca se apartó de nosotros, no trabajó fuera. Ella y mi papá
nunca pelearon, tienen un matrimonio perfecto. Mi padre es un poco estricto y trabajó
mucho, pero siempre estaba en la casa.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y siendo su padre un “poco estricto,” como usted dice, ¿cómo
reaccionó cuando decidió venir a los EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Él es una persona comprensiva. Él siempre me ha apoyado y el
respeto a mis decisiones. Lo mismo con mi hermana, que ahora es una madre soltera, que
apoya y ella ahora vive con ellos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo.

ENTREVISTADO: La única vez que no me ha apoyado es cuando les pedí que me
mandara a mi hija ... en esa ocasión mi padre me dijo que era demasiado peligroso y que
era su responsabilidad si algo malo le pasaba.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y usted, ¿cómo se decidió venir a EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: decidí venir con mi marido que estaba aquí trabajando.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿usted cree que su padre pensó que era su papel como esposa venir
a acompañar a su marido?

ENTREVISTADO: No, no creo que él pensara eso. Creo que él entendió que se debía a
razones financieras. Si me hubiera quedado en México, yo sola habría tenido que
mantener a mi hija y ellos sabían que en México iba a ser muy difícil. Son personas
pobres, de manera que no podían mantenernos...

ENTREVISTADOR: Bien.

ENTREVISTADO: Además, cuando yo les dije que iba a venir aquí les dije me iba sólo
por un año, así que pensaron que no era tanto tiempo. Nunca pensé que me iba a
enfermar y tener todo los tratamientos médicos ... Creo que en general, haber venido aquí

a traído cosas buenas ... por ejemplo, si yo no hubiera venido y me hicieran la cirugía, no estaría hablando aquí con usted...

ENTREVISTADOR: Su salud está bien ahora...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, estoy sana ahora y es porque estaba aquí que estoy viva.

ENTREVISTADOR: Correcto. Además, ¿cómo crees que tu mamá te ve como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Realmente no lo sé.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Crees que ella ve el hecho de dejar a tu hija allá para venir a trabajar como una especie de sacrificio que estás haciendo por tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Realmente no lo sé.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y tienes miedo a que en el futuro tu hija o tu mamá te recriminen porque usted dejó a su hija todos estos años?

ENTREVISTADO: Con respecto a mi madre, yo no creo que ella me vaya a recriminar nada. Estuvo de acuerdo conmigo en que era para el bien de mi hija. Pero me da miedo que mi hija me recrimine después, creo que existe esa posibilidad.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿En qué forma crees que va a recriminarte?

ENTREVISTADO: Mire, una conocida, me dijo que dejó a su hija como yo. Es algo diferente, porque cuando regresó a México, su madre no le devolvió a su hija. Su hija, ya esta grande y siempre le recrimina a su madre que la halla dejado ... Este conocido mío siempre me dice que tenga cuidado con mi madre, pero sé que mamá sería incapaz de eso. No quisiera que eso me pasara a mí...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y tu mamá trata de darte tu lugar como madre de tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, siempre. Mis hermanos siempre me lo dicen. Mi madre habla con mi hija de mí y cosas así. Yo nunca peleo con mi madre, por la educación de mi hija, o porque ella le dice que haga esto o aquello. Especialmente después de quedar embarazada, le dije a mi madre que no permita que nadie le diga que yo la voy a dejar de querer y que trate de explicarle que la queremos igual.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, es a través de su madre que intentas mantener el papel de madre?

ENTREVISTADO: sí. Es difícil hablar con mi hija, porque como te decía antes de que ella no confía en mí ... Yo creo que ella piensa que si ella me dice cosas que yo voy a estar enojado con ella y que yo voy a regañarla, cuando en realidad yo casi nunca la

regañó por nada. Cuando mi madre me dice que no quiere comer o que ella no quiere ir a la escuela, entonces la regañó y le explico que quiero que vaya bien en la escuela. Le digo que cómo, si su hermana pequeña no come yo le pego porque ella tiene que comer para crecer sana. Yo le digo que soy estricta, para que después se sorprenda...

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces de esa manera intentas anticiparle a ella algunos aspectos de la manera que tu eres como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces ella ya tiene una idea de como eres...

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, mi madre también le dice que yo soy estricta ... porque mi hija está muy consentida.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ustedes dos tartan de que ella se imagine como será

ENTREVISTADO: cómo será la vida conmigo, cuando yo vuelva. Que quiero educarla bien, quiero que sepa que cuando le va bien en la escuela recibe premios y si no la castigo. Mi hermana también me ayuda con eso. Ella le dice que quiere que le vaya bien en la escuela y que así ella consigue lo que quiere para Navidad.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es también una manera de decirle lo que usted como madre espera de ella como hija.

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. Ella sabe que si sale bien en la escuela voy a comprarle lo que ella me pide.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en ese sentido, quieres que ella interprete que los regalos que le mandas son una recompensa por algo que ha logrado?

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto. Pero si me pide un coche nuevo no voy a poder comprárselo (risas).

ENTREVISTADOR:(risas)

ENTREVISTADO: Ella sabe que hay cosas que puedo comprar y otras que no. Tiene que aprender que a que no se puede tener todo en la vida.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y si te imaginas como sería cuando vuelvas a Mejió, ¿cómo crees que realmente será cuando ustedes dos esten juntas?

ENTREVISTADO: Depende de cómo este ella y cómo se sienta conmigo. La mayoría de las veces me han dicho que está feliz conmigo, y sé que ella es una chica cariñosa ... Si ella sigue siendo de esa manera una vez que estemos ahí vamos a poder ir a la playa, ir al

zoológico juntas y poco a poco, se va a ir adaptando a vivir con nosotros. Primero tengo que conquistarla. Tengo un plan más o menos calculado de cómo lo voy a hacer: yo sé lo que le gusta, donde le gusta ir a comer o dónde está acostumbrada a ir para que no sea tan difícil para ella separarse de mi madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, ¿tu crees que conoces a tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: No realmente. Me acuerdo de ella, pero ella ha crecido mucho.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿cómo tratas de mantener los recuerdos vivos?

ENTREVISTADO: Tengo fotos que me envía mi familia; tenemos un álbum de fotos con imágenes desde que ella nació.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. ¿Ella tiene fotos de ustedes también?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, pero solo porque mi hermano me visitó y cuando regreso a Mejiico le dio fotos. Y Yo trato de no mandarle fotos de mi hija menor para que no se ponga celosa, porque tal vez aquí mi hija tiene fiestas de cumpleaños y cosas mas bonitas.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo te sentiste cuando tu hermano le mostró las fotos?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo no estaba enojada con él es sólo que yo no sabía cómo iba a tomarlo ella. Sin embargo, ella lo tomó bien. Comentó sobre las fotos, eso fue todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que tu hija aquí ha pasado por el proceso de aceptar el hecho de que su hermana no está con ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, ella sabe que ella tiene una hermana, que no puede romper su foto o quitarla de la mesa, y que ella tiene que tenerlas.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Ha tratado alguna vez de romper una foto de ella?

ENTREVISTADO: No, ella sabe que no puede.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces de esa manera es que has ido construyendo un sentido de lo que es la familia?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí, para que cuando volvamos puedan tener una relación de hermanas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y para ti, crees que cuando estes con tus dos hijas en Mejiico podras ser el ideal de madre querias ser?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí,

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y cómo es la madre ideal?

ENTREVISTADO: Igual que mi madre. Ella siempre estaba con nosotros, ella estaba allí para nosotros y pudimos contar con ella. Mi madre es estricta, y sabe cómo disciplinarte.

ENTREVISTADOR: Así que tu hija está teniendo la misma madre que tuviste tu?

ENTREVISTADO: Creo que mi madre es menos estricta con ella y la consiente más de lo que me consentía a mí. Ella lleva los libros a la escuela, la protege mucho, pero yo, voy a ser diferentes, no voy a consentirla tanto.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Ese es el ideal de madre que existe en México?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí. En México, la madre que siempre está ahí con sus hijos, que nunca está lejos de ellos es considerado como la mejor madre.

Demographics

Age: 36

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos a grabar, bueno entonces vamos hablar de las historias de cuando la mama se vino para estados unidos. Hace cuanto te viniste?

ENTREVISTADO: Como cinco años tengo de haber estado acá

ENTREVISTADOR: ya tiene cinco años, o sea que tu hijo tiene como ocho?

ENTREVISTADO: Es niña

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha es niña

ENTREVISTADO: No pues ella tiene como quince años

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha tiene quince?

ENTREVISTADO: Acabo de cumplir quince ahora en noviembre.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok ósea que tú la dejaste de 10 añitos?

ENTREVISTADO: Diez añitos tenía ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como fue esa situación porque decidiste venirte para acá y dejarla a ella alla.

ENTREVISTADO: De hecho ella siempre ha estado con mi mama de recién nacida, pues yo era muy joven... bueno yo le llamo joven, pues yo me siento muy joven para lo que la tuve, tenía 19 años verdad!, entonces yo tenía que trabajar, y mi mama me dijo que ella corría muchos peligros al cuidado de la gente, yo no quería que le pasara nada pero yo no se la quería dar sucedió que un día, yo siempre trabajaba lejos de ahí de donde vive mi mama, yo siempre trabajaba muy lejos, entonces yo tenia que viajar y una vez que yo fui a visitarla a ella me escondió la niña y no dejo que me la llevara porque ellos querían quedarse con la niña y se quedaron con la niña ya después quise yo recuperarla pero la niña... Cuando iba yo por la niña, se enfermaba la niña o se enfermaba mi mama, y pues yo por no verlas enfermas, pues yo le regresaba la niña, y después con el tiempo sucedió que la niña no me quería, ni nada, no me quería porque ella no le inculcaba nada de que yo era su mama ni nada de eso. Yo siempre le estuve mandando dinero y era al pendiente de ellas, pero mi mama. Cuando yo hablaba por teléfono mi mama no me la ponía al teléfono y sea que mi niña nunca supo que nunca inculcaron pues que yo era su mama, ella sabe que yo soy su mama, ella me quiere como una hermana, pero no como a su

mama, y así como ya cuando muchas veces quise recuperarla no se pudo y cuando yo llegue heeee, me fui a trabajar a la frontera, una de mis hermanas me hablo por teléfono, me dijo que estaba bien que me viniera para acá y total hablo con una de mis tías y... mi tía pues me convencieron para de que me viniera y pues yo me vine para acá, pero en realidad yo sufrí bastante porque cuando yo me vine pues yo confiada de que me venía con mi tía, mi tía no quiso venir y luego me mando con un primo y dos primos venían conmigo y los dos a medio camino se regresaron, me total que me mandaron sola y ya llegando acá yo no tenía ni dinero, ni dinero ni conocidos ni nada, no tenía a donde llegar, entonces ya pues una de las mujeres que venía conmigo, nosotros ahí, bueno ni siquiera la conocía, bueno ella conocía, ella decía que conocía a un primo que estaba acá y empezó a hablar por teléfono, empezó a decirle que me ayudara pues para pagar la pasada, y pues me prestaron un poco de dinero, para que me pudieran traer hasta acá, y ella estando aquí, resulta que yo iba a llegar a la casa de una prima, la hija de mi tía, pero estando en la casa de mi tía... Perdón en la casa de las personas que me fuera a buscar y ahí me dejo, he hablaron y ha... ellas hablaron por teléfono ellas para que me fueran a buscar y ya... y ahí me dejo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha.

ENTREVISTADO: Fue solo a verme a preguntarme como había llegado, como estaba y nada mas y ahí me dejo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hay no!

ENTREVISTADO: Y yo en verdad que si me sentía bastante mal, que yo decía, bueno pues como era posible que yo hubiera venido, al menos alla tenía trabajo poquito pero yo tenía un trabajo, y que yo me vine a estar padeciendo todo eso, y luego sin un lugar a donde ir, y yo decía adonde voy, a quien me le arrimo a quien le hablo si yo no conocía a nadie...mm con quien ir, y entonces ya este.... Pero ella mi prima no me llevo fue y le dijo a otro primo que yo estaba aquí y que no tenía a donde llegar y entonces el ya el me fue a buscar. Y me dijo que quería este... me dijo que sí, que si yo me quería ir con él pues que me fuera que ellos estaban solos y que me iban a dar una recamara para nosotros solos o sea para mi sola pues.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Y ya me torcí, m fui con ellos, con él , pero tomaba, es el primo que drogaba mucho, se drogaba y entraba mucho a mi apartamento, no se podía tener limpio, ordenado por que los borrachos son así, y así son, uno nunca tiene limpio y no , en verdad que no se podía y no me rendía, ni el dinero ni nada, porque si se compraba algo para comer ellos todo lo agarraban y se lo comían, pues como si estuvieran en su casa como si fuera una cantina por ahí así.

ENTREVISTADOR: A todas estas ¿tú habías hablado con tu mama? ¿Le habías dicho que tu venias?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que te dijo ella cuando tu le dijiste que te ibas avenir

ENTREVISTADO: pues mire yo le voy a decir una cosa mi mama siempre ha sido rara, “La niña interrumpe” y la señora le dice por favor o vete a tu cuarto ok vete para alla entonces porque aquí estoy platicando. Vete para alla ok no me dejas hablar vete para alla, y entonces yo había hablado con ella, pero sucedía que mi mama siempre me había tenido a mí como, yo le tenía mucho miedo miedo a mi mama porque ella siempre me tenía como que yo tenía que trabajar para, me tenia intimidada, pues yo trabajaba pero lo que yo pagaba era para ella entonces.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella te decía que una buena madre pues trabaja para sus hijos.

ENTREVISTADO: No yo por amor, pues yo no podía verla que estuviera padeciendo algo, para darle algo, yo trabajaba para darle pero ella, ella me exigía porque como ella tenía la niña, ella me exigía. Yo creo que con ese pretexto no se ella siempre me estaba exigiendo, y con ella yo nunca podía estar bien, si yo le daba que porque le daba y si no le daba que porque no le daba, total que nunca estaba a gusto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y te juzgaba a ti como madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Siempre estuvo, ella siempre me estuvo nunca fue una madre amorosa que yo nunca tuve el apoyo de ella que yo quería conversar con ella, de niña yo me acuerdo que cuando yo sentía inquietud de esa niña que quería preguntar mejor me lo guardaba, para con ella lo que terminaba yo regañada, pues porque ella me regañaba me insultaba, porque ella era muy mal hablada y yo le tenía mucho miedo y en vez de decirle algo me lo guardaba.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces ella porque decide quedarse con tu niña si era a si como tan rara contigo, porque crees tú que ella decide quedarse con tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo no lo sé a ella siempre le han gustado los niños pero... pues yo no lo sé. Solo Dios sabe, verdad? Pero ella se quiso quedar con la niña yo muchas veces trate de recuperarla pero. Pero no me la dio, por un lado yo no entiendo si es verdad yo era inmadura yo era muy jovencita y como ella nunca se encargo de hacerme ver los peligros que en la vida corría, yo a mi niña no la tuve porque yo a ella amara mucho Haa. Aquel hombre me he ido con el porqué ha sido por amor si no que fue por inconsciencia verdad yo una vez me fui a una fiesta, me dieron de tomar y yo no estaba acostumbrada y bebí demasiado y.... no supe mas de mi, cuando yo reaccione pues ya había un muchacho que me pretendía y se encontraba cerca de mí, cuando y reaccione pues ese muchacho esteeeee pues resulta que ya me había hecho sus cosas conmigo, verdad y de ahí no supe nada y a partir de ahí quede embarazada, y como mi familia siempre fue desunida mi mama pues, yo tenía padrastro, hamm mi mama amaba mucho a ese hombre y siempre hizo lo que él decía, y este ella tuvo tres hijos de él y ella siempre miro mas por los dos hijos de el que por nosotros a nosotros siempre nos dejo a un lado y sucedió todo eso y yo... con ese problema y para que mi mama este... no dijera nada yo me fui... me tuve que ir de ahí y empecé a trabajar sola pero antes a pesar de trabajar lejos y trabajar sola yo le estaba mandando dinero a mi mama pero ahí trabajaba pero antes que yo me fuera, la niña.... De que yo tuviera esa, pues ese problema verdad este yo. Ella me mandaba a trabajar a mí con la desesperación de que mi padrastro no le dé... No le daba dinero pues entonces, ella veía la posibilidad de que yo pudiera trabajar y que yo le podía ayudar y que entonces ella me exigía que trabajara era muy doloroso porque ella no o sea era de que trabajara ayúdame ¡no! Ella era muy grosera con palabras hirientes siempre a gritos, ella no esté, no fue una madre amorosa, yo la entiendo no la estoy juzgando, solo estoy comentando lo que ella hacia conmigo, pero yo ... uno siempre viene arrastrando cadenas y una de esas era una cadena porque mi abuelita también fue muy dura con ella, muy brusca, fue muy dura con ella también fue así, tal vez es por eso que ella fue así.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ¿Cómo era con tu hija entonces? ¿a ti te daba miedo de que ella fuera igual con tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Ahora resulta de que lo que no me agrada, fue que esa niña la han dejado aquí y que hago lo que ella quiere, y entonces, este, no le ha dado principios; no la... lo que pasa con mi mamá, bueno ahorita ella gracias a Dios ella ya acepto a Cristo va a una iglesia evangélica y ha cambiado ahora ya lee la biblia bastante su forma de ser porque ella era muy horrible, y todo eso ha cambiado ya no es la misma que antes, pero en ese entonces, ella la dejo que hiciese lo que quisiera.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿La consentía mucho?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, la consintió de mas y la dejo que hiciera lo que quisiera, pues gracias a Dios la niña está bien, esta con mi mamá, pero... pero ella se había vuelto muy rebelde, muy rebelde se había vuelto, y era por eso, porque ella la dejo hacer lo que quería, o sea uno tiene que ponerle limites a los niños, a los hijos, verdad? Y este, y no siempre permitirles que hagan lo que ellos quieren y sin embargo pues mi mama conmigo no fue así, mi mama fue muy prepotente, muy este... me tenia aterrada siempre en todo momento yooo bueno me decía, orden, que ella me diera y sucedió eso conmigo de ahí Salí embarazada, pues, fue por eso, no tenía yo heeee, no tenía yo el conocimiento heee era muy callada yo porque si preguntaba ella se enojaba y no me nunca se sentó conmigo a decirme, mira la vida es así, no, ella andaba con palabras vulgares nunca le gusto la forma de ver si había alguna inquietud que tuviéramos no nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces cuando tu le dijiste que te venias para acá por ejemplo reacciono mal te juzgo que ibas a abandonar a tu hija o algo así?

ENTREVISTADO: No no nunca me dijo que yo la iba a abandonar, porque ella siempre la tuvo y porque ella sabía que ella siempre había estado al pendiente de la niña, heee yo no estuve con ella, yo no viví con ella porque yo siempre estuve lejos trabajando para todo, para la casa de ella, por eso ella no me juzgo así de esa manera de que yo la fuera a abandonar ella sabía que yo no podía ser así y sucedió de que yo todo lo que trabajaba era para ella y yo me quedara sin comer y yo ni dormía a veces ella en México ni siquiera dormía porque trabajaba de noche y yo pues trabajaba y era para ellos y luego salía de trabajar y me iba al centro y compraba yo, cosas dulces y hacia bolsitas y vendía yo en la fábrica donde trabajaba o si no compraba cualquier cosa para hacer lonches y vender allí adentro para tener un poquito de dinero mas, para que me pudiera rendir, verdad, a mí que me daba, yo no tener a nadie y luego ayudar a mi mama y todavía mantener a mis

hermanos porque yo tenía que mantenerlos porque mi mamá, ellos ya estaban grandes y podían trabajar.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tienes que llevarle todo?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí pues yo pienso como que yo había cometido el error y yo tenía que pagar con eso, yo no sé pero al fin mi mamá fue, siempre me tenía como dominada, yo no podía hacer nada que no se lo dijera, yo no podía esteé, no tenía vida, si ella me mandaba.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando te viniste para acá tú sientes que te liberaste un poco de eso

ENTREVISTADO: No, yo cuando me vine para acá, era lo mismo, porque yo estuve allá, era lo mismo porque ella por teléfono ella me mandaba me ordenaba, me decía yo le tenía mucho miedo pero sucedió que cuando yo empecé a conocer el camino de Dios y a conocer la biblia y empecé a rendirme a los pies de Dios, que a darle mi vida al señor, que él tomara el control de mi vida, a mí me dolió bastante y me sentí muy mal, pero yo no podía hacer nada, el señor me cerró toda puerta de trabajo, yo llegue aquí y no tenía absolutamente nada, a veces yo no tenía ni para comer, yo no tenía pues, el señor sí, pero bendito sea el señor me suplió para la renta, pero me cerró la puerta de trabajo para que yo entendiera que yo no podía ser manipulada por mi mamá que eso era lo que estaba pasando, entonces aunque yo quería darle yo no podía porque buscaba y buscaba trabajo yo no encontré y no encontré. Y uno dice no quiere, no yo busque y busque y no encontré pero era porque no sabía, si no porque yo sabía que era la mano de Dios que me estaba moviendo, ahí entonces ya esteé, aunque yo hubiera querido darle no podía.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en este momento?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo deje de apoyarla económicamente así como antes que todo, todo el cien por ciento. Yo ya no y ella yo pienso que me dejó venir con ese deseo de que yo ayudara a muchas cosas, no, resulta de que ella tenía planes de que yo le hiciera su casa de que le arreglara yo no sé qué tantas cosas que comprara yo no sé que, eso eran los planes de ella, por eso ella permitió de que yo me viniera para acá.

ENTREVISTADOR: Porque quería que tú con lo que ganaras acá le ayudaras a ella.

ENTREVISTADO: Ha ya, que yo le ayudara pero yo hee, Dios dice que mis pensamientos no son tus pensamientos entonces este, eso era lo que ella pensaba, pero le

digo cuando yo llegue aquí busque donde trabajar y no encontré donde trabajar y buscaba y buscaba y no encontré y ahí yo no conocía de Dios yo no busque de el yo no vine a meterme en una iglesia yo vine a trabajar y hacer dinero pero... el señor me quería mostrar que había un Dios todo poderoso y que él podía llevarme y librarme más de esa carga que yo estaba llevando injustamente, porque era injustamente, que yo tuviera que cargar con todo el peso de mi familia era bastante. Entonces el señor quería librarme de ese dolor verdad y empecé, yo quería trabajar y no podía, no podía ayudarle a hacer nada, mi mama muy molesta no es que en verdad que no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces como es el día de hoy como manejas la relación con tu mama hasta el día de hoy.

ENTREVISTADO: Ahora ya es diferente, cuando yo empecé a buscar de Dios, yo le empecé a pedir con todo mi corazón y le dije señor si tu quieres que yo te sirva yo te pido que cambies el pensamiento de mi mama cámbiala a ella, porque yo no te puedo servir y estar ahí en que pueda. Yo tenía el pavor de contestar el teléfono porque era insultada segura, era tanto el miedo que yo le tenía a mi mama y este, ahí yo le hablaba y ella me contestaba mal, y todo eso, entonces yo le decía, señor si es que tu quieres que te sirva yo te pido cambia el pensamiento de mi mama, cambia la vida de mi mama, cámbiala, transfórmala para que yo te pueda servir a ti, porque entonces yo no puedo hacer nada yo dependo de ti, ahora, y solo tú eres el único (y yo ni siquiera sabía que existían bancos de comida). Yo pase muchas cosas, solo un trabajo tenia, que era part-time el único trabajo que tenia para poder sustentarme y a veces me quedaba yo sin dinero sin nada de dinero sin nada me quedaba y yo no podía ni comprar comida y yo me iba a trabajar sin comer, a veces estaba yo aquí sin comer, donde yo trabajaba en ese hospital la comida que botaban yo comía de ahí, era de lo que yo comía y sufrí mucho mucho pues para que pudiera entender que había un Dios que podía llevar mis problemas mis cargar que pudiera depositarme en él y cambiar todo. Pero para eso tuve que humillarme demasiado, tuve que pagar mucho y pagar mucha dificultad y ya cuando el señor este, aliviano mis cargas, moraba y yo decía señor yo nada puedo hacer, que puedo hacer solo tú lo sabes, si me vas a proveer o no solo te pido que ayudes a mi mama y sucedió así poco a poco, cuando yo levantaba el teléfono y le decía, hola mami como estas y ya empezó a cambiar empezó a hablarme diferente ya no me insultaba ya no me gritaba (no no te preocupes si no tienes

no te preocupes nosotros estamos bien gracias a Dios no te preocupes) y así que gran diferencia de aquella señora gruñona enojona, grosera, que antes hablaba y me insultaba y me decía cuanta cosa, ahora hablo por teléfono con mi mamá, ya me contesta bien.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ya te da más el lugar con tu hijo.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues sí, nada más como ella ya está grande ella no me sigue viendo igual, ella no me sigue viendo igual, incluso una vez estando más chica si quieres que yo te diga mamá tienes que ganártelo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Te dijo tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Y yo lloraba porque ella no me quería

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero no te quería como una madre o te recriminaba porque te habías venido para acá.

ENTREVISTADO: Ella nunca me ha dicho nada ella nunca ... ella es como yo tal vez tiene resentimiento tal vez ahí cosas en ella, pero ella nunca me dice nada, pero yo hablo con ella yo le digo mira tú no me tengas coraje, las cosas que han sucedido es porque Dios a sí lo ha permitido, nosotros no somos dueños de nuestra vida, ni nada, él es el que tiene el control y si las cosas suceden es por algo, él lo permitió así, pero tú no me juzgues ni te sientas mal, ni sientas que él te ha abandonado Dios nunca te ha abandonado siempre estuvo pendiente de ti y mi amor por ti nunca va a cambiar, sigue siendo el mismo. Y cuando ella nació, pues sí se sintió muy celosa bastante celosa y me dijo, no tu haya con tu hija y yo acá con mi mamá me dijo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella te dijo?

ENTREVISTADO: Y entonces le digo, entonces yo quise traérmela, tu no quisieras venirte para acá, le dije, quieres venirte yo puedo hacer lo posible para que te vengas y estés conmigo, porque yo le decía bueno yo decía no puedo estarle mandando hasta allá, hay muchas cosas que ella necesita, yo necesite tantas cosas y no hubo quien me las diera porque yo no tuve el cariño de mi mamá, y el apoyo de mi mamá yo quería darle a ella y tenerla aquí conmigo, yo le dije que si quería en un momento me dijo que sí, pero ya después me dijo que no y dice mi mamá así como ya, seguro la quieres para que te vaya a cuidar la otra niña que tienes, no yo no la quiero de niñera yo la quiero para apoyarla y ayudarla que no lo pude hacer antes y ahorita tengo la oportunidad porque este hombre se ha portado muy bien conmigo él es bueno.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y acepta a tu hija mayor también?

ENTREVISTADO: Si si el acepta y él me da para que yo le mande, y este yo antes no pude tener... una vida estable yo me case con otro señor y me fue bastante mal pues él me trato muy mal y termine divorciándome de el porqué no soportaba la vida que me daba, era una vida de pleitos de todos los días y entonces no pues como iba yo a tener así...

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Siempre andaba yo huyendo siempre yo de un lado a otro nunca tenía una vida estable.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero siempre te atormentaba la idea de que tu hija estaba alla y tú no estabas con ella o no.

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Yo siempre quise tenerla conmigo y ya cuando yo le dije a mi hija que se viniera que yo me la iba a traer, pues lo tomaron a mal pensaron primero, pensaron.... Mi mama me dijo como ya tiene hija alla ya ahorita dice que tiene hija grande que eso ya quiere llevársela, ya te sirve ya le puede hacer las cosas, yo no me la quiero traer con ese propósito para tenerla como sirvienta ni como niñera de mi niña, no. Yo la quiero ayudar y brindarle las cosas que no le pueden brindar alla, aquí yo la aquí es más fácil, porque un giro por decir así yo te quiero mandar unos veinte dólares diez dólares tienen que ser de envíos entonces con esos veinte dólares o treinta dólares yo puedo llevarla a la tienda a comprarle lo que ella necesite, yo siento que aquí ella no pasara necesidades porque me tendría a mí, que mandarle un poquito de dólares para alla y que no le sirva porque son muchos, mi mama siempre tiene la casa llena y no le rinde el dinero que yo le mando. Entonces por eso yo le mando el dinero, pero mi mama no puede decirle, ten cómprate esto ten comprarte lo otro. No, porque el dinero que le mando es para pagar las deudas que tiene.

ENTREVISTADOR: De ella?

ENTREVISTADO: No de mi mama y de todos los que están ahí, y entonces mi hija no puede disfrutar de eso, y con ese propósito yo me la quiero traer, pero no sé si ella le habrá dicho algo, pero empezó a decir que no que como ya ella tenía hija grande ya quería.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que tú mama hecho en parte que tu hija no pueda como sentir ese cariño hacia ti?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, porque yo he visto otras mamas otras mujeres que han dejado sus hijos ahí, a otras mamas que aunque ni siquiera le mandan ella es tu mama y ¡ha! Respétala y esto y lo otro verdad. Siempre le inculcan y ella están viendo lo agradecida por teléfono aunque no les manden nada, yo las he visto y mi mama no no tenia llenadera, no tenia llenadera y cuando no le mandaba dinero siempre estaba enojada siempre bien molesta y cuando me embarace igual no le agrado nadita nadita, porque también estaba muy enojada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que te dijo

ENTREVISTADO: Pues estaba bien enojada pero si estaban bien molestos es mas no me hablaban, no me hablaban pero para esto yo ya había entendido en el señor lo que quería era que yo llevara una vida pacífica que yo no iba a cambiar la vida de ellos de estarme matando por ellos es mas yo les iba a cambiar.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y alguien aquí te juzgaba, porque habías dejado tu niña alla, tu alguna vez sentiste que la gente juzga a las mamas que dejan los niños en México o en otro país?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno, las personas hablan en el trabajo habían unas personas que siempre me estaban diciendo que.... Ni los perros dejan los animales ahí botados y que no se qué, pero yo a eso no le he hecho caso porque yo se que yo he sabido perfectamente que no, no fue así, yo no la deje porque yo haya querido es mas ni siquiera sabía yo a lo que venía, no sabia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y para ti no es abandono lo que hiciste.

ENTREVISTADO: No yo nunca la he abandonado yo siempre he estado al pendiente de ella siempre, y siempre lo voy a estar, yo le dije a ella, conmigo puedes contar para lo que quieras, cuando ella necesita algo, ella me habla, he...he...claro. Dice ella necesito dinero que vaya yo, o necesito esto, como ahorita me pidió una computadora entonces ahorita ando buscando el dinero para juntárselo par que compre la computadora alla, me sale muy caro enviarla verdad?

ENTREVISTADOR: Y con su hermanita ya se siente ella más como...

ENTREVISTADO: De su hermana no me dice nada pero ella habla por teléfono y dice, hola hermanita como estas ella le habla y le dice mi hermanita me quiere mucho, mi hermanita que está en México me quiere, pero ella no dice nada ella es muy callada no dice nada, si muy callada y lo que sucede es que ella vive en el mismo ambiente en que yo vivía y todo se lo ha ido reservando guardando, y yo le digo, no lo guardes si tú tienes alguna inquietud háblame, plátame, dime, pregúntame.

ENTREVISTADOR: En ese caso tu eres que tú podrías ser mejor mama que lo que es tu mama, por ejemplo, mucho mejor, si.

ENTREVISTADO: Mejor para ella? , si así porque no se trata de gritar y regañar, si no de darle amor, comprensión de que uno pueda descargarse, porque eso era lo que pasaba conmigo mama todo me lo guardaba todo, pasaba lo que fuera en mis pensamientos, para mí fue bien duro poder abrirme poder hablar estar muy callada. hay momentos en los cuales he llegado a tener una duda y me he quedado callada porque para mí fue muy difícil todo eso, que tenía dudas quería saber cosas y no podía, me callaban la boca, nada mas con la actitud que ponía mi mama, a mi me daba pánico preguntar y yo ya no mejor no decía nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces con tu hija a ti te gustaría hablar las cosas distintas ya que se parece a ti?

ENTREVISTADO: Si a si es todavía sigo pensando en la posibilidad de tenerla aquí, nada más que no sabemos si nos vamos a quedar aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cómo crees tú que sería en el caso que te fueras para México, crees que ella se iría contigo?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo pienso que si ya en el caso en que yo me fuera a México ella me buscaría porque ella cuando tenía diez años que yo me vine para acá yo estaba trabajando en la frontera y mi mama y mi hermana, una de mis hermanas se llevo a mi mama a vivir ahí a la frontera con engaños ella dijo que iba a poner una tienda y yo no sé que mas mentiras y total que la dejo abandonada ahí y mi mama pobrecita ha batallado bastante y yo me hice cargo de mi mama yo le puse un apartamento, la casa le rente y a mi mama no le ha faltado nada por eso yo he trabajado tanto, pero el problema es que mi mama era que quería verme a mi como su solución a todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tú crees que ahora si dejaría ir a tu hija contigo? A esta edad?

ENTREVISTADO: Si porque como ella ya esta grande ella puede decir si yo me voy, quiero estar alla porque porque, se da cuenta pues nosotros como pareja aquí nosotros compartimos estamos en una vida pacífica, nosotros no discutimos es una relación muy bonita que tenemos y ahí con mi mama el uno grita, grita el otro a cambio pero sigue siendo conflictiva si entonces este como mi mama es diabética este, es histérica, siempre gritando.

ENTREVISTADOR: La afecta mucho su estado de ánimo la diabetes.

ENTREVISTADO: Si aparte ella está preocupada pues como yo no soy quien la está apoyando ella siempre tiene que ver cómo hacerle como solucionar sus problemas ósea yo digo bueno el señor me libero de todo eso yo la apoyaba bastante económicamente trabajaba para ella, vivía para ella, pero ella nunca pudo nada de su parte un hasta aquí, mis hermanos uno ya está casado y otro ni mujer tiene porque no son responsables y borrachos drogadictos y ahí los tienen metidos quitándole lo poquito que tiene, entonces yo no sé, a mí se me hace que voto saliva yo digo que si yo tuviera un hijo así yo pienso pues no permitiría que me estuviera llenando la vida de problemas un hijo busca la forma de buscarse sus cosas si tú necesitas trabajar si no pues yo no puedo estoy sola verdad? Pero mi mama, no ahí los tiene ahora son ellos los que le están fastidiando la vida y llenándola de problemas y entonces ella tiene que buscar la comida para todos ellos y por eso lo poquito que yo le mando no le alcanza, aunque le mandara yo mucho tampoco nunca le iba a alcanzar porque en vez de darle le quitan y ese era el asunto conmigo que a mí me deprime todo eso yo decía, pero como yo a veces, me ando matando sin dormir, cansada no me compro lo que tengo que comprarle por mandarle a mi mama y ella no me puede estar bien porque vienen ellos y le absorben todo lo que le cae.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces por ejemplo tu hija que está en medio de toda esa vida familiar tan difícil tú crees que ella cómo va a recordar todos estos años de que tú no has estado con ella, como... porque tu mama seguro le ha dicho una historia. Tu como quieres que ella recuerde estos años?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo he hablado con ella y yo le he dicho, yo he tenido la culpa de que tu estés con mi mama si es verdad yo soy responsable porque yo debí haber luchado por ti, tu debías haber estado conmigo pero yo tenía miedo no sabía no conocía la vida, no sabía, me fue tan mal yo trabajaba lejos pero a pesar de eso todo el miedo quería

limpiarse las manos en mi me sucedieron muchas cosas feas, y tal vez el señor permitió que así fuera para que tu estuvieras con mi mama para que no pasaras las cosas que yo pase pero entonces yo le platico a ella y entonces ella me dice no es y mi mama me ha dicho que tú no tienes la culpa, me dijo mi mama que tu no tiene la culpa que ella fue que me quitaron de ahí contigo que yo no digo que tienes la culpa que me hayas abandonado me arrancaron de tu lado le digo, entonces de que ella no se sienta a si y de que ella hable ahorita ella habla un poquito más pero antes yo le hablaba y solo respondía, como estas bien, y cuéntame algo de tu escuela, bien y todo era bien y nunca me decía nada y eso era todo y le decía quieres hablar con tu mama y ella decía para que no quería hablar conmigo pero ahora ella es quien levanta el teléfono y ella me habla y ya me empieza a platicar, mira yo necesito dinero para esto y esto, vamos hacer esto, ella me empieza a decir pero ya habla un poquito más.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya te cuenta más cosas de su vida.

ENTREVISTADO: Pero si nosotros nos llegáramos a ir de México yo pienso que ella se iría detrás de nosotros pues mi esposo hemos estado construyendo una casa verdad, pues la idea de que ella... pues yo pienso que se iría pues al comparar la vida que lleva la vida que lleva con mi mama y al ver una vida pacífica a mi lado pues yo quiero comprenderla yo no quiero estar ahí y tenerla solo ahí, no yo no soy así de que coja a las personas porque yo he tenido personas viviendo bajo mi techo conmigo y yo nunca he sido abusiva al hacerme el que hace de la limpieza ni nada yo mis cosas ya las tengo yo no necesito nada entonces yo haría eso, si claro le enseñare las reglas pero no abusaría de ella ni la tendría solamente para eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como has hecho tu para ganarte el lugar de madre en estos años ya ahora que esta mas grande.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues hablando con ella, hablando mucho con ella porque cuando no hablaba ella no sabía nada ni nada y también estaba llena de rencor y cosas a si lo que pasa es que mi mama siempre tuvo mucha influencia y hablaba cosas que no, que no eran porque cuando yo hablaba con ella ella me decía no es que esta muy ocupada, como hace poco como que le habían ganado. El, había como que quería volver a lo mismo le hable por teléfono y entonces te digo hable a mi mama y le pregunte como esta y este me dijo me hablaron dice, no, nosotros no le hablamos a las personas que están muy ocupadas o

sea que ya estaba otra vez como lo mismo, no es que yo recibía una llamada desconocida y yo pensé que eran ustedes que me habían hablado pero si no no se preocupe le digo yo no quiero molestarlos y ya este... Y si, si es verdad que yo siempre ando ocupada pero yo ando haciendo la obra de Dios yo no ando haciendo cosas malas le dije yo no creo, reacciono y ya me di cuenta me hablo pues ya cambio su tono de hablarme y me dijo, no, no; nosotros no te hemos hablado estamos bien pero queríamos volver a lo mismo, no si hay veces que mi mama habla y dice cosas palabras hirientes que ella es la que ha ido captando todo eso entonces pues obviamente yo me imagino que ella ha tenido esa desesperación entonces a pensar que yo no he querido que estoy muy tranquila y yo a veces le hablo no piensen que estamos muy tranquilos aquí yo estoy quitada de la pena dándome la gran vida yo ando para arriba y para abajo si pero siempre trato de ayudar a las personas que tengan alguna necesidad, si yo puedo pues, mis manos están como esta muchacha que lleve, ella está sola tiene un niño de diez años y la bebe ahora esta pobrecita, a veces no tienen ni que comer entonces como ahorita acabo de llegar de san Vicente la lleve a que fuéramos a buscar comida.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tú crees que Dios quiere que tu hija este con tu mama o que este contigo.

ENTREVISTADO: No pues Dios si hace familia es para... a los hijos el señor nos lo ha prestado pero nosotros tenemos quedar cuenta de nuestros hijos y yo le he pedido mucho al señor, mucho le he pedido y estoy pidiendo y el señor sabrá que eso lo que va a ser yo solo le digo señor yo solo quiero estar con ella yo la quiero tener conmigo ella sabe y yo no sé en qué momento el señor me vaya a contestar pero yo se que un día ella va a estar conmigo, yo si la extraño, a veces voy a las tiendas veo ropa de jovencitas, pero yo no le puedo comprar porque yo no sé los gustos de ella porque una jovencita tiene diferentes gustos .

ENTREVISTADOR: Y te mandan fotos de ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Creerás que no me mandan fotos por más de que le he pedido no me mandan la única foto que tengo es esa ahí donde esta...

ENTREVISTADOR: En la primera comunión?

ENTREVISTADO: No esté saliendo de la pri

ENTREVISTADO.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es la única que tienes?

ENTREVISTADO: Es la única foto que tengo y yo no tengo más fotos así de ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Esta es ella?

ENTREVISTADO: No está soy yo.

ENTREVISTADOR: A no se ve bien, y esa es elisama chiquita?

ENTREVISTADO: Ahí estábamos si fuimos al zoológico ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hay que linda, hay pero no tiene ya grande.

ENTREVISTADO: No yo les pido y les pido, les digo que la niña quiere ver a su hermana, porque ella trajo la señora juanita.

ENTREVISTADOR: Aja.

ENTREVISTADO: Donde pone la foto y ahí trae otra foto de su hermana pero era antes de que me mandaran esta la única ahí y no me mandaron mas y entonces este, ella la mira y la mira y dice esta es mi hermana? Si esa es su hermana de México la quiere mucho y la única, yo le digo mándenme fotos la niña quiere ver a su hermana mándenme fotos de la familia para que ella sepa para cuando vamos para alla sepan quienes son quien es quien pero que no llegue ahí a lo desconocido, porque ella tiene mucha comunicación con la mama de su papa o sea han hablado por teléfono. Quieres hablar con la niña? Y ella se la pasa y ella dice habla con tu mama mami de México pero con mi mama no habla que mi mama todo el tiempo es ocupada solamente, entonces no, no no da chance de hablar, muy poco o ella no se presta, yo le paso a la niña y ella no se presta, platicando mi suegra ahí mi niña mi preciosa mi hermosa, ella habla con ella y le habla si muchas palabras bonitas y si, que paso mama como estas y ya eso es todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es una persona mas difícil?

ENTREVISTADO: Más dura no se como es.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero si tú aquí te has podido reanimar mucho has podido crear una vida distinta y hasta estás haciendo una familia bien distinta a la que tú tuviste, cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Si así es.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú pudiste como liberarte, es verdad muchas veces venir acá cambia el rumbo de la vida de la gente?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, así es, si yo me lamentaba la verdad que sí, yo decía, ¿pero cómo estaba bien? Pero no estaba bien, no estaba bien, yo decía que estaba bien porque me

conformaba con un trabajo mal pagado, porque eran muchas horas de trabajo eran doce horas de trabajo y este... pero uno no estaba bien, comparado con el de ahora el señor me ha dado una paz que en verdad que nunca la había experimentado antes y este hombre pues... se porta bien conmigo, el me estaba hablando ahorita, nada más que no le conteste, pero él me habla, quiere hablar con su hija platicar con ella, como está la niña como esta ella y ya este es obvio quiere estar metido aquí con su familia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y es de México el?

ENTREVISTADO: Si también.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que por ese lado tú has podido hacer una familia como la que siempre hubieras querido tener

ENTREVISTADO: Si como la hubiera querido.

ENTREVISTADOR: Qué bueno que ya la tiene.

ENTREVISTADO: Gracias a Dios.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro que si, y pues ya veremos que pasara con el tiempo con tu niña pues ella esta grande tú no puedes tomar decisiones ya totalmente sobre su futuro.

ENTREVISTADO: Si pues ella como ya esta grande, puede decidir que no o que sí, pero yo sé que si yo me llevo a ir ella yo sé que si al darse su propio espacio a ella, ella va a ver mis cuidados, va a ver mis atenciones, entonces yo sé que si, ella podría estar con nosotros, si es que nos vamos si es que nos quedamos pues también, solo Dios sabia porque yo le estoy pidiendo mucho y buscando la forma de que mi esposo se quiere ir él se quiere ir pero Dios es el que decide sobre el camino de una verdad? En caso de que nos quedemos esta la posibilidad de que ella pueda quedarse que pueda estar aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú crees que en México se acostumbra más o se ven con mejores ojos las mamás que dejan a sus hijos con ellos? Digamos que en México que es lo que se acostumbra más que las mamás críen a sus hijos o las abuelas?

ENTREVISTADO: No, allá no lo regular las abuelas son las que se hacen cargo de los nietos ellos son las que, se ve mucho eso y más aquí hay muchas mujeres que han dejado sus hijos allá que eso si ni siquiera se acuerdan de los hijos porque yo he visto...mujeres que ha.

ENTREVISTADO: Han hecho eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que no se acuerdan de los niños?

ENTREVISTADO: Que no se acuerdan de los niños? Aquí nosotros tenemos una reunión de mujeres y una de mis hermanas dice que ha cambiado demasiado que si ha, le esta yendo bien económicamente y todo pero creo que dos hijos dejo en México y no se acuerdan de ella ni les habla por teléfono ni les manda dinero ni nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella...

ENTREVISTADO: Los abandono por completo, que no es porque uno diga a los abandono? Pero ella dice que le da pena que como es que teniendo una buena posición económica no les pueda mandar a sus hijos verdad? Eso si es penoso pero si, así como ella he visto otras mas que han dejado a sus hijos pero alla en México se ve mucho eso, que las mujeres dejan a los hijos con las abuelas mamases ellas se hacen cargo de sus hijos y yo no, yo no, yo es más le digo mándame la hija para el trabajo, esta no me la van a quitar ella va a estar conmigo y aquí lo mismo que coma yo come ella, no la voy a ver pues el papa también dice, yo no la voy a dejar, porque aquella yo no la disfrute no supe nada, esta es porque estuve en el embarazo y aquella tenía que trabajar duramente para poderme reponer. Me vi solita, solita estuve yo no tuve experiencia de ninguna clase si me la hubieran querido robar me la hubieran robado yo ni cuenta me habría dado que sola estaba no tenía ningún familiar cuando fui a dar a luz al hospital y este pues... solo me metieron y ya me hicieron el tacto, no méntanla prepárenla y me empezaron a enrollar los pies las manos y la cabeza prepárenla porque le vamos a hacer cirugía, usted no puede tener a su bebe normal, no le digo yo lo quiero que me hagan no pero es que si no la abro su bebe se va a morir, pero nunca me quitaron nada, solo eso fue lo que me dijeron, que prefiere que se muera su bebe o que la abramos la panza, yo le dije pues la vida de mi bebe pues yo y pues me durmieron completa toda completamente y yo no reaccione hasta el siguiente día y alla arrinconada en el hospital en un pacillo lejos no se oía ruido de nada sola era la única camilla que estaba ahí y ya este cuando se me paso la anestesia empecé a sentirme mal con los dolores y ya pasaba por ahí una enfermera y ya me arrimo mas para alla donde había más gente y ya como a las siete de la mañana es cuando me empezaron a pasar a un cuarto una camilla que ya no estuve aquí fue muy distinto alla fue que me asearon y me quitaron la ropa que tenia y todo y me pasaron a una cama limpia y ya como a las nueve como a las once no recuerdo bien fue que me pasaron a la niña pero

nadie me decía nada, como tuvo niña tuvo niño nada, aquí los médicos me la hubieran podido robar y yo ni cuenta me di, porque ni un familiar ni nada

ENTREVISTADOR: No había nadie viendo por ustedes.

ENTREVISTADO: Me llevaron a mi niña ya me la trajeron hasta después fue bastante duro y difícil porque yo dije, yo no quiero otra vez lo mismo y esta no me la van a quitar y mi niña va a estar conmigo y sí, he disfrutado cada momento cada instante yo soy su estoy con ella yo hablo con ella yo le digo no te vayas hacer eso por allá y así, yo procuro hablar con ella hay momentos en que si se me ha salido de que me ha desesperado y he gritado y ya luego hoy le digo perdóname y yo hablo con ella y le digo que me perdona que yo no quiero ser así, y ya ella me abraza y ya me perdona y este...

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú sientes que eres una buena madre aquí con e?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo siento que si yo siempre estuve pendiente de ella siempre trato de que ella esté bien, este...

ENTREVISTADOR: Y con tu hija de México ahí veces sientes remordimiento de que no pueda ser como con Elisa.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si yo me siento mal tan solo el hecho de cuando yo voy a comer pienso si ella tendrá para comer que ira a comer o sin poder elegir solo comer lo que haya y yo pues aquí podría pero no la tengo yo no sé si mi mama le habrá dicho algo por lo cual haya desanimado y por eso ella ya no quiere venir, no sé, porque ella me había dicho que si estaba dispuesta y dijo cuando me voy a ir me pregunto cuándo, andamos buscando la persona que te va a traer porque yo no la quiero traer así solo quería estar sola con mama y le dije yo no quería que pasara lo mismo que pase yo porque corre muchos peligros pues yo la voy a pasar con papeles bien ya anda buscándola, buscando los medios para poderla traer, buscando la persona que me prestara los papeles para poderla traer y la persona que la pudiera traer pero como no era del señor porque pues ya cuando le volví a decir ya me dijo que no que no quería, entonces no se si mi mama le dijo algo yo no sé que habrá pasado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Algo paso.

ENTREVISTADO: Algo la desanimo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ellas tienen una buena relación, tu hija y tu mama?

ENTREVISTADO: Mi hija quiere mucho a mi mama mi mama tal vez si la quiera mucho pero no tiene buena relación con ella, no platica con ella no le da la confianza, lo mismo que paso conmigo. No le esta alertando sobre las cosas que pasan en la vida a ella con que este ahí y con decirle que hay muchos peligros afuera no, no platica con ella no se sienta con ella, mira dime tienes alguna inquietud te pasa algo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo a ella le digo, mami tú me tienes que decir todo, todo todo, todo. Y ella me dice que si, y ella me platica a mi me duele mi cabecita a mi me duele mi panza cuando yo la veo llorando, haber haber, contrólate primero y ya luego me dices quiero que me digas que es lo que te pasa porque estas llorando y ya ella me dice, ahora estaba llorando porque ella quería unos dulces y bueno si, pero no llores así porque me haces pensar muchas cosas feas yo pienso que algo malo te ha sucedido no llores así.... Primero tienes que decirme que es lo que te pasa y todo lo que te hagan me lo tienes que decir y ya ella me dice, aquel niño me pego o este niño me pego este niño hizo travesuras y boto esto o lo otro o aquel niño le pego aquella niña.

ENTREVISTADOR: Osea que tú crees que desde chiquita, crees que es bueno que empiece a enseñársele esa confianza comunicación?

ENTREVISTADO: Si así es, es que uno tiene que hablar con ellos siempre en todo momento en todo momento, pues uno nunca sabe pues yo siento. Yo le pregunto a ella pues como yo viví así, y hay tanta malicia en el mundo tanta cosa que se ve, yo le pregunto a ella que si esta histérica le digo que si nosotros andamos a la tienda ella siempre está por ahí ella no se va a jugar por ahí, ella no, siempre cerca de mi si andamos en algún otro lado ella no se despega yo no la dejo que ande por alla porque que porque yo viví así y porque hay mucha gente maliciosa no se tienta en el corazón, yo he visto tantas cosas que no se tientan en el corazón para hacerles maldades a los niños, entonces yo digo no mientras yo pueda y el señor me de la capacidad pues yo la voy a cuidar

Demographics

Age: 35

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Como tú decidiste venirte para acá, y dejar mientras tanto los niños en México?

ENTREVISTADO: No pues yo me vine porque quería trabajar; que trabajáramos los dos aquí juntos, pero ya estando aquí Como que ya cambio la cosa cada quien por su lado, yo aquí estoy sola con mi niño.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tú en un principio te viniste con él, con el papa de tus dos niños y aquí las cosas no funcionaron como habían planeado?

ENTREVISTADO: no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok, cuando estabas en México cuantos años tenían sus hijos en ese momento?

ENTREVISTADO: Tenían 5 años la más grande y el niño 3 años.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cinco años y tres años. Y en ese momento cuando tú piensas que te vas a venir para acá como decides con quien dejarlos?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo me vine porque ya el andaba por acá de travieso con otra mujer y yo dije, “me voy para allá para que las cosas cambien, tal vez yo estando alla tal vez los dos trabajemos y el piense diferente. Pero no no fue así; al final, nos separamos no hace mucho. Por una parta me siento triste porque imagínate yo vine a estar con él y no funciona y yo pienso que también no se puede tener a alguien a la fuerza, y me da tristeza también porque mis hijos imagínate en Mexico tan solos y de nada sirvió que yo me haya venido para EE.UU

OTRA ENTREVISTADOR: Cuanto llevas en EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Seis años

ENTREVISTADOR: Ósea que ENTREVISTADO que cuando tú decides venirte para acá es para salvar la relación?

ENTREVISTADO: si

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuanto llevaban separados ustedes dos?

ENTREVISTADO: Quizá no tenemos mucho porque de ahí seguíamos juntos. seguimos juntos mucho tiempo pero ya últimamente ya no se pudo mas y cada quien decidió irse por su lado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando vino a EE.UU la primera vez cuantos años estuviste tu solita con los niños en México?

ENTREVISTADO: Tres años.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, tres años, en esos tres años con quien viviste?

ENTREVISTADO: Con quien viví yo? Yo viví en norte de carolina. Yo vivia con mi cuñada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en México?

ENTREVISTADO: en México? Oh mi esposo me dejo una casita y ahí vivía yo sola con mis dos niños.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu suegra vivía en el mismo lugar?

ENTREVISTADO: No vivía lejos como a tres horas de donde nosotros estábamos?

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuéntame que tan cercana eras tú a tu suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: Bastante me veia con ella. Como sabía que yo estaba sola, me visitaba a veces una vez a la semana a veces cada ocho días, cada quince días, llegaba a ver a sus dos nietos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok.

ENTREVISTADO: Y llegaba a llevarle cosas como ella vivía en un rancho y yo vivía en la ciudad le llevaba cosas a los niños.

ENTREVISTADOR: Le llevaba cositas del rancho. Ok Y entonces cuando tu estuviste pensando en venirte para acá, tu suegra te apoyo en venirte para EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Ella me apoyo. Me dijo, “si quieres vete con el me dijo para ver cambian las cosas, a lo mejor estando haya cambie él y todo sea diferente hazlo por tus niños” y yo dije “tal vez esa sea la solución. Así entre los dos trabajamos y hacemos dinero para una casa mejor.” Ademas ella me dijo que me iba a cuidárme los niños.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hasta hoy están con ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Pero ya quieren que yo regrese, yo les digo que si voy a regresar, pero tal vez el año que viene. Necesito trabajar un poquito para ganar dinero y irme.

ENTREVISTADOR: Yo entiendo. Entonces por ejemplo tú cuando en ese momento tuviste que tomar la decisión de venirte como te sentías dejando a los niños.

ENTREVISTADO: Bien triste porque los dejaba a ellos. Al mismo tiempo estaba alegre porque yo pensaba que acá estaba mi suegro mi cuñada y mi marido y yo decía “que ojala y Dios quiera que todo sea para bien.”

ENTREVISTADOR:OK, y Entonces en ese momento fue que tú dijiste que no valió la pena dejar a tus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR :Haber venido?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

OTRA ENTREVISTADOR: Y como te comunicas con ellos?

ENTREVISTADO: Les hablo por teléfono, cada quince días, cada ocho días.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cada quince días, cada ocho días?

ENTREVISTADO: Si tengo tarjeta para llamar. Porque hay que comprar tarjeta para hablar también.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK. y entonces en esos primeros años cuando no tenias todavía a tus hijas, tu sentías que todavía eras la madre de ellos o tu suegra empezó ser mas la madre?

ENTREVISTADO: ellos quieren mucho a su abuela, más que a mi tal vez, porque con ella se han crecido los dos niños.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como te sientes tu de que ellos la quieran mas a ella que a ti?

ENTREVISTADO: un poco triste. Pero pues yo digo está bien que la quieran, si de todas maneras ella es la que los está criando lo lógico es que la tienen que querer más a ella que a mí porque con ella están todos los días y conmigo pues nada más hablan por teléfono.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tú crees que una madre es la que está con los hijos todos los días o una madre tambien puede ser la que se va y les envia dinero y llama por telefono a sus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues tal a vez ella quieran mas, pienso yo. Mi abuela esta en México, y mi mama eesta en EE.UU. Verdaderamente yo siento que ella es la madre mis hijos aunque yo los haya tenido.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, ósea que tú sientes que una madre es la que está con los niños todo el tiempo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Como tu estas con tus hijas acá.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: ENTREVISTADO, desde que tu llegaste por ejemplo alguna vez tuviste la sensación de que alguien te juzga por haber dejado a tus hijos con tu suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, mi familia. Unos familiares me decían que mejor mil veces hubiera estado alla con mis hijos y no hubiera venido acá a tener más hijos, pero yo ya que iba a ser, ya nada se podía hacer, aunque me juzgaran ya yo sabía que ellos tenían la razón.

ENTREVISTADOR: porque crees tú que ellos tienen la razón?

ENTREVISTADO: Porque si, porque yo mejor debí haberme quedado con ellos alla, no haberme venido para EE.UU.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú sientes que haberte venido para EE.UU. Te hace una mala madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Tal vez si, pienso yo, o quien sabe.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu como te sientes?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues a veces un poco triste?

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: triste porque no están mis hijos conmigo aqui.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si. Y tú sientes que para tus hijos tú has sido una madre en que manera?

ENTREVISTADO: Una madre tal vez un poco despegada, porque cariñosa pues no. yo les hablo a ellos, les cuento hora sí lo que vivimos con su papa, pues no es igual, no es igual que ellos estén alla conmigo que ellos me vean, y todo, no es igual que yo les hable de acá a que yo los tenga cerca de mí que ellos sientan el calor mío el apoyo la atención y los cuidados

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, entonces por ejemplo eso es lo que tú sientes por un lado, pero por otro estos como le has hecho estos seis años que has estado acá como para no

desfallecer, no irte, aguantar estos seis años como has hecho tú para apartar esos sentimientos de tristeza. Que piensas tu, que te de ánimo para seguir?

ENTREVISTADO: No pues yo me digo a mimisma que ellos están alla donde su abuelita están bien y digo también “yo no me puedo ir de un momento a otro porque acá tengo mis dos hijas y para irse con dos hijas es más difícil.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Si.

ENTREVISTADO: Si y ya mi niña me dice que yo ya me vaya para Mexico yo le digo que tenga paciencia que a lo mejor el año que viene, trabajo unos meses y ya yo tal vez me vaya con ellos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y todo el tiempo has trabajado.

ENTREVISTADO: No. Yo no he trabajado porque el papa de mi niña el siempre me ha ayudado de hecho estaba conmigo, pero ya últimamente ya no se pudo, y ya nos separamos pero él me ayudaba bastante antes, el estaba conmigo y me compraba todo, pero seguía con sus mujeres y es por eso que ya decidimos cortar. Y aqui no tengo a nadie.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que familiares tienes en México.

ENTREVISTADO: Alla esta toda mi familia, mi papa, mi madre, mis rmanos, todos.

ENTREVISTADOR: todo el mundo, y que piensan ellos, que pensó tu madre cuando le dijiste que te ibas a venir.

ENTREVISTADO: Nada lo que pasa es que yo no viví con mi madre, mi madre se separo de mi papa cuando yo tenía como once años ya ella hizo su otra vez su vida más adelante y yo me crie con mi papa.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, y tu papa que te dijo cuando te ibas a venir para acá.

ENTREVISTADO: que yo lo pensara bien porque el desierto es peligroso y aparte de eso estaba yo dejando mis dos hijos alla solos. Por que mi suegra los quiere y pero no es igual. “Piénsalo bien porque ahora el desierto se ve en la TV cuantas cosas pasan.” Pero yo decidida dije “Dios quiera que no pase nada, yo llego.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú crees que en ese momento para ti era más importante la relación con el papa de tus hijos que tus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si tal vez si porque dije ya estando alla entre los dos le echamos ganas y trabajamos y ya tal vez el cambie. El me ayudo muhecho tiempo. Hicimos una

casa alla más o menos bien, le enviaba dinero a mis hijos todo el tiempo y hasta la fecha él les sigue mandando dinero.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tú también les tratas de mandar dinero cuando puedes a tu suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: Casi no les mando, porque la última vez que discutimos con mi esposo yo le dije que no me diera dinero para mis hijas aquí, pero que el les mandaba el dinero a nuestros hijos en Mexico.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tu prefieres que les mande a los niños de México que a las niñas aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, porque yo siento que aquí la vida es mas fácil y alla es bien difícil la vida, y todo es más caro.

ENTREVISTADOR: entonces una madre como tú ENTREVISTADO, que no creciste con tu madre, cual es la idea que tienes de cómo es una madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Como así que la idea?

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú que piensas que es una madre? Como es una madre para ti?

ENTREVISTADO: no sé porque yo no me tuve madre

ENTREVISTADOR: Que tú papa fue padre y madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo me crie con mi mama como hasta los nueve años pero de ahí me quede con mi papa; todos mis hermanos se quedaron con mi papa. Nosotros sufrimos muhecho porque mi papa era pobre y nosotros tuvimos que trabajar para ayudarlo a él, para que sacáramos adelante los hermanos más pequeños.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK

ENTREVISTADO: Pero salimos adelante

ENTREVISTADOR: o sea que tu desde muy chiquita tuviste que ser independiente y ayudar en la casa y a tu papa?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si? Que pensabas tú, le guardabas rencor a tu madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, por que no nos quería, que nos abandono y no nos necesitaba y hasta la fecha, ella no nos busco; al contrario ella quería que nosotros la fuéramos a buscar a ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK

ENTREVISTADO: Ella decía que ella estaba enferma y que habían tenido muchos hijos que como era posible que los hijos no le ayudaran a ella ahora adultos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuántos hijos.

ENTREVISTADO: Y nosotros le decíamos que ahora si se acuerda que tiene hijos porque cuando nosotros estábamos chiquitos, ella nunca estuvo con nosotros. Porque ahora se acuerda de nosotros porque quiere que le ayudemos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Osea que para ti ella no era una buena madre?

ENTREVISTADO: HM HM, ella nos busco pero para que le ayudáramos porque estaba enferma.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero no para cuidarlos a ustedes?

ENTREVISTADO: No, para que le ayudáramos con dinero. Siempre le ayudábamos con dinero, pero ya nos venimos para acá ya perdimos comunicación con ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces cuando tú te viniste para acá y la gente te decía que como dejaste a tus hijos, tú pensabas en cuando eras chiquita y tu madre se había ido de la casa?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si, pero lo mío es diferente porque yo a mis hijos les mando dinero. Nosotros vemos por ellos, cada fin de año le mandamos cosas, y yo como le he dicho cuando nosotros nos venimos para acá fue para hacer algo para ellos. Es diferente a la vida que tuve yo con mi madre, la vida que mis hijos tienen con nosotros. Nosotros estamos lejos pero siempre les hemos mandado a ellos para que estén bien allá y hablamos con ellos por telefono y tratarlos bien con cariño y atención desde acá entonces es diferente.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tu les has hecho entender ahora que están mayores, que es también por ellos que tú te has venido para EE.UU?

ENTREVISTADO: Si

ENTREVISTADOR: Ellos entienden que también es por el bien de ellos?

ENTREVISTADO: Si. Porque yo les digo mira que ustedes tienen todo: ropa, zapatos, lo que ustedes quieran. Hay comida lo que ustedes quieran comer. Yo cuando estaba chiquita yo les digo a ellos yo iba a la escuela con sandalias a veces todas viejas, todas rotas la teníamos que coser. Yo les hago entender a ellos “ustedes tienen una mejor vida, ustedes van bien , a la escuela. A mi suegra le decíamos que les comprara sus cosas que

le hacía falta a ellos, sus útiles, que los mandara bien a la escuela limpios, bien arreglados y ella me ha mandado fotos donde los arregla bien y todo. Yo les pregunto “qué les compro su abuela?” y ellos me dicen, “mi abuelita me compro esto, mi abuelita me compro lo otro.” Ella los quiere mucho porque son los únicos dos nietos, los mayores. y aparte de esto ella no tiene hijos allá, su único hijo está en Chicago, entonces toda su vida se las estaba dando a mis hijos como una madre. Porque mi suegra está viviendo solita con mis dos niños en una casa que mandamos hacer.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que ustedes hicieron la casa donde ella vive y ellos viven casi con el dinero que ustedes le mandan?

ENTREVISTADO: Nosotros le mandamos dinero, le manda dinero mi marido bueno el que era mi marido, le manda dinero mi cuñada mi cuñado, como mi cuñado vive en el norte de Carolina y otro en Chicago les manda dinero.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tu le dices a tu suegra que te sientes mal o triste porque tus hijos están allá, que te dice ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Que me vaya para allá que me lleve a las niñas que ella me va a ayudar me va a apoyar en lo que pueda. Que nadie se muera de hambre allá, yo le digo “si yo sé suegra, pero necesito arreglar los papeles a las niñas porque también de un momento a otro yo no me puedo ir. Tengo que sacarles su pasaporte” y dice “vente para acá yo te voy ayudar a ver que vendemos aunque sea tamalitos, cualquier cosa. Un negocio.” Y le digo yo lo que quiero hacer es esperar a que mi niña estén un poquito más mayores, trabajar juntar un dinero.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando tú te viniste la primera vez, cuánto tiempo planeabas quedarte?

ENTREVISTADO: Dos años

ENTREVISTADOR: Dos años

ENTREVISTADO: Yo nada más venía por dos años y ya pasaron seis años y aquí sigo pero me desespero. Ay, ya estoy aburrída ya quisiera tener mi dinero y irme.

ENTREVISTADOR: Yo entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Me da desesperación. Pero también me calmo porque también uno no se puede morir.

ENTREVISTADOR: o sea que tú crees que hubiera sido distinto si no hubieras tenido las niñas acá

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si pero también yo digo también le doy gracias a Dios porque pues imagínate si no hubiera tenido a las niñas. yo cuando no tenía mis niñas yo me la pasaba llorando por mis hijos de allá de México, como que mis hijas me dieron un poco más razón para estar aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tus niñas te han dado también como la fuerza para quedarte más tiempo Aquí?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si de no estar tan triste aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cómo fue para ti por ejemplo quedar en embarazo y saber que estaban los dos niños en México, como te sentiste?

ENTREVISTADO: No pues al mismo tiempo yo me sentía triste y al mismo tiempo alegre porque yo decía dentro de mí cuando menos ya como se me va a quitar un poquito como quien dice no me voy a sentir sola de que yo estoy sola y mis niños de que todo, pero pues si se siente al mismo tiempo se siente de que eso no era de tener hijos aquí pues

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Los niños estaban un poco celosos allá, que decían que yo ya no lo iba yo a querer le decían siempre a lo último ya cuando nació ya estaban contentos y decían la niña como esta y que la niña.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando vino la segunda bebe la chiquita, también estaban contentos.

ENTREVISTADO: Si ellos estaban contentos quieren que yo se las lleve tiernita dicen, mami tráete la niña tiernita para que nosotros la carguemos y todo ya queremos ver la bebe tierna para que te llevemos a sacarla y a cuidarla, como ya mi niña tiene once años

ENTREVISTADOR: OK y entonces tu cuando piensas en ellos y como va ser cuando tú vuelvas como crees tú que va a ser la relación con ellos.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues yo pienso que bien que pues va ser el mismo amor que voy a tener pa mis dos niñas también pa ellos porque ellos también son mis hijos.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Aunque tal vez ellos sean un poco indiferentes conmigo pero yo pienso que con el tiempo ellos se van a ir adaptando a mí.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK y tu idea sería volver y vivir con tu suegra también.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues ella va a decidir si se va a seguir quedando ahí con nosotros o se va a vivir, yo pienso que a lo mejor ella se quede con nosotros, con las niñas y conmigo porque ella está muy acostumbrada a los niños yo pienso a mi no me estorbaría en nada yo voy a estar agradecida siempre de que ella a mi tanto tiempo alla mediado mis hijos y que yo la corra no, ella es muy buena gente.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella es como es buena madre tú crees para tus hijos.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si, te ha pasado alguna vez que ellos se quejen de algo que ella haga o tú por estar acá te enojas con ella porque los regaña por algo o no.

ENTREVISTADO: No yo no me enojo con ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: No...

ENTREVISTADO: No me encariñado con ella, las quejas que ellos hacen me las pasan

ENTREVISTADOR: Hum... entonces así es como ellos ustedes hacen, lo que los niño hacen ahí ella te llama o tu cuando la llamas ella te cuenta.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, que los niños no le quieren hacer caso, que los niños los manda a que hagan las tareas que no la quieren hacer se ponen un poquito rebeldes pues, y ya yo después hablo con ellos, les hablo pues trato de hablar bien pues porque también si los regaña de acá se pone peor la cosa y mejor no, mejor trato de que de hablarles bien de hacerlos que entiendan y si ya si así.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que ya tu eres la encargada de los regaños la disciplina, o tu suegra también o tu le dices a ella que hacer.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo le digo también que hacer cuando así que ya sea mucho le digo usted tiene que castigarlos también le digo cuando estén así de desobedientes que no quieran hacer caso que no quieran hacer la tarea que estén mal contestando, usted agárrelos quíteles lo que ellos les guste, o están viendo tele, jugando nintendo listo quíteleslos castíguelos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu les dice que no tele que no nintendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces ella después lo hace.

ENTREVISTADO: Así como me piden ellos cosas, mami que yo quiero que me mandes dinero, o ya yo le dije a mi papa que me compre unos tacos para jugar, a si pero yo les digo a ellos si quieren que les compre su papa le digo los tacos se tienen que portar bien le digo y no ser un niño malcriado porque si no después no les va a comprar nada su papa entonces ya nada mas les digo que hagan caso y vean que tienen que portarse bien y quieran que uno les compre cosas.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, OK y así es como tu tratas que ellos se comporten bien o sea que también esa manera es la que tienes tu de ser madre desde lejos para que ellos entiendan que lo que le compras.

ENTREVISTADO: Que se les da sus cosas y ellos tienen que portar bien y hacer caso hacer sus tareas y hacerle caso a mi suegra si mi suegra les dice báñense se van a bañar, vístense que se van a vestir que yo no quiero ir a la escuela y sacan pretextos para no ir a la escuela entonces no yo les digo no.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK y luego entonces por ejemplo cuantas personas aquí tú has conocido otras muchachas así de México que han dejado sus niños alla.

ENTREVISTADO: Mju.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si has conocido.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que te dicen ellas.

ENTREVISTADO: De que?

ENTREVISTADOR: Que como se sienten, a ti te parece que es muy parecido a lo que tú sientes.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues quien sabe yo no les preguntado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mju

ENTREVISTADO: Muchas personas que dejan a sus hijos, OK una amiga si me dice que ella ya se quiere ir para México pero que pues quisiera terminar de arreglar su casa de amueblarla que ella cuanto no diera por estar con sus hijos pero que también quiere terminar de arreglarle la casa a sus hijos comprarle sus cosas

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces en México es común para muchas madres venirse para acá dejar a sus hijos para poder enviarles dinero desde acá.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es muy común cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Si o aquí viene una pareja y aquí se separa no sé porque.

ENTREVISTADOR: Eso también pasa mucho.

ENTREVISTADO: Si no se porque aquí pasa eso, que aquí las parejas se dejan se vienen juntos yo visto muchas parejas y aquí se separan.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si es verdad, y entonces tú crees que por ejemplo ahí donde tu vivías.

ENTREVISTADO: Antes de venirme tu conocías de otra gente vecinas o gente de por ahí mismo muchachas que se habían venido y también habían dejado sus hijos con las abuelas.

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú no conocías.

ENTREVISTADO: No ahí donde yo estaba no, aquí es que vine yo a conocer bastantes amistades cuando trabajaba yo, bastantes muchachas señoras que ya nos poníamos a platicar y me decían no yo tengo dos hijos o no yo tengo una niña en México o así.

ENTREVISTADOR: Osea que te viniste aquí a dar cuenta que era muy común?

ENTREVISTADO: Aquí allá no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Allá no, allá tú eras de las pocas?

ENTREVISTADO: De donde yo soy de ese pueblo donde yo soy ni una vez había escuchado que una persona se viniera para acá y dejara a sus hijos allá.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha.

ENTREVISTADO: Aquí es que se encuentra uno personas de guerreros de Veracruz de pampico de diferentes lugares que se vienen con su pareja y entonces con su pareja están aquí o las mandan a buscar y aquí tienen problemas y se dejan.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok y tu eres de donde?

ENTREVISTADO: De Chiapas eres tú que está bien abajo cierto? Para Guatemala o sea que el viaje fue. Cuanto se demoro tu viaje desde Chiapas hasta la frontera... como una semana?

ENTREVISTADO: no, como 3 días.

ENTREVISTADOR: 3 días en carro, y luego de la frontera pasaste y hasta norte de carolina primero cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Arizona de ahí nos venimos hasta acá norte de carolina nos trajeron en autobús.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tu alla en Chiapas conocías gente es más común que se vinieran primero los hombres.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo nada mas conocía una persona que vivía cerca por ahí a un muchacho.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que se había venido.

ENTREVISTADO: De ahí no.

ENTREVISTADOR: de ahí no, y cuando venias en el viaje habían mas muchachas solas viniendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Venían otras pero yo no sé yo no las conocía, no sabía de donde eran quien sabe.

ENTREVISTADOR: Quien sabe.

ENTREVISTADO: no tenía cuando pasábamos veníamos varios ahí pero de diferentes lados de diferentes lugares.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tu cuando estabas alla pensando pensando venirte a ti te ayudo o te dio animo que tu suegra que como quien dice te apoyara, a ti te dio ánimos que por ejemplo digamos que tu suegra te hubiera dicho, ENTREVISTADO tu eres una mala madre no puedes dejar tus hijos acá, tú crees que igual te hubieras venido o de pronto no.

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: No.

ENTREVISTADO: No me hubiera venido yo alla estuviera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hay estuviera.

ENTREVISTADO: Sola pero ahí estuviera con mis hijos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Porque que te que fue lo que en realidad te dijo tu suegra, tú me dijiste que te dijo pues vete de pronto alla cambia pero cuando tu le decías pero como voy a dejar a mis hijos no los voy a abandonar, ella que te decía.

ENTREVISTADO: No yo te los voy a cuidar con tal de que tu matrimonio de ustedes no se deshaga yo te cuido a los niños y así entre los dos trabajan y mandan hacer una casita aunque sea así más o menos y yo dije no pues si al mismo tiempo estoy yo alla con él y el

va a cambiar y entre los dos trabajamos y hacemos algo para los niños acá dije y si pues si trabajamos entre los hicimos una casa mas o menor.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es bien importante ahí en Chiapas tener una casa hay más o menos bien.

ENTREVISTADO: Nosotros no la hicimos en Chiapas la hicimos en tabasco.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha en tabasco.

ENTREVISTADO: La hicimos en tabasco.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok es bien importe como tener una casa de cinc toda la gente quiere como algo así.

ENTREVISTADO: Si toda la gente quiere de material.

ENTREVISTADOR: De material? O sea que ahora tú crees que la gente ve con buenos ojos que ustedes allan podido construir esa casita.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, toda tu familia de mi marido y todos, si bien dicen ellos que por lo menos una casa alla quedado para los niños y todo eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces ahora les parece bueno eso que allas logrado eso.

ENTREVISTADO: Si cuando menos si yo me voy que yo ya tenga donde llegar que no voy a ir a estar de arrimada con mi familia sino que voy a llegar a mi casa ahí mismo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y eso les va a durar para siempre.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Ya no voy a tener que andar de ahí para alla con los niños.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces para ti a cambiado?

ENTREVISTADO la forma que tú te veías por ejemplo antes cuando estabas con los niños en México sola tú te sentías como incompleta porque te faltaba estar con él sentías que tu familia estaba incompleta?

ENTREVISTADO: Y sigue estando incompleta (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: Si... Risas.

ENTREVISTADO: Es lo mismo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero antes.

ENTREVISTADO: Pero antes yo no tenía nada hay en México, mi casita bien pobrecita y ahorita mi casita está bien lista ya el día de mañana que arregle los papeles de mis dos niñas y que todo esté bien en orden gane mi dinerito y me voy.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mju.

ENTREVISTADO: y aquí nada y alla llego con mis hijos y pues ya estoy con ellos ya

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ya no te haría falta no tener a tu esposo contigo.

ENTREVISTADO: pues ya no que me hiciera falta pero que le vamos hacer el ya no se puede.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ahora si te conformarías?

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero ahora, antes cierto que tú todavía que eras muy joven todavía soñabas con tu familia con tu esposo, tus crees que ahora que han pasado tantos años te conformarías sola con tus hijos.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues yo creo que si que si ya que le pido mas a la vida si ya tengo mi casa y mis cuatro hijos, y ya con eso y ahí luchando para salir adelante.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK. Pero sabes que no te preguntado, cuando te viniste tu para acá tu esposo sabia que tú te venias?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Él quería que tú te vinieras.

ENTREVISTADO: No estaba convencido porque él me decía un poco de pretextos porque ya si me voy él como que ya tengo que dejar un poco mis andanzas, pero pues si a lo último se convenció porque yo ya estaba decidida.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Aja y dijo me ponía muhechopretexto de que me decía que los niños iban a quedarse solo Ahí poniendo protesto como que quería decir que yo no me viniera.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que los niños iban a quedar solos.

ENTREVISTADO: Aja yo le decía que mi suegra los iba a cuidar que ellos no iban a quedar solos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que decía el?

ENTREVISTADO: Está bien pues ya lo decidiste ni modo voy a juntarte el dinero haber como le hago para que vengas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y te lo junto?

ENTREVISTADO: Y me lo junto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ya cuando te viniste para acá el alguna vez te dijo algo de cómo dejaste nuestros hijos, alguna vez te hizo sentir mal por haberlos dejado?

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: NO, también le parecía que era un sacrificio que estaban haciendo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, no él nunca me reprocho nada, yo era la que a veces le reprochaba que por su forma de su comportamiento de cómo se había comportado acá es que yo había dejado mis hijos, yo era la que le reprochaba a el.

ENTREVISTADOR: Porque si él no hubiera seguido en sus andanzas tú te hubieras seguido quedando o que él les hubiera mandado el dinero desde acá.

ENTREVISTADO: O que se hubiera ido con nosotros le decía él se hubiera ido con nosotros y alla de hambre no nos íbamos a morir los dos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mm, y es verdad tu crees ahora que de todas manera hubiera sido mejor quedarse alla, así no tuvieran ahora su casa de material y pasaran muho trabajo

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si tal vez pasáramos muhechotrabajo no te creas. muhechotrabajo porque alla no hay casi trabajo ahí estaríamos viviendo en nuestra casita pobrecita.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y felices tú te imaginas o crees que te hubiera hecho falta?

ENTREVISTADO: Tal vez no felices o quien sabe (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: Quien sabe cierto? Es verdad

ENTREVISTADO: Si porque para alla hacer una casa en México está bien difícil mucho dinero.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mucho dinero.

ENTREVISTADO: Ustede de donde es?

ENTREVISTADOR: Yo, soy de Colombia, en Colombia también cuesta mucho, hacer casas.

ENTREVISTADO: Mucho.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mucho dinero no hay trabajo tampoco.

ENTREVISTADO: no hay trabajo y si encuentra uno trabajito pero muy mal pagado.

ENTREVISTADOR: mju.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues ellas son de acá y los otros niños son de acá.

ENTREVISTADO: Mi apellido es G.

ENTREVISTADOR: Estaba inventando para que escribieras. OK porque mira la diferencia es que tus niñas son de aquí los otros niños de México tú crees que la crianza la forma en que tú has sido madre para ellas es distinta para como ha sido con los niños de México.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si porque estos los tenido aquí y a ellos no, es diferente.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, y a Frank que ya esta mas grandecita tu le empiezas a hablar de sus hermanos en México?

ENTREVISTADO: Huy si a ella le hablo de sus herrmanos, y más que esta no es celosa mira que en navidad le digo yo no sé cómo pero yo les voy a mandar le digo si ustedes se portan bien y le echan ganas después que pueda yo les voy a mandar su regalo de navidad y le voy a mandar aipod a cada quien, le digo, pues para que ellos le ecn ganas también a la escuela uno tiene que motivar a los hijos salgan también y ellos digan pues no mi madre me quiere y todo me manda cosas pero también yo tengo que poner algo de mi parte y si están contentos... porque ya me estaban diciendo todavía imagínate estamos en octubre y ya me estaban diciendo cuando es que vas a mandar la caja y cuándo es que me vas a mandar el aipod, cuando es que me vas a mandar el regalo y yo digo pero es que todavía falta es pa diciembre digo hoy no.

ENTREVISTADOR: No ha llegado diciembre, entonces esa es la manera que tu le demuestras amor a ellos, cierto a ellos? Cuando pueden mandarles regalos. Como es la manera que tú sientes que ellos te demuestran a ti cariño para ti que es las muestras de cariño que ellos te pueden dar?

ENTREVISTADO: muestra de cariño? Pues ellos siempre o sea me dicen que me quieren que me extrañan que quieren que yo ya me vaya para México con ellos ya vente ya mami que haces alla me dicen yo quiero que acá con las niñas para que te ayudemos a cuidarlas, ya nosotros queremos verte y queremos estar contigo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y hacen planes de futuro juntos así como sueñan en el futuro, cuando nos vayamos vamos a estar los cuatro como son esos planes que haces tú con ellos cuando hablan por teléfono?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh si yo les digo no pues ya pronto nos vamos a ir pero cuando es pronto me dicen tu tranquila le digo tal vez el otro año ya me vaya yo le digo con ustedes

vamos a estar juntos los cuatro yo los voy a llevar a la escuela le digo porque supuestamente mi cuñada la que está en norte de carolina dice que va a mandar un carro para que nosotros yo lleve mis hijos a la escuela para nosotros pues aja se lo va a mandar a mi suegra pero quiere que yo lo cargue alla el carro y todo y para que ande con los niños y los saque a pasear así, pero mi cuñado que está en chicago mi cuñada a veces le mandan dinero a mi suegra para que vaya a pasear a Veracruz a pampico a puebla diferentes lugares a Cancún.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya los han llevado?

ENTREVISTADO: Si se han ido a pasear ya.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que bueno.

ENTREVISTADO: Dice mi cuñada que cuando yo me vaya que ellos me van a dar un carro para que yo lo lleve para mi suegra y para que yo ande con ello, yo le digo a ellos que se porten bien que cuando yo me vaya yo los voy a llevar a la escuela ya no van a tener que estar yendo en bus que yo los llevo a la escuela ya voy a verles todo sus tareas a ver cómo van todo y les voy a llevar a pasear todo yo les digo pues ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Aja.

ENTREVISTADO: Vamos a ir a pasear vamos a ir al lago alla al mar a pasear las playas bien bonitas que se llaman las playas de cuyacatengo y muchos lugares bonitos... unas ruinas que hay ahí en tabasco también.

ENTREVISTADOR: También.

ENTREVISTADO: Unas ruinas de palenque que es muy bonita, vayamos vamos a ir a pasear cuando yo vaya por alla vamos a ir a pasear.

ENTREVISTADO: Vive una rmana que está en Veracruz y por alla donde vive mi rmana es muy lejos esta como a ohechohoras pero es muy bonito donde ella vive, vive en un ranhechopero tiene hora sí que es un ranhechopero tiene de todo rio, tiene también el mar un poco cerca de ahí donde ella vive, yo les digo que vamos a pasear donde esta mi rmana y andar ahí, una semana nos vamos a ir.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces tú contándoles te acuerdas de los lugares y eso,

ENTREVISTADO: Aja.

ENTREVISTADOR: cada año que tú estabas acá cuéntame que les decía pronto que pronto te ibas a ir?

ENTREVISTADO: Si que pronto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y así te fuiste yendo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, pero antes ellos no me decían veinte, ahora si ya me dicen veinte ya, ahora tiene ya como de el año pasado me están diciendo como que ellos ya entienden mas como que ellos ya sienten que me necesitan más yo pienso y antes como que no les importaba tanto eso, hoy si ya.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hoy si sientes que es diferente, para ella como que ella si tú le haces falta, y para ti como ha sido?

ENTREVISTADO: porque ella dice que va a entrar a la secundaria el año que viene que ella quiere que yo alla en su graduación de la escuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, o sea que de pronto si te vas a poder ir para la graduación o no?

ENTREVISTADO: tal vez si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Es el otro año la graduación?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha ok, para ir a estar con ella.

ENTREVISTADO: Si exacto cuando entre a la secundario yo ya alla y Dios quiera el otro año ya yo me vaya a ver qué pasa solo Dios sabe.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y antes, acuérdate por ejemplo cuando estabas joven, joven más joven que no te habías casado ni nada como te imaginabas tu que iba a ser tu familia o como te imaginabas que ibas a ser tu de madre, tu alguna vez te imaginaste que te ibas a venir para a ca que los ibas a dejar?

ENTREVISTADO: Mm.

ENTREVISTADOR: No?

ENTREVISTADO: Nunca me imagine que me iba a venir para acá no.

ENTREVISTADOR: No cuales eran tus planes en esa época?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues casarme tener una familia y ya nunca pensé venirme para aca?

ENTREVISTADOR: No?

ENTREVISTADO: No

ENTREVISTADOR: Y está bien visto ahí en Chiapas o en México cuando una mujer sola venirse para acá como lo ve la gente, la gente lo juzga como malo o no?

ENTREVISTADO: No. Es que cuando yo me vine para acá yo no me vine sola yo me vine con, con ahora sí que con mi suegro.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que te acompaño?

ENTREVISTADO: El fue para México y con él me vine yo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha ok, y te cuida de que no fuera a pasar nada?

ENTREVISTADO: Si él me cuida venia mucha gente y venia un niño de mi cuñada traíamos al niño de mi cuñada como de cuatro años así como Frank lo traíamos nosotros entre los dos lo traíamos nosotros ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que así fue como te viniste y llegando acá tu no tenías planes de tener niños pero tuviste a la niña Frank planeada o no, no fue planeada.

ENTREVISTADO: No no fue planeada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero tú no estabas en ese momento cuidándote con nada no?

ENTREVISTADO: Si si me estaba cuidando.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si te estabas cuidando y quedaste aun así, o sea que esa fue sorpresa y cuando Frank nació ayudo al matrimonio pues o a la relación con su esposo?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues poco ayudo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si ayudo, pues a que se quedara más asentado.

ENTREVISTADO: Se encerraba más tiempo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que dejaba sus andanzas un poquito no?

ENTREVISTADO: Si dejaba sus andanzas un poquito ya casi no se iba, pues tal vez ahora cambie decía yo tal vez ya sea diferente pero como dicen por ahí perro que come huevo ni aunque lo maten deja la maña (Risas).

ENTREVISTADOR: No deja la maña; o sea que la que dejo la maña fuiste tú y ya no lo vas a esperar mas?

ENTREVISTADO: No ya para que lo voy a esperar más, ya lo esperado demasiado y el no cambia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mucho, OK entonces tu suegra ha estado como quien dice de parte tuya todo el tiempo.

ENTREVISTADO: oh si mi suegra si bastante hu (RISAS).

Se lo hechode enemigo ya el hijo, Se lo hechode enemigo ya el hijo

ENTREVISTADOR: Se lo he chode enemigo porque no está de acuerdo con lo que él hizo acá?

ENTREVISTADO: OK ella no está de acuerdo.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK o sea que ahora entonces si tú volvieras sería era a estar con ella y los niños, seguramente verdad?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu suegro, él está aquí todavía?

ENTREVISTADO: No él se vino para acá cuando yo me vine ya acá esta también el no ha regresado el dejó mi suegra se busco otra mujer acá, y acá hizo su vida ya tiene una niña con la mujer que tiene acá.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha o sea que tu suegra paso algo parecido a lo que te paso a ti?

ENTREVISTADO: Si mi suegra igual no pudo vivir con mi suegro igual era muy celoso, y él era el tremendo y ella todo el tiempo la quería tener encerrado, luego se vino para acá, acá se busco otra mujer y se olvidó de mi suegra y ya ni dinero le mandaba y en fin

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que cuando a uno le dejan de mandar dinero en México es porque tú crees que es porque se olvidan de uno.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si porque ya él hizo su vida aca.

ENTREVISTADOR: Por decir algo si tú y tu esposo le dejaran de mandar dinero a sus niños sería como olvidarse de ellos tú crees?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si porque imagínate uno sabe uno su responsabilidad y que uno la deje.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuál es la responsabilidad más grande como madre que tú crees que uno tiene?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues de tener a los hijos mandarles su dinero para tu familia.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando estés allá y ya no tengas que digamos que mandarles dinero porque vas a estar con ellos cual va a ser tu responsabilidad estando allá con ellos?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues cuidarlos atenderlos y darles una buena educación algo que yo no tuve como ellos pues si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Eso es lo que tú quieres para tus hijos?

ENTREVISTADO: Algo diferente a mi vida porque yo lleve una vida muy bien complicada bien triste porque mi madre se fue y ya no supimos nada más de ella, ella se

hizo su vida con otro hombre y nosotros nos quedamos con mi papa batallamos para criarnos ahí con el pero bien pobres bien ahora sí que bien difícil la vida de nosotros a la vida de mis hijos porque mis hijos ellos al menos no saben lo que es ir alla a lavarles, hacerle limpieza a un vecino para ganarse un plato de comida o no saben ellos que es ganarse un dinero para que compren un par de sandalias porque ellos lo tienen todo ahí en la casa o que quieren por ejemplo una golosina una yo que sé y no tiene como comprárselo porque ni tu papa dárselo.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Y ellos no porque ellos tienen ahí todo porque que si quieren un pan que si quieren un asadita lo que ellos quieran ahí lo compran mi suegra.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tienen privilegios?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que tu no tuviste cuando eras chica?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, llevan su dinero a la escuela, yo cuando fui a la escuela nunca supe que era llevar un peso a la escuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y había otros niños que si llevaban?

ENTREVISTADO: O todos llevaban dinero a la escuela iban bien vestidos iban bien calzados con sus uniformes y nosotros.

ENTREVISTADOR: No podían.

ENTREVISTADOR: Osea que tu te viniste para acá significa la posibilidad de darle a ellos todo eso que tu no tuviste sino te hubieras venido para acá no hubieras podido de pronto dárselo cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues sí, porque alla no tuve nada, ni lo material, ni el cariño de mi madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: Haja nada?

ENTREVISTADO: Y mi papa si nos quería y todo y nos apoyaba nos daba cariño pero muy poco porque mi papa iba a la iglesia cuando se dejo con mi madre él se echechoa la perdición empezó a tomar se iba con sus amigos a tomar y nosotros ahí en la casa solos, luego venia borrahechos regañaba que íbamos a saber nosotros como una persona grande de hacer comida y de hacer que hacer y de limpiar no no sabíamos nada de eso, pero fuimos aprendiendo poco a poco.

ENTREVISTADOR: Como toco?

ENTREVISTADO: Ya después otra vez él como que ya reacciono y había dicho entre mi tengo que ponerme mejor pilas y dejar de andar tomando y cuidar a mis hijos ya no me quedaba de otra y ya él se iba a trabajar y ya el nos enseñaba a guisar y cuando no él nos guisaba la comida, lo que hubiera.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Ya nos mandaba a la escuela pero bien pobres, mi papa fue bien y más que nosotros fuimos muchos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muchos niños cuantos eran?

ENTREVISTADO: Once y cuando mi madre se fue éramos como nueve.

ENTREVISTADOR: De hecho si muchos, y tú crees que en el caso de tus hijos ellos tienen lo material y también tienen el cariño?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues sí, no precisamente ahora sí que allá con nosotros pero cuando menos de lejos nosotros le demostramos que son importantes para nosotros que los queremos y todo que los apoyamos que cualquier problema que cualquier persona que les quiera hacer algo así sea la familia o cualquier niño que les quiera faltar al respeto que se los digan a mi suegra o que nos lo digan a nosotros somos sus padres.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ustedes hacen en caso que alguien les quisiera faltarles al respeto tu como haces desde acá para que ellos vean que tú los proteges?

ENTREVISTADO: Como haría desde aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Mju.

ENTREVISTADO: Fácil yo le digo a mi suegra que vaya alla si es en la escuela que vaya y hable con los maestros, y que le diga a los maestros que vea eso que pues como maestro tiene que ver todo lo que está pasando en la escuela y si no se puede hacer de esa forma y siguen problemas que hablen con el papa de ese niño con la madre.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Para haber que arregla porque así no puede seguir no puede continuar así pero que algo se tiene que solucionar.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK y tú sientes que tu suegra siempre sigue las instrucciones que tú le das.

ENTREVISTADO: O si, ella sí que yo no le diga ella defiende su nieto a capa y espada

(RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Y el otro día me dijo un chamaquito andaba molestando ahí a mi hija la grande yo ya fui y le dije a la maestra y le dije que niño andaba molestando a la niña y le fui a reclamar a los maestros y el maestro le llamo la atención al niño y le dijo que iba a mandar a llamar a su papa.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces el niño ahí paro?

ENTREVISTADO: Ahí paro y mi suegra le dijo al niño tú sigues molestando a mi nieta yo voy a hablar con tu papa y vamos hablar con tu papa y porque le dijo su madre y su papa ya vienen en camino y ya saben todo lo que está pasando con ellos tu vas a ver con tu papa de la niña porque la niña no está sola ella tiene a su papa y tiene su madre y aparte de eso me tiene a mi.

ENTREVISTADOR: Dice la abuela.

ENTREVISTADO: Y entonces se quedo calladito bien espantado estaba.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y porque la estaban molestando a tu niña.

ENTREVISTADO: Porque él le estaba poniendo apodo a mi niña.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que le decía.

ENTREVISTADO: Le decía caballona.

ENTREVISTADOR: puros apodos bien feos.

ENTREVISTADO: Y a ella no le gustaba?

ENTREVISTADOR: Porque ella es alta como tu.

ENTREVISTADO: Es grande tiene once años y está casi como yo, esta ya.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hay y debe parecer de dieciséis entonces el otro niño, le decía caballona que cruel cierto y tu niña se ponía bien enojada cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Muju y dice que una vez le pego una patada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella.

ENTREVISTADO: No él a ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: El a ella.

ENTREVISTADO: Le pego una patada y se lo hizo en el colegio yo le dije vaya hablar con el maestro para que le dé susto, no si yo ya fui hablar y ya le dije y hable con ese

chamaquito que si no había quien si no tenia madre quien le llamara la atención y le metiera rigor que se iba dice que se la iba a ver conmigo y lo amenazo el chamaquito.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu suegra fue y lo amenazo directamente (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADO: Y que el chamaquito ya no dijo nada se quedo espantadito y esas señoras quizá le dio al chamaquito que ya me va a pegar.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tus niños se enferman tu sufres muhechode no poder estar alla o no te ha pasado que se enfermen así como.

ENTREVISTADO: No si se han enfermado pero de gripitas de tos, pero no que se enfermen así de otras enfermedades graves gracias a Dios no.

ENTREVISTADOR: No, ha ok.

ENTREVISTADO: Calentura y ahí pero nada grave

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu suegra te cuenta todo o ahí veces te esconde cosas para que tú no te preocupes.

ENTREVISTADO: No ella me dice todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Todo?

ENTREVISTADO: Todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: De si están bien si no si se enferman si se pelean todo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si todo todo me dice ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu prefieres que sea así que te cuente todo o preferirías no enterarte de lo malo?

ENTREVISTADO: No ella me cuenta todo a veces me dice no que Brenda quiere dice Brenda se llama mi hija es que Brenda quiere dice andar nada mas en la calle y luego quiere irse con una amiga ya en las tardes y a mí no me gusta que Brenda se ande echando a andar porque algo le puede pasar en el camino y le digo no Brenda tú no tienes porque andar queriéndote ir a las calles y ya menos de tarde ya de noc porque si te pasa algo en el camino yo soy la responsable de ti y luego ya no van a ir contra ti sino contra mí, porque yo soy la responsable de ustedes si yo te digo que no vas a ir es porque no vas a ir es por tu bien y ya pues quiera o no quiera se tiene que quedar.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK que si.

ENTREVISTADO: Se molesta si porque ellos quieren hacer su voluntad, pero...

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú qué harías tú crees que harías las cosas distintas a tu suegra o harías igual a ella, en el caso de Brenda?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues yo pienso que tal vez igual porque imagínate que va estar haciendo una niña por allá en la noc allá en el camino y allá en el pueblo donde la gente hay muhechomaleante y todo, y le pasa algo en el camino ahí sola por allá.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Ahorita con tantas gente mala que hay.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu cuando vez a tu suegra y eso tú crees que ella es una como lo que uno diría una muy buena madre sabe bien el trabajo de madre.

ENTREVISTADO: Oh si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si ella lo sabe bien, tu aprendiste de ella cuando estabas allá en México te enseñó cosas?

ENTREVISTADO: O si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando estaban tus niños Brenda estaba chiquita ella te enseñaba cosas de crianza y eso.

ENTREVISTADO: Oh si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que si tenían cólicos.

ENTREVISTADO: que le diera un tecito a veces que le sacara los gases cuando mi primer niño así le tienes que hacer ya cuando se rosaba de sus nalguitas échale esto dale a aquello vamos a llevarla al doctor estaba allá conmigo y yo estaba enferma iba donde yo estaba vamos a llevar a la niña al médico, suegra es que yo no tengo dinero y no está trabajando yo aquí tengo vamos a llevarla pero vámonos ya.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo. Y te ayudaba, ósea que desde esa época empezó una relación de confianza y todo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si porque ella pues era su primer nieta se me llevaba cosas que huevo de rancho ue queso allá donde ella hacen muhechoqueso me llevaba queso me llevaba frutas de lo que allá quedaba plátanos si me llevaba de todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: A Que bueno.

ENTREVISTADO: Y ahí estaba como una hora quizás.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ella se venía de allá.

ENTREVISTADO: Como una hora u hora y media y me iba a ver quizás.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hay Brenda si ósea que alla te está esperando otra vez, ósea que los niños se fueron al ranhechocon ella o ella se fue a la ciudad.

ENTREVISTADO: Ella se fue a la ciudad ya el rancho esta solo ahí tiene a una pareja cuidando la casa.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha ok, mientras ella está con tus niños alla en la ciudad.

ENTREVISTADO: Si pero quién sabe si ella se regrese con los niños alla al ranhecho porque ella solita no tiene alla a nadie sus hijos sus tres hijos el que esta alla en México el hizo su vida y muy poco que la voltea a ver a ella, muy alejados de su madre como que ya la mujer es muy indiferente.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces para tu suegra haber tenido sus nietos son para ella también una compañía cierto.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK.

ENTREVISTADO: Y ella me lo ha dicho. “Tú me quitas a los niños” al principio yo le decía que los quería mandar a buscar pues para estar aquí con nosotros pero ella se ponía a llorar que no que ella iba a estar sola que si le pasaba algo a los niños en el desierto que me decía ella pues que ella no me iba dar así a los niños así nada mas si tú te vas llevas a los niños es bajo tu responsabilidad si a los niños les pasa algo el el desierto y además los niños acá están bien para que te los quieres llevar si tú te los llevas yo me voy a quedar sola y se ponía a llorar y ya mejor me ponía yo triste también por ella porque pobrecita se va a quedar sola y ella ya está acostumbrada a los niños ya por eso mejor no me los traigo, porque dice ella que si yo le quito a los niños quizás ella se muere y quien sabe cómo no tiene a nadie ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK esta solita ósea que eso también hizo que tu pensaras en dejarlos cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: SI.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que si martilla... Vamos entonces a dejar ahí la conversación muchas gracias y pues vamos a ver cuándo es que te vas a poner a en el plan de sacar los papeles y todo para poderte ir cierto? Ya el otro año cierto

Demographics

Age: 26

Gender: Female

ENTREVISTADOR: Estamos platicando con otras mamás como ustedes que tuvieron que dejar a los hijos en México mientras se venían para acá, entonces estamos platicando para ver cómo le hicieron ese año. Como hicieron para soportar ese año.

ENTREVISTADO: Ok.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando tu decidiste venir para acá, ¿fue para venirte con tu esposo cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Correcto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Se vinieron juntos de México y como fue para tomar la decisión si dejaban a tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Bien difícil fue, porque el problema fue el dinero porque si hubiésemos tenido el dinero la hubiéramos traído.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok, cuando estaban hablando ustedes dos para venirse para acá, como decidiste con quien se quedaba tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh, con la mamá de mi esposo, porque como lamentablemente mi mamá no vivía por ahí cerca y pues yo me crié con mi abuelita, y mi abuelita ya es grande y no se iba a poder hacer cargo de ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entiendo.

ENTREVISTADO: Y como yo siempre he vivido, bueno, vivía con mi suegra estaba ella muy apegada a ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, ¿o sea que ustedes ya eran cercanas?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya, tu suegra había estado desde que tu hija nació?

ENTREVISTADO: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK, y entonces tu suegra estaba de acuerdo desde el principio de que tu te vinieras para acá?

ENTREVISTADO: No! Al principio no, pero ya después ya es una decisión que es mía y de mi esposo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que decía, al principio? Porque no estaba de acuerdo?

ENTREVISTADO: Por mi hija, pero yo no mas venia por un año, pero gracias a Dios.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya veo y cuando tu suegra decía que no se vinieran con la nena, que decía?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh... Mi suegra decía que nos íbamos a traer a ella y eso es lo que ella no quería, porque ella dice trayéndonos a ella ya es muy difícil que nos volviéramos a ir. Nosotros nos íbamos a ir en estas pascuas, pero se dio la oportunidad de traernos a mi hija porque venía mi cuñado que ya la trajimos, y mi suegra llora, porque dice que ya no vamos a ir que nos vamos acostumbrar aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Mi suegra me dijo “si es porque me vaya a ver a mi como mama, no, porque a lo mejor me va a decir todo a mi pero yo siempre le voy a decir a ella que lleve en mente que tu eres su mama, y que tu le vas a mandar dinero para que ella este mejor para que le compre mejores cosas.”

ENTREVISTADOR: Ok.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo siempre, le hablaba entre semana y los fines de semana siempre. Osea que yo pienso que nunca se olvido de nosotros en ese transcurso de tiempo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Porque tu siempre le hablabas y porque tu suegra se encargaba de darte lu lugar de madre?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, ella le decia que ella era su abuelita y yo era su mama, igual con sus abuelitos, el era su abuelito y mi esposo su papa.

ENTREVISTADOR: Haja, para ustedes era importante eso que ella tuviera esa diferencia.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, yo pienso que si porque, si uno no después ella la iba a ver a ella como mama y yo por eso me la traje mejo (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: porque sentías que de pronto ibas a perder tu lugar como mama.

ENTREVISTADO: Si ha ja... es por eso, hooo, el día de mañana que yo regresara ella me iba a echar en cara, o así, cosas....

ENTREVISTADOR: Que crees tú que te imaginabas, tú, en tu cabeza que ella te iba a echar en cara, que te iba a decir.

ENTREVISTADO: Que porque me había venido porque la había dejado, porque como ellos son chiquitos a lo mejor no comprenden que a veces es bien difícil vivir allá, sin trabajo y eso, ellos eso no lo entienden.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, y de hecho ella hace año y medio que estuvo allá con su abuelita, tú crees que en algún momento si reclamo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, cuando le hablábamos por teléfono si mami porque te fuiste y me dejaste, ahí yo no sé que sentía y yo le decía a mi esposo mejor hay que traerla.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que sentías tu.

ENTREVISTADO: Bien feo, pues ya ve que ese día que usted platico conmigo yo empecé a llorar.

ENTREVISTADOR: (Suspiro).

ENTREVISTADO: Pero ahorita ya no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu esposo porque los hombres pues son un poco distintos a unos cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, si es cierto él dice, no no llores que ella está bien, dale gracias a Dios que está bien, y eso, le digo si, le digo pero tú no sientes igual que yo, si yo siento igual le digo, yo no, yo pienso que es bien distinto, yo siempre lloraba y mi esposo decía no llore pues es que aunque yo no quiera yo no estoy a gusto aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu llorabas porque? Te sentías triste pero que más te daba.

ENTREVISTADO: Porque yo quería estar con ella yo quería verla, como yo siempre he trabajado yo digo a lo mejor... Voy a trabajar pero yo sé que cuando yo voy a venir la voy a ver, a lo mejor no todo el día la miro, pero cuando yo llego voy a ver si está bien que es lo que hace y así, o sea lo que a mí me corresponde hacer como mama de ella, bañarla, darle de comer, todo eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tú crees que a la mama le corresponde eso?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, Yo pienso que sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tú sientes que a una mama también le corresponde darle a la hija lo que necesita.

ENTREVISTADO: (Afirmación)

ENTREVISTADOR: Esa parte si la estabas haciendo antes cierto? Mandándole dinero.

ENTREVISTADO: Oh, si hasta eso si, nunca nos hicimos irresponsables no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero te faltaba la otra parte de ser mama.

ENTREVISTADO: Si eso, eso era lo que yo quería. Y yo con lo que me paso más... yo quería mas a mi bebe, porque yo dije a lo mejor ya Dios y no me da otra oportunidad de tener otro hijo y a lo mejor ya estoy perdiendo la oportunidad de ver a mi hija otra vez.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hmm. Porque a ti se te juntaron las dos cosas que había s dejado a la niña y que tu embarazo no tuvo...

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: No fue a término.

ENTREVISTADO: Si ha ja, ni modo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero entonces tu sentías. Como que era de pronto que como dices tú que Dios no te daba otra oportunidad como castigo por haber dejado a la niña.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues, cuando me paso eso, es que se siente bien feo y no tu te preguntas porque a mi porque me pasaría... y a veces pienso muchas cosas el porqué paso que harías mal, o eso, pues es que no se cómo explicarte bien.

ENTREVISTADOR: Yo te entiendo, que es como tan de repente que uno no entiende porque le paso.

ENTREVISTADO: Ha aja. Es que a mí ya me paso tres veces o sea que eso ya.

OTRA ENTREVISTADOR: Después de esta nena o antes.

ENTREVISTADO: No después, porque ya es bien raro, porque ella fue normal y fue parto normal, nunca tuve complicaciones, ni nada, pero ya ahí como a los cuatro años me volví a embarazar y perdí mi bebe, ya cuando me vine de México para acá perdí otra vez mi bebe y ya hace como tres meses volví a perder el otro bebe. Y noo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hum, se siente uno bien feo.... Claro... Y todavía está en tu mente que quisieras otro bebe?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo quisiera pero la verdad me da miedo ya digo a lo mejor ya no le hice a eso, a lo mejor ya con mi hija pero pues tampoco yo quisiera que ella este solita aquí en este mundo, digo yo falta yo o su papa y ella va a estar solita aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, entonces en esos días que gabi todavía no estaba tú te reclamabas a ti misma como que, yo porque lo hice, yo porque la deje.

ENTREVISTADO: OH, haja si, todo eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Te sentías como mala mama

ENTREVISTADO: Si a veces.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu, cierto como creciste con tu abuelita y tu mama estaba a parte heee, tu como sentías eso, tú te acordabas de eso.

ENTREVISTADO: Si yo pensaba que yo había hecho lo mismo, e sea yo me sentía así, yo deje hice lo mismo a mi hija me va a reprochar eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como hiciste ese año y medio para ... Como para aguantar que te decías a ti misma porque tenias momentos dificiles que estabas triste.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, pero lo que pasa es que el año pasado cuando estaba, cuando nosotros casi llegábamos trabajábamos por hay como 12 horas por hay de 3 a 3, y esa semana me la traigo, pobrecita no la voy a ver, yo llegaba del trabajo hacerle de comer, me bañaba y me dormía para el siguiente día, y eso si me la traigo y no le voy a poner nada de atención y luego como yo vi, miraba a mi hermana que ella sufre mucho con la niña que no había quien se la cuidara o que esta con la señora que la cuida sufre mucho los niños aquí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Sufren... Entonces tú te decías para tus adentros hee... si me la traigo ella va a sufrir esta mejor allá con su abuelita.

ENTREVISTADO: Haja, Cierta parte, pero como me cambiaron el trabajo yo tenía nada mas trabajo de 7 a 3 ya el resto del día ya lo tengo ya nada mas trabajo mis ocho horas y luego me dan 3 días si, 2 días no así no todas las semanas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, y aparte de que te decías que ella podía estar mejor con tu abuelita, Con tu suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: He si, con su abuelita de ella, como era que tu pensabas acerca de lo que tú estabas haciendo acá en Estados Unidos. O sea trabajando... Como hacías para trabajar 12 horas diarias que tenias en tu cabeza.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, porque nosotros... bueno mi esposo y yo teníamos en mente de que a algo veníamos nosotros como que... yo pienso que a casi lo que viene todo el mundo a hacer dinero. Y pues eso era lo que nosotros teníamos en mente. Tratar de si estaba el trabajo hacer lo mas que se pudiera y pues si gracias a Dios sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y gracias a Dios si, y el sueño que tenían era entonces, era conseguir dinero para que, cuál era el sueño que ustedes tenían cuando estaban en México.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues yo mi casa y pues como quien dice algo guardado para el futuro de ella porque algo ella tenga el día de mañana.

ENTREVISTADOR: Hmju para mi hija.

ENTREVISTADO: Si para gabi.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu quisiera que ella tuviera algo para el día de mañana, o sea que casi que venirse para acá era también un... tu crees que fue casi un sacrificio por ella.

ENTREVISTADO: Si... (PAUSA).

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú crees que fue más difícil de lo que pensaste ese año y medio que estabas separada o más llevadero o más difícil de lo que te imaginabas.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, si fue bien feo. Y pues uno dice a lo mejor la niña las costumbres la familia, todo, todo, porque aquí como quien dice vuelves a nacer, porque son cosas diferentes de la comida del aspecto de todos, igual así como ahorita que mi hija viene ella lloraba, porque como no entendía a la maestra, se tiene que ir solita o se tiene que venir solita de donde esta, se le hace bien difícil es como si volviera a nacer aquí, porque no conoce nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, y con su abuelita como eran esas primeras semanas cuando estaba contigo sin su abuelita, le hacía falta?

ENTREVISTADO: Si lloraba, que ella no quería esta aquí que se quería ir que nada mas un año y ella se va a ir (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: A donde la abuela.

ENTREVISTADO: Aja si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu como te sentías o te sientes cuando ella dice eso que le hace falta su abuelita?

ENTREVISTADO: no no, no me siento incomoda porque yo se que ella está bien apegada a su abuelita.

ENTREVISTADOR: hum claro, y su abuelita es una buena mama, para ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Oh si para ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando tú la dejaste con su abuela, tú que pensabas, por ejemplo, tú crees que tú harías las cosas distintas con ella como la manera como la disciplina o que le hablas...

ENTREVISTADO: En la disciplina sí, porque yo pienso que... este, mi suegra pues ella no tiene corazón para pegarle, para regañarla si, pero a lo mejor para darle una nalgada o así porque se hacen... como te diré... como que ellas saben hasta donde, y a ella si le hacían berrinche o se aventaban o luego le pegaba su tío.

ENTREVISTADOR: Aja, y entonces como hacías tu le decías a tu... Tu le dirigías a tu suegra por teléfono que debería hacer?

ENTREVISTADO: Aja si pero entonces ella no pero como le voy a pegar a mi niña quien sabe que, le digo no porque por eso a veces los niños se desquitan porque ya miden a uno.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, O sea que ustedes dos hacían las cosas distintas?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si, yo porque, bueno yo pienso ya que porque mi esposo nunca le ha si la ha regañado pero nunca le ha dado una nalgada, mas que una vez bueno lo que lleva de vida nada mas le ha dado una nalgada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y para ti ser mama o parte de ser mama es disciplinar a los niños como darle una nalgada.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo pienso que en primer momento no, pero si tu le dices una vez y no te entienden, y le vuelves a decir otra vez y no te entienden, y le vuelves a decir otra vez y no te entienden entonces yo pienso ahí si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y esa es la tarea de la mama hacerlo tu crees o si una maestra lo hace a ti te parece bien?

ENTREVISTADO: No, no una maestra no pero yo pienso que los maestros son como autoridad para ellos verdad, porque si tu pones a estudiar a tu hijo te dice si mama o eso, en cambio si le dice una maestra haz esto de tarea lo hacen rapidísimo y en cambio con uno casi no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces como manejabas tu por ejemplo esas cosas de por ejemplo de la escuela, de lejos como hacías. Por ejemplo si había un problema en la escuela o como hacías tu como para....

ENTREVISTADO: No bueno es que como mi otro cuñado tenía su esposa ella era la que me ayudaba a mi y pues si si le ayudo porque mi hija salió en segundo lugar.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muy inteligente, o sea que tú te mantenías bien enterada de todo lo que pasaba con la niña?

ENTREVISTADO: Si cuando fue sorteada para reina de la primavera, todo todo me decía mi suegra si tenía que cooperar para el día del niño, todo me decía mi suegra

ENTREVISTADOR: Y te decía tu suegra lo bueno y lo malo, o te decía todo o tu crees que por no preocuparte te dejaba de decir solo algunas cosas.

ENTREVISTADO: A lo mejor sí, porque haaa no sé que me ocultó pero después yo me entere, pero no me acuerdo que me ocultó ella, ella dijo que era para que yo no me preocupara, pero no me acuerdo que me ocultó...

ENTREVISTADOR: Que sería?

ENTREVISTADO: No me acuerdo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Que ella estaba enferma o algo.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues eso a lo mejor si me preocupaba, Pero no porque gracias a Dios ella nunca había sido enfermiza.

ENTREVISTADOR: No?

ENTREVISTADO: Más que una gripita una tos a si nada mas, pero hay que llevarla corriendo al hospital no nunca.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tu suegra esa oportunidad que te ocultó algo, tu como te sentiste tu?

ENTREVISTADO: No porque no fue algo preocupante o así, pero no me acuerdo que era, creo que fue algo de la escuela, o si, que cuando fue sus primeros días de primero sacó un cinco, eso fue pero mi suegra no me dijo.

ENTREVISTADO: ah un cuatro.

ENTREVISTADOR: y eso es malo?

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Diez es bueno.

ENTREVISTADO: Diez y nueve de seis para abajo es malo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces te ocultaron?

ENTREVISTADO: Ha ja si y mi suegra no me decía porque la iba a regañar pero pues ella había acabado de entrar a la escuela.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tu cuando decidiste para venirte para aca con tu esposo, cuéntame porque no hiciste lo que tu suegra sugirió, que solo se viniera el y te quedaras tu haya. Por lo de tu embarazo cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Si porque mi suegra decía no que Juan se vaya y después mande por ti y la niña pero mi suegra y mi esposo decía noo... Como si ella está embarazada entonces yo la puedo ayudar a pasar ahorita, hasta que a correr ya ves que es bien difícil para pasar, bueno no uno verdad no, es bien difícil para pasar para acá y ese yo la cuido, en cambio si ella va con la niña, cuando nazca el niño se va hacer más difícil, o sea nosotros pensamos que iba a nacer el niño entonces dijo mi esposo, si nace el niño entonces ya van a ser tres, en cambio si me voy ahorita con ella ya va ser uno nada más y la niña iba hacer más difícil así si se lograba el bebe iba hacer mas difícil.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y para ti era importante mantener la familia unida.

ENTREVISTADO: así, ha ja, y yo dije pues le ayudo a mi esposo a trabajar un año seis meses, pues si nos va bien rápido nos podemos llevar a la niña, en cambio él solito acá pues aquí tienes que pagar todo, renta todo se hace más difícil pues como para tres personas para dos juntas yo pienso que es difícil.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y te daba algo de miedo que he de pronto fuera a estar solo, que se encontrara muy solo?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues fíjate que si porque mi esposo esta cuando no venimos para acá esta es la tercera vez que se vino porque el ya estuvo dos veces en los Ángeles, y nada más duro la primera vez duro tres meses y la segunda vez duro creo dos meses o un mes, no aguantas solo no aguanta a el le agarra la tristeza. El dice no me importa yo lo que deba yo mejor me voy, y se va, y ahorita yo le digo yo pues yo nada mas lo esperar nada mas un año y medio no si, si si tú te vas yo me voy contigo yo no aguanto aquí dice.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Aver cómo nos va

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tú estabas allá, en México ahí, de donde tu es que eras?

ENTREVISTADO: Del Estado de México.

ENTREVISTADOR: Del Estado de México, he cuando tu te viniste para acá tu conocías otras mujeres familiares o amigas, más o menos en tu situación, que se habían venido que habían dejado sus niños.

ENTREVISTADO: Mujeres?

ENTREVISTADOR: Si, mujeres.

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: No, conocías?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno nada mas si fue una la tía de mi esposo, bueno su tío su tía política ella también se fue a los Ángeles y dejo a sus niñas, pero ella si fue más difícil tenía dos, y una la dejo con una abuelita y la otra con la otra abuelita.

ENTREVISTADOR: Separaditas?

ENTREVISTADO: Ahí yo pienso que si es mas difícil.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tú pensabas en esa situación en ese ejemplo de la tía de tu esposo cierto? Que pensabas?

ENTREVISTADO: Bueno es que eso no porque eso fue antes de que yo conociera a mi esposo, eso había pasado.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea que tu sabias la historia.

ENTREVISTADO: Ha ja si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Alguien te conto la historia de ella?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, mi suegra me la conto.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y que te decía tu suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: No nada más me platicaba que ella había dejado a sus niñas pero nada más creo que fue como cinco meses.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ella te lo decía en todo de cómo que juzgándola o no.

ENTREVISTADO: No.

ENTREVISTADOR: No.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo pienso bueno a lo mejor otras personas si de verdad, pero uno debe de cuando uno dice las cosas no las debe de decir así, porque uno no sabe los motivos de la persona por lo cual lo había hecho, pienso yo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, tú crees que a ti algunas personas te podrían juzgar.

ENTREVISTADO: Si yo pienso que si, si porque aquí en el trabajo esta una muchacha que no tieneee este como es que se llama, no tiene a su hijo, lo tiene en su país y dice que se vino desde que su hijo tenía un año, y ahorita su niño tiene diez años creo. Y desde ese tiempo no ve a su niño y pues tiene su novio acá y pues se enoja que uno le habla a su novio, y le dice otra compañera l en vez de andar cuidando su hijo anda cuidando hombres, a si y es que si eso es ya juzgar a la persona, a lo mejor ya uno no sabe porque

ella no se traía a su hijo, y mi compañera en vez de que cuide a su hijo anda cuidando hombres (tono burlon).

ENTREVISTADOR: o sea tu compañera estaba diciendo, su prioridad de ella debería ser su niño.

ENTREVISTADO: Si, exactamente ha ja.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en esa forma la está juzgando cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Pues yo pienso que si, pues yo no digo nada porque digo pues yo también deje a mi bebe pues yo por eso no puedo decir nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Tú te sientes distinta a esa compañera tuya de trabajo que ya lleva como nueve años sin ver a su hijo sientes que lo que tú hiciste es igualito a lo que ella hizo o distinto...

ENTREVISTADO: Yo pienso que distinto porque yo trate de hacer lo posible para traérmela y yo si veía que no me la iba a traer entonces yo me tenía que regresar.

ENTREVISTADOR: hum ju, tú crees que tú te hubieras regresado?

ENTREVISTADO: Si, yo si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando hablan con ella, ella que dice que porque no se regresan

ENTREVISTADO: Mi suegra?

ENTREVISTADOR: No la compañera.

ENTREVISTADO: Ho no se porque ella dice que tiene permiso de trabajo, entonces yo pienso que cuando alguien tiene permiso de trabajo pues tiene la posibilidad de ir, o ir un rato y venir, por una semana no mas, o tratar de traer a su hijo no se

ENTREVISTADOR: y allá en México, juzgan a las mamás que dejan a sus niños por venirse acá a Estados Unidos.

ENTREVISTADO: No se yo no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Nunca oíste?

ENTREVISTADO: No, no nunca oi

ENTREVISTADOR: y los esposo o tu esposo a él le parecía tú crees que también era como malo también dejar a la niña, tu sentías que

ENTREVISTADO: Como yo creía? Que era malo dejar a la niña? Que mi esposo que mi esposo creía? Ho si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y como fue el reencuentro con tu hija?

ENTREVISTADO: Bien pero ella no lo reconocía.

ENTREVISTADOR: No!

ENTREVISTADO: Porque mi esposo como que engordo un poquitico.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Pues no se verdad?

ENTREVISTADOR: Que pensabas?

ENTREVISTADO: Pensaba en ellas nada mas en las niñas y no se regresar a México porque nosotros no queríamos traer a la niña sino que nos queríamos regresar pa México. Porque aquí los niños sufren mucho.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y allá con tu suegra estaba bien?

ENTREVISTADO: Con su mama.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y con tu mama?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Si, pues yo siento que no mejor que aquí verdad, porque aquí está con nosotros verdad pero se puede decir que en unas cosas si estaba mejor allá, pues porque haya tienen libertad, muchas cosas que aquí no, aquí no mas se la pasa encerradita no juega con nadie.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu te sentiste bien que ella te hubiera reconocido

ENTREVISTADO: Si, porque llego y luego me abrazo a mí y ella miraba a los demás y no los reconocía y era su papa que estaba ahí...risas....

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu te sentiste feo?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Pues a la vez pero pues como ella había abrazado a su mama yo me imaginaba que era a su mama la única que ella iba a agarrar, porque era la que mas extrañaba y pues uno como se va al trabajo y todo eso, esta como mas apegada con ella, pero si sentíamos feo, pero al traérnosla verdad son muchas cosas que paso.

ENTREVISTADOR: La niña.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Ha ja, cuando veníamos de México pa ca.

ENTREVISTADOR: Si. Que paso ella?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Noo ósea que ve que la pasan con un señor luego con otro señor.

ENTREVISTADORS: Hmju, osea que debe ser bien difícil para los niños

ENTREVISTADO: Si bien feo, y luego también para ella o para uno, si les han dado de comer, cualquier cosa y luego nos llamaban que la niña estaba llorando que habláramos

con ella, y ella decía que ya me quiero ir y yo digo espérate mañana, no yo ya me quiero ir hoy dice, hoy no mañana, no hoy me decía espérate llorando.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro.

ENTREVISTADO: Y es una desesperación bien fea pues que no se la desea a nadie.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tu hija cuando te venias pasando de México no conocía a nadie?

ENTREVISTADO: No yo solita.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ella solita quien le ayudo cuéntame?

ENTREVISTADO: Le deian que corriera y que esperaba a un señor.

OTRA ENTREVISTADOR: Y cuando tiempo se dura esa travesía?

ESPOSO DE GABI: Como quince días para que llegara, porque la agarro migración ahí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha Sí?

ENTREVISTADO: Es que primero como se venía con mi cuñado primero se vino con mi cuñado para que no lo separaran de mi cuñado que pase junto con él y los demás señores que ayúdenme está bien y dijimos bueno entonces ya cuando cruzábamos mi cuñado se perdió y él lo estaban ayudando a cargar otros señores a la niña y ahí fue cuando los agarraba migración y ya los regresaron, ahí fue cuando los encerraron también y todo ya después el muchacho dijo que ya no quería arriesgar otra vez a la niña entonces ya la pasaron por carro y pues por carro ya se tuvo que venir solita, no con su tío

ENTREVISTADOR: Y su tío ahí ya no lo cogió migración.

ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Si también, si no que el tenia que esperarse allá en la frontera hasta que ella pasara al fin.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y a él porque lo cogieron?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha, entonces a ustedes les toco volver a pagar para que la mandaran viniera en carro.

ENTREVISTADO: No, porque nosotros teníamos que pagar hasta que la niña estuviera acá, como no llego hasta acá pues ya eso es cosa de ellos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, y tu hija cuantos años es que tiene?

ENTREVISTADO: Seis.

ENTREVISTADOR: Siete, imagínate que inteligente cierto?

ENTREVISTADO: Y bien valiente.

ENTREVISTADORS: Bien valiente.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si como dice mi esposo uno de grande a lo mejor sabe decir uno o defenderse o a lo mejor hablar o así, o correr y ya pues uno habla por teléfono pero ella así tan chiquita ellos no saben y luego sin conocer a nadie, gente pura gente desconocida para ella.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, ósea que ustedes tampoco la querían traer por eso cierto? Para que no pasara todo eso.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Y luego que cuando le digo que aquí sufren mucho,

ENTREVISTADO: Si bueno ya ella ahorita va a empezar a partir del martes y el jueves va a salir hasta las cinco martes y jueves porque le van a dar regularización porque no sabe hablar ingles se va a tener que quedar.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, pero ahora antes cuando Gabi estaba allá tú crees que se te estaba olvidando ser mama o no.

ENTREVISTADO: Yo pienso que si Bueno no mama pero si como la responsabilidad pues porque nosotros llegábamos comíamos hacíamos de comer y luego nos íbamos a dormir y así en cambio pues no ahorita no tengo que llegar de comer a bañarla y darle de comer preparar el lonch para el siguiente día, los útiles la tarea.

ENTREVISTADOR: La responsabilidad?

ENTREVISTADOR: Pero es mejor se siente mejor tenerla aquí.

ESPOSO: Si.

ENTREVISTADO: Dice mi esposo que el ya está acostumbrado a ya no oír ruido pues ya no mas vivimos solitos, a no oír ruido, y como ahora ya vive mi hermana y mi cuñado y luego la niña.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ya la casa está llena.

ENTREVISTADO: Ha ja, o tiradero y pues nosotros ya estábamos acostumbrados haya a no tener tiradero ni ruido ni nada.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ya otra vez todo, tiradero y ruido.

ENTREVISTADO: Pura caricaturas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y puras caricaturas, claro y entonces tu mama como esta, desde que la niña se vino.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: pues también se siente triste ella pues como siempre la ha tenido, desde que nació ella siempre la ha tenido, siempre la ha cuidado.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y entonces está muy triste la suegra?

ENTREVISTADO: Que le preguntaban por la niña dice de la señora de la escuela y la niña en vez de contestarle mi suegra se ponía a llorar.

ENTREVISTADORS: Ay.

ENTREVISTADO: Se ponía a llorar porque pues se acordaba de la niña y se ponía a llorar, yo creo que todavía llora, ayer le hablamos y todavía llora.

ENTREVISTADOR: Todavía se siente bien triste.

ENTREVISTADO: Pues si porque cuando mi suegra no tenía con quien ir ella era la que la acompañaba a todos lados y ahorita pues ya no hay quien la acompañe.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, ósea que para tu suegra para tu mamá la niña era su...

ENTREVISTADO: Su compañía.

ENTREVISTADOR: Su compañía, ella no está viviendo ahí con nadie más.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Si vive uno de mis hermanos con su esposa pero pues ellos a parte.

ENTREVISTADO: Muy independientes.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Ellos a parte tienen sus cosas y ahí nada más sale mi papá porque sale con él pero como él también se viene.

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro entonces ya la niña, ya no tienen ellos niños a quien cuidar?

ENTREVISTADO: No ellos no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ósea que ya ellos se sienten como tú?

ENTREVISTADO: Yo digo que sí (RISAS).

ENTREVISTADOR: entonces haber hasta cuando duran aquí ustedes cierto?

Ha bueno miriencilla querida, entonces que bueno que está acá la niña con ustedes que están juntos... Y ya no volverías hacer ese experimento.

ENTREVISTADO: No ya no.

ENTREVISTADOR: De irse unos y quedarse otros.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: no ya no... juntos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ya consiguieron parte de lo que querían, de venirse para acá, ósea de lo que tenían planeado han podido conseguirlo trabajando.

ENTREVISTADO: Oh, si poquito pero o si. Nos ha ido bien.

ENTREVISTADOR: Para la casa.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Si.

ENTREVISTADOR: Ha ya, que va a ser la casa para la familia donde vivirían los tres o todos.

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: No pues los tres nada mas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y tus sueg. Tus papas?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: No ellos tienen su casa si.

ENTREVISTADOR: OK. Osea que vivirían cerquita pero no juntos?

ESPOSO DE ENTREVISTADO: Aja.

OTRA ENTREVISTADOR: Y si creen que regresan?

ENTREVISTADO: Si yo si me quiero regresar el yo creo no sé después más adelante.

APPENDIX B: English Transcripts

Demographics

Age: 26

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER : So the first time we spoke you had told me about your son, he is three y/o right?

RESPONDENT: He is four.

INTERVIEWER: And you came here how long ago?

RESPONDENT: Three years ago.

INTERVIEWER: So your son was one year old...

He was bout to turn two when I left. In fact in April he will turn five and I it will be three years of being in the U.S.

INTERVIEWER: So when you left he was just a baby...

RESPONDENT: Yes he did not understood much but my mother who is the one who takes care of him told me he really felt my absence and he got sick, and up until now he keeps getting sick very frequently.

INTERVIEWER: And while you were there he did not get sick all that much?

RESPONDENT: No he did not.

INTERVIEWER: So your mother always tells you when your son is sick?

RESPONDENT: Yes. She always tells me everything about my son. She tells me what he does; yes he is sad, happy, or mad. She tries not to hide anything from me. She tells me yes he does not want to go to school of she lost a night of sleep because he had a fever. Every time I talk to her, she keeps me updated.

INTERVIEWER: Does it help you to know everything that happened to him?

RESPONDENT: Yes, that helps me a lot just because I know that my mother is aware of what happens to my son.

INTERVIEWER: And so when you decided to come here to the U.S. was it important for you the fact that you were leaving your son with your own mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, totally. I Knew she would take care well of him.

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me how was the decision of leaving your son?

RESPONDENT: Well, it was very difficult. I decided to come here after getting divorced. I wanted to get away from my ex-husband. I didn't see like that then, but that was the main reason I left. It was a very difficult divorce, and very hard relationship. There was a domestic violence issues and the day of the divorce he threatened me to kill me and my son. I tried to do something but you know in Mexico is very difficult and the police does not really do anything. So, I did not wanted to sacrifice the relationship with my son and I wanted to bring him with me but my parents didn't want me to because of the dangers. My parents really supported me in that way.

INTERVIEWER: So, it was a sudden decision?

RESPONDENT: Yes it was. However, in the moment I knew I was leaving I really felt bad.

INTERVIEWER: and other than the distance you wanted to keep with your ex-husband, were there any economical reasons for you to migrate to the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: Well, yes. Because although I had a job and my parents supported me, it would have been hard for my son and I to live alone in a place for the both of us.

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think you parents supported you in your decision to come here?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I think they knew it was the best thing I could do. Also because I was going kind of mad...I was going out a lot and becoming very irresponsible and my parents really talked to me and made me see what I was doing to my son. In that sense I do think coming here has helped me a lot.

INTERVIEWER: And after being separated from your son for almost three years, how would you say is your relationship with your child or how do you feel as a mother?

RESPONDENT: I really don't feel like a mother with respect to my child, because as they say, "mother is the one who raises you and not who conceives you." By Talking with my son on the phone is very little what I can provide for him emotionally speaking. Because children need attention, cuddling and affection, that you are there constantly telling them and letting them know that you are their mom with your actions. In that way, I could not say that I am 100% mother of my son, because I am not there, I am not present. He knows that I exist; he knows that I gave him the life and that everything he

has is because I have bought for him but that is it. I don't think I am a mother to the 100% of the term.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think is the ideal of motherhood?

RESPONDENT: An ideal mother is the one who dedicates most of her time to their children. Is to be there for them when ever you cannot all the time. I mean like in my case you might not be there because of the separation but being a mother is to be there in some moments of your children's life.

INTERVIEWER: In some moment or in every moment?

RESPONDENT: In some moment or in every moment if you can. I mean, your children need to see you, to feel you close to them.

INTERVIEWER: what kind of mother model do you think is admire or cherish in Mexican culture?

RESPONDENT: The ideal mother in Mexico is the stay-home mom who is always there for her children. The one who takes care of her husband, her children, and her house? The one whose children never turn into drug addicts, are good students etc.... for many that is the ideal...but I think that ideal doesn't exists.... you go through a lot through out life, adolescence etc...and it is difficult to have children there with you all the time. So I believe the ideal of the perfect mom is impossible to attain.

INTERVIEWER: According to that ideal of Mexican mother model are you a bad mother?

RESPONDENT: I don't think I am a bad mother... because of the distance it is just physical presence what is missing, what I am sacrificing ...but I don't consider myself a bad mother. I don't consider myself a 100% mother because I am not there but that doesn't mean that I am bad...so I don't consider myself a bad mother for not being able to be physically with my son.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think people judge mothers who leave their children when they are little in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I know people judge us... even I, if I was not in this circumstances I think I will judge a mother who leaves her children.

INTERVIEWER: would you judge a mother who leaves her children back home?

RESPONDENT: maybe...because I wouldn't be able to understand their own circumstances, and I would think is foolish to leave their children, but there are many different situations that obliged you to apart from your children behind...In my case if someone ever judges me I will just ignore them because it is very easy to judge someone not being in their own shoes, like in any other situation in life.

INTERVIEWER: And what about if the person who judges you for leaving without your son is your own son?

RESPONDENT: Ah... that would be so difficult and that is in fact my biggest fear: that my son will judge me years from now for leaving him. I just hope I will be prepared to face it, and to be able to explain him the reasons why I left.

INTERVIEWER: and how would you like your son to remember all this years that you left him with his grandmother –I mean, how would you like your son to understand the fact that you left him all of these years?

RESPONDENT: mm...I really don't know what to say...it is a difficult question...because how I wish that my son would understand that if I am not physically there with him that I think about him everyday and I always tell him that when we talk on the phone "today I was thinking about you all day, were you a good boy today?" and things like that but it will be very difficult to explain. I do not know, I would look for a way for him to not to feel alone and I am still looking for a way for him not to feel my absence. Telling him that I miss him, I love him and that every day he is here with me. I asked him to send me a photo to se how tall he is now. He asks me where the photos are and yes I have all the photos he has sent me...

INTERVIEWER: And how do you talk about the pictures?

RESPONDENT: We talk about the few photos in which we are together and I ask him if he remembers when I was there with him, and I tell him what we did together and things like that. Now that he is older, he understands more and more.

Now that he expresses himself better and that he started going to school I think he understands things better...although sometimes he does asks questions that I don't have an answer for...

INTERVIEWER: What kind of questions are you referring to?

RESPONDENT: For instance, recently I told him that I am pregnant he asked me who is the father of the baby and then he asked me why he does not have a father?" ... it was really hard and I cried but my mother tried to explain to him as well.

INTERVIEWER: And was it difficult for you to get pregnant after being here in the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: Well it was difficult because when I met the father of the baby I am expecting I told him I had a son and that I have come here for him...

INTERVIEWER: And how did the fact that you already had a son in Mexico made you feel about your new pregnancy?

RESPONDENT: It was very hard because I had had a previous pregnancy that I terminated because I was scared...and I was foolish too. This time I wanted to have an abortion as well and I told my partner that I did not want to have a family here because I don't have my son with me ...I had my son in Mexico waiting for me, and that I felt bad having another baby here, I felt like I don't really know...

INTERVIEWER: Would you say that you felt guilt about having another child?

RESPONDENT: Yes. I felt guilt...so I do not know...after a while I tried to assimilate the fact that I was pregnant again and that I did not take the necessary precautions to prevent it and also the fact that my partner totally supports me. I still have those feelings of guilt but I try to include my son that is in Mexico part of the situation, and part of the family. I talk with him about the fact that he is going to have a baby brother and that I will send him pictures and that soon we all be together again. In addition, he asks me if I am coming back.

INTERVIEWER: And could you tell me in more detail how do you handle the questions about time? In other words what kind of things you tell him about the future and when you two will reunite?

RESPONDENT: I try to tell him that I want him to come here and that we all will live as a family. But it is hard because he sees my parents as his parents and my brother as his brother...

INTERVIEWER: Do you think he has developed that attachment to them?

RESPONDENT: It is more towards my father that he feels that he is his father.... since he was little he calls him father...

INTERVIEWER: And how does your father reacts to the fact that his grandson sees him as his father?

RESPONDENT: My father is very clear with him in that he is not his father but his grandfather and that he has a father

INTERVIEWER: What about your mother?

RESPONDENT: Now she is more...she really feels that my son is her own son because since he was little she has taken care of him and watched after him so she really feels more like he is hers. In addition, I try to make her understand that he is not her son but mine.

INTERVIEWER: Do you tell her that?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Hey, he is my son. In addition, she says, “ yes I know but for me he is my little boy.”

INTERVIEWER: And how does it make you feel when she sounds confuse about it?

RESPONDENT: I don't know...I am scare in that sense...I am also scare that she would say to me “this is my son and I won't give him back to you” and you won't take him away from me” or something like that.... I really don't think that that is going to happened in reality but the fear is there but I don't think it will happened.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that this fear expresses that there is some rivalry between the both of you?

RESPONDENT: no, I don't see it as a rivalry. Simply my mom loves him in that way for the circumstances...In same ways I think my mom sees my son as vulnerable and unprotected and needy of love.

INTERVIEWER: But is it important for you to have your mother understand her role as grandmother?

RESPONDENT: Yes. We have been talking about that all this time, and I tell her to tell my son that she is his grandmother and I am his mother. When I call him on the phone, I tell him “hello this is your mom” or “could you put you grandmother on the phone please?” So he will see the difference. Still, he sometimes he calls me “mama mimi” and I have to tell him “no, not mimi, I am your mother”

INTERVIEWER: So how does your son refer to his grandmother?

RESPONDENT: He calls her “mama lily.”

INTERVIEWER: do you think for him it is like yes he had two mothers then?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Whenever they ask him, he always says that he has three mothers (me, my mother and the Guadalupe virgin) and a grandmother, who is in fact his great grand mother.

INTERVIEWER: how do you think that your mother sees you as a mother?

RESPONDENT: I really could not tell. Well, she tells me that she is glad that I am looking after my son and that I have always ask her about him and that I worry about him. So she tells me that she is proud and tranquil but I have never asked her how she sees e as a mother ...I am not sure.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you see her as a mother...?

RESPONDENT: I think she is a very good mother...she was always there for us, she never worked she was present all the time...

INTERVIEWER: Is it important for you the fact that your mother supports you in leaving Mexico without your son?

RESPONDENT: Yes, it was very important.

INTERVIEWER: Would it have been different she would have condemned your decision of leaving your son in Mexico, for instance yes she would have consider that it was a bad mothers' choice?

RESPONDENT: I think if she would have not support me I would have never left my son and I would have bring him with me.

INTERVIEWER: And how did your new partner take it when you told him you had a son?

RESPONDENT: He did not believe me at first. Until one day I was on the phone with him and my partner heard when my son called me "mami." I do not know what he thought at that moment.... but he has always told me that he admires single mothers. His mother is a single mother herself so he told me to push forward not to forget the reason why I am here, that I needed to work for him.

INTERVIEWER: Do you feel your actual partner accepts your son as part of the family?

RESPONDENT: Yes, he actually has a daughter in Mexico so we try to include them in everything we do as part of the family.

INTERVIEWER: Can you specified more please?

RESPONDENT: For instance, when we go shopping we always try to buy things for our children and we try to make each other aware that we think in each other's children to think about each other's children. That makes me feel good...although sometimes I feel jealous and he does too.... but I think that when we get together as a family it will be hard.

INTERVIEWER: How do you think will be your feelings towards this baby? Are they going to be different?

RESPONDENT: No. I think they will be different, I will not feel any difference... I hope so.

INTERVIEWER: I understand. In addition, could you tell me what do you do when you are feeling down, when you are missing your son the most?

RESPONDENT: Well that is difficult...regularly I tell to my self "what an idiot" but I try to stick to the idea that because I am here I have been able to do things for my son that otherwise I would have never been able to do.... like paying for his eye surgery and all what he needs

INTERVIEWER: And do you think that thinking about the future when you and him will be together helps you cope with the distance?

RESPONDENT: Yes, it consoles me and motivates me to think that soon we will be together again... and I will be able to be with him and not having some else telling me about him.

INTERVIEWER: How long did you think you were going to be separated from your son when you first decided to come?

RESPONDENT: At first I thought I would stay just for Two years, I was going to go back this December to bring my son here with me but it turn out that I was pregnant so

INTERVIEWER: Was your mother happy about you coming back and take your son here with you?

RESPONDENT: At first she told me I was crazy, that I wouldn't have time to take care of him. But at the end I explained her that there were good schools here etc. and she end up telling me "you are right, your son needs you more than me."

INTERVIEWER: Does it make you feel good?

RESPONDENT: Yes it makes me feel good and motivates me to keep going.

INTERVIEWER: Do you feel like when your mother tells you something like that, she is giving you your place as mother of your son?

RESPONDENT: Yes, But I have never felt like she is displacing me, or stealing something from me. I have to recognize that when she tells me that “my boy hugged me today” I feel like it should be me whom he is hugging not you...but then I reframe and tell to myself not to be so egoistic, that it was my choice to leave and that I need to be strong

INTERVIEWER: I understand that you feel bad when you see that your son is being showing affection with your mother, but what do you think it will make you feel if your son didn't have that attachment to your mother? Would it make you feel better?

RESPONDENT: Oh no.... that will be so sad. Before when I thought about that I used to get very sad to think that he suffer for my absence.

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think it is good that he has something like the love of a mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, totally. He has love and affection and that there is no better person I could ever left him with.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think that the areas of motherhood such as physical contact, to hug your son to be with him that you cannot do because you are here and not there are being?

RESPONDENT: Replaced by my mother yes. She is compensating that part right now. On the other side, I am the economic support the one who provides for him and for his future.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it is like if you were the ideal mother in the past, your son's grandmother is the ideal mother in the present and you will be the ideal mother in the future?

RESPONDENT: Yes, that is the way I see it sometimes. However, I don't know how my son will be react in the future.

INTERVIEWER: How does you son come out of this situation of you and him being apart? I mean, do you see him for instance as a victim, or perhaps as an active actor who is also asked to be strong so you all can have a future together?

RESPONDENT: I think that any other role but the role of victim. I do not think he is a victim. I know he feels sad sometimes and maybe it will affect his life forever, but he is not a victim of what is happening.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that even when he is young, your son is also enduring the distance and time as a sacrifice he has to do for better times to come just like you are?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I think it has been difficult for him as well; it has taken him time to understand why I am not there and why his grandmother is there with him.

INTERVIEWER: Does he complain?

RESPONDENT: He has never complaint or demanded anything from me.

INTERVIEWER: Does he tell you that he is sad?

RESPONDENT: Not really, but my brother and my mother tell me when he is sad because he misses me. In addition, I am aware that even when he is little suffers as well.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you explain to him the fact that you are here?

RESPONDENT: I tell him that if it was not because I am here he would not have what he has, that he wouldn't have any money or all the presents I give him or the eye surgery. I tell him that I want us to have a house; I want him to go to school and to have a better future. I guess he barely knows what I am talking about but I still try to explain him.

INTERVIEWER: And does your parents understand that role of provider for your son that you have now?

RESPONDENT: Yes, they are aware of the difficulties that single mothers go through in MEXICO so they have told me that I have to be both the father and the mother for my son.

INTERVIEWER: What do they mean by being both the father and the mother?

RESPONDENT: They mean that, as we do not have the economical support from his father, that I have to take over his role as well as the role of mother,

INTERVIEWER: So would you say that in Mexican culture while the ideal mother is the one who stays at home and cares for the children, the ideal father would be the one who provides for his children?

RESPONDENT: Aha, the one who works, supports the whole family etc.... it can be hard, and sometimes depressing but I try to do what I can.

INTERVIEWER: So according to what you are saying, it seems to me that it is not that common mother like you who decide to become the provider even if it implies leaving your children to come to the U.S.

RESPONDENT: That is right, it is not that common but I do know a number of women in similar circumstances. However, it is not the same for all of us. I have seen some women even forget about their children once they get here.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think so?

RESPONDENT: Yes, completely. They make a new family here, have more children their plans are here and so they forget about their children. I really cannot understand what can make a mother forget about her children in Mexico.

INTERVIEWER: And how are you different from those mothers who “forget about their children”?

RESPONDENT: I am very different. Because even though I have a new partner and I decided to have another baby, I try to include my son in all my plans and to be a family. No matter if, I go back to Mexico or if he comes here, we will be together.

INTERVIEWER: You mentioned that you are now the provider of your son does providing for your son make you feel different than the mothers who forget about their children?

RESPONDENT: Yes, but not only providing for him but talking with him, to be aware of everything he does, to know if he misbehave or if he is crying or why he is crying, They have to feel that even though you are far away you care. It can seem insignificant but for children they are no. Children need to know that you care, that you are there for them and that they have a place in your life...not just to give them stuff. Yes, you just send money then years later children will claim that “you just sent me stuff and money but you never ask how I felt.” I think that is the key to any healthy relationship, one in which we all feel like a family, little questions that make a difference.

INTERVIEWER: Even if you are physically present?

RESPONDENT: Yes, it does not matter. If, you are there and you still have no empathy for how your child feels it is not enough...everything is not just money and stuff.

INTERVIEWER: So in that sense, if a mother cannot be physically with her son but if she makes him feel that he has a place in her life and that she cares about him, in that sense you...

RESPONDENT: ...I do the role of a mother because I make him feel important in my life, part of my life, even though we do not live together. I try him to make him feel like I would like him to make me feel...

INTERVIEWER: Could you elaborate on that please?

RESPONDENT: I like him to talk to me about his everyday life, where he goes etc. I like him to tell me how he feels and to share with me. I mean, I like him to have a good communication with me. I try not to be so hard on my self and not to be too exigent with him. In this case, I think that to the one who has to be exigent is my mother...

INTERVIEWER: Are you referring to being exigent in terms of disciplining your child?

RESPONDENT: Yes in terms of disciplining him. Because we all see things differently: what I think is a bad behavior from my son can make my mom laugh and the other way around. Therefore, as she is the one who is there with him everyday, she is the one who can judge his behavior. My mother and I are different and I know that I would handle things differently yes I were in her place....

INTERVIEWER: And so do you agree with your mother's judgment regarding your son's discipline?

RESPONDENT: Most of the times I agree with her, but not always. Sometimes I disagree and so I tell her to reframe or to do things differently. I tell her that I am the mother and how I would like her to handle a particular situation. And she tells me "yes you are right"

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think that by intervening in these kinds of ways, you are influencing your mother is educating your child?

RESPONDENT: Yes. I tell him not to be so harsh on him, or to talk to him in other ways. So I talk to my son and he tells me what his grandmother does.... once he pour all the cooking oil out of the bottle and my mother got very mad, and when I called him he told me everything about it. To me, it all sounded like a funny situation and so I talked to my mother and tried to calm her down.

INTERVIEWER: So you may not agree with her, but does it make you feel bad –do you suffer when she does things differently?

RESPONDENT: Not really. I do not suffer nor feel bad. I totally trust her and I would never even think that she would be treating my son bad or giving him a hard time when he misbehaves. It is just that my mom is somewhat explosive but I know that she tries to handle things better.

INTERVIEWER: How would you say is your sense of authority towards your son?

RESPONDENT: Oh no.... I feel that I have no authority with him.

INTERVIEWER: OK, can you tell me more about it?

RESPONDENT: I think because of the feelings of guilt that I have I am too flexible with him. When he wants something, I cannot say no.... I feel that in that way I am pleasing him but at the same time I am spoiling him by giving him everything because I am not there....

INTERVIEWER: So it is like yes you are compensating your absence by pleasing him By pleasing him with everything, he wants.

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: So, in that sense do you think you are always being “the good” and pleasing mother to your son?

RESPONDENT: Aha. I do not want to be like that really. I am trying to be more exigent with him, so I tell him “you have to go to school because other wise you won’t get this” or things like that.

INTERVIEWER: But there is always the fear –in the back of your head- that he will tell you.

RESPONDENT: That he will tell me something that is going to hurt. And that will totally kill me.

INTERVIEWER: Like yes she claims, “you cannot tell me what to do because you are not here”?

RESPONDENT: Exactly.

INTERVIEWER: Is that what terrifies you the most?

RESPONDENT: Yes, that is what I fear the most. But there is a risk in everything you do and I decided to take a risk by coming here and leaving him in Mexico so I have to

take things as they come. He is my son and I have to understand that for him it is difficult that someone is going to impose something on him, or that he feels that after I excluded him from my life that I cannot discipline him. I want to believe that this is not the case and that he won't feel that way but the fear is there, there.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: So I try to ignore the fear and to be exigent with him. Otherwise, I will be pleasing him in everything he wants and at the same time acting as if he is a victim and I am the responsible for everything that is wrong in his life. I do not think that is the approach I should to take. I hope that as he grows up he will be able to assimilate this entire situation: why he has not a father and why I left. I always try to answer his questions and to make him part of my life.

INTERVIEWER: OK.

RESPONDENT: I talk about my daily life, what I am currently doing inside the house etc.

INTERVIEWER: It is like talking about the daily life as it goes on.

RESPONDENT: Precisely. I tell him what I am cooking and ask him what he is watching on TV...

INTERVIEWER: And do you talk about the past, when you are there with him?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I asked him yes he recalls when he was little and I was there with him and all the things that I left for him. In addition, he tells me that my bed is still there and that no one sleeps on it.

INTERVIEWER: Does he tell you that?

RESPONDENT: Yes. He tells me that. That is how I try to not let him forget that I was there. In addition, I try to remember the house and the places I used to be around in Mexico with him.

INTERVIEWER: So that is how you go back to your past...

RESPONDENT: Yes. For instance, we also talk about when he was a baby, and I tell him that he is just like his new baby brother that is on the way. In that way I also try to make him involved in my present life so he can feel like he is here.

INTERVIEWER: And there are also the ideas of the future with the two of you together .

RESPONDENT: Yes, yes. I tell him that when I go back I will drive a red car like he likes it. Moreover, he asks me where we are going to go on a trip.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: I feel that when we talk like that, when he is accessible to talk about those things we both end up feeling happy after we hung-up the phone. Because that all days he wants to talk to me. Sometimes he tells me he is tired and that he wants to go out and play instead of talking with me.

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when he tells you that?

RESPONDENT: The first times he told me that it was hard. But my mother tells me not to force him because he is still a child and in that sense my mother helps me a lot too and tries to encourage him to just say hi when he is tired.

INTERVIEWER: It is like yes your mom also wants him to acknowledge your place as his mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, always. Since I left, she has always tried so. Although sometimes as I told you she we might disagree concerning his education but my mother has always make him understand that I am his mother, and that he has to give me a place as such.

INTERVIEWER: And after you came here, did you talk with your mother about how you felt?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I used to tell her that I felt bad for leaving my son and that I was always sad because of that.

INTERVIEWER: And how was it when you talked to your mom about your feelings of sorrow and sadness because you left your son there?

RESPONDENT: Especially in the beginning, I used to cried a lot and my mother has always tried to give me comfort and she used to tell me “don’t you worry; your son is going to be ok. Yes, you do not forget about him, yes talk to him constantly, yes you worry about him he will soon understand. When he grows up do not think that I am going to tell him you were a bad mother because you left him here with me...On the contrary.

INTERVIEWER: And what did you mother said to you about your decision of coming here?

RESPONDENT: My mother has always told me that wherever I go I am alone, that there is no one looking after me to give me what I need. Therefore, my mom tells me to work,

to be productive and active, and not to think about my son and the distance because it will not be of any use for me. Think that your son is the biggest reason you have to push forward is your son and anyone else. Now that I am pregnant, she also tells me to take care of myself so the baby will be Ok. She tells me that my son is doing well, that they give them love and take care of him.

INTERVIEWER: Does it make you feel less “bad” about having left your son in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes... it helps me a lot. Both of my parents always give me comfort.

INTERVIEWER: And how was your mother’s reaction when you told her about the pregnancy?

RESPONDENT: She did not believe me and started laughing! I do not know if she was mad, happy, or just in a shock, but she told “I was funny” and I told her yeah, that is what I told the him too! Then she stayed silent for a while and then she asked me what was I going to do and stuff...and I told her I would have the baby and such and she told me that what about my son. I told her that I was not going to forget about him ...I think that in that moment both of my parents started fearing that I would forget about my child.

INTERVIEWER: Just like you told me before. That, some women forget about their children in Mexico.

RESPONDENT: Yes, they forget about their children. So I told my mother I will not forget about him, is not on m plans. “If I had not forgotten about him yet after two years of being apart, do you really think I can forget about him now? You should not worry mom.”

INTERVIEWER: And why do you think she fears that you forget about your son?

RESPONDENT: Well I do not know...maybe because I will be spending more time with the baby...

INTERVIEWER: But, she knows that even if you forget about him, she is there for your son –I mean he would not be left alone – why do you think it is that she fears?

That your son will suffer? Or, that you will not be able to provide for him?

RESPONDENT: She fears that my son will suffer yes I forget about him...she is not too worry about the money because as she has told me before, she is more concern about me calling my son regularly than me sending him money. They have told me that if I have no money I do not have to worry. They tell me they support me but that I have to always

call him...she always try to remind me of that. They send me photos of him twice a year etc.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, and could you tell me what is to abandoned a child for you?

RESPONDENT: To abandoned a child.... I think it is to forget about him, (gestures of putting something away from ones proximity).

INTERVIEWER: And so, what is to be a bad mother?

RESPONDENT: For me a bad mother is...that is a difficult question. Mm... (Sighings) for me a bad mother is one that doesn't give love to her children and not pays attention to them. Overall, love...because the love is vital to any person, whether you are little, or old you need love.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you think one can define the love a mother gives to her children? How a child feels the love of a mother?

RESPONDENT: Well, I think in this case, with the small details that I have with him...among the things that I send t him I always send him letters or pictures.... and he does as well. My mother always tells him to send me something nice. The last time he sent me a photo for which he had combed his hair. My mother told me "see, he combed his hair just for you, so you will see how he combed his hair."

INTERVIEWER: did he do it for you?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because otherwise, he hates combing his hair.

INTERVIEWER: I see. And, in that ways would you say you feel your son's love towards you?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Yes. Whenever he tells me thank you or I miss you I really get emotional and it feels good. I think that he feels a son-mother love towards me.

INTERVIEWER: And do those expressions of love from your son make you feel as a mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: A hundred percent mother?

RESPONDENT: No, not a hundred percent.... but it makes me feel that he needs me.

INTERVIEWER: So needing the other person is also, lets say a feeling between mother and child...

RESPONDENT: Yes,

INTERVIEWER: They need each other...

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: And can you tell me, now that you are married and there is other baby on the way, in what ways you feel you need him?

RESPONDENT: Well... I need everything. His games, he waking me up in the morning and asking me to go playing with him. I need him to hug me to lie next to me in bed. All those little things are the ones I need.

INTERVIEWER: And do you think a mother needs her children to need her as well? Do you need your son to need you?

RESPONDENT: Yes. I am not sure if he expresses to others or not but I know he needs me.

INTERVIEWER: does it make you feel good then the fact that he needs you?

RESPONDENT: Well not good really. Because again, I am not there.

INTERVIEWER: You are not there.

RESPONDENT: Yes so...

INTERVIEWER: But what if he did not needed you how would you feel about it?

RESPONDENT: I would feel awful... I would cry I don't know...it is very contradictory and it is very difficult to explain all the feelings you have inside.... sometimes you are not sure whether you cry of happiness or sorrow. Sometimes because you are thinking so much about it, it keeps you from focusing in what you have to achieve here.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: but you just have to deal with it. At least as I see it is like we both started being a family, and even though we are separated we are still a family and as a family we have included new members: my partner and the baby that is on his way, and my son has accepted them. We have to be stronger to be able to adapt to the new circumstances.

INTERVIEWER: So, you think that because of these circumstances of the family, your son in Mexico will he have to face greater challenges that will any child of his age?

RESPONDENT: Yes, and he has to be stronger to be able to assimilate it and so he can understand it. I think that little children see how things change around them but they don't really develop an understanding of what is happening and they adapt little by little

to the new circumstances. Yes they have feelings but they don't know what is anger and hatred itself so for them up to certain point everything is beautiful for them. My son is very excited about his new brother and he knows he will have to share with someone else.

INTERVIEWER: And do you think that when the whole family reunites, you will be a mother a hundred percent?

RESPONDENT: Well, that is what I hope. To be able to be the best. To be a good role model. Although as a child, parents are never completely good or completely bad. I will try to have equilibrium. And not because I sacrificed all this time with him I will try to compensate it all at once all of those years. As I was telling you before, I will try to compensate but in the right way, and it will come from me and from him as well. We will have to get to know each other as well.

INTERVIEWER: So do you feel like you don't know your son?

RESPONDENT: Well yes, I know what he likes to eat and what is his favorite color; But I don't know his personality and how he is developing as a person.

INTERVIEWER: And he doesn't know you either?

RESPONDENT: He does not know me either. He has heard me say I can get very angry sometimes or that I will spank him yes he does such; but he has never heard me yelling or has never been spanked by me and I have never witness a tantrum of his.

INTERVIEWER: So the relationship is a little bit like a blind relationship.

RESPONDENT: Yes, just like a blind date. You have spoken on the phone many times but you have not yet seen each other.

INTERVIEWER: Like a blind date? (Laughs)

RESPONDENT: Correct. I know that when we get together the relationship can be something unexpected.

INTERVIEWER: but at the same time, there is an idea of what your son is like?

RESPONDENT: Yes,

INTERVIEWER: Like an imaginary son?

RESPONDENT: I think so. As I told you, when I left him, he was little and what he used to do when he was little he doesn't do anymore. My mother tells me he still a very loving boy but he older now.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you think is the imaginary idea of a mother that he has of you?

RESPONDENT: Ah, the mother that gives everything to him and never gets mad at him (laughs). I am working on it though. I am trying to draw some limits and to make him go to school – he has a lot of troubles to get up in the morning to go to school, he constantly cries in the morning and says he doesn't not want to go. I tell him that he has to go and so on.

INTERVIEWER: And do you communicate with his teacher at school?

RESPONDENT: No, but my mother tells me the problems he has is with the older children that pick on him because he has more things than others. I talk to him and try to explain him that there is people like that so he can start building up his character.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that living this circumstances of having his mother away has make him more mature or has make him realized things sooner than other children his age?

RESPONDENT: No I do not think so. He lives according to his age. Right now, it is difficult for him, he gets confuse and so on but his character is building up according to his surroundings and the experiences he is living. "My mother is away, my grandparents are here." Maybe later he will have to understand all situation...it might affect him or not but he will have more questions about everything. He would want to meet his father and things like that. I know he is all right and I try to do things as best as possible so he feels as part of my life. That is all I can do by now. With the time, we will have to face more difficult question and more difficult decisions to make. Most of all, we will have to face the ghost of the past and so we will see how we will handle it.

INTERVIEWER: And these present circumstances will become what you call "the ghosts of the past"?

RESPONDENT: Yes. The separation from his father, which I think, will be the hardest part. However, working, thinking about the future, and talking with him, looking at his picture is how I can keep going. Although it is difficult and confusing sometimes. And that is why I think some mothers forget about their children after they come here because they don't want to feel that way.

INTERVIEWER: Do you mean that a way to dealing with the confusion is to forget about their children back home?

RESPONDENT: Yes, like blocking those feelings towards their children and just send them money. It is difficult to judge other mothers and to understand why we come here and leave our children behind with someone else or why we might forget about them. I think it is hard for everybody. And that is something very important too. Who do you leave your children with...it is not the same in all cases, some grandparents may not support their daughter and so they leave their children with someone else.

INTERVIEWER: So it is very important for you the fact that your son is with your parents and that they support you?

RESPONDENT: Yes it is very important. Recently a friend told me how she left her children with her mother but the grandmother did not take care of her grandchildren. They might tell you your children are ok over the phone but you are never certain really. You have none to confirm whether it is true or not, so you have to trust who ever you left your children with; weather it is your neighbor, you sister or your mother.

INTERVIEWER: So you have known other mothers in the same circumstances.

RESPONDENT: Yes, here I have known many and for all of them I think the feelings are the same between guilt, sadness and nostalgic. Not all express it but all of them feel it.

INTERVIEWER: And is there anything positive that you and the other women you know who have left their children behind can think of out of this situation?

RESPONDENT: Look, out of the people I know they all talk about being able to provide for you children abroad now and to be able to build a better future for them.

INTERVIEWER: is like yes being a mother is to look after the future of your children by sacrificing the physical contact with them in the present time.

RESPONDENT: yes, I believe it is just like that.

INTERVIEWER: Thanks for sharing your story with me, I have learn a lot about what it is for you to be a mother away from your child.

Demographics

Age: 30

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER: I was hoping that we could talk about your experience as mother who is currently separated from her child.

RESPONDENT: (affirmative head movement)

INTERVIEWER: For how long have you been here in the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: I have been here for 2 years and a half now

INTERVIEWER: so you haven't seen you daughter for that same time correct?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: And could you please tell me Yazmin how did you decided to leave your daughter in Mexico to come to the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: Because her father and I separated and I end up having no means to support her. I used to work in a factory but my brothers were here and they asked me that yes I wanted to come they will help me. I had asked them to borrow me some money to make the house payments and stuff, because it was not enough with my salary.

INTERVIEWER: I see

RESPONDENT: In the factory I earned 700 pesos and I had to make the payments that were 600...so I asked them to lend me 30.000 pesos to start a small business and they told me that instead they will help me to come here so I could work. So I talked to my mother and she also thought it was a good idea that I should come here to make money to pay for the house and that I could leave my daughter with her

INTERVIEWER: So that is how you decided to come

RESPONDENT: Yes

INTERVIEWER: So you had no support from the father of your daughter at all.

RESPONDENT: Not at all. Up until this day he does not even visits her or calls her on the phone, nothing

INTERVIEWER: Nothing ah?

RESPONDENT: No. We separated after 5 years of being together. After I came here he went a couple of time to visit her but as he got into drugs and was drinking a lot of

alcohol he used to get to my mother's house all stoned and drunk. Therefore, my daughter used to get scare and my mother did not allow him to keep coming.

INTERVIEWER: And why did you two separate?

RESPONDENT: because he did not provide for us. It was his father who used to give my daughter and I money - we used to live with my in-laws -. Therefore, I talked to his relatives and explained what was going on and that I wanted to leave him and they supported my decision. My father in-law gave me 5000 pesos to make the first house payment but that was it.

INTERVIEWER: So you left the father of you daughter and then decided to come here.

RESPONDENT: That is right

INTERVIEWER: How old was your daughter when you left Mexico?

RESPONDENT: She was 5 at the time

INTERVIEWER: She was five... what is your daughter's name?

RESPONDENT: C

INTERVIEWER: So when they asked you to come here, did you know that it was going to be just you not C?

RESPONDENT: Yes, it was too expensive and they said they would pay just for me, so I told them no way.

INTERVIEWER: Ok

RESPONDENT: And after a time, I think my brothers talked to my mom without me knowing and convinced her that it was the best thing for me to do. My mother started to tall me that I could leave my daughter with her and that she was going to be all right.

After a while, I end up accepting but they made all the arrangements.

I think that my mother did not wanted me to stay around my ex...so one day I got home after work and they told me I was leaving the day after! I freaked out and told them that they were going crazy or what.

INTERVIEWER: Really?

RESPONDENT: Yes, everything was already paid for.

INTERVIEWER: So you had just that night to talk to your daughter?

RESPONDENT: Yes to tell her

INTERVIEWER: And how did you decided to leave?

RESPONDENT: They did not even give time to think. I did not think, I just told to myself “I am leaving.”

INTERVIEWER: and how was it for you to tell your daughter...because she was old enough to be aware that you were leaving

RESPONDENT: I told her that I loved her very much and that she was a grown up and very smart girl and that she was able to comprehend the difficult circumstances in which we were living and that we always had to borrow money and to asked “mother” for food. I explained her just what she was able to witness, I did not lie to her. I told her how her dad did not help us nor did he visit us, for that reason I wanted a better life for us and that she had better things.

INTERVIEWER: ok

RESPONDENT: in that moment she was calm and she told me “ok mom” but the sad part was the moment I was really leaving...in that moment she cried a lot, she wouldn't let me go and my mother crying too trying to control her as I was crying too.

INTERVIEWER: she would not let go...

RESPONDENT: no, because since she was little we had always been together, we used to sleep together so it was very difficult

INTERVIEWER: and how was for your daughter to stay with your mother?

RESPONDENT: that was not so difficult because we were always around my mother's house. We had our own place but we saw each everyday I used to work 12 hours a day and sometimes I worked the night shyest so my mother took care of her.

INTERVIEWER: so, did it easier for you to leave her with your mother know that they already had a close relationship?

RESPONDENT: of course...we always were with them..

INTERVIEWER: I see. And could you tell me how did you feel as a mother back then?

RESPONDENT: what do you mean how did I felt? I felt very happy and proud of my child. I love her with all my heart.

INTERVIEWER: Would you say you felt a good mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes...

INTERVIEWER: And did that feeling change when you left your ex-husband for instance?

RESPONDENT: Do you mean because I was separating her from him?

INTERVIEWER: Could be...

RESPONDENT: No, he was not a good role model for her. Yes he was a good role model maybe I would have felt bad but.... as I always tell my mom "you have to leave the doors open for my daughter's father even yes he is a drug addict or what ever because she is smart girl and she is going to be able to judge herself." Right now, she doesn't talk about him. She says her father is my current partner. She calls him my dad-Steve writes him letters and tells him she wants to meet him in person

INTERVIEWER: does she?

RESPONDENT: yes, one day I asked her about her dad and she responded "do you mean my dad-Steve?" so I told to myself not to say anything else.

INTERVIEWER: so, she recognizes that she has her biological father but still for her dad is dad-Steve.

RESPONDENT: yes, my partner is the one who supports her. My partner is the one who pays for everything my daughter needs in Mexico, like all father should.

INTERVIEWER: so do you share the idea that a father is not the one who conceived you but who supports you?

RESPONDENT: the one who supports you that is right. In fact, I have never told my daughter that Steve is her dad. She alone came up with that thought. But she knows who is her biological dad, she knows him. The thing is that she decided Steve was her dad because he is the one who looks after her.

INTERVIEWER: so Yazmin, how was it for you to go from the mother who is there physically caring for your daughter to be the mother in the distance that supports her but cannot be there with her?

RESPONDENT: that is very sad. It sometimes makes you depressed. Not to be able to be there when she comes back from school and to ask her how it went. However, I call her everyday on the phone, eh.

INTERVIEWER: everyday?

RESPONDENT: yes, there is not a single day that we do not talk. She is old enough and she now knows my number so she also calls me whenever she wants.

INTERVIEWER: so that telephonic communication is very important for the two of you?

RESPONDENT: yes, imagine if I did not talk to her on the phone.... she would grow apart from me!

INTERVIEWER: are you afraid of that?

RESPONDENT: NO, because I try to reminded her all the time that I am her mother and that my mother has her borrow just for a little bit...(laughs)

INTERVIEWER: so

RESPONDENT: I know many people that leave their children to come here and after 5 or 6 years their children end up staying with the grandparents...but in my case, I won't allow that to happen. My daughter knows that my parents are her grandparents and that one day, I will go back and we will all live together.

INTERVIEWER: So for you that she makes that distinction is very important.

RESPONDENT: of course! What if they don't give me my daughter back!

INTERVIEWER: the grandmothers get really attach to the grandchildren they take care of, right?

RESPONDENT: they start feeling like if they were their own children!

INTERVIEWER: the grandchildren they take care off while the mothers are here?

RESPONDENT: yes, but that is not the case of my parents.

INTERVIEWER: and how do you maintain that distinction with your mother?

RESPONDENT: my mother knows it! She even tells me things like "you should come and take your daughter"

INTERVIEWER: does she really?

RESPONDENT: yes, my mother is an older women and she has no energy to keep running after children. She wants to rest now. Therefore, my mom tells me that she loves my daughter dearly but that she knows to respect that we have different responsibilities with her and that that is my responsibility. That, I think is very important. Imagine what would happened yes she would get too passionate about my daughter she would not give back my daughter to me. My mother and I talk about that, that my daughter is my daughter and that she has a new brother here.

INTERVIEWER: she does! How old is you son?

RESPONDENT: he is a year and a half. My mother came to visit us not too long ago.

INTERVIEWER: did she?

RESPONDENT: yes, she has come twice now. She cannot stay long because she does not want to leave my daughter alone so she usually stays for 2 weeks or so.

INTERVIEWER: and, how was for your mother and your daughter to know that you were pregnant?

RESPONDENT: it was very hard (laughs)

INTERVIEWER: could you tell me a little bit more about it?

RESPONDENT: Right after I got here to the U.S. from Mexico, all of my brothers left, so I found myself alone in a strange country. I started working and there I met my current partner whom I started dating and soon after, I got pregnant. It was a very difficult pregnancy, I got very sick.

INTERVIEWER: That sounds like a very difficult time for you.

RESPONDENT: yes, I could not even move...I had a lot of sickness and when I used to talk with my mother on the phone, she started suspecting that I was pregnant. One day I told them that in fact I was pregnant and my mother told me "how dear you!"

INTERVIEWER: did she?

RESPONDENT: yes, she told me that I was suppose to come here to work and to pay for the house and return as soon as possible. In addition, that this was the contrary of the plans we had...and I told you that it was true but that I could do nothing about it

INTERVIEWER: and was it hard for you when you find out you were pregnant?

RESPONDENT: oh no, I was happy since the first moment. There is nothing bad about a baby.

INTERVIEWER: and how did it make you feel your mother's reaction to your pregnancy?

RESPONDENT: it did not make me feel bad at all. I just listened to her but I was very happy with my belly.

INTERVIEWER: and did the pregnancy awaken any feelings of sadness when you thought about your daughter?

RESPONDENT: No.

INTERVIEWER: were you able to separate your feelings towards the two situations?

RESPONDENT: Because at the time I was in a good relationship with a new partner, I found myself pregnant and so my life started to change. In Mexico, I was not all that

happy with my daughter's father...maybe if my new partner was a bad guy maybe I would have felt bad about the pregnancy...but as he was the good guy that he is, it gave me peace and tranquility

INTERVIEWER: I see. So, could you say that you feel as good as a mother having your son here even if C is in Mexico and not here with you?

RESPONDENT: yes, I feel as good as a mother having my son here even if my daughter is in Mexico I love both of my children the same. I am the same with both of them. I buy the same kind of stuff equally and yes I had no money, I do not buy anything for any of them. Steve understands it and he buys things for both of them equally.

INTERVIEWER: so was it important for you that Steve accepted you daughter?

RESPONDENT: he had to accepted because is he loves me he has to love her as well. Because he is part of me.

INTERVIEWER: were you afraid when you came here that your new partner would not accept the fact that you had another daughter?

RESPONDENT: oh no, because if he had not accepted her there is no way I will be in a relationship with my new partner. Since the first day, I met my partner-Steve I told him about her.

INTERVIEWER: and Yazmin, could you tell me how do you perceive yourself as mother?

RESPONDENT: how do I perceive myself as mother.... well I think I am a good mother because I love my children, I respect them and I let my daughter make her own decisions and I try to support her in everything but she has to make her own choices.

INTERVIEWER: have you ever encountered someone who judges you for leaving you daughter back in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: not really, no one has ever told me anything, and people have no right to tell me anything about it.

INTERVIEWER: ok. Do you think there are people who think bad of mothers-like you who leave their children back in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: I do believe there are people who see such actions as bad but I think that is because they are ignorant people. No one should judge other people's actions without

knowing the other person's circumstances. In addition, yes a mother leaves her children and then abandoned them, it is all in her own conscience.

INTERVIEWER: How would you respond to someone that will judge what you did as a way of abandoning your daughter?

RESPONDENT: I have all the papers that prove that I have sent her money every month, I have the phone records to prove that I call her everyday, my mother comes and visits, I have all the pictures that she has send me.

INTERVIEWER: and what if someone argues that a mother is not just the one who provides for her children, but the one who gives her children love and affection?

RESPONDENT: I will tell them that you have to give love, affection and provide for them. I am not abandoning her because I am giving her love; I call her all the time. It is super cheap to talk to her on the phone. Giving no love will be to just call my daughter once a week.... you can call her and ask her about me and she would have to be the one who gives her opinion about it; She will tell you about all that I do for her.

INTERVIEWER: and that she ever complains to you because you left?

RESPONDENT: at the beginning when I first came here she used to ask me to go back soon, that we could sell cakes in the street so we can live on it. And I used to tell her that I would go soon.

INTERVIEWER: could you tell me a little more about how you handle the passing of time and your plans for you two for the future? I mean, children sometimes cannot anticipate the future so when you tell her that you will go soon what do you mean by it?

RESPONDENT: No, no.... I already told her an exact date in which I am leaving.

Whatever happens ...whether there is an amnesty or not. Some people say they will wait until the government grants us an amnesty so they stay here forever; me I will leave with or without amnesty. I made a promise and that day I will go for her.

INTERVIEWER: and for how long have you had that date of your return on mind?

RESPONDENT: Since the day I decided to come to the U.S.

INTERVIEWER: Since you got here you had planed to stay for X number of years?

RESPONDENT: yes, although I did not meet that plan.

INTERVIEWER: when you first came, how many years you thought you were going to stay here?

RESPONDENT: for four years.

INTERVIEWER: for four years.

RESPONDENT: Four years, and whatever happens I will go back. Because we cannot play with children with promises...”next year I will go back” and then a year passes and you say” for your next birthday I will be there” and so on...Yes I did that to my daughter she would stop believing in me. She would think that all I am doing is playing games with her.

INTERVIEWER: so for the both of you it is very important to have that dead line?

RESPONDENT: yes, my daughter knows that this time is necessary so we can succeed as the team that we are. She knows we are a team. I am the one who works here and she has to be strong for me and support me. I have told her she has to be strong, not to get sad, and to know that we are going to make it.

INTERVIEWER: so, as a member of the team she has to be strong ...

RESPONDENT: yes, sometimes she does get sad and tells me she wants me to come home...

INTERVIEWER: and what kind of thing you tell her to console her?

RESPONDENT: I tell her not to be sad, that she knows I love her and want to be with her, that she knows the plans we have and that soon we will reach them. I tell her that she is with “mama-chela” and “papi-chulo don’t they treat you right?” and she tells me “yes mami they treat me right. But I want you”

INTERVIEWER: so, talking about the future, when you two reunited, helps the both of you to cheer up?

RESPONDENT: yes, we talk about what we are going to be when I am there with her brother and that we are going to live in a new home and that she will have new friends.

INTERVIEWER: the future as a family all together?

RESPONDENT: yes, I also try to get Steve involve with her and to involved Steve’s family who are also in Mexico. In addition, I tell Steve to mention my daughter when he talks to them about our son.

INTERVIEWER: so it is important for you that they consider your daughter as part of the family.

RESPONDENT: of course!

INTERVIEWER: I understand. How would you describe your idea of maternity?

RESPONDENT: the love that I have for both of my children

INTERVIEWER: and for you, what is the ideal of a good mother?

RESPONDENT: what do you mean “a good mother”?

INTERVIEWER: I mean, what are the characteristics that make what you consider a good mother?

RESPONDENT: that will have to be my own mother (laughs). My mother is a great mother she has everything I can think of in a good mother,

INTERVIEWER: could you tell me a little bit more about that?

RESPONDENT: She fights for her children, hardworking that educates them and is there with them for good and bad, and that helps them out to solve their problems... It might be a small thing that can seem insignificant, but those are the things that make a good mother.

INTERVIEWER: And being a “great mother” as you said, did it mean anything to you as mother the fact that she supports you in leaving your daughter with her?

RESPONDENT: yes, yes my mother had supported me I would have not left my daughter...

INTERVIEWER: so yes your mother, lets say she told you that you were being a bad mother because you were leaving your daughter, what would you have done?

RESPONDENT: I would not have left...because yes my mother had those kinds of thoughts I would not be confident of leaving my daughter with her and that she would take good care of my her. My mother assured me that me leaving was for the well being of my daughter, that it was a good decision and that my daughter was in the best hands (with my mother). Yes you would have told me the opposite I would have not left my daughter with someone who has negative thoughts about me because she would have been complaining and recriminating me all the time; and it would have been my daughter who would have to endure all of that bitterness from my mother.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: and I can constantly see how they are taking care of her over the phone. You is old enough to tell me is something is not right. For instance, my little brother

sometimes likes to mess with her so I have to get him on the phone and deal with it myself...

INTERVIEWER: so you supervise your daughter's well being over the phones, and do you think you are aware of everything that goes on with your daughter?

RESPONDENT: Yes. I ask her personally, she is the first I ask. I know she never lies to me. Since she is little I told her that no matter what, I will believe her over anyone else...you know how it is with sexual abuse issues ...that is why I have always told her I trust her. I also talk with her friends from school and intervene whenever I can.

INTERVIEWER: so do you feel you know your daughter? I mean because we all change over time...

RESPONDENT: I totally know her. Her personality has not changed; you have your own personality since you are born. Since I left her, she just has been growing up but her personality is the same.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: I will show you the pictures (takes out photo album). I am prepared, see?

INTERVIEWER: (laughs)

RESPONDENT: she looks just like her brother.

INTERVIEWER: you are right. In addition, did you do this photomontage of the whole family together? (Yasmin, her son and partner appear next to C in a photo- montage).

RESPONDENT: yes.

INTERVIEWER: it is beautiful, and your daughter is very pretty.

RESPONDENT: this is her birthday party (points to the picture) when she turned 6, 7 and 8 y/o, I sent her dresses.

INTERVIEWER: How does it make you feel when you get new pictures from your daughter?

RESPONDENT: very happy... just by looking at her face in the picture I can tell weather she is happy or sad...she cannot hide anything from me.

INTERVIEWER: I see. Moreover, how does your mother feel about your new son?

RESPONDENT: she wants him to be there with her soon...until you do not see the children you don't feel the real love.

INTERVIEWER: I see. In addition, how is your mother going to take it when your daughter moves in with you in the future?

RESPONDENT: well, that will not be my problem...she has to deal with it

INTERVIEWER: what do you mean by that?

RESPONDENT: I mean that I am taking my daughter with me no matter what...she is my treasure

INTERVIEWER: but in these cases grandmothers really get attach to their grand children, don't they?

RESPONDENT: but not my mom. She knows that she is the grandmother

RESPONDENT can one say that she knows her own limits?

INTERVIEWER: yes, she loves her as a granddaughter and she knows I am the mother and that she will live with me.

RESPONDENT: here is my dad and my daughter in this picture, see how much they love each other? You can tell just by looking at them...

INTERVIEWER: they look happy. Your father looks very young...

RESPONDENT: In that photo they were very happy because my dad took my daughter to the same place where she and I had own picture taking when she was just a baby... the same spot of the park. My father told her the story of us in the park and she was very happy to go there again. Can you see that she looks like a happy girl in all of these pictures?

INTERVIEWER: yes she does...but do you think that even as young as she is, she is learning that in life there are sacrifices one have to make, just the same way you are?

RESPONDENT: yes, she is making a huge sacrifice, she is a strong girl.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: Look this is the letter she sent me recently (reads letter to interviewer).

INTERVIEWER: do you know any other mothers in the same situation you are?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I do.

INTERVIEWER: Is it very common?

RESPONDENT: Well, I know a lot of Central American and Mexican mothers too...Central Americans have the goal of leaving and they in fact save money and

leave...but Mexican mothers promise to go back but they end up staying...they forget about their children...

INTERVIEWER: How do you mean, “they forget about them”?

RESPONDENT: They just do. I know a woman who left her daughter 9 years ago! Can you imagine! I cannot understand when she tells me about it!

INTERVIEWER: 9 years is too long for you.

RESPONDENT: I could not be able to be separated all that time... It is an exaggerated time! That is why I tell my partner that even if we have a good life style here, I want to go back for my daughter... I don't want us to happened what happened to those children who forget about their mothers... and they say to themselves “my child is fine with my mother in Mexico.”

INTERVIEWER: You would not want that to happened with your daughter...

RESPONDENT: she wont forget about me, because the advantage I have over other women who left their children too little and go back when they are too old, is that I left my daughter when she was 4... no wait, when she was 5 years old and I am coming back before she turns 9 years old. Babies do not remember their mothers but my daughter felt “the maternal love” when she was little so she remembers...and I will go back before she forgets. That I think is very important, it is not just to send children money.

INTERVIEWER: and how do you keep her memory fresh? Do you talk about the past with her?

RESPONDENT: I think my mother is always telling her stories about when I was there... and so she asks me about it and whether I remember this or that...the both of us have the same pictures so we both talk about what we see... I think she remembers many things even though she was a baby... she is a very smart girl, just like me (laughs). I can really remember things as far as when I was 4 years old so I think is possible.

INTERVIEWER: and the fact that she remembers tells you that she has not forgotten about you.

RESPONDENT: right, she remembers the good and the bad things... like when I pulled her hair once when she was little! However, it is ok, it is part of life to remember.

INTERVIEWER: to remember and to look ahead to the future...

RESPONDENT: right. I think plans are very important not just dreaming about the future... That is different. I tell my partner to make plans, to save money. Because we are in the U.S. but we are not American, in our culture men have to provide for us...

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: The other advantage I have is the fact that she is a very mature girl...

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it has to do with the fact that she had this experience of having you away?

RESPONDENT: Also that she is a very smart girl. She picks-up on everything. Once I told her, how happy I was living here and how things have improved for me. Soon after reading the letter she calls me and tells me something like "you are very happy there but what about me?" she was very angry...

INTERVIEWER: did she feel left out? Perhaps she wanted to hear that your happiness is incomplete while you two remain separated.

RESPONDENT: I believe so. I had to explain her what I meant by that ...

INTERVIEWER: do you share all of your feelings?

RESPONDENT: yes, we talk about how we miss each other and things like that.

INTERVIEWER: And Yazmin, how would you like her to remember all of these years that you have been apart from each other in the future?

RESPONDENT: Mm...that is a difficult question, I had not thought about it... I think I want her to remember this time as a good experience for both of us. Because we both had to struggle, it is a mutual struggle, you know. A struggle to achieve a better future, a struggle that has made her a stronger person. She has to realize that life is just like that: you cannot have everything you want, no matter yes you are rich or poor we cannot have everything. Or we are happy together but starving...she knows these things

INTERVIEWER: you are saying that in order to achieve certain things in life once have to sacrifice other things.

RESPONDENT: Yes, that is the truth. As cruel as it sounds because, it is in fact cruel. However, it cannot be like those parents that you hear preaching about loving your children and being with them but everybody is starving with no shoes. It might be just material things but they are indispensable to live... and so these parents say, "I can't

leave my child, how can you even think about it! They can be maltreated!” and that is not to love your children! We have to make a sacrifice so we all are better.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: And that is, what my daughter has learned...

INTERVIEWER: That is part of her life now...

RESPONDENT: yes it is. Do you want to talk with her on the phone?

Demographics

Age: 30

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER: I wanted you and I to talk about your experience as a mother since you live separated from your daughter yes it is ok with you.

RESPONDENT: Yes it is fine.

INTERVIEWER: Last time we spoke you were pregnant and now your daughter is how old?

RESPONDENT: She is three years old.

INTERVIEWER: Are you still living with your husband?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Last time we talked, I remember you were having some issues with him, right.

RESPONDENT: Yes, We were. Now everything is all right.

INTERVIEWER: I am glad to hear that. Could you reminded me what was happening back then... I remember you were feeling bad about he pregnancy because your daughter was back home and you told me you felt like blaming your husband.

RESPONDENT: Because of the pregnancy I think I was very sensitive and emotional, and I was feeling bad because my daughter was back home and she would feel bad.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: thanks goodness my daughter has really assimilated the fact that she has a new sister... I think my parents have helped her and I a lot in that respect, because they are always there for her and they talk to her about us and tell her we soon will go back home.

INTERVIEWER: And how did your parents take it when you told them you were pregnant?

RESPONDENT: It was something normal for them. But I was very worry about my daughter that she would take it the wrong way. You know how children are...and how people around them can tell them bad things so I was scare. But she has assimilated it well and she is doing well... She has problems at school that is it.

INTERVIEWER: Problem at school?

RESPONDENT: I think that she is lacking her parents attention...she has the attention from her grandparents but she still lack her own parents attention...it is a different kind of love your know?

INTERVIEWER: How do you think it is different?

RESPONDENT: Because your parents always give you a different attention, even though your grandparents love you... In my case I think my husband and I are more caring than my parents, we spoiled our daughter here more, buying everything she wants, but it is not the same way for my other daughter in Mexico. I can see that my parents really love her but it is not the same.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you manage to deal with that lack of attention that you say your daughter has from you?

RESPONDENT: oh well... I try to talk to her on the phone as frequently as possible. I ask her about her school, about how things are going. The problem is that I do not feel she has a good communication with me... I mean she is not really open to tell me about her stuff... or maybe she gets too distracted when we talk

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: yes I ask her about her friends or yes she had any fight at school sometimes she talks sometimes she doesn't... I feel she doesn't tells me all so I have to ask my mother...she doesn't tell me everything

INTERVIEWER: who doesn't, your mother or your daughter?

RESPONDENT: My daughter. My mother I know she tells me everything.

INTERVIEWER: Do you ever feel your mother might hide some things from you so you don't worry or get sad for not being there?

RESPONDENT: Not really.

INTERVIEWER: does your mother tell you when she is sick?

RESPONDENT: Yes, she tells me when she is sick or like last week, she felt down and she got stitches in her hand.

INTERVIEWER: is she ok?

RESPONDENT: Yes, it was a minor accident at school

INTERVIEWER: I see. And how do you feel when you know that for instance your daughter is sick and you cannot be there with her?

RESPONDENT: well she is not child that get sick a lot. When she gets sick is just with a cold or something mild... I feel that it is because she is not so bad emotionally... but she does not tell me about it. I feel we do not have that mother-daughter trusting relationship, you see? The relationship you develop when a mother lives with her children...

INNTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: she knows I am her mother but I don't feel she loves me in the way a daughter loves her mother... when I send her gifts is when she is more talkative and she wants to chat with me. Three times a year and for her birthday she gets a big package from us.

INTERVIEWER: I see. How does it make you feel the fact that right now you don't feel that mother-daughter love you are referring to?

RESPONDENT: Well I have plans to go back soon...I have had these plans for a long time but I had some health issues... and she knows all of it.

INTERVIEWER: When did you first come here for how long did you plan on staying?

RESPONDENT: For one year.

INTERVIEWER: One year...

RESPONDENT: Yes, but soon the headaches started and I had to undergo medical exams until they told me I had a brain tumor and that I needed brain surgery. The problem was that I was already pregnant and so they had to wait for my daughter to be born.

INTERVIEWER: And so for you've had to postpone your trip to Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Now that I am better and that surgery went very well, I just have to stay here until I recuperate completely.

INTERVIEWER: And how is for your daughter not to have a precise sense of when you are going back home?

RESPONDENT: I think she got used to that. She knows she has her parents but we are not with her. She knows we send her gifts and that comforts her I think... it is like her console is materialized in the gifts we send her...

INTERVIEWER: The gifts?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because she knows that she gets gifts in exchange for us not being there with her

INTERVIEWER: And in some ways, you think that like you she is sacrificing something too.

RESPONDENT: Yes... for instance she knows that she has friends whom have their parents with them but that get no gifts and pretty things like she does. In fact, she gives them things to them without telling us.

INTERVIEWER: So she has an idea that you will get hurt if she tells you she gave what you sent her away.

RESPONDENT: Right.

INTERVIEWER: And do you think that it is perhaps because of this (that she does not want to hurt your feelings) that she is not too open with you when you two talk?

RESPONDENT: Yes... she even refers to my mother as grandmother when she is on the phone with me, but when she is not, or when she is addressing her directly, she calls her "mom."

INTERVIEWER: I see...

RESPONDENT: So she knows how to make that distinction. I know she never calls my mother grandmother but it does no bother me

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me a little but more about that?

RESPONDENT: Well, for what I know, when my daughter started calling my father "dad," he told her he was her "grandfather" and that she had a father who lived in the U.S. on the other hand, so she assimilated it. My mother never made that distinction when my daughter started calling her "mom" so it is not her fault... maybe my mother liked it when she started calling her "mom" and that is ok with me.

INTERVIEWER: are you "ok" with your mother kind of taking your place as a mother while you are not there?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: One could say that some mothers could feel some rivalry with their own mothers, do you feel like that at all?

RESPONDENT: Not at all. I think it is like yes my mother is doing the role of mother while I am not there and I am glad that she is because otherwise I would feel sad that my daughter is lonely. I see it like yes my daughter had two mothers.

INTERVIEWER: Does she?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I think even when I get back to Mexico; my daughter K will always have two mothers. However, I think it is a privilege that not everybody has. I don't see it as a rivalry with my mother.

INTERVIEWER: And do you think your mother feels good about having the role of mother to your daughter?

RESPONDENT: I think she is. Nonetheless, she is aware that when I go back to Mexico my daughter is coming to live with me.

INTERVIEWER: Are both of your parents aware of it?

RESPONDENT: Yes, and I am too.

INTERVIEWER: Even though it might be hard for your mother when that happened don't you think?

RESPONDENT: At the beginning when we talked about that, around two years ago when I was planning to go back- my father told me it was going to be hard on my mother and that he was afraid she would get sick or something like that... but with the years, my mother has assimilated the idea.

INTERVIEWER: And what if you go back and your daughter does not want to move in with you?

RESPONDENT: I would have to stay in my mother's home for a while... I have to win my daughter over again. I cannot force her to go and live with me just like that. I have to stay there with them and little by little start preparing her for the change. I know that this affects my daughter a lot I am aware of it. She has asked me about that a thousand times about it

INTERVIEWER: and as a mother of two how do you think is going to be when the two of them get together? How are they going to feel do you think?

RESPONDENT: I want them to grow up together... I want them to see and love each other as siblings... even yes they fight I will be pleased because it would mean that they love each other. At first, my younger daughter used to get very jealous but recently they have gotten closer...

INTERVIEWER: and do you tell K about her little sister?

RESPONDENT: Not so much...his dad does not want me to tell her about her sister that much because he says she is going to get jealous too... but my mother does talk to her and shows her pictures... and K starts now to ask me about her little sister.

INTERVIEWER: I see. And Elisa, how would you like your daughter K to remember all of these years that you two have been apart?

RESPONDENT: That is why we are saving money right now, so yes she wants to study in the future she would be able to, she would have that money for her yes she wants to become a professional.

INTERVIEWER: so being able to provide for children's future is part of what a mother should be remembered for...?

RESPONDENT: yes, I think so.

INTERVIEWER: Is It the role of a mother to provide for the?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I do think so.

INTERVIEWER: And lets say you meet someone who tells you that maybe she has not been able to pay for her children's education, but that she has been able to be with them all their lives... what would be your reaction to that?

RESPONDENT: I think I would tell her that every person goes through different circumstances in life that lead one to make certain decisions. That is the decision I took and it should be respected... I would accept her criticism but they should not judge my actions as bad... because they were not on my own shoes so they cannot judge my actions. Perhaps if they were in the same circumstances, they would have done even worse things." We all make mistakes in life but that is how we all learn. I know leaving my daughter in Mexico was not the right thing to do because it has brought consequences for her.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think you see the future as an opportunity to make-up for the time you have been apart from your daughter?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I hope so. That when we get together again we will have better times.

INTERVIEWER: do you feel like you are being a different kind of mother than you had envisioned or imagined you were going to be?

RESPONDENT: Well...like all parents you always want to give your children the best but sometimes you just can't or they don't want for them what you had dreamed... For instance, my parents would have wanted to pay for my education but I didn't want to go to school. Therefore, that same thing can happen with my daughter.

INTERVIEWER: does it the fact that your mother could not give you everything in the way you wanted change the way you see your mother?

RESPONDENT: Not at all. I think my mother is the best mother.

INTERVIEWER: How do you mean "the best mother"?

RESPONDENT: I mean that she was always there for my brothers, and I.

INTERVIEWER: is that the ideal of what a mother should be?

RESPONDENT: Yes, she never apart from us, she didn't work away. She and my dad never argue they had a perfect marriage. My father is a bit strict and he worked a lot but he was always home too.

INTERVIEWER: and being your father "a bit strict" as you say, how did he feel when you decided to come to the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: He is an understanding person. He has always supported me and respect my decisions. The same with my sister who is now a single mother; he supports her and she now lives with them.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: The only time he has not supported me is when I asked them to send my daughter here ...in that occasion my father said it was too dangerous and that it was his responsibility yes something bad happened to her.

INTERVIEWER: and how did you decided to come here?

RESPONDENT: I decided to come here in order to join my husband who was here working.

INTERVIEWER: do you think you father thought that it was your role as a wyese to come and join your husband?

RESPONDENT: No, I do not think he thought that way. I think he understood that me coming to the U.S. was for financial reasons. If I had stayed, there alone I would have had to provide for my daughter and they knew that in Mexico it was going to be very difficult. They are poor people so they could not support my daughter and me either...

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

RESPONDENT: Besides, when I told my parents I was coming here I told them I was going away for one year only, so he thought it was not that long. We never thought I was going to get sick and to have all that medical treatments...I think that overall, me coming here has imply some good things...for example if I had not come here and had the surgery done, I wouldn't be talking here with you...

INTERVIEWER: Your health is good now...

RESPONDENT: Yes, I am healthy now and it is because I was here that I am alive.

INTERVIEWER: Right. In addition, how do you think does you own mother see you as a mother?

RESPONDENT: I really do not know.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think she sees you leaving your daughter to come here to work as a kind of sacrificethat you are doing for your daughter?

RESPONDENT: I really don't know.

INTERVIEWER: And are you afraid at all that in the future your mother or your daughter recriminates you because you left her all of these years?

RESPONDENT: Regarding my mother, I do not think she will ever recriminate me anything. She agreed with me in that this was for the own good of my daughter.

However, I am afraid that my daughter will recriminate me later; I think there is that possibility.

INTERVIEWER: In what ways do you think she will recriminate you?

RESPONDENT: See, an acquaintance of mine, she told me she left her daughter just like me. It was somehow diffrentbecause when she went back to Mexico, her mother didn't give her daughter back. Her daughter, she is an adult now and always recriminates her mother for leaving her...this acquaintance of mine always tells me to be careful with my mother, but I know y mom would be incapable of such a thing. I would not want that to happened to me...

INTERVIEWER: And does your mother try to remind your daughter of your role as her mother? Does she give you the place your daughter's mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, always. My brothers always tell me so. My mother talks to my daughter about me and things like that, and I have never argue with my mother because

of my daughter's education or because she tells her to do this or that. Especially after I got pregnant, I told my mother to not allow anyone to tell her that I was not going to love her anymore and that they should try to explain that we love her the same.

INTERVIEWER: So it is through your mother that you try to maintain that maternal role in place.

RESPONDENT: Yes. It is difficult to talk with my daughter because as I was telling you before she does not trust me I believe...I think she thinks that yes she tells me stuff I am going to be mad at her and that I am going to reprehend her for it, where in fact I hardly ever reprehend her for anything. When my mother tells me she does not want to eat her food or that she doesn't want to go to school, just then I reprehend her about it and explain her I want her to do well at school. I tell her how if her little sister does not eat I spank her because she needs to eat to grow healthy. I tell her that I am strict, so she will not be surprise later...

INTERVIEWER: So you try to anticipate her some aspects of the way you are as a mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes,

INTERVIEWER: So she has an idea

RESPONDENT: Yes, my mother also tells her that I am strict...because my daughter is very spoiled

INTERVIEWER: So you two work on helping her imagine how it

RESPONDENT: How it will be life with me, when I go back there. I want to raise her well, I want her to know that when you do well in school you get rewards and if you don't you get chastised. My sister also helps me out with that. She tells her how I want her to do well in school and that she will get what she wants for Christmas.

INTERVIEWER: It is also a way to tell her what you as a mother expects from her as her daughter.

RESPONDENT: Yes. She knows that if she does well in school I will buy what she asks me to.

INTERVIEWER: And in that way, you wish she interpreted that the gifts you send her are a reward for something she has achieved.

RESPONDENT: Correct. But if she asks me for a new car that, I will not be able to buy for her (laughs).

INTERVIEWER: (laughs)

RESPONDENT: She knows that there are things that I can buy and others I cannot buy. She needs to learn that to: that she cannot have everything in life.

INTERVIEWER: And if you could pictured your self back home, how do you think it will really be when you two reunite?

RESPONDENT: It depends on how she is and how she feels with me. Most of the time I have notice she is happy with me, and I know she is a loving girl... Yes she keeps being that way once we are there, we are going to be able to go to the beach, to go to the zoo together and little by little adapt to living with us. First, I need to win her over. I have a plan more or less figured out of how I will do it: I know what she likes, where she likes to go eating or where she is used to going, so it is less difficult for her to leave my mother.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think you know your daughter.

RESPONDENT: Not really. I remember her but she has grown up now.

INTERVIEWER: and how do you keep all of those memories alive?

RESPONDENT: I have pictures that my family sends me and I keep a photo album with pictures since she was born.

INTERVIEWER: I see. Does she have pictures of all of you as well?

RESPONDENT: Yes she does but because my brother visited me and showed her pictures. Did not want to send her any pictures of my younger daughter so she would not get jealous. Because perhaps here, my daughter has prettier birthday parties and things like that.

INTERVIEWER: How did you feel when your brother showed her pictures of you?

RESPONDENT: I was not mad at him is just that I did not know how she was going to take it. Nevertheless, she took it well. She commented on the pictures but that was it.

INTERVIEWER: So your daughter here has gone through the process of accepting the fact that her sister is not there with her?

RESPONDENT: Yes, She knows that she has a sister, that she cannot tear off her picture or take it down the table, and that she has to keep them there.

INTERVIEWER: Has she ever tried to tear a picture off?

RESPONDENT: No, she knows she cannot.

INTERVIEWER: so that is the way you have been building a sense of what is family.

RESPONDENT: Yes, so when we go back they can start a sibling relationship.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think that for you, it will be then when the family reunites that you will be closer to that ideal of what a mother should be?

RESPONDENT: Yes,

INTERVIEWER: and how is the ideal mother?

RESPONDENT: Just like my mother. She was always with us, she was there for us and we could count on them. My mother is strict and knows how to discipline you too.

INTERVIEWER: So your own daughter is now having the same mother you had when you were little.

RESPONDENT: I think my mother is less strict with her and she spoils her more than she spoiled me. She carries her books to school, she protects her a lot; but I, I will be different, I won't spoil her that much.

INTERVIEWER: And is that way how are viewed ideal mothers in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes. In Mexico the mother who is always there with her children, who is never away from them is regarded as the best mother, the ideal mother.

Demographics

Age: 36

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER: Let's start recording, well can you tell me the story of when you came to America? How long have you been here?

RESPONDENT: five years as I have been here

INTERVIEWER: It is five, meaning that your child is eight?

RESPONDENT: Is a girl

INTERVIEWER: It is a girl

RESPONDENT: She is fifteen years

INTERVIEWER: She is fifteen?

RESPONDENT: She just turned fifteen in November

INTERVIEWER: Ok you left her when she was 10 years old?

RESPONDENT She was ten years old

INTERVIEWER: And tell me how why did you decide to come here and leave her there?

RESPONDENT: Indeed it has always been with my mom since she was a baby, since I was young ... I was 19, is true! So I had to work, and my mom told me she would take care of her. I always worked far away from where my mom lives, I always worked so far, then I had to travel and once I went to visit her and did not let me take her because they wanted to stay with the girl and kept the girl and then I wanted it back but the girl did not want me or anything. It was because my mother did not inculcated nothing to her, that I was her mom or anything like that. I was always sending money and I was on the lookout for them, but my mom was very mean. When I was on the phone my mom did not put her on the phone. She knows I'm her mom, but she loves me like a sister, but not as her mom, and just as many times as I wanted her back when it was not possible and then I came here. First, I went to work at the border, one of my sisters told me it was okay for me to come here and talk to one of my aunts and my aunt convinced me that for me of coming here. But really I suffered a lot because when I came I confided that I was with my aunt, but my aunt would not come to pick me up and then sent me to a cousin and two cousins were with me and the two went back halfway, coming here alone and I had no money or anything, I had nowhere to get, then because a women who came with

me, we there, I did not even knew her, well she knew, she said she knew a cousin who was here and started talking on the phone, began to say to help me to pay for me to pass and she gave me some money so that I could get up here.

INTERVIEWER: Oh no!

RESPONDENT: I was all alone.

INTERVIEWER: Oh my.

Interviewer: I was feeling pretty bad, I said, in Mexico there was little work but I had a job, and I came to be suffering all that, and then with nowhere to go, and I said where do I go? Finally, I told another cousin that I was here and that I had nowhere to go and he said that yes I wanted to go with him it was fine.

INTERVIEWER: And how was it?

Interviewer: It was not good, because my cousin's friends got high a lot, did drugs, you could not have the place clean, tidy because drunks are like that. I could not leave money or anything, because yes you bought something to eat they all ate it, like yes they were at home or yes there was a bar.

INTERVIEWER: and during all that time did you had talked to your mom? Did you tell her you were coming?

Interviewer: Yes

Interviewer: And what did she say when you told her you were coming here?

INTERVIEWER: Well, look I'll tell you one thing: my mom has always been weird, (The girl interrupted and Bertola says, "please go to your room or go to there, ok? because I am talking now"). I was very afraid of my mom because she always had me like ... intimidated and made me work to support my daughter.

INTERVIEWER: Did she tell you that a good mother works for her children?

RESPONDENT: I did it for love, because I could not see her suffering. As she had my girl she demanded a lot. She always was demanding me things and she was never happy, it was never enough.

Interviewer: And did she judge you for being a bad mother?

RESPONDENT: always, she was never a loving mother I never had the support, if I wanted to talk to her as a child I remember she would scolded me and insulted me

because she was very ill spoken and I was scared and instead of saying something I kept it for myself.

INTERVIEWER: and if, she was “rare and not loving with you” why do you think she decides to keep your daughter?

RESPONDENT: mm ... I do not know. She has always loved children but I do not know. Only God knows, right? But she wanted to be with the girl I often try to recover her but ... I was immature and I was very young and as my mother never commissioned me to see the dangers in life, I had my girl very young. It was really unconsciously that it all happened. I once went to a party, I was drinking and I was not used to it and I drank too much and.... I knew no more. When I woke-up there was a guy near me and it turns out that he had already done his business with me, right there and knew nothing and thereafter become pregnant. My family was always disunited because I had a stepfather and my mom he loved this man and always did what he said. She had three children with him and she always looked more after the two sons than after us. And with that problem of me being pregnant and my mom is not to say anything, I left... I had to go away from there and start to work alone. From then on, I was sending money to my mom because my stepfather did not give her any. She saw the possibility that I could work and that I could help her. She was very rude, always hurtful word, very loud; she was not a loving mother. I understand, I'm not judging, I'm just commenting on what she did to me, it is chain because my grandmother was also very hard on her, very sharp it was very hard on her too so, maybe that's why she was so mean.

INTERVIEWER: And how was your daughter then? Were you afraid that she was the same with your daughter?

RESPONDENT: now this is what I do not like: that this girl has been left alone and I do what she wants, they have given her no principles. Now, my mom, well right now, thanks God she accepted Christ and is going to an evangelical church and has changed and now reads the Bible because she was so horrible, and all that has changed is no longer the same as before, but then she let her do what she wanted.

INTERVIEWER: your mother spoiled your daughter a lot?

Interviewer: Yes, a lot and let her do what she wanted, then thank God the girl is good, but she had become very rebellious and it was because she let her do what she wanted.

One has to put limits to children, right? Not always let them do what they want. However, my mother was never like that with me... I was always terrified, she all the time scolded me and then this happen and hence I got pregnant, that's why I had no knowledge about all that... I was very quiet because I wondered yes she would get angry.

Interviewer: So when you told her you were coming here, for example, did she react badly or judge you because you were going to leave your daughter or something?

RESPONDENT: No, no. She never said anything because I was going to leave. she knew that I had always been on the lookout for the girl, I was not with her, I did not live with her because I was always away working for everything, for her house, so she does not judge me that way. She knew I did all that for my girl. I went on without eating and I did not sleep sometimes I worked at night to help my mom and my brothers; my mother was already old and could not work.

INTERVIEWER: you had to support all of them?

Interviewer: Yes. I think that because I had made the mistake, I had to pay for it, I do not know but my mom finally was, I was always submissive, I could not do anything without her consent, I had no life.

INTERVIEWER: And when you came over here you feel that it freed you a little of all that?

RESPONDENT: No, what I did when I came here was the same like yes I were there. My mother was the same: she commanded me on the phone, I was always scared. Until it happened that when I got to know the way of God and know the Bible I began to surrender to God's feet, to give my life to the Lord, he took control of my life, I understood that my mom could not control me. I knew it was God's hand I was moving and I stopped supporting my mother.

Interviewer: And now?

RESPONDENT: I no longer support it financially. Before all that I was giving her a hundred percent of my salary to fix her house; I do not know, to buy so many things I do not know what, that her plans were, that is why she allowed that I come over here.

INTERVIEWER: She wanted you to come here so you would help her?

RESPONDENT: Aha, I would help but I said to her, “God says that my thoughts are not your thoughts” that was what she thought, but I said when I came here seeking work and could not find any, I did not know it was God’s will. But I met this person who told me about the church and I thought “I’m not here to get into a church I came to work and make money but he said he wanted to show me there was a God almighty and that he could take and get rid of that burden. That it was wrongly that I had to bear the whole burden of my family. The lord wanted me to get rid of that pain and I began, I wanted to work and could not, could not help my mom or do anything, my mom is very upset.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you manage the relationship with your mom now?

RESPONDENT: it is different now. When I started looking for God, I began to pray with all my heart and I said Lord yes you want me to serve you I ask you to change the thinking of my mom, change it so I can serve you and be there as I may... I had the fear of answering the phone because she was insulting, so great was the fear. Then I said, Lord yes you want me to serve you I ask you to change the thought of my mama, change the life of my mom, change it, transform it so that I can serve you, because then I can not do anything. I depend on you now, and only you alone. (And I do not even know existed food banks) I spend a lot, just had a job that was the only part-time job to able to sustain myself and sometimes I was left without money without any money and I had nothing I could not even buy food and I went to work without eating, sometimes without eating the food they tossed in the hospital I worked in I ate. I suffered a lot a lot so I could understand there was a God who could take my problems my load; that would settle on it and change everything. First, that I had to humble myself too, I had to pay and then the Lord lightened my burdens. I said Lord I can do nothing and it happened so slowly. One day, when I was on the phone and say hello my mom was different; she began to talk to me differently and not insulted and shouted at me.

INTERVIEWER: and does she give you your place as mother of your daughter now?

INTERVIEWER: Well yes, but now that she is a teenager she keeps seeing me like before, once when she was younger she told me “yes you want me to call you mother” you have to earn it.

INTERVIEWER: you said so?

RESPONDENT: yes and I was crying because she did not love me

INTERVIEWER: But did not love you like a mother? Or reproach you because you'd come over here?

RESPONDENT she never told me anything, she never ... she is like me maybe there is resentment, perhaps, but she never tells me anything, but I talk to her I tell her "don't be angry at me, things that have happened is because God has allowed, we are not masters of our lives, or anything, he is the one in control and if things happen is for a reason. Don't judge me or feel bad, or feel he has abandoned you; God never left you, he was always on the lookout for you and my love for you will never change, it remains the same." When my second daughter was born, she was quite jealous and told me, "Now you have your daughter there and me, I have my mother here."

INTERVIEWER: What did you think she meant?

RESPONDENT: I wanted to bring her with me, so I told her that yes she wanted to come here, I said, I could make it possible for you to come so you can be with me. I told to myself that there are many things she needs, that I cannot send over to Mexico... things I needed so much and no one gave them to me because I did not have my mother's affection and support. I wanted to give her all of that and have her here with me. At first, she said yes, but then I my mom says I want her here to be the babysitter and I told her that it was not the case. That I wanted to support her and help her and that if I could not do it before I had the opportunity right now because this man, my partner has been very good to me, he is good.

INTERVIEWER: and does he accept your eldest daughter?

Interviewer: Yes, he does and he gives me money for her... before this I could not have a stable life ... I married another man before and I was pretty bad. He treated me very badly and it end up in divorce because I could not bear the life with him.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

INTERVIEWER: I was always fleeing from one place to another. I never had a stable life.

INTERVIEWER: But were you tormented by the idea that your daughter was there and you were not with her?

Interviewer: Yes, I always wanted to have her with me and even when I told my daughter to come, it was because of that. I do not want me to bring this purpose to have her as a

house cleaner or as a nanny like my mother says, no. I love to help and offer her things that they cannot give her there. Here it is easier, because yes I want to send her ten dollars or twenty dollars my mom spends them all. My daughter cannot enjoy it, but my mom began to tell her things about her sister and now she doesn't want to come.

INTERVIEWER: So, do you feel that you mother has something to do in that your daughter does not feel daughter-mother love towards you?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because I've seen other moms other women who have left their children there with their moms and who even yes they don't send them money back, the grandmothers tell their grandchildren "she is your mom and you have to respect her" and so on. They always inculcate that to their children and you can see how grateful they are, I have seen that. But for my mom it was never enough, I sent her money and she was always upset and angry.

INTERVIEWER: What did she say?

RESPONDENT: she was so angry they were not talking to me, but I had understood the Lord and that I wanted to lead a peaceful life that I would not change their life of killing myself for them that I was going to change.

Interviewer: Has anyone judge you for that? Do you ever feel that people judge moms who leave children in Mexico or another country?

INTERVIEWER: Well, people talk at work...there was always some people who were telling me "Not even dogs leave their puppies dumped," but I don't pay attention to that because I know that it was not the case, I did not leave her because I wanted to.

INTERVIEWER: So for you it is not abandonment what you did?

INTERVIEWER: No. I have never given up, I've always been on the lookout for her, forever, and I'll always be. I told her to tell me what you want, when she needs something, she talks to me. She says I need money, or need this. She just asked me for a computer and right now, I am looking for the money to buy it for her.

Interviewer: And how does she feel about her sister?

RESPONDENT: She never tells me anything about her sister but they talk on the phone and say "hello sister how are you?" and the youngest says to her "my sister who is in Mexico loves me," but she says nothing, she is very silent, she says nothing. What happens is that she lives in the same environment in which I lived and everything has

been kept for yourself, and I say, “yes you have any concerns talk to me, tell me, do not hesitate to tell me.”

INTERVIEWER: In that sense do you think that you are or you could be better, a better mother than your own mother?

RESPONDENT: A better mother for my daughter? Yes. Because it is not about screaming and scolding all the time. Instead, it is about giving love, understanding that one can talk. Because that was what was happening to me. I kept everything for me, all my thoughts. For me it was very hard to talk to open myself... there are times when I have questions and I was quiet because it was very difficult for me to talk, I had questions and I wanted to know things but could not, I shut my mouth.

Interviewer: So with your daughter you would like to talk about different things because she is similar to you?

RESPONDENT: yes I’m still thinking about the possibility of having her here, just do not know yes we will stay here.

Interviewer: And how would you expect yes you went to Mexico, do you would think now yes your mother will let your daughter live with you?

Interviewer: Yes, because as she is already older.

INTERVIEWER: and then, your daughter is in the midst of all family life so difficult... how do you want her to remember all these years that you have not been with her.

RESPONDENT: I talked to her and I told her, I have had the fault that you’re with my mom yes it’s true I am responsible because I should have fought for you, you ought to have been with me but I was afraid I did not know life. I was working away but despite all the fear but many bad things happened to me, and perhaps the Lord allowed so that you are out with my mom to avoid all of bad things. She tells me that my mother tell her that it is not me that is my fault. I try to stalk to her, but she doesn’t speak much; “how are you?” I say and she says “well” and I say “tell me about your school,” she says “good.” I used to ask her “Do you want to talk with your mom?” and she said she did not want to talk to me. Now she is who picks up the phone, she talks to me, and now we begin to talk. “Look I need money for this and this, we do this,” she begins to say but it speaks a little more.

INTERVIEWER: She tells you more about her life?

Interviewer: But if we go to Mexico I think she would go after us because my husband has been building a home. I think she would compare the life she has with my mom and seeing a peaceful life with me. Yes you teach the rules clearly, but not abuse them it is enough.

INTERVIEWER: how do you do to earn your maternal role with her?

RESPONDENT: talking to her. Talking a lot with her because she did not speak before, nothing and was also full of resentment that my mom influenced.

INTERVIEWER: And do you think God wants this for you and your daughter?

RESPONDENT God makes the children but the Lord has let us have them temporarily, they are not yours but we have become aware of that. I've asked a lot the lord, that I just want to be with her I love her but I do not know when. Sometimes I see clothes in the stores but I cannot buy them because I do not know her taste... she has different taste.

INTERVIEWER: and they send you pictures of her?

RESPONDENT I asked them to send me pictures but they do not send me any. The only picture I have is this one.

INTERVIEWER: is it her first communion?

RESPONDENT: is not. It is her elementary school graduation.

INTERVIEWER: It is the only one you have?

RESPONDENT: This the only picture I have I say send me photos of the girl my other daughter wants to see her sister. Send me pictures of her family so she knows them when we go over there; but they have not. My mother does not talk to my daughter who is here either. I ask her, "Do you want to talk to the girl?" In addition, she does not talk to her in a loving way. My mother is a harsh person.

INTERVIEWER: So you have that family like you had always wanted to have?

RESPONDENT: Yes as I wanted it.

INTERVIEWER: It is good that you already have it.

RESPONDENT: Thank God.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that Mexico is are in a better light moms who keep their children with them? What is more common, mothers that raise their children or grandmothers?

RESPONDENT: No, usually grandmothers are the ones that take care of the grandchildren; they are the ones. You can see it much more here because there are many women who have leave their children back home. I have seen some moms that even forget about their children.

INTERVIEWER: They forget about their children?

RESPONDENT: I know this woman who is doing well economically and everything - I think she has two children in Mexico - and never remembers her children or call them over phone or send them money nothing.

INTERVIEWER: She...

RESPONDENT: she completely abandoned them. It is shameful that if they have a good economic position they cannot send their children any money, right. Now that is embarrassing. I have seen it in other mothers that have left their children back in Mexico. Those women leave their children with grandmothers nursed them take care of their children but I have not. My mother tells me to send her my daughter so I can work here, but I tell her "this one you are not going to take; she'll stay here with me and eat what I eat."

INTERVIEWER: You feel you are a good mother here for your daughter?

RESPONDENT: I feel I am always watching her...

Interviewer: And how do you feel about not being able to be the same with your daughter in Mexico like with your younger daughter?

RESPONDENT: I feel bad just because of the fact that I never know how my daughter in Mexico is doing. When I go to eat, I wonder yes she will have food to eat or not. That is why I want her to be here with me but my mother discouraged her to come, I know that.

INTERVIEWER: and they have a good relationship, your daughter, and your mom?

RESPONDENT: My daughter loves my mom if you want, but they do not have good relationship. My mother does not talk to you; she does not give you confidence It happened to me. She never is alerting you about things that happen in life, the many dangers out there...

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: Here I tell my daughter, dear you have to tell me everything. And she says yes, and she says to me “my head hurts, my tummy hurts”. When I see her crying, I ask her what is wrong tell me and I want you to tell me what is wrong.

INTERVIEWER: So you think it’s good to start talking with your children since they are little?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, I think so. One must always talk with one’s children at all times, because you never know. There is so much evil in the world so many things that you see. I tell her that when we walk to the store she is always there next to me, she is not going to play around. I will not leave her alone because I lived like that, on my own and there are many people tempted with a malicious heart, I have seen so many evil things attempt against children... Therefore, as long as I can and the Lord gives me the capacity I will take care of her, I will not leave her.

Demographics

Age: 35

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER: How did you decide to come here and in the meantime leave the children in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: I came because I wanted to work. With my husband, we worked here together, but after being here, he changed and we separated.

INTERVIEWER: Then, at first you came with him here but things did not work as planned?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: OK, when you were in Mexico how old were the kids at that time?

RESPONDENT: The oldest was 5 years old and the youngest was 3 years old.

INTERVIEWER: five and three years. Then, how do you decide to come here?

RESPONDENT: I came here because I wanted to join my husband who was already here. I thought that yes we both worked we could save some money.

ANOTHER INTERVIEWER: How long have you been in the U.S.?

RESPONDENT: Six years. I wanted to be with my husband but at the end, after I came things did not workout and everyone decided to go his own way.

INTERVIEWER: After your husband came to the U.S. whom did you and your children live with in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: In Mexico? Oh, my husband left me a little house and we lived there with my two children.

INTERVIEWER: And then when you were thinking in coming here, whom did you think would take care of your children?

RESPONDENT: My mother-in-law supported me. She said to me, "Yes you go maybe things change, maybe he changed and everything is different. Do it for your children." In addition, I said, maybe that is the solution." Because my husband was having an affair with another woman here. Therefore, she said she would look after my children.

INTERVIEWER: until today are they with her?

RESPONDENT: yes. But now they want me to go back, I say that I will go back, but maybe next year. I need to work to earn money and go.

INTERVIEWER: I understand. And how did you feel about leaving your children in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Very sad. But I was also happy because I thought that here was my father and my sister in-law and my husband and I said “hopefully and God willing, all be for good.”

ANOTHER INTERVIEWER: And how do you communicate with them?

RESPONDENT: I call them over the telephone every two weeks.

INTERVIEWER: every two weeks?

RESPONDENT: yes, yes I have a calling card. You have to buy a phone card to talk there.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Then in those early years when you did not have your daughters yet, did you feel that you were still their mother or your mother in-law took over that role?

RESPONDENT: they love her grandmother very much. Much more than they love me. Perhaps, because she has raised them.

INTERVIEWER: and how do you feel about that?

RESPONDENT: a little sad. But I think it is good that they love her like that, it is an obvious thing that yes she is the one raising them they love her more than me because she is there with them every day and we just talk on the phone.

INTERVIEWER: So you believe that a mother is the one who is always with the kids every day or a mother may be as well the one who goes away and sends money and calls to her children?

RESPONDENT: I think they say, “my grandmother is in Mexico, and my mom is in the U.S.” I truly feel she is the mother of my children even if I conceived them.

INTERVIEWER: OK, so you feel that a mother is the one with the children all the time?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: As you are with your daughters here?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Since you came here have you ever had the feeling that someone judges you for leaving your kids with your mother in-law?

RESPONDENT: Yes, my family does. Some relatives told me that “it was a thousand times better to be there with my children and not come here and have more children, but what was I going to do? There was nothing I could do, even though I knew they were right.

INTERVIEWER: do you think they are right?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Because I better should have stayed with them there, not have come to the U.S.

INTERVIEWER: Do you feel that coming to the U.S. without your children make you a bad mother?

RESPONDENT: Maybe yes, I think so. But who knows?

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel?

RESPONDENT: Sometimes a little sad.

INTERVIEWER: OK

RESPONDENT: Sad because my children are not here with me.

INTERVIEWER: How do you think that your children see you as a mother?

RESPONDENT: Perhaps as a little detached, not so loving mother. I talk to them on the phone, tell them what happened with his father, but it is not the same, not like I if I were there with them and all, not like my daughters who are here with me and feel my care and support see me as a mother.

INTERVIEWER: OK, but how have you managed to endure those six years away from them, what have you done to avert feelings of sadness?

RESPONDENT: I tell to myself that they are with their grandmother and are doing well and I say, “I cannot go at any moment because I have my two daughters here and to go with two daughters is more difficult.”

INTERVIEWER: Yes.

RESPONDENT: Yes, and now my daughter tells me I should go back to Mexico, and I tell her to have patience that maybe next year, I will work a few months and maybe I go with them.

INTERVIEWER: and that you have family in Mexico.

RESPONDENT: There it is all my family, my father, my mother.

INTERVIEWER: what did your mother say when you said you were coming?

RESPONDENT: nothing. What happens is that I did not lived with my mother, my mother separated from my dad when I was about eleven years old. Since then, she made her life apart form us so I grew up with my dad.

INTERVIEWER: OK, and what did your dad tell you when you were going to come here?

RESPONDENT: He worried about the desert because it is dangerous and besides that, I was leaving my two children there alone. Because my mother in-law loves them but is not the same. "Think about it" he said, "Because on TV you see so many things happening." But I said "God willing, nothing will happen, I will go."

INTERVIEWER: You think that at that moment it was more important for you the relationship with the father of your children that your children?

RESPONDENT: Yes. However, I said maybe yes I am there with him, between the two of us we work, perhaps she changes, and we will be able to send money to our children. We discussed with my husband and I told him not to give me money for my daughters here, but that he sends money to our children in Mexico.

INTERVIEWER: So you prefer to send their children to Mexico than money for your girls here.

RESPONDENT: Yes, because I feel that life here is easier and there, it is very difficult, everything is more expensive.

INTERVIEWER: So, a mother like you

RESPONDENT, who grew up without a mother, what idea of what a mother is do you have?

RESPONDENT: The idea?

INTERVIEWER: How do you think a mother is? What does it mean for you to be a mother?

RESPONDENT: I do not know because I had no mother

INTERVIEWER: Your dad was the father and mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: So what did you think back then about your mother?

RESPONDENT: That she does not love us, leaving us when we needed her and never looking after us...

INTERVIEWER: OK

RESPONDENT: She said she was sick and had many children and that now that we are adults we should be looking after her. She did not remember she and now us when we were little want us to take care of her.

INTERVIEWER: So for you she was not a good mother?

RESPONDENT: Mm, she looks for us now to help her because she is sick.

INTERVIEWER: But she did not take care of you?

RESPONDENT: No.

INTERVIEWER: Then when you came here and you left your kids, did you think about when you were little and your mother left the house?

RESPONDENT: Yeah, but this is different because I send my kids money. We look after them, every new year we send things to them, and I came here to do something for them. It is different the life that I had with my mother, from the life that my children have with us. We are far but we have always sent them money to be well there and talk with them by phone and treat them with love and attention from here, so it is different.

INTERVIEWER: So they understand that it is for them that you have come to U.S.

RESPONDENT: Yes. They understand that it is also for the sake of them. I say “look, you have everything: clothes, shoes, whatever you want. Food. When I was a little girl I went to school with sandals sometimes all old, broken and we had to sew them. I understand I make them “you have a better life, you are going to school.” My mother in-law buys them things they needed. She sends them clean to school, well groomed and she sends me pictures. I ask them “what does your grandmother buy to you?” and they tell me, “my grandmother bought me this and that.” She loves her grandchildren.

Besides she has no children there, her only son is in Chicago. She is giving her whole life to my children just like a mother.

INTERVIEWER: And when you tell your mother in-law that you feel bad or sad that your children are there, what does she tell you?

RESPONDENT: That I go there to with the girls and that she will help me will support me. “No one is starving here,” and I say, “yes I know mother, but I need to fix their passports.” She says, “Come over here I’m going to help you out, we can even sell tamales, whatever. Open a business.”

INTERVIEWER: When you came the first time, how long you planed to stay?

RESPONDENT: Two years.

INTERVIEWER: Two years

RESPONDENT: I just came for two years and now, six years have passed and I'm still here but sometimes I despair. Oh, I am bored and want to have the money to leave.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: I feel despair. But I also try to calm down because you cannot give-up.

INTERVIEWER: So how do you think it would have been different if you did not have your daughters here?

RESPONDENT: It would have been easier to go back, but I thank God because imagine if I had not had the girls. Before when I did not have my daughters, I used to cry all the time for my children there in Mexico, and my daughters gave me a reason to be here.

INTERVIEWER: So your girls have given you the strength to stay here?

RESPONDENT: Yes, not to be so sad here.

INTERVIEWER: And how was it for you for example, to get pregnant knowing there were the two children in Mexico, how did you feel?

RESPONDENT: I felt sad and happy at the same time, because I said within me "at least I will not feel alone I'm alone, but then at the same time I feel that my plan was not to have children here.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

MARY: My children were a little jealous; they said that I no longer would love them. At the end, they were happy about it.

INTERVIEWER: And when the second baby came, the little girl, were they also happy?

RESPONDENT: Yes, they were happy they wanted to see the baby.

INTERVIEWER: OK and when you think about them and how you will be when you come back how do you think will be the relationship with them?

RESPONDENT: I think that it will be the same love that I have for my two girls because they too are my children.

INTERVIEWER: OK.

RESPONDENT: Though perhaps they will be a bit indifferent to me but I think eventually they're going to adapt.

INTERVIEWER: OK, and your idea would be to go back and live with your mother in-law as well?

RESPONDENT: She will decide whether to continue being there with us or not, I think that maybe she will stay with us, with the girls and me because she is accustomed to be with the kids. I won't get in the way of anything I'll always be grateful to her for taking care of my children for so long, she is a good person.

INTERVIEWER: you think she is a good mother for your children.

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: and do you find yourself complaining about something she does or for disciplining your children?

RESPONDENT: I do not get angry at her

INTERVIEWER: No.

RESPONDENT: I'm fond of her, I never have any complaints about her. She tells me everything over the phone. When she sends the children to do chores that do not want they can be a little rebellious then, and so I talk to them, I speak but I try not to reprimand them because I am away and so it can get worse and not better, I better speak and they understand.

INTERVIEWER: So now you are in charge of disciplining, scolding, or does your mother is too?

RESPONDENT: I tell her what to do when they are misbehaving. I tell her not to let them watch TV or things like that. I tell her not to buy anything until they behave well.

INTERVIEWER: do you other women from Mexico who have left their children back there?

RESPONDENT: Yes

INTERVIEWER: How do you think they feel about that?

RESPONDENT: Who knows? Many people who leave their children, a friend tells me that she already wants to go to Mexico but that it would finish tidying furnish his house.

INTERVIEWER: So, is it common in Mexico for women to come here and to leave their children and send them money?

RESPONDENT: Yes

INTERVIEWER: It is a very common situation.

RESPONDENT: And it is also common that when a couple comes together they separate after a while.

INTERVIEWER: How is that?

RESPONDENT: I don't know why this happens, but I have seen many couples split up here.

INTERVIEWER: Where you lived before come to the U.S. did you know of other people who had come and had left their children with grandmothers like you?

RESPONDENT: No

INTERVIEWER: You did not know

RESPONDENT: Here is that I came to know many friends, where I worked there were a few ladies that had a child in Mexico.

INTERVIEWER: So you came here to realize that it was common.

RESPONDENT: Here not there.

INTERVIEWER: When you were there, thinking to come did it encourage you the fact that your mother in-law gave you her support, encouragement? For example, let us say your mother in-law had told you, you are a bad mother if you leave your children here," do you think you would still come?

RESPONDENT: No

INTERVIEWER: No?

RESPONDENT: I would have not come.

INTERVIEWER: What did your mother in-law tell you to encourage you to come?

RESPONDENT: She said," I'll take care of children and you can save your marriage.

Thus between the two of you can work and send money for a house and to do something for the kids." It is very important in Chiapas to have a house more or less good.

INTERVIEWER: So now do you think people welcomed the fact that you could build that house?

RESPONDENT: Yes, all my family and my husband say that at least we have a house, a house for the children that is going to last forever.

INTERVIEWER: OK

RESPONDENT: I'm not going to have to walk around there with children without a place to stay.

INTERVIEWER: So how was it before when you were with your children in Mexico alone? Did you feel incomplete because your family was incomplete?

RESPONDENT: And is still incomplete (laughter).

INTERVIEWER: Yes.

RESPONDENT: Is the same. But before I had nothing in Mexico, my poor little house well, and right now my house is fine, and later I have to fix the papers of my two girls and go.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Then when you came over here how did the father of your children took the fact that you were leaving the children in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: He also knew it was a sacrifice we were doing. He never reproached me anything, I was sometimes reproached him for the way his behavior here after I had left my children.

INTERVIEWER: Mm, and is it true as you said before that you believe now that all it would have been better to stay there, and had not come?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it is different your maternal role with your children who are in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes it is, because they are there and my other children are here. With the children in Mexico, I communicate over the phone. I always have to tell them “you behave well and I’ll send you Christmas presents. I want to motivate the children to go to school and stuff.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think they perceive your affection? Through the presents and phone calls?

RESPONDENT: Affection? I think they do. They always tell me they love me and that they miss tat they want me and I go to Mexico with them.

INTERVIEWER: and so do you make plans for the future together and dream of the future, when you talk on the phone?

RESPONDENT: Oh yes. I say “as soon as we get back I will take them to school, that they are going to be together the four of them as a family. We will go to the ruins of Palenque which are so pretty.”

INTERVIEWER: And how do you handle the passing of time, what do you tell your children?

RESPONDENT: I tell them that I will go soon.

INTERVIEWER: and it has been six years now...

RESPONDENT: But before they did not tell me to go back. It is recently that they have started to ask me to go back, that they need me. But I always keep my responsibility of sending them money. I have never forgotten about them.

INTERVIEWER: So to stop sending money back home is like “forgetting” about your children?

RESPONDENT: Correct.

INTERVIEWER: And what do you think is the biggest responsibility a mother has?

RESPONDENT: To send money to your family

INTERVIEWER: And when you are there and no longer have to send them money because you will be with them, which will be your responsibility?

RESPONDENT: my responsibility is to care for my children and give them an education something that I did not have.

INTERVIEWER: That is what you want for your children

RESPONDENT: Something different from what I had because I led a complicated life, very sad. my mother was not there and I never heard from her again, she made her life with another man and we stayed with my father. He struggled to raise us there we were rather poor. But my children do not have those needs, they don't know what it is to go do the cleaning for a neighbor to earn a meal or to buy a pair of sandals. They are the entire house and if they want a treat they can have it.

INTERVIEWER: So have privileges

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: That you never had when you were a girl.

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: So you can give them all that you did not have?

RESPONDENT: Well yes, because I had nothing there, neither material, nor the love of my mother.

INTERVIEWER: I see. And regarding your children in Mexico, do you think they have the parental affection you are talking about?

RESPONDENT: Well, yes. Although now I am not exactly there but at least from here we show them that they are important to us that we love them and we support them in any problems that they have. If is with a classmate, we may talk to the family. If someone wants to disrespect them, we do something about it.

INTERVIEWER: And what would you do to protect them if someone wants to disrespect them?

RESPONDENT: As I would do if I were there

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: I tell my mother in-law to go to the children's school and to talk with the teachers, so we can be aware of everything that happens there.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And you feel that your mother always follow the instructions you give her?

RESPONDENT: Yes, she does what I tell her, she defends her grandson if someone wants to hit him or something like that (Laughter).

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

RESPONDENT: and one day I said a little boy walking around bothering my daughter and I told the teacher that child bothering the girl

INTERVIEWER: and does your mother in-law tell you everything or do you think sometimes she hides things not to worry you?

RESPONDENT: No, she tells me everything.

INTERVIEWER: Everything.

RESPONDENT: Everything.

INTERVIEWER: And do you prefer that she tell you everything or rather not find out about the bad things?

RESPONDENT: No, I like her to tell me everything

INTERVIEWER: And you when you think your mother in-law do you think she is like what one would call "a very good mother"?

RESPONDENT: Oh, yes

INTERVIEWER: Yes she knows well, did you know that since you were in Mexico? Did she teach you some tips about children?

RESPONDENT: Oh, yeah. When they were little she could tell me to give them a cup of tea to take out the gases and things like that.

INTERVIEWER: So for your mother in-law having her grandchildren is also a company for her?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

RESPONDENT: And she has said that to me, that if I take away my children she is going to suffer a lot. When I once thought about bringing them here, she began to mourn that she would be alone without them, and that something could happen to children in the desert because she told me she was not going to give me the children just like that and that really made me sad for her too, because poor woman, she was going to be alone and she is accustomed to the children. So, I decided better not to bring them because she says that if I remove the children she may die.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, so the fact that she is alone made you consider leaving them there?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: We then leave the conversation there and thank you very much for spending this time talking with me.

Demographics

Age: 26

Gender: Female

INTERVIEWER: I am trying to interview other moms like you who, who had to leave their children in Mexico while coming here. We are talking about that experience.

RESPONDENT: Ok

INTERVIEWER: When you decided to come here, was because your husband was coming too right?

RESPONDENT: Right

INTERVIEWER: You came together from Mexico. And how was the decision whether to leave your daughter or not?

RESPONDENT: Well, it was difficult because the problem was the money if we had had money we would have brought her.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, when you two were talking about coming here, how did you decide who you were leaving your daughter with?

RESPONDENT: Oh, with my mother in-law, because like my mom unfortunately did not live near and then I grew up with my grandmother and my grandmother is old she would not be able to take care of her.

INTERVIEWER: I understand.

RESPONDENT: And as I have always lived with my mother in law she was very attached to her.

INTERVIEWER: OK, you already were close to her.

RESPONDENT: Yes,

INTERVIEWER: Your mother in-law had been with your daughter since she was born?

RESPONDENT: Yes

INTERVIEWER: OK, and then your mother in-law agreed from the outset about you coming over here?

RESPONDENT: Not At first, but she knew it is a decision that is my husband's and mine.

INTERVIEWER: And what did she say at first? Why did she disagree?

RESPONDENT: Because of my daughter.

INTERVIEWER: I see and when your mother told you not come with the baby, he said?

RESPONDENT: Oh... My mother in-law said we were going to bring her here and that it would be very difficult for us to go back. We were going back this Easter, but given the opportunity to bring my daughter - because my brother came and brought her - we stayed. My mother in-law cries because he says that we are not going to go back, she was very attach to my daughter.

INTERVIEWER: I see.

RESPONDENT: When we were going to come my mother in-law told me "if it's because she is going to see me as hew mother, don't you worry, because I will always make sure she remembers you are her mom, and that your going to send her money to buy her better things."

INTERVIEWER: Ok

RESPONDENT: I also always call her on weekdays and weekends, always. So I think she never forgot about me.

INTERVIEWER: So she never forgot that you were her mother because you called her on the phone and your mother in-law reminded her about your role as her mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, she told her that she was her grandmother and I was her mother, like her grandfather, she told her he was their grandfather and my husband her daddy.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, for you it was important for her to establish that difference?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I think it is, because if you do not do that then she went to see her as her mother...besides that is why I brought her here! (Laughter).

INTERVIEWER: Because suddenly you felt that you were going to lose your place as her mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, that is why. Besides I was afraid that in the future, I would return there and she was going to reproach me.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think that she was going to reproach?

RESPONDENT: That I had come here. Because as they are little, they might not realize your reasons to come here; that sometimes it is very difficult to live there without a job and that they do not understand.

INTERVIEWER: OK.

RESPONDENT: Yeah, and in fact it year and half ago he was there with her grandmother.

INTERVIEWER: You believe that at some point she would say something to you?

RESPONDENT: Yeah, when I talked on the phone she used to tell me “Mom why did you go there and leave me?” I did not know what to do and I told my husband “maybe you have to bring her here.”

INTERVIEWER: How did you feel?

RESPONDENT: Well awful, because you see that day, when she told me that to me I began to mourn.

INTERVIEWER: (sigh)

RESPONDENT: But right now she is here I happy now.

INTERVIEWER: And your husband, how did he fee? Do you think men feel a little different about it?

RESPONDENT: Yes, yes it is true. He told me not to cry “she is doing well, thank God you’re okay too” and things like that. I told him “but you do not feel like myself”, if I think it’s very different, I was always crying and my husband said “do not cry” but I was not happy here.

INTERVIEWER: And you why were crying for?

RESPONDENT: Because I wanted to be with her I wanted to see her. I’ve always work but maybe if she were here, I will come home and I will see her every day. I’ll see if she is ok. I wanted to do what mothers do, that is to bathe her, feed her, all that.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think that is what makes a mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I think so.

INTERVIEWER: And you feel that a mother is also responsible for giving the child what he needs?

RESPONDENT: (Affirmation).

INTERVIEWER: That part if you were doing before you? Sending her money?

RESPONDENT: Oh, yes, that I always did, that is my responsibility.

INTERVIEWER: But you are missing the other part of being mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, that was what I wanted but I could not do. I wanted my baby, because I said maybe God does not give me another chance to have another child and maybe I am missing the opportunity to see my daughter again.

INTERVIEWER: but you got pregnant once?

RESPONDENT: Yes But I lost the baby.

INTERVIEWER: I am sorry to hear that. So you felt as it was God will for leaving the girl?

RESPONDENT: Well, when that happened, it feels awful and you wonder why it happened and sometimes I thought it was because I did something wrong, I don't know.

INTERVIEWER: I understand, it is so unexpected that one does not understand why it happens.

RESPONDENT: Yes. And it had happened three times already.

INTERVIEWER: Before?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because it is very rare, my first pregnancy was normal and was normal delivery, never had any complications or anything, but like four years after I got pregnant and lost my baby, and when I came from Mexico over here I lost my baby and again about three months ago and again lost another baby.

INTERVIEWER: I understand that; it might be a very desperate feeling. Is still in your mind that you want another baby?

RESPONDENT: I would but I am afraid. Maybe God wants her to be alone here in this world for some reason.

INTERVIEWER: So it seems for what you are saying, that you felt guilty for leaving your daughter.

RESPONDENT: Yes, I did.

INTERVIEWER: You felt as bad mother?

RESPONDENT: Yes, sometimes.

INTERVIEWER: And as you grew up with your grandmother and your mother had also left you with her, how did it make you feel?

RESPONDENT: I thought I had done the same as my mother, I did the same thing leaving my daughter, and she is going to reproach me for that.

INTERVIEWER: And how did you go through during those difficult times, what did you think when you were sad to you were sad to keep going?

RESPONDENT: Well, what happens is that when I was sad last year, when we arrived we worked for almost 12 hours a day 24/7, I came home from work, made dinner, I showered and fell asleep until the next day. So I used to think, that I "f I bring her, I won't have time and the attention she needs, I watched my sister here; she suffers a lot with her girl here. So I thought she was better there.

INTERVIEWER: With your mother in-law?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because we ... well my husband and I had in mind that we were coming to do something in America like that ... I think that what comes nearly everyone here for: to make money. And that was what we had in mind. Trying to work as much as we could and thank God because of it we were able to make a house there.

INTERVIEWER: And what was the dream you had when you were in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: To build my house and then I might say something, to save in store for the future of my daughter, so she has something later.

INTERVIEWER: You want her to have something for the future, so it is almost or do you think that you coming here was like a sacrifice for her?

RESPONDENT: Yes. It was. Now that she is here, it is all different.

INTERVIEWER: I see. And how were those first weeks when she was with you without her grandmother?

RESPONDENT: she cried, she did not want to be here, she says that she is staying for a year and then she is going back.

INTERVIEWER: With her Grandma?

RESPONDENT: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: And how do you feel when she says that's missing her grandma?

RESPONDENT: Oh no, I do not feel uncomfortable because I know that she is well attached to her grandmother.

INTERVIEWER: I see, and her grandmother was a good mother for her?

RESPONDENT: Oh yeah. her grandmother was a good mother for her

INTERVIEWER: When you left her with her grandmother, did you think for example, that she would do things differently with her? Like the way she disciplines her?

RESPONDENT: In the discipline itself, yes, it was different, because I think that my mother in-law did not have the heart to beat her, to scold her.

INTERVIEWER: And then, did you tell her what to do over the phone?

RESPONDENT: Yes, but then she said, "How am I going to hit my girl" and things like that.

INTERVIEWER: And for you to be part of being mother is to discipline your children?

RESPONDENT: I think at first I did not, but if you tell him once and do not understand you, and you say go back to again and not understand you, and you come back again and say you do not understand then I think there you need to spank them.

Interviewer: And do you think is that the role of the mother or if a teacher does it, is it also ok?

RESPONDENT: No, not a teacher but I think that teachers are authority for them too.

Interviewer: And your mother in-law told you the good and the bad, or you believe she just avoid telling you about the bad things so you did not worry?

INTERVIEW: maybe she did hide some stuff. I remember once she hide something, she said it was for me not to worry.

RESPONDENT: that she was sick or something?

INTERVIEWER: Well, that maybe would have worried me, but thank God she never got sick.

INTERVIEWER: And when your mother in-law hide you something, how do you feel?

RESPONDENT: it was not something that disturbing...

INTERVIEWER: And when you decided to come here with your husband, why you did not stay in Mexico with your daughter?

RESPONDENT: Because I was pregnant so my husband said "if she is pregnant then I can help her cross right now, you see that it is very difficult to pass. However, if she goes with the baby it will make it harder later.

INTERVIEWER: So it was important for you to keep the family together?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I said to myself "I help my husband to work one year so if we do well the sooner we can take the girl with us.

INTERVIEWER: And did you know other female relatives or friends, more or less on your situation, that had had left their children to come here?

RESPONDENT: Other women?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, other women.

RESPONDENT: No

INTERVIEWER: no one?

RESPONDENT: Well if maybe my husband's aunt. She went to Los Angeles and left her girls, but it was harder because she had two, and left one of them with a grandmother and the other with the other grandmother.

INTERVIEWER: Separated?

RESPONDENT: I think that is more difficult

INTERVIEWER: And when you thought in that situation in this example of your husband's aunt, right? What do you think about her decision?

RESPONDENT: That is not good, but it was before I met my husband.

INTERVIEWER: So you knew her story?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: And when you knew about the story did you feel she did not do the right thing?

RESPONDENT: No. I did not think that. I think you should not judge people like that because you do not know the motives of the person for which he had done so, I think.

INTERVIEWER: I understand. Do you think you could be judge by other people for leaving your daughter in Mexico?

RESPONDENT: Yes I think so. At work, there is a girl who has her son in her country; she left him when her son was a year old, and right now he is ten years old I think. And since that time has not seen his child. She has a boyfriend here and then gets angry that you talk to her boyfriend, so another fellow tells her "instead of watching your child walk in your country, here you are caring for a man." I think that is judging a person, because you do not know why she did not bring her son.

INTERVIEWER: So what your co-worker was saying is that her priority should be her child?

RESPONDENT: Yes, exactly.

INTERVIEWER: And in that way she was judging her you think?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because I think that if... I say nothing because I also left my baby, so cannot say anything.

INTERVIEWER: You feel different from that co-worker of yours or do you feel that what you did different?

RESPONDENT: I think it is different because I tried to do everything possible to bring my daughter to me and I if not, I would have returned.

INTERVIEWER: do you think you would have returned?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I do

INTERVIEWER: Back in Mexico, do you think people judge moms who leave their children to come here to United States?

INTERVIEWER: No, I do not

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

RESPONDENT: I never heard anything like that.

INTERVIEWER: And what did your husband think leaving your child, do you think he you also thought it was a bad idea?

RESPONDENT: Mm... yes

INTERVIEWER: And how was the reunion with your daughter when she came?

RESPONDENT: Very happy but she did not recognizes her dad

INTERVIEWER: Really?

RESPONDENT: Because my husband is a little bigger now

INTERVIEWER: And what did you think?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: I did not want to bring my daughter here, because here children suffer greatly. We wanted to return to Mexico City.

INTERVIEWER: And she was fine with your mother there, right?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: Yes. I feel that she was fine but not better than here with us, here but we can say that in some ways she was better there because there, children are free, here she has to be in the house all day, she has no one to play with.

INTERVIEWER: And did she recognize you?

RESPONDENT: Yes, because she hug me and then she looked at me and at the others and did not seem to recognize anyone else ... laughing

INTERVIEWER: And did you feel bad?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: Well, at a time I did feel bad but then as she hugged her mom I had imagined that her mother was the only one she was going to remember, because as one goes to work and all she is more attached to her. The hardest part was to bring her here from Mexico.

INTERVIEWER: How long did this journey take?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: About fifteen days.

INTERVIEWER: Really? Now, when Jamie was there before, do you think you were forgetting how to be a mother?

RESPONDENT: Well, I think that before I was not exactly forgetting about "being a mother" but I was forgetting about the responsibility. Because before my daughter got here to the U.S., I used to get from work, ate dinner and then we went to bed. Now, I have to get home, prepare her lunch for the next day, help her with her homework and so on

INTERVIEWER: Responsibility?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: But it is better to have that responsibility than not, it feels better.

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: Yes.

RESPONDENT: My husband said that he was already accustomed to hearing no noise and now with our girl there is noise all the time, the house is a mess!

INTERVIEWER: Because the house is full now. And how is your mother in-law?

RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND: she is sad because as she has always been with our daughter since her birth... she began to mourn because they remembered the girl and began to mourn, I think she still grieves, yesterday I talked and still weeps.

INTERVIEWER: She still feels very sad.

RESPONDENT: Because if my mother in-law was alone, my daughter was the one who accompanied her everywhere and right now, she is alone.

INTERVIEWER: I see. Her company

RESPONDENT: Yes, her company, she is not living there with anyone else

INTERVIEWER: So now she misses your daughter like you did before.

RESPONDENT: I think so... (Laughter)

INTERVIEWER: But you are planning to go back to Mexico, right?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: And you got part of what you wanted before coming here, right?

RESPONDENT: We still need a little more for the house.

INTERVIEWER: It is going to be a house where the three of you will live as a family?

RESPONDENT: Yes.

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